



Peking

Temples and City Life,
1400-1900

SUSAN NAQUIN

The central character in Susan Naquin's extraordinary new book is the city of Peking during the Ming and Qing periods. Using the city's temples as her point of entry, Naquin carefully excavates Peking's varied public arenas, the city's transformation over five centuries, its human engagements, and its rich cultural imprint.

This study shows how modern Beijing's glittering image as China's great and ancient capital came into being and reveals the shifting identities of a much more complex past, one whose rich social and cultural history Naquin splendidly evokes. Temples, by providing a place where diverse groups could gather without the imprimatur of family or state, made possible a surprising assortment of community-building and identity-defining activities. By revealing how religious establishments of all kinds were used for fairs, markets, charity, tourism, politics, and leisured sociability, Naquin shows their decisive impact on Peking and, at the same time, illuminates their little-appreciated role in Chinese cities generally. Lacking most of the conventional sources for urban history, she has relied particularly on a trove of commemorative inscriptions that expressed ideas about the relationship between human beings and gods, about community service and public responsibility, about remembering and being remembered. The result is a book that will be essential reading in the field of Chinese studies for years to come.

A

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Peking

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Susan Naquin

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My first serious research on the history of Peking took place in 1986, in Canberra, Australia, where I had grants from both the Australian National University and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), as well as the incentive of a paper to be presented in December 1986 at a conference at the Academia Sinica in Taiwan. The NEH also made possible research in Taiwan and Japan in 1987, and the Committee for Scholarly Communication with China sponsored my work in Peking in 1987 and 1988. Support from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation permitted me to take a crucial year's leave in 1991–1992, during which I spent eight months as a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Studies in Washington, D.C. Both the University of Pennsylvania and Princeton University have helped with leaves and support. It is difficult to express adequately my gratitude to all these institutions for making possible precious time for research and writing and travel to East Asia.

In China, key library and archival staff were very generous. Ji Yaping, Zheng Peizhen, and their coworkers in the rubbings section of the Rare Book Collection of the Peking Library graciously accommodated my urgent requests to see their stelae rubbings over a period of years in the late 1980s when their move to a new building made such requests particularly burdensome. At the Capital Library, Han Pu and others in the Local Materials section were similarly helpful; working in the reading room of the old Guozijian where that collection was located and carrying stacks of rubbings through the deserted courtyards were among the great pleasures of my research. I spent less time in the Library of the Academy of Sciences and in what is now the old Peking Library, but there too the librarians were wonderful. In Washington, D.C., it was a treat to discover Lily Kecskes and the Freer Library; Mi Chu Wiens of the Library of Congress and Martin Heijdra

and Yasuko Makino of the Gest Library at Princeton have also gone out of their way to assist me. Students who have helped me, especially with the maps, include Christina Tagupa, Greg Hall, Emily Hoover, and Matthew Chou.

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Perhaps the best parts of my research were the many hours I spent on my bicycle, riding through Peking and its suburbs in the 1980s. A few of the temples described in this book had been restored and were open; a larger number had been taken over for other purposes. I am grateful to friends such as Ju Deyuan, Li Shiyu, and Yan Chongnian, who came with me on some of these excursions, not only for their genial and informed company, but for gently edging us in through otherwise closed doors. Even in a ruined state, these temples allowed me to appreciate—as no texts could—something of their former size, setting, and atmosphere. Little did I realize how swiftly changes would engulf the city in the 1990s.

My collaboration with Chün-fang Yü in the study of pilgrimage in China was influential in shaping this book conceptually. The reading on pilgrimage in and beyond China, the discussions at our conference, the task of creating a volume—these stimulated in important and beneficial ways my ideas on how to write about Peking. I am most grateful to her and to all of the others involved, to those who read and commented on my own work for that volume, and to the Joint Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council and the NEH from which our funding came.

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The history of Peking is a rich subject, and this book is both overly long and not long enough. I extend my regrets to both those who wanted more and those who wanted less. As for the readers whose knowledge of this city is longer and deeper than mine, I hope that the Peking they find here is both reassuringly familiar and interestingly different.

SN
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PREFACE

When I began this study more than a decade ago, thinking to turn my interest in Chinese popular religion and my familiarity with northern China away from sectarian traditions and toward more ordinary beliefs and activities, I settled on the topic of Peking temples with only a vague idea of what I might find and no sense of the size of the undertaking. Chinese accounts were traditionally digests of primary sources, not synthetic narratives, an approach that has endured to shape more recent works, and Peking's imperial past was emphasized at the expense of local social history. In consequence, a proper social, economic, political, or cultural history did not exist in any language.¹ What was a trickle of narrowly focused Chinese articles has only recently turned into a more steady stream.²

English-language readers will still find rather little. For aspects of Peking's history before 1900, there are a few unpublished monographs, particularly the Ph.D. dissertations by James Geiss (1979), Alison Dray-Novey (1981), and Joanna Wakeland (1982). For the twentieth-century city, David Strand's 1989 book on politics and Peking life in the 1920s stands as a fine example of what can be done, and recent dissertations by Mingzheng Shi, Madeleine

1. Cf. Hou Renzhi chap. 7 or Yan Chongnian. Recent works have begun to remedy this situation. The 1994 ten-volume "General History of Peking" (*Beijing tongshi*) is quite conventional in its approach. The Ming and Qing chapters of the "History of Peking City Life" (*Beijing chengshi shenghuo shi*) by Li Baochen and Wu Jianyong (Wu Jianyong 1997), which appeared only late in 1997, are better. Because my research in basically the same source materials was completed by the time I saw these works, I have not relied on them.

2. Still focused on a few topics: markets, trade, festivals, the palace, and sights. Cf. *Beijing shiyuan* 1-3; Sun Jian; also the invaluable historical atlas (*Atlas*) edited by Hou Renzhi. Qiu Zhonglin (pp. 77-90) surveyed temple construction in the Ming.

Yue Dong, Richard Belsky, and Sophia Lee, as well as others in progress, are filling out that picture.

Scholarship on other Chinese cities is better developed but infrequently concerned with social or religious history. Arthur Wright and F. W. Mote initiated the English-language historical study of China's imperial capitals. Two decades ago G. William Skinner proposed an influential analytical framework for comparing cities and their place in urban networks, but most of the Chinese cities that before 1800 dwarfed their European (if not Japanese) counterparts remain understudied. Fortunately, William Rowe's two books on early modern Hankou showed what can be done to analyze on an ambitious scale the social and economic forces that made one city, to probe into the management of urban affairs, and to chart the development of urban communities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Other studies in many languages of Taiwan's Lugang, of Yangzhou, Suzhou, and Shanghai in central China, as well as Ji'nan and Tianjin in the north, have all helped to build a foundation of knowledge for understanding the Chinese city before the modern era.³ The burst of recent research on twentieth-century urban life has been most welcome, but it has not as yet been accompanied by comparable attention to the preceding era.⁴

Historians of Europe, Japan, and North America have provided useful methods, interesting ideas, and rich descriptions of many urban centers, but what we know about London, Paris, New York, and Tokyo only exposes the relative paucity of primary sources and the fragmentary quality of the secondary literature on Chinese cities. Although readers who want this book to provide new cross-cultural theories about comparative urban development may be disappointed, I hope at least to add Peking to the list of urban areas whose long-term social and cultural history is accessible to a wider reading public.⁵

I commence with the early fifteenth-century rebuilding of Peking by the third Ming emperor and end with the foreign occupation of 1900. Because Peking was the imperial capital during these five centuries, scholars have been encouraged to allow the history of the empire to swallow up the history of the city. The imperial world was an important part of Peking, of course, but

3. Yangzhou: Finnane 1985, 1993. Suzhou: L. Johnson 1986; Marmé 1987, 1993; Santangelo; Tsao. Shanghai: L. Johnson 1995. Lugang: DeGlopper. Ji'nan: Buck. Tianjin: Hershatter; Kwan; Rogaski 1996. In general: Skinner 1977; Mote 1995.

4. For good discussions of this literature (as of 1996), see the essays by Christian Henriot and Limin Zhang in Henriot & Yeh; for studies that go beyond Shanghai, see Esherick 2000. Two journals report recent research: *Chengshishi yanjiu* (Urban history research) (Tianjin Academy of Social Sciences) and *Wall and Market: Chinese Urban History News* (University of Kentucky).

5. But please feel free to use my material to make your own theories. I hope only that the processes described here will be applicable to *some* other comparable circumstances and powerful at a certain modest level of complexity.

it was only a part. One goal of this book is to put imperial Peking in better perspective by examining other aspects of city life. The interaction, competition, and interpenetration of different spheres will play a significant part in our story. Although I would hardly claim that Peking was just like any other city, greater attention to its nonimperial dimensions may reveal more common ground than one might expect.

In particular, I hope to show that Peking is very suitable for an exploration of the dynamics of religion in urban life. By looking closely at the changes in one city over a long period, I would like to expand our understanding of the range and variety of roles that temples could play in Chinese society and to establish the importance of religion in general and temples in particular in China's recent history—indeed, although it is beyond my scope, in China today.

In this book, I intend also to challenge the assumption that the Ming (1368–1643) and Qing (1644–1911) were a single seamless period in Peking. This common contemporary picture of an unchanging imperial capital ignores the fact that political change was accompanied by severe social ruptures. One break occurred in the early fifteenth century when the Ming northern capital was created on older sites. Another came in 1644, when the city was converted into the Qing capital and the local population was dramatically displaced by outsiders. To mark these moments, I begin with 1403 and use 1644 as a pivot between parts two and three of this book; to emphasize these discontinuities, I rely on indigenous dynastic labels rather than the more general term “late imperial.” The year-long occupation of Peking in 1900 by foreign armies marked a not-quite-so-significant disjuncture with the past, but enough of one that I feel comfortable ending this story then.

The period from 1400 to 1900 can also be considered part of China's “early modern” era, a term that I use—lightly—to emphasize developments that connected forward into the twentieth century (not parallels with other parts of the world). Such developments, especially the new institutions and habits of mobilization of the nineteenth century, are sketched out in this volume, whereas developments after 1900 are left to others. But I do also hope to show how, in the first half of the twentieth century, the idea came into being that Peking was decidedly not modern and, in fact, represented instead the quintessential Ancient Capital.

One of the main impediments to the study of Chinese urban life under the last dynasties is the nature of surviving sources. Documentation improved in the late Qing and subsequent Republican eras (that is, the period after about 1870), but even newspapers, which served in many ways as a motor for the transition to the modern period, came to Peking only in the early

twentieth century. Before 1900, literacy was not widespread enough to produce the variety of private materials that historians of the West may take for granted. Because Peking was the capital, its records were somewhat more plentiful but also more skewed.

The overwhelming majority of the natives of Peking before the twentieth century left no written records whatsoever: no diaries, no letters, and few business or institutional papers. Pamphlet literature from earlier times has not survived and there were no periodicals before 1900. Most of those who could and did write about the city were not permanent residents but members of a national elite who came intermittently to the capital on business, to take the examinations, or to serve in government.⁶ References to Peking in their writings were numerous but are scattered unsystematically in surviving works.

Peking had no separate city government. No archives survive from the offices of the two counties that governed parts of the city, nor from any of the other specialized bureaus involved in everyday life; there are virtually no police, court, or tax files. We lack the archives from the city censors who had responsibility for the Chinese population under the Qing, and the fragmentary Gendarmerie archives come only from the very late nineteenth century.⁷ There are some Qing records from the prefecture under whose authority Peking nominally fell, but almost none concern the capital. County and prefectural histories, of which there are few, include among their limitations a failure to distinguish urban from suburban and rural populations. This situation changed only with the reforms of the first decade of the twentieth century.

The national-level governments headquartered in Peking under the Ming and Qing generated reams of paper. Of these, we have few original documents before the middle of the seventeenth century but hundreds of thousands for the next two and a half centuries. But the materials for the capital constitute only a minute fraction of these vast archives and are not separately filed or indexed. The only way to find Qing legal cases involving inhabitants of Peking, for example, is to chance upon them in the millions of chronologically arranged unindexed files from the imperial Ministry of Punishments. For published government records, one similarly finds no separate compilations dealing only with the capital city.⁸ Reports of grain prices were compiled monthly by county during most of the Qing period, but Peking's

6. Constrained by the ambiguities of "imperial," I will use "national" to mean empirewide in scope; the existence of a nation-state is not intended.

7. I did not take advantage of the regulations published in 1996 in *Qingmo Beijing chengshi guanli fagui*.

8. I acquired the 1992 Peking and Palace volumes of the "Ming Veritable Records Edited by Categories" (*Ming shilu leizuan*) very late in my research. Religion was not one of the topics into which these materials were subdivided, and I have been disappointed by how much of

were submitted separately and few survive. Material on Peking is thus submerged and dispersed in the history of an enormous empire.

There are good primary sources for the population history of the Banner peoples who moved from the northeast in the 1640s, but these records mix together people who lived both in and beyond the capital. Even for the large imperial lineage, many of whom are presumed to be Peking residents, we have no way of determining who actually lived where. As James Lee has shown, social and cultural information can be deduced from these kinds of records only with considerable concentrated effort.⁹

For reasons that may become clearer to the reader in the course of this book, representations of Peking life in art and literature were also few. The city was rarely drawn or painted, and we cannot see its physical transformations over the centuries as we can for Tokyo or Paris, London or Philadelphia. Pictures commissioned by emperors concentrated on private activities within palaces and parks; Peking appeared, if at all, on the margins, lost amid mists and clouds. The Ming albums and Qing woodblocks of the Lower Yangtze city of Suzhou were not imitated, and there was no genre of Peking cityscape prints like those in Japan. Foreign photographers did not appear on the scene until 1860, and Chinese ones even later. Indeed, foreign travellers were relatively infrequent until after 1900. Nor can one turn to novels for richly textured descriptions of Peking's urban life. It is only in the nineteenth century that one begins to find works set even vaguely in a recognizable contemporary city, and not until the twentieth century that fiction presents something like a detailed and realistically depicted Peking.

Peking is thus different from parts of the world where ample private and government documents have survived, where pictures and descriptions of daily life from residents and travellers of a range of social classes are available. As the reader will see in the pages that follow, questions of documentation are not just a matter of good or bad luck for the historian, but bear directly on questions of community and identity. The domination of Peking's written and visual historical record by the court and central government mirrored their great bulky presence in the city itself. The selective attention given to popular and urban life in the writings of examination-trained elites paralleled the tension between the literati values of the national elite and the differently circumscribed world of the uneducated local person.

Fortunately, the situation is not entirely bleak. There are materials that can be used to study the history of life in Peking, and I consider both their specific contents and the fact of their existence to be important.

the material concerned national and court rather than local affairs. I have not, however, done justice to these volumes. *Mea culpa*.

9. For the imperial lineage: J. Lee et al. 1993, 1994; Li Zhongqing & Guo Songyi. For what can be learned from serious analysis of comparable materials: J. Lee & Campbell 1997.

This study has used as its foundation the numerous inscriptions carved on large stone tablets that were set up in public places, especially temples, to commemorate founding, rebuilding, or other special events. The value of such inscriptions has long been recognized by historians of the medieval period, and they have been crucial to my work here.

The texts of many of Peking's "important" stelae were summarized in Qing imperial compendia; others pertaining to occupational associations in the city were copied with great care by Niida Noboru and his colleagues in the 1940s; and even now one can find many stones still standing in the city. Nevertheless, I was astonished to find on my 1986 visit to the Peking Library that their Rare Book Collection held as many as fifteen hundred rubbings of Ming and Qing inscriptions from the city, some made in the 1930s, others in the 1950s. Because most were not written by famous calligraphers, had little to do with national politics, and concerned almost entirely matters of religion, few scholars in China have paid them any mind. The publication in 1990–1991 of a hundred-volume set of the Peking Library's rubbings (after most of my research abroad was completed) has finally made most of these materials more widely available, and they have been essential to this study.¹⁰

Many of these stelae were commissioned by people who were poorly represented in the conventional historical record—eunuchs and ordinary citizens in particular.¹¹ The texts expressed ideas about the relationship between human beings and gods, about community service and public responsibility, about remembering and being remembered, and they embodied collective activities of many kinds. Some inscriptions listed the sums of money given and the names of donors, sometimes by the hundreds—men and women, shops and businesses. The existence of the religious organizations described in Chapters 7 and 14 could scarcely be documented save for these materials.

Similarly, the inscriptions that I have consulted on native-place and occupational associations go beyond those painstakingly preserved by Japanese wartime researchers (and in print thanks to the Tōyō bunka kenkyujō) and reveal that those published in Peking in 1980 were barely the tip of the iceberg.¹² Such inscriptions show the fusion of what some people like to think of as the separate domains of the secular and the sacred, the economic, the political, and the religious, and through them one could chart (in much more

10. See Appendix 2. A European project to transcribe all Peking temple stelae inscriptions has been under way since 1995 under the direction of Kristofer Schipper: *Sanjiao wenxian*.

11. Although I have occasionally rendered *min* (meaning the subjects of the Ming and Qing states) as "citizens," I do not imply anything Western or modern about the nature of this relationship.

12. Niida; Li Hua.

detail than is provided in Chapters 15 and 16 of this book) the nineteenth- and twentieth-century reshaping of working life.¹³ I am unsure if historians looking for comparable materials from other parts of China will find either such large numbers or a similarity in authorship.

The customs and sights of Peking were better documented. Prose accounts had been written even before the early 1400s, when our story starts, and one can assemble a thin series in this well-established genre stretching across the subsequent centuries, a literature intended to present the city to both outsiders and residents. These works, discussed in detail in Chapters 8 and 13, have provided much of my information about city buildings, scenic spots, fairs, festivals, and markets. Individual accounts by visitors, ranging from the poems of examination candidates to diaries by foreign emissaries, have been used as supplements.

Although hardly a substitute for the kinds of resources that exist for other cities (in China and elsewhere), these stelae and guidebooks have made this book possible. While my focus has clearly been directed by my sources, I argue that it was life in Peking that in turn produced those particular sources. A book that emphasizes the temples of Peking—as this one does—is thus not just a book that reflects my own interests; it is a book that reflects one of the few aspects of Peking life that its residents chose to document in permanent fashion.

The nature of the primary sources and dearth of secondary ones have meant that this book had to be pieced together from fragments and many matters have of necessity been touched upon in a superficial fashion. Set against the long panorama of five hundred years, moreover, individual human actors do not come to the fore, people disappear into crowds and individual lifetimes dissolve into centuries. If this book has a central character, it is Peking itself. And my story is about this city's varied public selves, its many transformations, its acquisition of cultural weight and engagement of human affection.

Just as Peking has been an understudied topic within the uneven field of Chinese urban history, so the investigation of religious life has been neglected relative to other aspects of Chinese society. The two best-organized, long-lived, and powerful institutions in Chinese life in the Ming and Qing periods, as for many centuries before, were the family and the state. Each defined a community, provided a strong sense of identity, and has been much studied.

13. But see Belsky, a recent dissertation that I have been able to consult at the last moment thanks to the generosity of the author. A vast number of epitaphs from greater Peking also have been preserved in rubbing form and, although they have not been used for this study, they could make possible a closer look at the lives of residents (especially Banner people).

It was as a member of a family that an individual was located in time, in space, and in society, in life and in death. Concern with the clear articulation of hierarchical family relationships and proper behavior appropriate to such roles was part of the identifying core of what many think of today as the “Confucian” tradition—ostensibly derived from the teachings of the venerable sage and his later followers. Membership in the family extended backward and forward in time. These family values were strongly asserted in public rhetoric and enshrined in the educational system that created the ruling elite; indeed, the language of kinship permeated Chinese culture.

Family ties were strongest when reinforced by proximity. During the late imperial period, the corporate lineage (*zu*) had evolved in some regions as a mechanism for preserving family resources by organizing clusters of descendants from a common paternal ancestor. By setting aside income-generating land that would not be subject to division or taxation, kinsmen could create an endowment and use it to maintain graveyards and offerings for ancestors, support needy relatives, and strengthen bonds.

The temporary or permanent physical separation of family members could attenuate patrilineal control, weaken emotional ties, and create new grounds for association and supplementary forms of identity. As Chinese society became more commercialized, as the empire became larger in size but more closely tied together by transportation, as physical mobility and sojourning in search of employment became important—all trends of the fifteenth through twentieth centuries—the necessity and possibilities for other modes of association increased. In cities, with their high proportion of transient residents, such opportunities were particularly numerous.

Although alternatives to the cocoon of family ties were rather few, even in late imperial times, Chinese society was not quite the “sheet of loose sand” that the modern revolutionary Sun Yatsen would claim. Centuries earlier, the teachings of the Shakyamuni Buddha had brought from southern Asia the idea that a religious life separate from society was the ideal path toward ultimate liberation from the cycle of birth and rebirth in which sentient beings were enmeshed. This concept justified the creation of a community of celibate individuals united by belief, defined by contrast with ordinary lay life. Those who became Buddhist monks and nuns were said to have “left the family,” and educated Chinese elites had long judged such actions to be unfilial, most appropriate for orphan children or widowed adults. In the terms of this dominant class, life outside the family remained an ill-defined and generally undesirable course. Monasteries were viewed with suspicion, and, in a society where women were theoretically under the supervision of men and their sexuality tightly controlled, a nunnery where unmarried women lived together was seen as particularly dangerous. By the Ming-Qing period, a religious vocation for the clerical life was thus possible but not well regarded.

More legitimate networks of association were, by contrast, those created in service to the government, a career perceived as complementary to that of family life (although it often was not). The Ming and Qing dynasties ruled through a large, well-developed bureaucracy that consisted by the fifteenth century of thousands of interconnected posts, prescribed rules about relationships between incumbents, and formal procedures for entering and leaving. Access to this career was regulated through a tiered system of examinations based on a canon of nominally Confucian texts, toward which nearly all formal education was directed; loopholes provided a few other points of entrée. The task of governance, long a central concern of Chinese philosophy, continued to be an intellectually and politically absorbing arena for the best minds in the empire. For each man appointed to office, many others waited in the wings, and even those who renounced this career continued to be engaged in its issues.

The community of officials extended upward to include the emperor, a figure central to the political and cosmic order. Although the relationship between bureaucrat and ruler could be competitive and antagonistic, it was premised on shared concerns and cemented by the ideal of ministerial loyalty. Within this all-male world, the role of the official was well developed, publicly enacted through ritualized speech and behavior, and sharply distinguished from positions as clerks or soldiers or eunuchs.

The values of the state bureaucracy were intended to be universalistic not particularistic. Rules governed the community so created: anonymity on examinations would ensure success by the most talented; behavior in office was subjected to elaborate rules intended to prevent personal ties from interfering with duty; performance was to be the basis for promotion or demotion; and so forth. Personal connections among officials were criticized as cliques and factions, and their formation was understood as an expression of private (*si*) interests deemed incompatible with public (*gong*) ones. The personal connections that were essential to survival in office and success in politics were therefore actively censured by the throne and by officials themselves.

The world of the state thus had two kinds of associations, the formal and legitimate, and the informal and suspect. The exam system and bureaucracy created both, giving those who became members of the elite double-stranded empirewide networks of substantial power.

Cities were the nodes of these government networks. The examinations took place in prefectural, provincial, and imperial capitals, and there layers of dense emotional bonds were created. Successful candidates were posted to bureaucratic offices in provincial seats. Their offices (walled compounds called *yamen*) were important physical, political, economic, and social presences in cities. A separate but less prestigious military bureaucracy was similarly concentrated in or near urban areas.

Given the state's concentration of resources and disproportionate influ-

ence on the educational system, it had relatively little difficulty perpetuating and even strengthening itself. Individuals came and went, but the positions and their powers and responsibilities continued. Each dynasty had drawn on the resources and experience of its predecessors, with an attendant trend toward more effective use of power.

In the medieval period, emperors and bureaucrats had broken the power of their closest rivals. As the religious establishments of Buddhist and Daoist clerics were stripped of their landed estates and subjected to bureaucratic harassment, their intellectual subordination to Confucian thought was reasserted. The power of medieval aristocratic patrilineages was likewise greatly reduced as they gradually lost various kinds of special status and could maintain their prestige only through repeated examination success. Lineages were tolerated, however, and were used to discourage the creation of other competing organizations, ideologies, and communities.

Given their genuine importance, it is not surprising that family and government have absorbed the attention of historians or that other social institutions of the late imperial period have been neglected.¹⁴ Guilds and native-place associations are the best-studied urban organizations, and Peking's formative role in their history is well known, but the literature is somewhat chaotic and overly concerned with typology.¹⁵ Other work has concentrated on lineages, brotherhoods, and sectarian religions, and on associations among overseas Chinese and in Taiwan and their south China communities of origin.¹⁶

After 1989, research on the managerial activities of urban elites in the latter part of the nineteenth century seemed suddenly relevant to contemporary Chinese politics and sparked a flurry of discussion about the existence of either the concept or reality of what for European and North American history has been termed a "public sphere" or a "civil society." Although some of this work has been presentist, secular, and teleological in its orientation, biased by the European model and embroiled developmental paradigms, this inquiry has stimulated a new and welcome interest in previously invisible, past and present Chinese social organizations of many kinds.¹⁷

This debate, like much work on China's history, has been framed by an assumed dichotomy between the "state" on the one hand and "society" on the other. I prefer the clearer contrast between state and family, and focus

14. One recent exception is Chen Baoliang.

15. J. M. Ma has a good bibliography of the substantial scholarship on this subject to 1984, and B. Goodman has covered more recent work.

16. This literature is large. A few points of entry might include: J. M. Ma; J. Watson 1975; Brook 1989; Ownby; and some of my earlier work.

17. For access to this debate: Rowe 1990; Rankin 1990; *Modern China* 19:2 (1993); Brook & Frolic.

on the activities and organizations that developed outside of these two powerful institutions. But “outside” is itself a tricky concept with blurred boundaries.¹⁸ These categories are better tools for analysis, I think, if we do not believe in them too much.

The reader should therefore not expect to find a revival of these debates here—or the answers to questions about the future of democracy in China. This book may, at best, contribute to our understanding of the range of possibilities for social activism that Chinese society offered before the twentieth century, and it will do so by arguing for more attention to religion. A further concentration on the problem of place—specifically, the question of where people could gather—may put the existing literature in a slightly different context.

The study of Chinese religions began by charting the history of Buddhism and Daoism, focusing variously on doctrine, schools, important thinkers, and monastic life.¹⁹ Confucianism has hovered uncertainly between religion and philosophy. Popular religion has sometimes been construed to subsume these systems, sometimes to be a complement or alternative to them. Scholars working in the medieval period have turned of late to investigating how religious ideas and practices were embedded in lay society.²⁰ A few others have finally begun exploring such issues in the Ming and Qing, though not in cities.²¹

Anthropological studies of village communities (mostly in southern China) have, by contrast, been quite influential in shaping the existing literature on religion and temples and their place in society. In such studies, urban but especially rural temples have been associated with closely knit, territorially defined communities that aligned with one another in formal ways, and much of the literature has concentrated on these sharply contoured village, lineage, and subethnic identities.²² Whether these patterns were replicated elsewhere in the premodern period is still an open question. Other kinds of religious associations have received only glancing treatment.²³

18. As is Philip Huang’s idea of a “third realm”: *Modern China* 19:2 (1993): 216–40.

19. For a convenient recent description of these traditions on the eve of the Ming period, see Ebrey & Gregory 18–35. Like “religion,” which had no equivalent in Chinese before the modern period, none of these “isms” are unproblematic terms. Here, I will allow the line between religion and culture to be quite porous.

20. For some of the Western literature: D. Johnson; Seidel (and many sources cited); Hansen; Hymes; Ebrey & Gregory; Katz 2000.

21. Katz 1995; many of the articles in *Cahiers d’Extreme Asie* 8 (1995) and 9 (1996–1997).

22. The literature on villages in English and Chinese is too large to cite. For a few works that concentrate on cities: Wang Shih-ch’ing; Feuchtwang 1974, 1977; Schipper 1977; DeGlopper; Faure.

23. I deal with this literature in later chapters.

By looking closely at the temples of one city in north China over a long period, I hope to illuminate different patterns and, by examining the associations and connections among people that were formed in these temples, I hope also to enlarge our appreciation of imperial China's organizational capacities.

In this book, I use the word "religion" in a loose sense to encompass diverse beliefs held by members of this society. (The society under discussion will usually be that of greater Peking.) "Popular religion" will mean beliefs that were apparently shared across the social spectrum. Likewise "popular cults." Not all beliefs were shared and some were more systematized than others. I include in "religion" the identifiable traditions, indigenous and foreign, current in the empire. Eschewing "isms" as much as possible, I refer instead to specific Buddhist, Daoist, or Confucian texts and practitioners (and cautiously, by extension, to ideas, schools, and institutions).²⁴ Similarly, to Catholic, Muslim, or White Lotus sectarian ones. It is also important that at the outset the reader unload as much as possible of the baggage usually carried by the words "community" and "identity" so that these terms can travel light in the pages that follow. Most communities were not warm and fuzzy groups imbued with intense good feeling, and few identities were monolithic or exclusive. The reader should assume instead that both individual and collective identities were multiple, fluid, and competing.

Because the physical and social spaces of temples were a rare arena not dominated by families or the state, I use them as my principal point of entry into Peking society. Dense population and intensive agriculture discouraged the preservation of open unclaimed territory, the idea of a "commons" was underdeveloped, and in both cities and villages, residential compounds were usually walled. Hostile to any form of organization among the public at large, Ming and Qing states actively discouraged public gatherings of any sort. Therefore, unlike other parts of the world at the same time, urban public space was rather limited. There were no parks, promenades, squares, plazas, fountains, gardens, or stadiums. The public institutions that developed in Europe and North America in the early modern period—city halls, museums, concert halls, and zoos—came even later to Peking.

I argue in this book that physical space was extremely important to the formation of groups. Although streets, roads, intersections, and waterways were spaces intensely used by the general public, in the capital (even more than elsewhere) the hand of government was ready to seize any who em-

24. Although *Shi*, *Dao*, and *Ru* were comparable terms in common Chinese parlance, it does not seem helpful to reify such tidily packaged and unchanging systems any more than necessary.

ployed them for assembly. Places for public entertainment (restaurants, wineshops, teahouses, or theaters) were congenial to temporary but not long-term association. Commercial buildings, in which owners, staff, and customers met, did not readily provide the place or the rituals for the creation of broad-reaching formal or informal associations, although shared occupation did become a basis for community formation. By contrast, the ubiquitous temple was open to the public, had ample space within its walled courtyards, and was protected by the acknowledged legitimacy of its religious purposes. Temples were overwhelmingly the most important component of public space in Chinese cities in the late imperial era, and they had, in consequence, an importance at least as great as churches, mosques, and synagogues elsewhere in the world.

This book shows how temples became the focus for community-building and identity-defining activities by providing the space to assemble and the occasions for worship that justified doing so. Their relative autonomy from family or state control was reflected in—indeed in important ways constituted through—use of this space. Subsequent chapters explore a range of activities, from welfare and emergency relief to marketing, community celebrations, pilgrimages, entertainment, amicable socializing, informal political gatherings, and tourism. For each activity, temples were put to a variety of private and nonprivate purposes, and in the process, decisively shaped Peking society and culture.

In many cases, it was through or for acts of temple patronage that activities were justified and new collectivities created. Some were temporary groups, formed for a specific purpose, within which connections were unsystematic or nonexistent. Some were groups whose actions were coordinated on a regular basis, often annually on the occasion of a god's birthday, and formed for the purpose of building or maintaining a temple. Some were communities whose bonds of solidarity had other preexisting bases (such as occupation or residence) but were strengthened and given public expression through regular contributions to a temple. Others were imagined communities, created through uncoordinated actions or written or visual media and never given concrete form. As we shall see, temples could variously be managed by groups exclusively for their members, or loosely run by voluntaristic associations, or simply host to the activities of an undifferentiated public.

Temples were thus the versatile sites for communities of many different kinds: ephemeral or enduring, absorbing or trivial, competing or cooperating, richly or poorly endowed, active and passive, inward- and outward-looking, small and large. City residents belonged to many different communities, and Peking was many things to many people. Arguing that religious places, organizations, and activities were essential to the creation of Peking's urban culture, I hope to demonstrate their importance to life at the impe-

rial court, to imperial links with the city, to relations between the throne and the population, and to the lives of ordinary citizens.

Although the bureaucracy of the state and the life of the palace dominated the capital in unusual ways, I see no reason to suppose that religious institutions were less important in Peking than elsewhere. I no doubt overemphasize them in my efforts to rectify their neglect by most historians of modern China and to show that there is much to learn about Chinese life by looking at the religious spaces and community activities where and through which shared culture was created.

In the chapters that follow, I encompass in two ways the places, institutions, and activities at the heart of my concerns. As the foundation, I examine all “temples,” very broadly defined, and the activities of every sort that took place in them. Rather than a guide to individual temples, this book deals with religious institutions in the aggregate and should establish basic information about their numbers, size, location, and so forth. My principal concern is the changing place of temples in the social and cultural life of Peking, an analysis that is set in the wider context of similar institutions and activities.²⁵

At the same time, I also examine what Tony Tanner has called the city’s “representational life”—the depiction (and creation) of Peking in general and religious institutions in particular in visual and written media.²⁶ My assumption is that decisions about how to structure and what information to include on pictures and maps or in books revealed important ways of understanding and imagining the city. I am concerned as much as with what was left out as what was included and with how information was organized and prioritized. Such media also implied by their existence communities of real and intended readers or viewers. Such communities shaped and reflected (not always directly) more socially manifested ones.

Some may find this book overlong. Not expecting that a more exhaustive treatment of the role of religion in Peking will be attempted any time soon, I have tried to treat that subject thoroughly. The necessity of recreating the wider context, combined with a dearth of secondary works, drove me to investigate a host of related problems, and so a preliminary social history of Ming-Qing Peking became complex, even when sketchily done.

Before turning to Peking in the Ming and Qing, it seems advisable to explain in general terms (in Chapters 2 and 3) how this city’s religious insti-

25. The best book of pictures of Peking’s temples is *Beijing gu cha ming si*.

26. Tanner, preface to series, vi–vii. I have tried not to be biased by the vagaries of what has survived.

tutions operated. We will then turn—in Part Two—to the Ming city, its construction, imperial sector, communities and associations, tourism and festival life. In Part Three, we will see these issues developed in the radically different environment of early Qing Peking and then carried into and through the nineteenth century.

Impatient readers are welcome to skim and skip, but those who can follow this densely constructed story of Peking from the rebuilding of the early 1400s to the foreign occupation of 1900 will, I hope, both learn something of the history of this great city and come to appreciate the centrality of religious institutions to urban life in late imperial and early modern China.²⁷

Finally, an explanation. In this book, I use a single English word, “Peking,” to refer to this city, even though it was called by a variety of names in Chinese. With the founding of the Ming in 1368, the city was designated “Beiping” (Pacified North). In 1403, it was renamed “Beijing” (Northern Capital). During the centuries after 1420, it was known as “Jingshi” (Our National Capital); “Beijing” survived only informally in contradistinction to “Nanjing,” the southern but secondary capital.²⁸ The Qing continued to use the appellation “Jingshi,”²⁹ and called their secondary capital at Shenyang “Shengjing” (Flourishing Capital). Colloquial ways of referring to the city in Ming and Qing times included “Ducheng” (Walled Capital) and “Dumen” (Gated Capital). (Koreans and Japanese writing in classical Chinese seem to have retained “Beijing.”)³⁰ In 1912 the city was briefly renamed “Beijing,” but this name was set aside by the Nationalist Party in 1928 after they made their capital elsewhere and replaced with “Beiping.” The present name, “Beijing,” was reintroduced only in 1949.³¹ And, of course, all of these are the pronunciations of modern standard Mandarin rendered in the pinyin romanization

27. Because “China” is largely a modern construct, a political entity laden with nationalist prejudices, it is probably inappropriate for earlier periods. Except in discussions of European travellers, I use the word sparingly in this book, confining it to geography—the North China plain, central and south China, and so forth. I regret even that anachronism. I likewise avoid “Tibet” and “Mongolia.” I refer to the polities in charge of parts of what is now the People’s Republic of China as the Ming and Qing dynasties (or empires). I retain “Chinese” as an adjective referring to the dominant language and culture of these polities.

28. E.g., *DJ* preface:5–8; also in book publishing.

29. “Jingshi” was omnipresent in texts. For speech, see *Guide for Tourists to Peking* 1897:12.

30. At least on the following maps: Kim Kyōngsōn 1017; Saito Miki. “Yanjing” was more common than “Beijing.”

31. In the 1910 edition of his geographical dictionary, Playfair listed no fewer than seventy different ways that Peking was referred to in the contemporary “native press” (432–33). For another short summary of some of these names: Chen Zongfan 1:1–2. There had also been other cities called “Beijing”—under the Northern Song, for example.

of the Chinese communists.³² Amid this confusing welter of possibilities, “Beijing” was rare, and “Jingshi,” although the usual name for the city in Ming and Qing times, unfamiliar to contemporary readers.

“Peking” is inappropriate in its own ways, but it has a venerable history in European languages. It was the Jesuit Matteo Ricci whose works made clear to Western readers in 1615 that Marco Polo’s Cambulac was the same as the Ming capital that Ricci called “Pacchino” (and “Pachino”) in Italian—and his translators called “Pechini” in Latin, “Pechin” and “Pequin” in French, “Pachin” in German, and “Pequin” in English.³³ By the 1640s, “Pequim” had become “Pekim,” and by the 1650s, “Peking”;³⁴ in the eighteenth century, “Pe-kim” and “Pékin” were common romanized names for the Ming and Qing capital in European languages.³⁵ “Nanking,” the name I use for contemporary Nanjing, had a similar welter of Chinese names, while the English word has a pedigree also traceable to Ricci.

To some readers, “Peking” will seem insufficiently Chinese and too much a creation of the West,³⁶ but, as this book will argue, the “ancient capital Beijing” proudly hailed in China today is itself something of an imaginary construct, projected by the present on the past. “Peking” should not strike the reader as more irritating or unnatural than “Jingshi,” but if it does, no matter, for the word will thus be a nagging reminder of the arbitrariness of using any single name to cover up the discontinuities and shifting identities of a fascinating city’s complex past.

32. Bosat Man.

33. In their letters, the Portuguese had earlier called it “Piquim” (1520s) and “Paquim” (1590s). In 1607 publications of Ricci’s letters in French and German, “Pachin” was used. Lach 734; Ricci 1611a; 1611b; 1616; 1949:2:22; 1618 letter in Purchas 10:2:76.

34. See Baddeley 1:130–66, or Martini Martino’s maps in Lach & Van Kley 3:4:plate #302.

35. Gaubil 1970:356; and the discussion in Chapter 13.

36. Some may deem it one of many “fetishized entries in an expanding western lexicon whose appeal was sustained by a self-contained foreignness” (Jensen 439).

TABLE 1.1 Ming and Qing Rulers

Ming and Qing emperors had personal names, temple names, and names for their reign periods. Putting clarity above correctness, I will usually refer to them by their more familiar reign names. Thus, the man whose personal name was Hongli, whose temple name was Gaozong, and who reigned as the Qianlong emperor will usually be called Qianlong. Where I have occasionally used personal names, these are also given in the table in parentheses. The mid-Ming emperor Zhu Qizhen took the throne twice and had two reign names (Zhengtong and Tianshun); he will sometimes be called by his temple name, Yingzong. The surnames, titles, and death dates of selected long-lived empress dowagers are also provided.

<i>Emperor (reign name, reign dates)</i>	<i>Dowager Empress</i>
<i>Ming Dynasty 1368–1643</i>	(surname, death date)
Hongwu, 1368–1398 (Zhu Yuanzhang)	
Jianwen, 1399–1402	
Yongle, 1403–1424 (Zhu Di)	
Hongxi, 1425	Zhang, d. 1442
Xuande, 1426–1435	Sun, d. 1462
Zhengtong, 1436–1449 (Zhu Qizhen, Yingzong)	
Jingtai, 1450–1456	
Tianshun, 1457–1464 (Zhu Qizhen, Yingzong)	Zhou, d. 1504
Chenghua, 1465–1487	Wang, d. 1518
Hongzhi, 1488–1505	Zhang, d. 1541
Zhengde, 1506–1521	Xia, d. 1535
Jiajing, 1522–1566	
Longqing, 1567–1572	Chen, d. 1596
	Li, d. 1614
Wanli, 1573–1619	
Taichang, 1620	
Tianqi, 1621–1627	
Chongzhen, 1628–1643	
<i>Qing Dynasty 1644–1911</i>	(title, death date)
Shunzhi, 1644–1661	Xiaoxian, d. 1660
	Xiaozhuang, d. 1688
	Xiaohui, d. 1718
Kangxi, 1662–1722	
Yongzheng, 1723–1735	Xiaosheng, d. 1777
Qianlong, 1736–1795	
Jiaqing, 1796–1820	Xiaohe, d. 1850
Daoguang, 1821–1850	
Xianfeng, 1851–1861	Xiaozhen, d. 1881
	Xiaoqin (Cixi), d. 1908
Tongzhi, 1862–1874	
Guangxu, 1875–1908	
Xuantong, 1909–1911	

PART ONE

Peking and Its Temples

CHAPTER 1

Introducing Peking

The Peking that is the subject of this book had its physical origins in the first decades of the fifteenth century. In 1403, the Yongle emperor, having usurped the throne, decided to relocate the seat of Ming government from Nanking, the southern capital established by his father in 1368, to his own power base in the north.

For several millennia there had been older cities on or near the site of Yongle's new capital. Indeed, the caves of prehistoric "Peking man" were in the foothills not far away, overlooking the marshy plain on which the city would later be built. Several thousand kilometers from the centers of the Han Chinese empires that developed after the second century B.C., Peking owed its early prominence to the non-Han (that is "non-Chinese") kingdoms based in northern Asia that made it their capital. First called "Ji" (the small center of the Warring States kingdom of Yan) and then "Youzhou" (a provincial town in the medieval period), starting in the tenth century, Peking suddenly became in succession the Southern Capital of the Khitan Liao dynasty (from 938 until 1122), the Southern and then Central Capital of the Jurchen Jin (1122–1215), and then the Great Capital of the Mongol Yuan (1267–1367), when it was called Cambulac by Marco Polo.¹ It was this Yuan city that Yongle rebuilt and reshaped into the Peking that we know today.

The names of these older cities—especially Ji, Yan, and Youzhou—remained in the poetic vocabulary of Peking visitors and residents. They evoked a vague consciousness of great antiquity and made convenient psychological and rhetorical links with the city's antecedents. There were also fortifications, buildings, streets, graves, and even trees that survived into Ming

1. These are the dates that Peking served as a capital; see *CH-6* table 5.

times; names, vistas, poems, customs, and other forms of remembered places and practices linked the city with what had gone before; and old bits of masonry, fragments of stone, and a handful of written texts were later read to reveal the past. These memories and resonances thrust backward in time, roots that anchored later Peking in Chinese history. Nevertheless, Yongle's city was new in important ways and had the different shape and status that it would keep for the next five centuries. The early fifteenth-century layout of the city and its defining walls and buildings constituted the enduring physical framework within which the culture and society of Peking were formed. To understand the city, we must begin with them.

WALLS AND GATES

Before recent times, it was difficult to talk of Peking without referring to its walls and gates. Readers of Chinese know that the character *cheng* can be translated as either "city" or "wall," a linkage derived from the ancient use of stamped-earth walls to enclose prehistoric urban settlements. Walled enclosures, *cheng*, thus physically and culturally separated civilized human habitations from the wild.

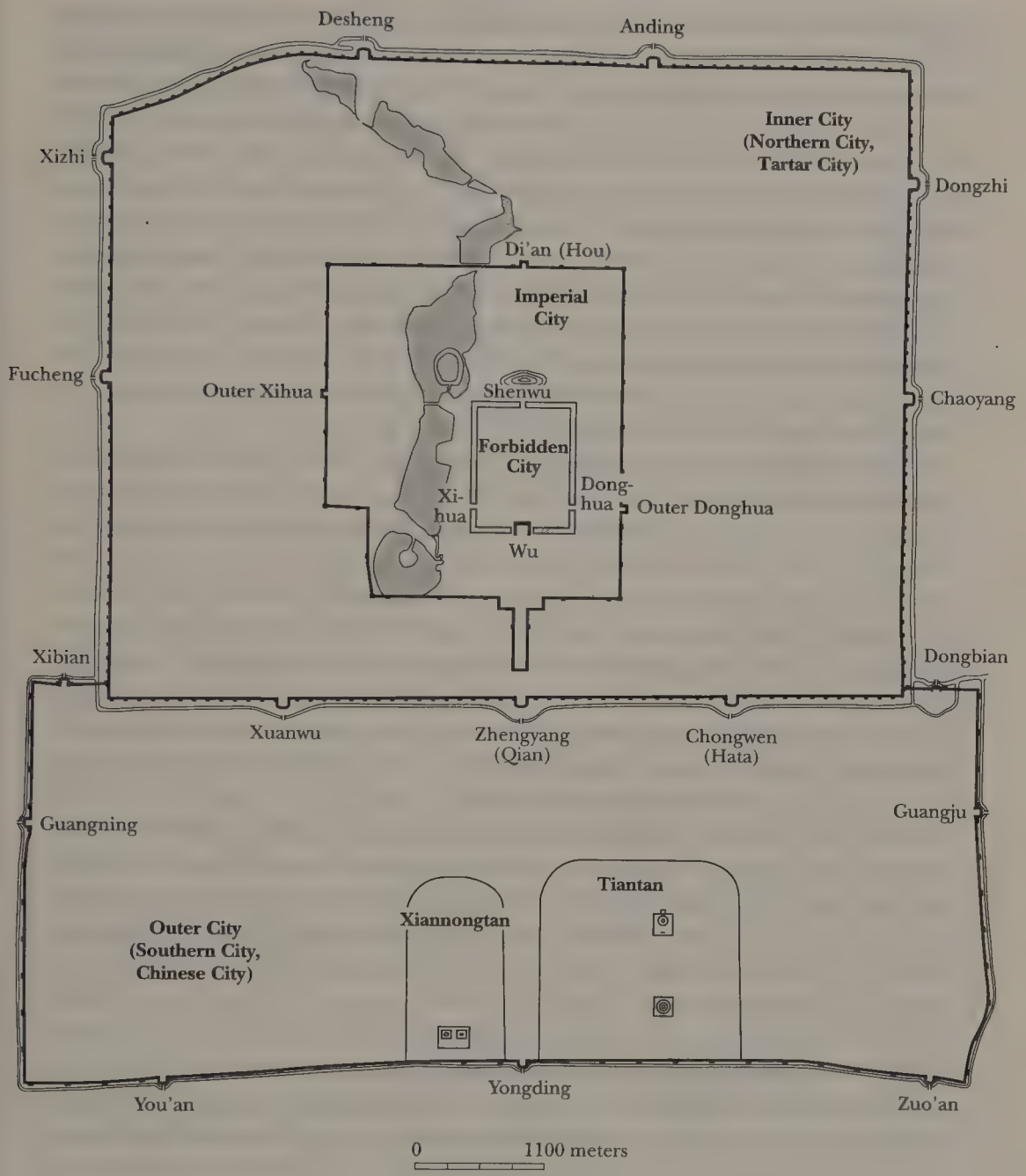
Ming Peking consisted of several "cities"—that is, several nested sets of walls. At the center was the so-called Forbidden City (Zijincheng, Purple Forbidden Enclosure), the residence of the imperial family, taking up some 15 percent of the larger Imperial City (Huangcheng) built around it.² (See Map 1.1.) The thick walls of this Imperial City, ranging from twelve to eighteen meters in height, isolated the private lakes and gardens, storehouses, and workplaces of the ruling family, creating on a grand scale a compound similar to a Chinese house with its grounds. The Imperial City was in turn set in the center (and occupied about 18 percent) of the larger square city wall that enclosed all of Peking between 1403 and 1553.³ (See Map 1.1.)

In response to raids by Mongol armies that threatened the capital in 1550, the government began to enclose the commercially prosperous and ritually important southern suburbs. A new, lower (six-meter), outer fortification was added.⁴ Late Ming (and then Qing) Peking thus came to include both the

2. These percentages are my own calculations based on the maps in *Atlas*.

3. Some ancient walls in the vicinity of Ming Peking had survived and been unsystematically identified even before modern archaeology revealed their full contours. See Steinhardt 1990:21.

4. *JWK* 90:1520; Sun Chengze 1704:4:42–43. The statement that the southern wall was built in 1553 is misleading: that date marks the decision to build. According to Siren, who may have blurred the line between creation and maintenance, the wall was completed in 1615 and the moat in 1621. Siren 1924:107–12; figures on the heights of the walls are from pp. 44–47, 111.



Map 1.1. Peking

square older Northern City, representing some 65 percent of the whole, and the attached, newer, rectangular Southern City. The Southern City was never very populated and contained empty land until well into the twentieth century.

When a Manchu-led coalition from beyond the Great Wall invaded and took over the capital in the middle of the seventeenth century, founding the Qing dynasty, they left the Ming walls and gates in place. However, they forced the Chinese residents of the Northern City to evacuate their homes and brought from their homeland in the Northeast (“Manchuria”) an immigrant population organized into units known as “banners.” The northern section was thereafter called the Inner City, the southern portion the Outer City. English-speaking foreigners would later term them the Tartar and the Chinese Cities, respectively. (The Northern = the Inner = the Tartar City; the Southern = the Outer = the Chinese City.)

In the twentieth century, foreigners and modern technologies assisted the destruction of the walls that paralleled other significant transformations of Peking. The demands of railroads and motorized transport stimulated the creation of new gates, and the end of the dynasty doomed the Imperial City although not the palace itself. Most of the city’s outer walls survived into the era of the People’s Republic, only to be pulled down in the 1950s. In the 1990s, only a few gate towers and the wall and moat around the Forbidden City remain. Peking is instead rimmed by beltways and the skyline dominated by high-rises. The contemporary city occupies an area several times the size of the old capital, houses a population more than eight times as large, and is rapidly expanding upward and outward.

Walls within, walls without, enclosure nested inside enclosure, cities within cities—compartmentalization was fundamental to Peking’s history and identity before the twentieth century. We shall have repeated occasion to notice how walls encapsulated activities, turned communities inward, and worked against the idea of common public space or shared identities.

Walls also shaped Peking’s relations with the world outside, both the near countryside and the empire as a whole. There were nine outer gates in the early Ming capital, thirteen gates in the post-1550 city. The outer walls (and the moat that surrounded them) defined the city physically by drawing a sharp line between it and the countryside and providing a crucial urban benefit: protection from attack. Proximity to northern territories traditionally inhabited by nomadic peoples with different cultures had made Peking vulnerable to the Liao and Jin empires that had seized the city in the tenth and twelfth centuries. The Ming capital was dangerously near that frontier, and it is not surprising that soldiers were stationed in and on and near the walls, ammunition and weapons at hand. In the event, Peking’s tamped earth

enclosures, faced with brick and stone, were more deterrent than battleground. Mongol and Manchu raiders came within sight of them (in 1550 and off and on between 1629 and 1642) but did not attempt to penetrate. Real attacks, although traumatic, were rare.⁵

The general (if misleading) impression created by Peking's walls was one of protection, enclosure, and safety. They were certainly very imposing. The gradual sight of these walls and gate towers rising up above the flat plain unfailingly impressed visitors, and few neglected to remark upon it. Liu Shangyou, a Chinese from the south, wrote of his arrival at Peking in the 1640s (coming, like most, from the east): "The walls were so lofty—with parapets like sharp mountain peaks—that without thinking I murmured to myself, 'How beautiful—the fastness of mountains and rivers. This surely is conferred by Heaven!'"⁶ In the 1880s, E. T. C. Werner felt a "puny Occidental" when approaching "these gigantic walls, with their lofty towers, and huge gates." Another Westerner in 1910 remarked that, from the outside, the city "looked like a great sulky monster waiting to spring."⁷

The walls also asserted the centrality of the emperor, and so have played an important role in defining Peking as a capital. Building on the ideas of Mircea Eliade and Paul Wheatley about sacred cities and cosmic symbolism and the articles by Arthur Wright on the layout of Chinese capitals, Jeffrey Meyer has spelled out in some detail the underlying symbolic structure of Ming-Qing Peking.⁸ The shape of the walls, their careful orientation to the points of the compass, the well-defined central axis, and the concentric focus on the imperial residence can rightly be seen as expressions of an imperial ideology in which the emperor was "cosmic pivot" and the capital city a mirror of the cosmos over which he ruled.

This vision of Peking has been widely repeated in popular and scholarly works. In actuality, the nested cities were far from symmetrical, the Imperial City least of all, and, although the testimony of visitors suggests how impressive the walls and symmetrical grid could be, there is no reason to assume that all responded like the idealized tributary, overawed by the Son of Heaven. This layout was not just an invocation of a more perfect symbolic

5. In 1644, 1900, 1937, and 1949.

6. Struve 1993:7.

7. Werner 486. Fraser 97. William Alexander's pictures of the exaggerated towers of the Xizhi Gate are known in several versions, e.g., Legouix 52–53. Many foreigners obsessively measured the walls, but the locus classicus in Western languages is Siren 1924.

8. A. Wright; Wheatley; Meyer; see Samuels & Samuels for the reckless orientalist term "Celestial Capital."

system but, as Meyer himself noted, an assertion made in the face of other, competing meanings for the city.⁹

For its residents the real-life shape of the city was more prosaic. Points of the compass did dominate and axiality mattered. Addresses relied heavily on the four directions: streets were named South or North Drum Tower Lane, Lantern Market East or West Entrance, and so forth, and buildings were identified by their location on the north, south, east, or west side of the road. Gates were named in pairs: Dongbian and Xibian (East and West Side-Gates), You'an and Zuo'an (Right and Left Peace Gates). Such symmetry—both real and imagined—was reinforced by the wide avenues but undercut by the maze of winding alleyways (known locally as *hutong*) within which people actually lived. Encountered on a daily basis, the multiple sets of walls were inconvenient barriers to easy movement.

Most residents and visitors to the city had, moreover, very little chance to penetrate into the imperial center that was the focal point of the sacred-city version of Peking. Instead, residents lived in rings, surrounded by walls on all sides, cut off both from the imperial property at the center of the city and from the countryside around it. For most people, the capital may have had no center, or many centers, rather than a single one.

Given the imposing and constricting effect of these massive walls, getting in and getting out of Peking was not easy. Gates, guarded by soldiers, opened at sunrise and closed at sunset, and shaped the rhythms of daily life. Before dawn, eager peasants and tradesmen waited impatiently to enter; at night residents and visitors hurried to get through before closing time.¹⁰ Huge towers identified these gates from afar, but the openings themselves were comparatively small and obstructed on the outer side by halfmoon-shaped encircling walls that permitted additional scrutiny of those who passed through. The Chinese character *men* means an opening in an enclosing wall. In the context of a city such as Peking, English translations such as “gate” or “door” suggest something much too flimsy and permeable. These were not garden gates. Words like “fortress,” “portcullis,” “tower,” “castle,” “blockhouse,” “tunnel,” “pas-

9. One vision of Peking's layout stressed harmony with underlying temporal and spatial forces: the new city had four corners like the four seasons, eight gates like the eight trigrams, twelve great streets like the months of the year, three hundred and sixty lanes like the days of the year, and in the center sat the ruler: H. Chan 1990:81. In most of Meyer's book, he idealized Peking and treated the static unchanging sacred city ideal as the “essential structure” of the city (p. 45). His chapter 4 did not go far enough (in my opinion) in studying the messy reality.

10. Zha Shenxing reported (p. 4) that in the spring of 1700 the Dongzhi Gate became stuck and would not open all day; there was an enormous jam, with several thousand people stranded on both sides. Also Kim Kyōngsōn 1057.

sageway,” or “underpass” better evoke the mass of wall and difficulty of penetration. Peking’s city gates were commanding, impressively fortified, patrolled, and narrowly constricted access points. Visible and important, they played a major role in local life.

In a city built on a flat plain, enclosed by inaccessible walls, where few buildings were more than two stories tall, it should be no surprise that residents prized vistas and places where one could see into the distance. Small hills, tall pagodas, and a broad view across water were much sought after. Stepping outside the gates could also be exhilarating, and many poems were written about the sudden sight of the hills as one came out the west-facing Xizhi Gate.¹¹

Although the presence and location of these monumental gates were a fact of life during the fifteenth to twentieth centuries, their names were more fluid. Not only did each dynasty select its own, but new names supplemented rather than replaced older ones. In time, each gate came to have many names—names that encouraged the blurring of past and present.¹²

Peking’s gates were more than a physical presence. They dominated the cultural shape of urban space. They gave their names to most of the large avenues that made up the internal grid of Peking—Zhengyang Gate Outer Main Street, Dongzhi Gate South Secondary Road, and so forth. The words “inner” and “outer” recurred regularly in addresses. One lived in Chaowai (outside the Chaoyang Gate) or Xuannei (inside the Xuanwu Gate). Residents were thus constantly reminded of the presence of the gates and walls; even out of sight, they were not out of mind.

The names of the city gates emphasized regularity: two gates in the north, four along the east and west, three in the south, and in the center, the Imperial and Forbidden Cities with their four gates each. In fact, however, each gate was quite different in shape, size, traffic, and cultural resonance.¹³ Some familiarity with them will help the reader begin to learn the city.

For the first half of the Ming, the most important gate was probably the Zhengyang (True South) Gate,¹⁴ also called Qian (Front) Gate, and secondarily the other two adjacent gates in what was then the southernmost wall. The heart of what would become the Southern or Outer City was located directly beyond this wall: here converged the important roads and waterways heading south, here large numbers of merchants and visitors gathered. After the new sixteenth-century outer walls were built, traffic from the south was

11. *JWK* 98:1624. As soon as restless Westerners had permanent access to the city in the 1860s, they claimed the privilege of walking on the walls.

12. I have tried not to overwhelm the reader with this variety and have anachronistically favored the later and more familiar names.

13. See Hwang Ming-chorng 61ff. and Siren 1924. Nancy Steinhardt kindly called my attention to Hwang’s thesis.

14. *Hanyu da cidian* 5:321–22.

dispersed among five south-opening gates, but the area outside Front Gate continued to be densely mercantile in character. The principal transit tax office for goods entering the city was located outside the eastern Chongwen Gate.

Three of the other gates became disproportionately important in terms of traffic to the outside. The northwestward-facing Xizhi (Straight West) Gate witnessed busy local traffic to and from the nearby hills, an area increasingly tied to the city during Ming and Qing times. Through the northward-facing Desheng (Virtue Victorious) Gate, the only one that still stands today, came a smaller volume of commercial and diplomatic traffic from northern and central Asia. In contrast, the eastward-facing Chaoyang (Facing the Sun) Gate opened on the road to and from Tongzhou, a town east of Peking that was the terminus for the Grand Canal. The grain boats that supplied capital elites with essential foodstuffs also came from Tongzhou.

Throughout Peking, favored locations for commercial establishments were those with easy access to main streets and gates. Other areas were quieter, less commercial, sometimes almost rural. For the city as a whole in Ming times, we can see the pattern of more residences (and more elite residences) in the northern part of the city and more commercial activity in the south that G. W. Skinner has described for the Qing.¹⁵

The importance of walls and gates to the life of Peking was emphasized in most visual representations of the city. In paintings, a looming gate commonly came to stand for the entire capital; on maps, Peking's contours were distinctive. (One is illustrated in Figure 12.4.) Guidebooks put considerable emphasis on the names and locations of the gates and component "cities" because they were so essential to getting around. It should not be surprising that walls and gates figured prominently in the photographs taken of the city in the late Qing and twentieth century. (And that their later destruction pained so many people.)

Peking's walls were thus both symbol and reality of imperial power, key determinants of its urban layout, and omnipresent in the orientation of residents and visitors. They were also a considerable impediment to communication, a problem to which gates presented a solution that valued security over convenience. The tension between symbolic structure and dynastic political concerns on the one hand and the irregular vitality of ordinary social and commercial intercourse on the other is a theme to which we shall return later in this volume.

The idea that Peking stopped with its walls was an illusion. Walled Peking—even if conventionally represented in splendid isolation—was physically and

15. Skinner 1977:529–33.

socially embedded in its surroundings. The city's geomantic siting, like that of all Chinese buildings, was fundamental to how people thought about it, and waterways and roads were lifelines that connected the city with the countryside. Let us turn to them.

MOUNTAINS AND WATERWAYS

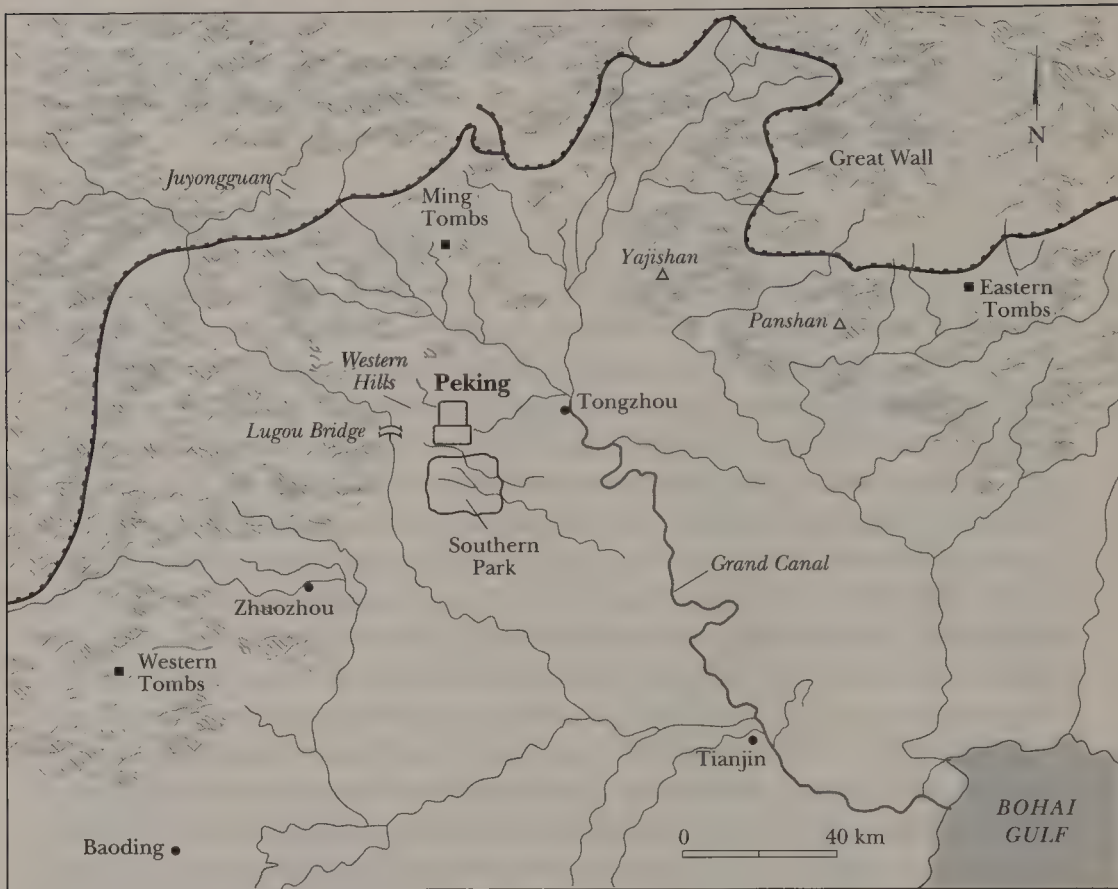
From very early times, one Chinese way of describing and delimiting territory was as a combination of mountains and rivers. These two natural features were used by emperors to express the extent of their rule and by scholars as the parameters of any area's geography; itemized descriptions of mountains and waterways were, therefore, invariably found near the beginning of both national and local histories. In everyday life, an ancient concern with geomancy (*fengshui*, wind and waters) expressed parallel concerns at a microlevel and encouraged manipulation of this environment for the benefit of residents. Mountains and rivers thus provided a vocabulary for understanding, describing, and adjusting the geographic anchorage of human habitation. Setting was an inextricable part of place, with great and grave consequences, whether the place was a city or a temple, a home or a tomb.

Peking sits on a flat featureless plain that extends south as far as the distant Yellow River and was created by silt deposits from the rivers that flowed south and east out of the mountains. In prehistoric times, the city site was adjacent to low hills and probably beside the sea. This sea became a marsh and then a soggy plain, and by our period, Peking was about 50 meters above sea level and some 150 kilometers from the Bohai Gulf.¹⁶ (See Map 1.2.)

Mountains rise up rather suddenly from this plain. Peaks of 1,000 meters were within 40 kilometers of Peking and were visible on a clear day. Beyond these familiar summits, unseen, lay more substantial mountains, and behind them, the territory of non-Han peoples. As close as 50 kilometers away, man-made walls (parts of the Great Wall) enhanced the line of defense against invasions from the steppes. In actuality, these mountains contained rivers and passes through which armies as well as trade could come, and proximity to them made Peking's location both vulnerable and advantageous.

Between these higher ranges and Peking lay a cluster of lower hills, a dozen or so kilometers from the northwestern corner of the city walls. These were already known in the Jin period as the Xishan, Western Mountains, or as English-speaking foreigners later called them, perhaps more appropriately, the Western Hills. These hills had a long history of use by city residents. Cooler than the plain, they offered scenic vistas, uninhabited mountain trails, wintry landscapes, dark caves, crystalline springs, and tree-covered hillsides.

16. *Atlas* #3-4 text.



Map 1.2. Region around Peking

Rulers hunted here, secluded temples and monasteries gradually dotted the landscape, and over the centuries emperors, eunuchs, and famous men here sought geomantically auspicious sites for their graves. As we will see in later chapters, no discussion of Peking life can exclude the Western Hills.

The higher mountains gave Peking partial protection from the frontier, while the Western Hills gave character and charm to its otherwise undistinguished site. Equally important to the city were the springs and rivers that issued from these mountains.

Unlike most of the important cities of the world, Peking did not develop beside a significant river. The waterways that ran onto the flat plain were meandering in character and difficult to control. They readily changed course or flooded their banks and had been diked, dredged, redirected, renamed, and generally wrestled with for centuries. In Ming and Qing times, these rivers were forced, at imperial expense, into service for the city: their waters supplied the moats and city lakes and permitted limited commercial traffic. Thus, while Peking's unchanging mountains became a permanent part of local cul-

ture, these unstable waterways were physically and culturally much more troublesome and ephemeral.

In fact, Peking was perched on the edge of a vast flood plain that extended across the region and encompassed the Grand Canal as well as all the rivers that emptied into the Bohai Gulf. Rains, usually concentrated in the late summer, were an ever-present threat to the fragile man-made system of water control. Although slightly higher, Peking was in the same ecological zone as Tianjin and other downriver towns, all vulnerable to regular inundations.¹⁷

These waters began in the mountains. Due north of Peking, the White River flowed down into the Grand Canal east of the capital. The Sandy River originated more to the southwest and entered the plain north of Peking. The larger Muddy River (Hunhe) began far away over the mountains in Shanxi and, as it reached the plain west of Peking, fed into the Eternally Fixed River (Yongdinghe). Optimistically named, the latter watercourse required constant attention and was the source of repeated floods that inundated the country west of Peking and sometimes even the city itself. Lugou Bridge marked the point near the hills where this river was still more or less within a permanent channel, and over it ran a major road south. As a result, this bridge of stone arches, built in 1192, became an enduring and well-known local sight.¹⁸ (See Figure 1.1.) All these streams permitted limited transport and were thus openings to and beyond the mountains.

Meandering down the gentle southeastward incline, the rivers took away sewage, supplied drinking water, and formed the basis for Peking's distinctive man-made lakes and ponds. The mountain waters entered the city walls through individual "water gates." They fed large lakes created in the Northern City in Yuan times and provided welcome vistas in the center of the metropolis; the southernmost lakes were enclosed within the Imperial City and monopolized by the throne.

An extensive underground water table had collected under this once-marshy plain. Water could be had simply by digging a well, and Peking (like the countryside) was full of wells—a benefit in this climate of uncertain rainfall. Much of this water was, alas, brackish and bitter. The springs of the Western Hills fortunately yielded clear, cold, sweet water and were a major source of water for the city. Yuquan (Jade Spring), overpraised by the Qianlong emperor in the middle of the eighteenth century as "the premier spring of the empire," had been one of the geographic and cultural markers of the city since at least Jin times.

The imperial symbolic layout of Peking was formed of human construc-

17. L. Li 1980, and work in progress.

18. It later became known in the West as the Marco Polo Bridge because of the fulsome description of it by the famous traveller. Polo 255–56.



Figure 1.1. Lugou Bridge in 1771

This woodblock print of Lugou Bridge was part of an illustrated, composite account of the Qianlong emperor's southern excursions. Two pavilions for imperial stelae were shown on the east side of the bridge (viewer's right), and one on the west. A venerable River-god temple can be seen southeast of the bridge and, within its enclosed wall, two stelae pavilions and a set of bell and drum towers.

SOURCE: *Nan xun shengdian* 95:5226–27.

tions, especially walls and streets, but different perspectives reflected these unpredictable and dangerous waterways. Dragons, powerful spirits who were believed to control water both underground and in the air, were decisive in these alternative cosmologies. One tale, drawing on a commonplace plot, told of the young god Nazha who came to the Peking plain and tamed its waters by capturing the resident family of dragons, imprisoning the dragon king and his wife in a lake, and chasing the dragon sons back to the hills.¹⁹ It was said that a bird's-eye view of the city revealed the eight-armed figure of Nazha himself: Zhengyang Gate was his head; two wells inside that gate were his eyes; the four gates on each side his arms; the two northern gates his feet; the Imperial City his viscera; Tian'an Gate led up to his brain; and the road in between was his gullet.²⁰ In another story, the structure of Peking

19. Jin Shoushen 24–31.

20. Jin Shoushen 10–17. Hok-lam Chan (Chen Xuelin 1996) has tried to straighten out these various legends about Peking's founding; see his figure 32 for Nazha.

was itself said to be a dragon, the walls its body and the gates its eyes and mouth.²¹

The concentration of Peking's mountains and rivers northwest of the city encouraged residents to be oriented in that direction. The cultural perimeter of Peking, by contrast with the actual walls, thus encompassed a considerable portion of these northwest suburbs. The countryside in other directions, although also within the sphere of city life, was insipid by comparison.

In time, clichés were developed to describe the suitability of Peking's location to its status as a capital: "On the left [that is, the east], it is encircled by the Azure Sea, on the right protected by the Great Range; to the north it is pillowed by Juyong [Pass], and in the south collared by the Yellow and Ji [Rivers]. The natural site is superior to all under heaven, truly what one can call 'the country of Heaven's mansion' [*tian fu zhi guo*]." ²²

Man-made channels led the mountain water around the city in moats and thence to a small canal that in turn connected Peking to the Grand Canal.²³ This venerable lifeline, twenty kilometers away, had supplied the capital with tax grain even before the early fifteenth century; sails and human haulers moved the boats both with and against the sluggish current. Built and maintained at considerable expense and principally dedicated to grain transport, the Grand Canal was an indispensable link between Peking and the arterial system of the northern provinces, the coastal trading routes, and the riverine world of central China.

For goods besides grain, roads were the important links with the rest of the empire. In Liao, Jin, and early Yuan times, Peking had been incorporated into empires from the north. In 1368, the city found itself instead on the periphery of a southern empire. When Manchu control was extended over both southern China and northern Asia after 1644, Peking became (as it had been under the Mongol Yuan) central once again, facing both north and south.

In times of openness to the north, roads through the mountains were channels for the circulation of goods and people and for the extension of military power. As in much of northern China, rough terrain and narrow defiles limited traffic, and mules and camels were the principal forms of transport. Passes through the mountains, called *kou* (mouths), or, when

21. Bredon 37. Another tradition associated the city plan with the Tibetan Buddhist deity Yamantaka: Lessing 89–90.

22. *San cai tuhui* 6:248, drawing largely on Zhang Jue's map, 3. For others: Xie Zhaozhi 3:178; *JWK* 6:88–7:115 passim.

23. The earliest canal connecting Peking (then Ji) to the south had been built in the seventh century by the Sui. *Atlas* #19.

fortified, *guan*, were the crucial nodes in this network. Such natural openings had long histories and a certain permanence. At Juyong (Dwelling-in-Harmony) Pass,²⁴ for example, a superbly decorated fourteenth-century arch with inscriptions in six languages lay astride the road going northwest out of Peking toward Zhangjiakou and Mongol lands. The other major route led northeast, through the Old Northern Pass; most Qing emperors also made regular (often annual) excursions to their Summer Mountain Retreat at Rehe (Jehol) and to the imperial tomb complex located on the way.

The roads that led east toward the Korean lands ruled by the Yi dynasty also had a long history of opportunity and danger. Shanhaiguan (Mountain and Ocean Pass) controlled the opening where the Great Wall met the sea, and because the homeland and secondary capital of Qing emperors lay beyond the wall, travel and migration through that pass greatly increased under their rule.

Connections to the south of Peking were just as important. Leaving the capital, travellers went by road or canal to Tongzhou, then via the Grand Canal east and south to the coastal port of Tianjin, and then south—for many days—before reaching the junction with the Yangtze River and the rich cities and rice lands of central and then southern China. If journeying by land, travellers took mule and donkey carts down the dusty roads across the plain. The principal highway out of Peking in this direction ran toward the southwest and crossed the Muddy River at Lugou Bridge. One could then branch off to go west over the Taihang Mountains toward Shanxi (to the pilgrimage center at Mount Wutai, for example) and Inner Asia, or continue south across the plain toward the commercialized south.

These long-distance routes were essential to the survival of both the capital and the empire. Along them came government couriers carrying official reports and imperial replies, imperial entourages on southern tours, incoming and outgoing government revenues, and capital divisions on campaign against distant rebels. Roads were also crucial to Peking life, for the city was embedded as much in the region as in the empire: along them came grain, meat, fruit, vegetables, coal, bricks, luxury goods, and people seeking employment.

Strategic rather than commercial considerations had, however, determined Peking's selection as capital and stimulated the logistically difficult land and water connections to both the steppe and the ricelands. Peking's

24. Also called "Juyunguan."

most important resource was political not economic power. Although the human and material resources of the empire circulated through the capital, the region benefitted less directly, and not until the late Qing could nearby cities compete with Peking.²⁵

The small roads that radiated from all the gates of the capital provided access for local people. Although the nearby countryside did not provide many products destined for transshipment and export to the empire, it did supply Peking's daily necessities, as well as laborers in the handicraft and service sector that sustained the urban population. Nevertheless, the needs of the throne and the metropolitan bureaucracy so dominated Peking that both local and regional concerns struggled to be noticed.

Yongle's walls, rising up in the 1410s, did not instantly create a living city: they were a monumental container within which urban life had to reroot and grow. Initially, the residents were dwarfed by the city's disproportionate grandiosity. It took several centuries for the Northern City to become densely populated and for the Southern City wall to be built. The seeming permanence of the walls can blind us to these incremental changes. Moreover, even as intramural areas were becoming increasingly urban, land just beyond the walls was being slowly woven into the fabric of capital life.

As this book will show, rural people were part of the society within the walls, just as those who lived inside made the world beyond part of their daily lives. For many purposes, Peking included people and land "outside the walls" (*cheng wai*) as well as within them (*cheng nei*), the area outside the great gates (*guan wai*), and the "suburbs" (*jiaoxiang*). The literature on the relationship of Chinese cities to the countryside, such as it is, has taken too little account of the interpenetrating zones between walled city and agricultural countryside. The chapters that follow show in a more detailed fashion the importance of this area to city life.

The precise extent of the walled city's reach depended, however, on whose point of view was being expressed. Although imperial and official Peking usually presented itself as the sharply bounded space defined by the walls, the worlds of commerce, religion, and private leisure extended firmly but irregularly into the countryside. The reader should herewith assume that unless otherwise specified, the Peking under discussion in this book included those parts of the countryside in which residents of the walled city involved themselves in some way.

25. Skinner 1977:237-38; Rozman 1973:164 and S. Chang 91 for Baoding; Chapter 16 for Tianjin.

Common residence within or near the walls of the Ming-Qing capital did not automatically create a shared culture or an urban community. Far from it. In the chapters to come, we shall see how, and with what difficulties, communities were formed in Peking and how the city as a whole acquired its distinctive identities.

CHAPTER 2

Gods and Clerics

Some understanding of Chinese temples is essential to an appreciation of their important role in Peking's history. In this and the following chapter, I analyze the physical layout of the city's temples, their buildings, their gods, their clerics, their connections to one another, their patrons, their assets, and their use by wider publics. In doing so, I draw on a wide body of work on Chinese religion, historical and anthropological, testing it against the Peking case and invoking local examples as much as possible. Because I collapse together materials from the Ming and Qing periods, these chapters are also perforce synchronic. Nevertheless, consideration of these general processes should give the reader a richer sense of how things worked and will permit the subsequent narrative to unfold with fewer diversions.

TEMPLE BUILDINGS

In this book, "temple" is used generically to refer to a building dedicated to housing a representation of a supernatural spirit (a "god") before which offerings and prayers were made. Altars inside buildings (such as homes, shops, and offices) that were intended primarily for other purposes are excluded.¹

The number of such temples rose at a gently accelerated pace in Ming Peking from the 41 known to me to be standing in 1401 in the Northern City to the 236 there in 1550. Another 100 temples were immediately added when the Southern City was walled, and my total peaked around 480 in the

1. To keep the focus of this book on the past, I have used the past tense even when the present might also be correct.

1590s and held steady around 430 in the last decades of the Ming.² As the urban population grew under the Qing, so did the number of temples, increasing by ten or twenty each decade, from 440 within the walled city in 1644 to 636 in 1800; growth was slower in the nineteenth century, and I can count just 700 temples in 1880. Altogether, including suburban areas, I have identified more than 2,500 temples that can be documented in Peking between 1400 and 1900. As I explain in Appendix 1, however, these figures are all too low, and the kind of complete count that our sources do not permit would be larger by at least one-third.

In Chinese society, a freestanding temple building was expected to have its own name. These names conventionally consisted of at least two Chinese characters followed by a term meaning “building”: Wan Fo Si (Ten Thousand Buddhas Temple), Huo Shen Miao (Fire-god Temple), Bao En Yan Shou Si (Repaying the Grace of Extended Longevity Temple), and so forth. (Characters for all temple names are to be found in the Glossary-Index.) Chinese gods were rarely solitary, and most temples housed more than one deity.

Different Chinese terms were used to designate the buildings for which I am employing the single word “temple.” In the order of their frequency in Ming and Qing Peking, these terms were: *miao*, *si*, *an*, *ci*, *guan*, *gong*, *chanlin*, *yuan*, *dian*, *tang*, *ge*, and *tan*. Some of these terms were intended to convey information about the type of god housed there; some indicated the kind of religious professionals who were in residence; and others described the buildings themselves. Examples of each will appear in the course of this book.

Precise and uniform translations are tricky, and our English vocabulary is too limited. A *guan* usually designated a place that housed daoists and deities formally revered by them; a *gong* (palace) also often held deities prominent in the Daoist canon. The term *si* usually referred to a place where Chinese or Tibetan Buddhist deities were worshipped; it might simultaneously (but not necessarily) be a monastery. This same word (*si*) was also used for Muslim mosques. *Chanlin* (Chan forest) claimed to be monasteries affiliated with a line of Chan (Zen) teachers. *Yuan* (courtyard) was usually used for establishments with Buddhist gods or clerics. *An* (retreat) most often referred to a small place where Buddhist nuns resided. The term *ci* (shrine) was used relatively consistently for places where the object of worship was a historical person not generally (or not yet) understood to be a god. *Miao*, the word most commonly translated into English as “temple,” usually housed gods who were not especially associated with the Buddhist or Daoist canons or clergy.

2. The lower number is an artifact of my sources and surely an undercount. See Appendix 1 for the misleading precision of these numbers. Cf. Shen Bang j. 19, for a count of 242 inside the Wanping section of the city.

A *dian* was usually a freestanding hall (not necessarily dedicated to religious purposes) within a larger establishment, but could be used to name the whole complex. *Tang* was a similar term for a room that could host a wide range of activities; literati used it to mean a place where rituals might be performed, including those to ancestors, and the word was adopted by European Catholics to indicate their churches.³ A *ge* (belvedere) was a building of several stories, and the term might be used to name a complex within which there was one such building. *Ta* could refer either to a stupa or a pagoda and could be used to designate the complex as a whole. *Tan*, as the name of a place of worship, usually referred to the large imperial altars where the main ritual area was open to the air and not enclosed in a building at all. A *chapeng* (tea-stall) was a structure that serviced pilgrims. *Jiamiao* (family temple) meant an ancestral hall.

These terms were used loosely and inconsistently in Chinese, and their meanings changed over time. People might call a *si* a *miao*, or a *miao* a *gong*; *chanlin*, *chanyuan*, or *chansi* were often substituted for *si*, and so forth. Moreover, many temples had more than one name, and different ones were used interchangeably.⁴ New names did not always catch on, and people would continue to use the older one. Some temples were called by nicknames, based on the name or nickname of the god or a story associated with the place. Sometimes the character of the building changed but the name did not—nuns replaced monks, or the eponymous belvedere was torn down, or one deity replaced another. Sometimes the name was changed but the function was not.

Although certain kinds of buildings were typically found within temples that housed Buddhist, or Daoist, or Confucian deities and worthies, the distinctions became more blurred in the Ming and Qing. Such gods could be routinely worshipped within the same temple hall or even on the same altar, and one temple could encompass many altars.⁵ Moreover, with the exception of large monasteries, religious professionals rarely had a permanent claim on a temple building, and, although one almost never finds different types of clerics living together at one time, a place that once housed Buddhist monks might later be taken over by daoists, then given over to Tibetans,

3. The Catholics may have understood a *tang* to be “where literati discussed literary and moral problems,” hence the appeal of the term. Verbiest 169 n.5.

4. It seems to have been common Ming and Qing imperial practice to change a temple’s name on the occasion of an imperially sponsored rebuilding. Sometimes the change was to avoid a taboo on an emperor’s name, the most inconvenient instance of which was the word *xuan* (profound, deep) in the personal name of the Kangxi emperor. *Xuan*, often used for Daoist temples, was changed to *yuan* (primal). See Shryock 27 for a similar understanding of temple names.

5. Peking was not unusual: e.g., Grootaers 1948:261; 1995 passim.

and so on. Temples were also converted, temporarily or permanently, to other uses altogether.

Because this fluidity of persona and appellation makes reliance on Chinese terms confusing, I employ the English word “temple” for all of these structures. When it is relevant, I use the Chinese name and specify what kind of place is in question. “Mosque” designates Islamic places of worship and “church” Christian ones; I consider both be “temples.” It is sometimes important to distinguish temples that had large organized communities of religious professionals in residence, and these I call “monasteries”—whether the clerics were daoists, Buddhist monks or nuns, or Tibetan Buddhist lamas.⁶ Table 2.1 shows the building names used for the 2,564 Ming and Qing temples for which I have appropriate information.⁷

At the core of each Chinese temple was at least one representation of a god in a niche or on a table against a wall; the petitioner stood or knelt before this altar (*tan*). The English word “worship” is used in this book to encompass various distinct activities performed before a god image: prayer (voiceless communication or reading aloud a written statement), obeisances (single or multiple prostrations), offerings (food and drink placed on the altar), sacrifice (killing an animal and offering it), vows (promises to perform certain actions in return for the granting of a wish), divination (asking questions about the future), and devotions (regular performance of any of these actions). Chinese worship usually included the sentiments of reverence, respect, and veneration but was less likely (than in some other religions) to include adoration or exaltation. In its most basic form, worship involved offering incense, bowing, and praying.

The minimal offering seems to have been incense made from a variety of fragrant woods, and the minimal ritual vessel something into which the incense could be placed. The pungent smoke, curling upward, would, it was believed, make contact with the other world. The incense burner (*xianglu*) could range from a shallow dish to a large standing container bigger than a person. Petitioners usually offered incense in thin sticks; resident clerics burned it continuously in a powder or large coils.

Offerings could include drink (especially alcohol and tea); raw or cooked food, first placed before the god for consumption of the spiritual essence, and then removed and eaten by the petitioner; and paper-money (a special currency for the other world) or paper objects, both transmitted to the gods by being burned. A full five-piece set of ritual vessels consisted of one incense burner in the center, flanked by a pair of candlesticks and a pair of flower vases.

6. For clarification of my usage of “daoist” and “lama,” see the discussion later in this chapter.

7. For more on these “statistics,” see Appendix 1. Disaggregating Table 2.1 into Ming versus Qing does not yield very useful insights.

TABLE 2.1 Terms Used for Peking Temples

<i>Term</i>	<i>Number of Temples</i>
<i>miao</i>	859
<i>si</i>	783
<i>an</i>	415
<i>ci</i>	143
<i>guan</i>	68
<i>gong</i>	65
<i>chanlin</i>	40
<i>tang</i>	37
<i>dian</i>	34
<i>yuan</i>	29
<i>ge</i>	28
<i>chapeng</i>	14
<i>tan</i>	13
<i>ta</i>	7
<i>jiamiao</i>	6
other	<u>23</u>
total	2,564

I have included all Ming or Qing temples known to me and selected only one principal designation for each temple. These figures should thus indicate general patterns only. See Appendix 1 for sources.

A temple hall had a central altar, usually located against the wall that faced the door. Side-altars could be set up on both sides of it, or along the right-hand or left-hand walls. Rows of gods might be arranged on all three walls. In some halls the central altar was not flush against the back wall but nearer the center of the room, with a partition behind, on the other side of which would be another image and a door that opened through to the next courtyard.

There was no sharp demarcation between gods and ancestors, and an altar for deceased family members in the home was arranged on these same general principles, as were ancestral halls. (These spirits seem to have been most commonly represented with paintings or wooden tablets.) Freestanding ancestral halls can be considered a kind of temple, although they were not a prominent part of the scene in Peking outside the imperial domain.

Temples came in all sizes, some not much bigger than a square meter, others covering vast spaces. The smallest ones in Peking were dedicated to a cluster of animal gods whose sphere of influence could be as restricted as a single

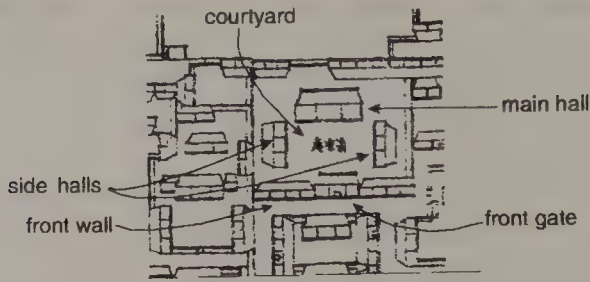


Figure 2.1. Qingliang Temple in the Inner City

SOURCE: Map 1750:VI:8.

NOTE: In accord with Chinese mapmaking conventions, here and in all the maps reproduced (unless otherwise noted), the top of the page indicates north.

residence. These miniature structures were usually located within the courtyards of other buildings; almost never documented, they are not represented among the larger temples surveyed for this book. Slightly more substantial but also poorly recorded were temples to the Earth-god (Tudi) that would normally consist of a small shrine or a single hall in which there was an image of the god (and perhaps his wife) and little else.

Temples noticed by my sources seem to have had at least one hall facing a courtyard and a surrounding wall pierced by a single gate. Indeed, most appear to have been no more than just such simple structures. Of the 2,500 temples about which I know something, fewer than 10 percent appear to have been any larger. The buildings themselves were usually one story high, built of wood, with sloping tile roofs; the outer wall was typically plastered brick.

Consider the Qingliang'an, a small temple, perhaps a nunnery at one time, located west of the Imperial City, whose name invoked the Buddhist temple complex at Wutaishan in the mountains of Shanxi. (See Figure 2.1.) It consisted of an enclosed compound with a gate in the southern wall, two side-halls on the east and west, and a main hall to the north.

This kind of temple would have been devoted to a single god—in this case probably Manjusri, the chief deity at Wutai—although other deities were surely also present. Images were routinely donated by petitioners to be placed beside the god on the main altar, in smaller niches to the right or left, or in the side-halls. Woodblock prints of door-gods (the temple's gatekeepers and guardians) might be pasted, as they were on many houses, on the front gate.

Even among temples with a single courtyard, the layout and room arrangements could vary considerably. Figures 2.1–2.4 and 10.4–10.5 are to the same scale and come from a detailed map of Peking prepared for the throne in



Figure 2.2. Guanyin Temple in the Outer City
SOURCE: Map 1750:XIII:7.

the middle of the eighteenth century.⁸ Compare the sizes and shapes of a tiny Guanyin temple in the congested Outer City (Figure 2.2), a substantial three-courtyard Medicine-king temple in the Outer City (Figure 2.3), and the large Inner City Longfusi (Figure 2.4).⁹

Halls with the same number of rooms could vary in size, and temples of equal size could include relatively few or more altars. The Fayuansi housed a dozen different shrines, whereas the Temple to the God of the Eastern Peak had more than one hundred separate buildings and included at least that many primary images.¹⁰ The reader need only compare Figures 2.1–2.5 to see that the number of halls and courtyards was an imperfect measure of size.¹¹

The majority of the temples shown on this Qianlong city map were within

8. See Chapter 13 for a discussion of this map. Comparing the places on this map with structures that survived unchanged inspires confidence in its general accuracy.

9. I use the more familiar Qing dynasty names for Peking's component units (Inner and Outer Cities), rather than the Ming terms (Northern and Southern Cities), unless the Ming is specifically in question.

10. A. Goodrich 1964:3. It is difficult to find detailed maps that include both suburban and city temples and permit one to compare size. Judging from Bouillard 1923d (leaves 7 & 12), these two were about the same size.

11. Unfortunately, these numbers were the ones most frequently mentioned in our sources; other descriptive terms ("spacious," "large") were even less useful.

the range shown in these figures, but those with imperial support, such as the Tibetan Buddhist Hongrensi shown in Figure 10.5, were even larger. The outsized imperial scale was exemplified by the Taimiao (three times the size of the Longfusi) or the huge state altars.

As we shall see, not all the temples important to Peking's history and society were large, but because space enhanced public use, many were. Of the Peking temples known (to me) to be larger than one main hall, 90 percent were medium-sized—that is, they consisted of from two to five halls, each set one behind the other along a single axis, each enclosed in a courtyard, and collectively surrounded by an outer wall.¹² One example can illustrate.

Figure 2.3 shows the Medicine-king (Yaowang) temple north of the Altar to Heaven.¹³ It was aligned on a southwest-northeast axis, facing onto East Dawn-Market square. As with most temples, a pair of heavy wooden swinging doors were set in a gate building with a tiled roof. The temple name would have been carved on a stone name-plaque (*e*) placed on this gate. Wooden flagpoles may have stood just outside (as in Figure 16.2).

Upon entering the front gate of this Medicine-king temple, visitors found themselves in a long courtyard. On their right (the east side) was a structure housing a large bell, on the left a similar building for the temple drum. These drum and bell towers were expected components of large temple complexes and not uncommon in smaller ones.¹⁴ They each were typically two-story square structures, with the bell or drum hung on the top floor and audible through doorlike windows open on each of the four sides. (See examples in Figures 2.3 and 10.4.) These instruments were used to mark the beginning and end of the day for the temple community, much the way the larger Bell and Drum Towers kept time for all Peking.¹⁵ The sonorous tones could also, one bell's inscription asserted, be heard by the dead in hell and inspire the chanting of the Buddha's name that brought salvation.¹⁶ Bronze and iron bells were a common gift from patrons, and their surfaces were often cast with inscriptions. They could be of considerable size and weight and, unlike many Western bells, were hung in a fixed position and struck on the outside with a piece of wood.

12. Of 280 that were larger than one hall, 249 were medium-sized.

13. A long description may be found in Dudgeon 1870. For photographs of the stelae, incense burners, and halls, as well as a diagram of the temple layout and much else: Niida 4:787–836. Three halls of this temple were still standing in August 1997, converted to other uses and divided between two separate organizations. See also three invaluable descriptions by visiting Koreans: Kim Ch'ang'öp 180, 205; Pak Chiwön 25; Kim Kyöngsön 1057. It seems that the temple began as a shrine to the Ming eunuch Wei Zhongxian and was converted after his death in 1627: *FXZ* 8:13.

14. I know of some 88 temples with bell and drum towers (out of a total of 2,564 temples).

15. Prip-Møller 7–16 has sketched the history of these towers within Buddhist monasteries and suggested that they were a feature typical of north China.

16. Peking Library #7703.

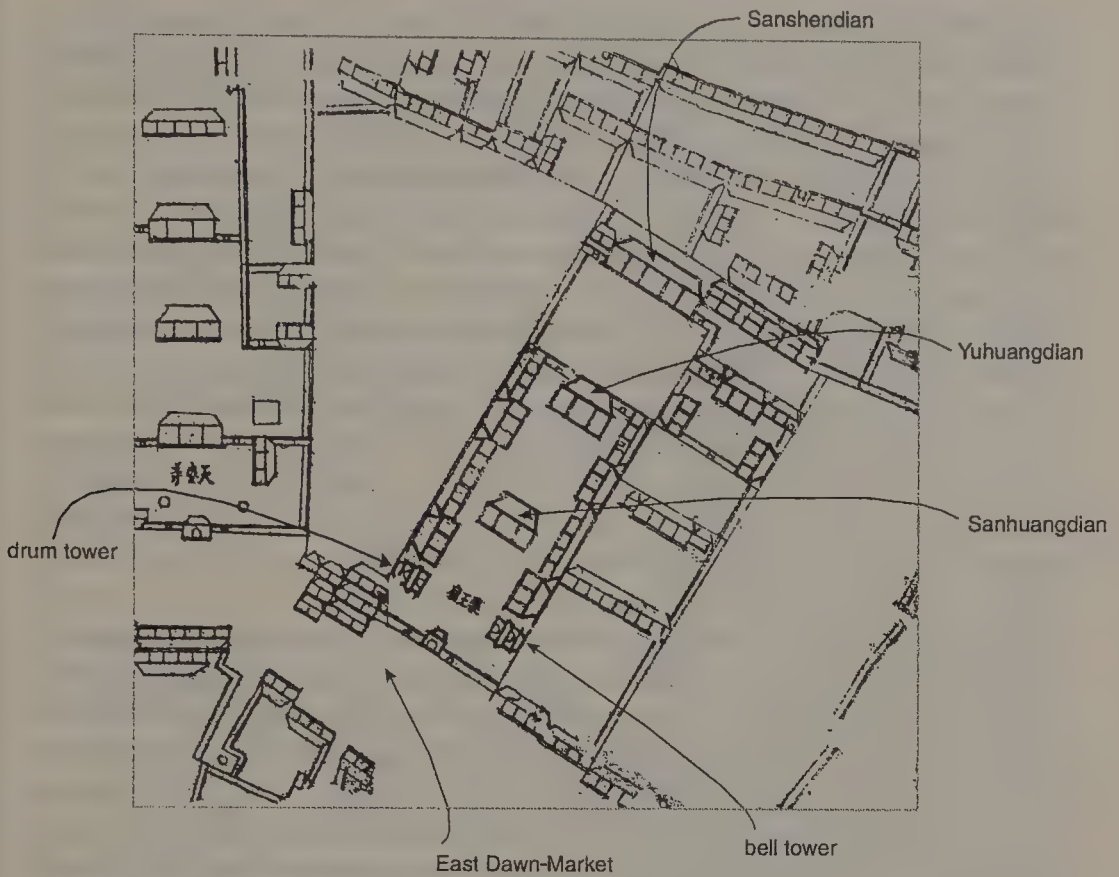


Figure 2.3. Medicine-king Temple in the Outer City

SOURCE: Map 1750:XIII:4.

The combination of adjacent halls and courtyards provided the characteristic texture of most Chinese buildings. As Figures 2.1–2.4 should make clear, courtyards (*yuan*) were an essential and important feature of Chinese temples. They were the empty spaces inside the outer wall within which halls were built; they varied in size and shape but provided enclosed grounds that could be put to a variety of uses.

Commemorative stone stelae (*shibei*) sometimes stood in temple courtyards, and two were to be found in the first courtyard of this Medicine-king temple. These stelae, recording the temple founding and a subsequent restoration, were typical of the type: standing several meters high, each tall narrow slab sat on a base of decorated carved stone or marble and was crowned with an elaborately carved, rounded head-piece. The front, back, and sometimes the sides of the stone were used for carving inscriptions and the names of donors. (See Figure 14.1.) Some temples had courtyards full of stelae, “forests” of them. For stelae given by an emperor, the stone was not

only usually larger but placed on the back of a large stone tortoise, a symbol of longevity; sometimes small pavilions protected them from the elements.¹⁷ (Several such pavilions can be seen in Figure 1.1 as well as in Figure 2.4.)

The walkway from the main gate of the Medicine-king temple led to the first hall, outside of which stood a Ming dynasty incense burner. Burners intended for temple courtyards were usually made of stone, cast iron, or bronze in the antique shapes of square cauldrons or three-legged tripods; some stood on stands, and many had elaborate decoration or inscriptions. The size and number of burners were one indication of the volume of incense burned in a temple, its “incense fires” (*xianghuo*), and thus its popularity.

The first hall of the Medicine-king temple was the Sanhuangdian, Hall of the Three Emperors. In it were the images of Fuxi at the center, Huangdi to his right, and Shennong to his left—the three legendary founders of Chinese medical arts. Further to the east side was an image of the Medicine-king himself, identified by one of the stelae as Patriarch Sun, the Tang dynasty physician and daoist Sun Simiao.

The size of Chinese buildings was usually described in terms of *jian* or *zhu*, the bay or area between pillars; several *jian* might constitute a room. (The imperially commissioned map from which our figures come indicated the number of *jian* by drawing pillars.) The first hall of this typical temple was three *jian* across, approximately ten meters.

Along the right and left sides of the courtyard, behind the bell and drum towers, were smaller halls that could be used for a variety of purposes. In the side-halls of this first courtyard were the images of the famous doctors of the past.¹⁸ Other halls held images of a variety of deities—the Wealth-god, Dragon-god, Fire-god, Stove-god, Sun-god, and the Bodhisattva Guanyin.

Stepping into the second courtyard, the visitor would see on the right a Doumu hall (for the Dipper-mother) and on the left a Niangniang hall (where Our Lady of Mount Tai and her attendants were worshipped). In front of each hall were incense tripods donated by patrons. The second hall on the main axis was the Yuhuangdian, dedicated to the Jade Emperor, in which there was also an image of Guandi (Emperor Guan).

The third and rear courtyard was full of stelae and had its own large incense burner. The third hall itself was the larger, five-*jian* Sanshendian, which housed the three highest Daoist deities.¹⁹ In smaller rooms to the left

17. The religious scriptures of late Ming sectarian groups used drawings of stelae inscribed with imperial decrees and calls for imperial long life as frontispieces, talismans of legitimacy and power. See Stulova 8.

18. A complete list of these doctors is in Dudgeon 1870:40. See Wong & Wu 1:84–85 for those in the official Peking Yaowang temple.

19. Lagerwey 1987:23, contra Dudgeon 1870:40–43.

were enshrined Guandi and a variety of guardian gods. On the right was the Medicine-king's private chamber (*qingong*), in front of which was a stage where plays could be performed for the god and the visitors. One of the rear buildings was at one time several stories tall. Other rooms along the sides had sleeping platforms, probably to house visitors who frequented the temple.

The first hall appears to have been the earliest, and it housed the principal deities. Deities in the second and third halls were not gods particularly associated with medicine, nor were those in the side-halls. Their presence was due primarily to the decisions made by the various groups (in this case, merchant lodges) who patronized and managed the temple, perhaps influenced by the Daoist clergy in residence. This heterogeneous quality to the assemblage of gods was not untypical, nor was the existence of multiple patrons.

Monasteries dedicated to canonical Buddhist deities and built to house communities of ordained monks had layouts that were fundamentally similar to this Medicine-king temple but with their own characteristic buildings.²⁰

The Longfusi, Temple of Abundant Blessings, founded in the Ming in the eastern section of the Northern City, was much larger than any temple so far discussed.²¹ (See Figure 2.4.) Outside the gate stood two sets of wooden *pailou*, ceremonial archways; inside were drum and bell towers and three courtyards, each with substantial gate buildings connecting them. One entered the long central courtyard through a Tianwang (Heavenly Kings) hall where four fearsome deities protected the premises.²²

Three halls stood in the central courtyard. The first was for seated images of the Buddhas of the Three Ages, Past, Present, and Future (Sanshifo).²³ The second was dedicated to the three great bodhisattvas (*dashi*): Guanyin (Avalokiteshvara), Wenshu (Manjusri), and Puxian (Samantabhadra). The third was the Vairocana Buddha Hall (Piludian). In other Buddhist temples, the main halls might have images of Shakyamuni (the so-called historical Buddha), Amitabha, and the Medicine Buddha, all seated on lotus thrones. Expensive white marble terraces and balustrades made the central halls of

20. I have relied on Prip-Møller's substantial (and generously illustrated) study of Buddhist monasteries based on his fieldwork in the 1930s, primarily in central China.

21. For the temple (which does not survive): *DJ* 1:43–44; *JWK* 45:709–11. For its monks: also Geographical & Topographical Society 19; *Huabei zongjiao nianjian* 197–98.

22. Cf. Prip-Møller 16–24.

23. Dipamkara, Shakyamuni, and Maitreya. For such images in a Sino-Tibetan style: *Cultural Relics*: fig. 39. In popular parlance, "Buddha" (*fo*) could refer to generic and unspecified "buddhas" and even to gods in general; in such cases, it is uncapitalized here.

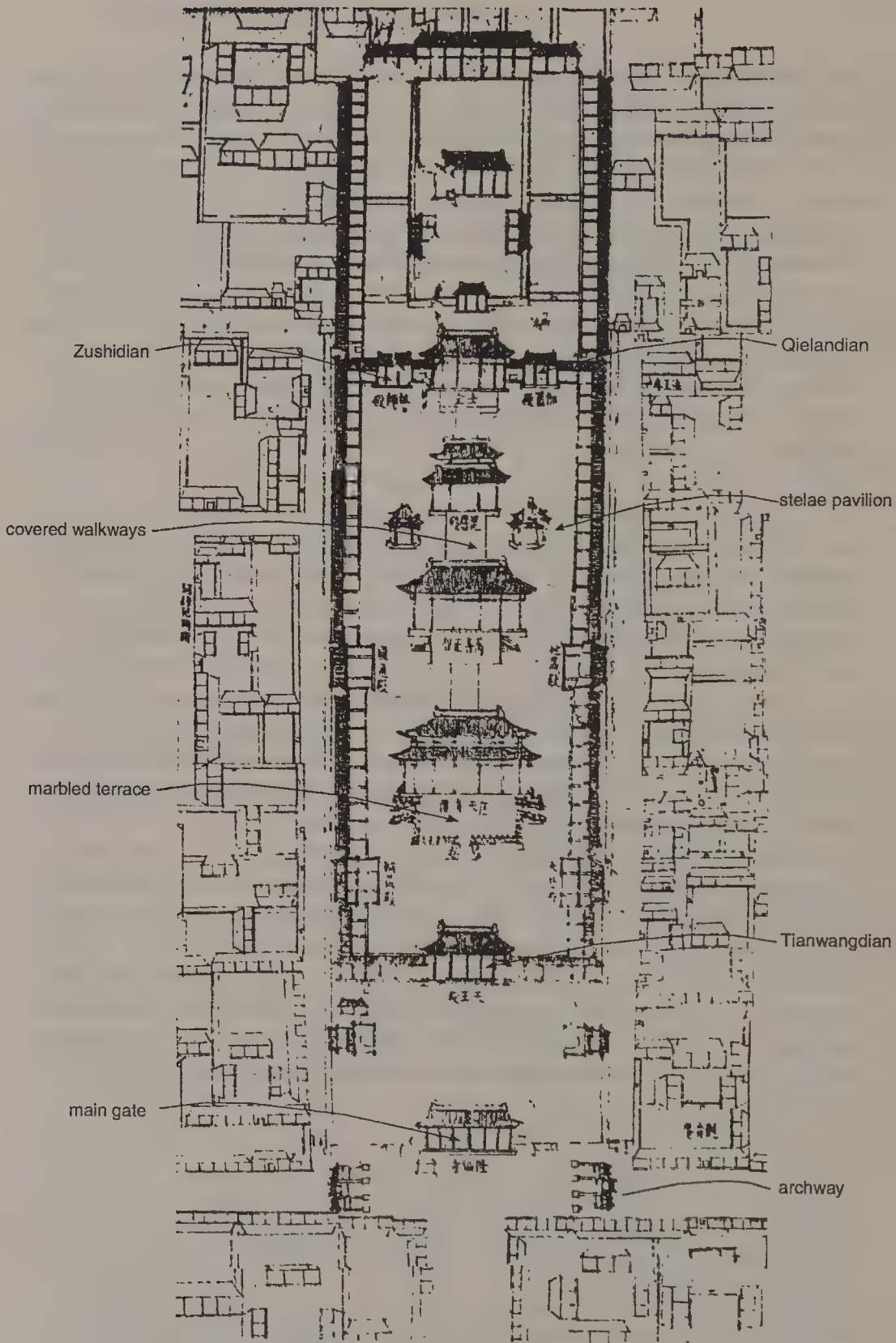


Figure 2.4. Inner City Longfusi
 SOURCE: Map 1750:VI:4.

the Longfusi attractive and impressive. Two pavilions housed imperial stelae in the courtyard.

Along the sides of the courtyard were a sutra repository and rooms for the worship of Guanyin and Dizang. At the end of this courtyard was a Hall of the Law (Fatang), where symbols of the abbot's authority were placed.²⁴ On both sides were a pair of halls common to larger Buddhist temples: a Qielandian (Hall of Tutelary Deities),²⁵ and a Zushidian (Patriarch's Hall, in which images of nationally known or locally remembered monks were placed).²⁶ The purposes of the rear courtyard were not indicated in our sources. Although the temple may have once been used to house Tibetan monks, there are few indications that many lived here. By the eighteenth century, the courtyards were used for a market fair.

No more than three dozen establishments in Peking were substantially bigger than the Longfusi.²⁷ The central axis at their core often extended five or seven courtyards deep, and when built on a hillside, each courtyard and hall was at a progressively higher elevation. Along both sides were parallel courtyards and buildings intended for the monastic community usually housed in these large temples.

Quite extensive arrangements were possible in monasteries built in the suburbs where more land was available. (See one example in Figure 15.1.) The residential quarters typically included a meditation hall and refectory, the abbot's residence, monks' quarters, kitchen, bathhouse, and storerooms, as well as vegetable gardens, orchards, or fields.²⁸

The halls of generously patronized Buddhist temples sometimes included statues of arhats (Lohan, *luohan*), ascetic beings thought to be at an advanced stage on the way to buddhahood. Arhats have usually been portrayed realistically as grotesque and highly individualistic figures. Sometimes housed separately in their own hall, they typically came in sets of sixteen or eighteen, or, in more lavish circumstances, five hundred. Peking had at least twenty-seven temples with sets of eighteen Lohan, and nine with halls containing five hundred. (Others had wall paintings, scrolls, or dioramas showing these figures.) The Lohan hall at the Biyunsi in the northwest suburbs is one of the few that survives today: it is a square building in which five

24. Prip-Møller 83–89.

25. Prip-Møller 224, 358; Reichelt 178–82.

26. Prip-Møller 92–95. For those worshipped in these two halls at an Inner City temple: *Guangji zhi* 53–67.

27. Only twenty-seven had more than five halls.

28. For fuller descriptions of monastic quarters: Prip-Møller chap. 2; Welch 1967. For another monastery in the Peking suburbs: Naquin 1998.

hundred closely placed life-sized figures are seated in rows along a maze of narrow aisles, dimly lit by the dusty sunlight streaming through the lattice windows.²⁹

A few Peking monasteries had also ordination platforms or altars (*jietai* or *jietan*) where people from a wider area came to become monks, nuns, or daoists. In their most elaborate form—as at Jietaisi, a mountain temple whose name came from this structure—the platform could be made of finely carved stone, built in tiers several meters high, with seats on top for the presiding monks, and located to the side of the temple complex. Ordinations may have been held once or twice a year.³⁰

Some structures in Buddhist temples, the *ta*, were built for holy relics. By late imperial times, this word could refer both to a small stone structure containing the ashes of a deceased cleric (which I call a “stupa”) and to a large towerlike building that housed relics (which I call a “pagoda”; the line was not really so clear). The story of how the Indian king Ashoka established 84,000 *ta* in order to preserve the relics of the Shakyamuni Buddha legitimated claims that authentic reliquaries were to be found here in the Eastern Lands.³¹

About a dozen temples in Peking claimed to have ancient relics. The best-known cache was in the bulbous Baitasi (White Stupa Temple), said to contain twenty small jewel-like relics, two thousand miniature stupas, and five books of *dharani* spells.³² Many other monastic complexes had the more ordinary kind of *ta*, stupas in which were stored the ashes or bones or clothing of famous monks of the more recent past.³³

While most temples had scriptures on the premises, monasteries had en-

29. *Biyunsi Luohantang*; Prip-Møller 104–21. Prip-Møller sketched (p. 110) the layout of the Biyunsi hall, and noted (p. 104) that he had visited only ten 500-Lohan halls and doubted if there were more than fifteen or twenty surviving in China. Also Reichelt 173–77; Kent.

30. For the Jietaisi altar: *DJ* 7:310–14; Zhao Runxing & Yang Baosheng 1986a:30–32. I know of eight Peking monasteries that had ordination altars at one time or another during the Ming and Qing: Jietai, Tianningsi, Tanzhesi, Fayuansi, Guangjisi, Guanghuasi, Baiyunguan, and Yuhuangmiao; see Chapter 6, note 68, and Chapter 15. For a restored altar: *Beijing Baiyunguan*. For the timing of ordinations: *Tanzhe zhi* 1752–60 passim; *JWK* 105:1737–42. Recurring dates for ordinations were the eighth days of the fourth and twelfth months.

31. See *DJ* 3:139–42 for one version of this story, told, in this case, about Peking’s Sui dynasty Tianningsi pagoda. For other local versions of the well-known story: *BJTB* 52:163, 58:11; *Guangji zhi* 85–89, 171–78; *JWK* 98:1629–30.

32. Jiang Yikui 2:26. The relics dated from the tenth century and were reburied in the thirteenth; other treasures were added in the eighteenth century and rediscovered in the 1970s: Song Chen 36–37; Franke. For these spells, see Chapter 3. For a Liao dynasty stone box containing an object identified as a tooth of the Buddha and found beneath a burned pagoda in the Western Hills: Liu Feng 33–34.

33. For example, the clothing of the Panchen Lama buried in the stupa at the Huangsi: Bredon 224–28; my Figure 15.2.

tire halls that served as libraries.³⁴ Usually the rearmost hall of the complex, these libraries were often five rather than three *jian* across and in most cases were two-storied buildings; they were often called scripture-storing belvederes.

Although the preceding discussion has isolated clusters of cults and buildings that might be identified as Buddhist or Daoist, the physical structure of the Chinese temple was congenial to the gradual accretion of small shrines and new halls. Moreover, without strong clerical control many combinations could be created. This flexibility as regards deities and clergy inhered in the structure of the layout itself. Different Chinese gods did not require different kinds of physical settings. A hall built for Shakyamuni was just as suitable for the Stove-god. By changing the name of the hall and the images in it, one set of gods could easily replace another.

Take the Guandi temple within the imperial hunting park south of Peking. In the front hall, Emperor Guan himself was worshipped; in the second hall, Zhenwu (God of the North, often associated with Daoist clergy); and in the third, the Buddhas of the Three Ages. Monks were in residence in Qing times.³⁵ The Hong'enguan in the Inner City similarly illustrated both eclecticism and shifting identity. It had begun in Ming times as the Temple of Ten Thousand Buddhas, but sometime thereafter became known as the Temple of the Three Emperors, with a hall dedicated to Guandi, Wenchang, and Lü Dongbin. A reorganization (and renaming) in the 1890s moved these three gods to a new rear hall, installed Buddhas in the front hall, and in side-halls placed Erlang, the Wealth-god, Our Lady of Mount Tai, the Bodhisattva Dizang, and the Ten Kings of Hell.³⁶ Examples like these could be multiplied.

The rituals of worship were also the same for any god. Individuals presented themselves before a god at a time of their own choosing rather than being led collectively by the clergy at scheduled intervals. Daoist and Buddhist clergy each had their own special rites, which they performed themselves using the empty space within a hall or a courtyard, independent of the worshipper's presence. In short, we do not see within Ming and Qing Chinese temples the more dramatic spatial and ritual differentiation that in other parts of the world produced synagogues, churches, and mosques, or distinguished sects within these faiths. Familiarity with one temple was transferable to others.

Moreover, Peking temples were built on the same basic plan as homes,

34. I know of twenty-eight; see Chapter 3.

35. *JWK* 74:34; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:25, 2:32. It seems that the temple was originally dedicated to Guandi and acquired the other two halls in stages thereafter; both Guandi's and Zhenwu's birthdays were celebrated here.

36. *BJTB* 86:184, 87:73-74.

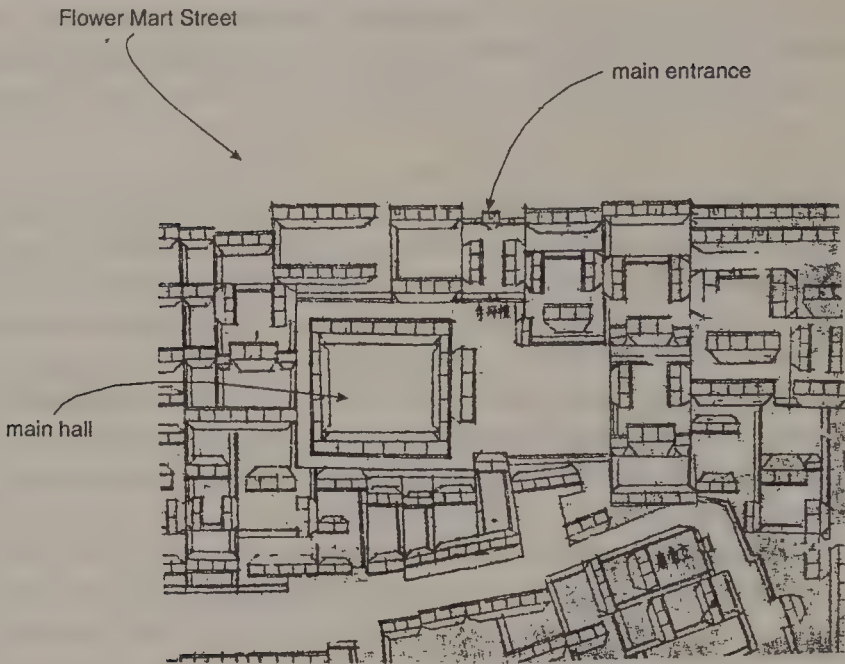


Figure 2.5. Mosque on Flower Mart Street
SOURCE: Map 1750:XII:3.

official yamen, merchant guild-lodges, and even the Forbidden City itself. To understand how any one temple was organized was to understand the others. One can see the cultural power of this late imperial building style in the Islamic mosques in Peking. Although adapted to the architecture of the different countries to which the religion has spread, mosques usually included certain features not normally part of a Chinese building: an empty hall, with ample room for standing, kneeling, and bowing, and a back wall aligned so that believers would be facing Mecca; a pulpit from which a cleric could preach; an absence of images, paintings, or altar; and a minaret from which the call to prayer could be proclaimed. Mosques in Peking retained these features but seem to have been built to emphasize an outward similarity to Chinese temples rather than a difference. We can see these disguises and transformations in an Outer City mosque shown in Figure 2.5. Behind an unassuming gate on the north side were courtyards oriented east-to-west.³⁷

Christian churches also enclosed their differences within a Chinese-style compound. The layout of the North Church (Beitang), whose land was given to European Jesuits by the emperor in 1693, followed Chinese principles

37. The principal Peking mosque on Ox Street, still standing, was similarly adapted. Also see Bredon 152.

for the gate and exterior wall, but inside, the tall facade of a single, massive Western-style church rose above the surrounding buildings. Within the courtyards, formal European plantings created a distinctly foreign garden.³⁸

Chinese religious institutions could thus conceal manifestations of change and expressions of difference within their buildings and behind their walls. At the same time, their courtyard space made temples adaptable to other uses altogether, both strengthening their role in the community and undermining their identity as religious spaces. In any case, the most important aspect of a Chinese temple was not its buildings but the deities it housed. Let us now turn to these gods.

HOMES FOR GODS

Temples were places for making contact with the supernatural. This was their elementary function in Chinese society and their central meaning in the culture. I use the word “supernatural” rather gingerly, however, and the reader should not assume that Chinese drew a sharp line between natural and supernatural worlds. Similarly, although we can consider the Chinese temple a sacred or holy space, these terms do not have quite the transcendental connotation they do in some other cultures. The Chinese supernatural world was close and plural, filled with many different kinds of accessible powers.

Chinese distinguished the realm of human beings from the realm of invisible powers called variously “heaven” (*tian*), “gods” or “spirits” (*shen*), or “ghosts” (*gui*), but the boundary between these realms, the zone of the strange (*guai*) and the miraculous (*ling*), was blurred and permeable. Shamans and even ordinary people could cross (*guo*) back and forth between the *yang* world of the living and the *yin* world of the dead. The future could be divined; objects could be sent by burning from this world to the next; and gods and other spirits knew what went on in this world—they could hear and see, and they could affect the lives of living people.

Gods were present through their images. These representations came in a variety of forms. Some were wooden tablets or slips of paper with the god’s name written on them; others were pictures of the god painted or printed on paper. Most commonly, god images were statues of plaster, stone, wood,

38. This Beitang was leveled in 1826, then rebuilt, moved, burned by the Boxers in 1900, again rebuilt, survived the Chinese revolution in some form, and was reconstructed once more in the 1980s. See Sandhaas 14–16. Noel Golvers (in Verbiest fig. 43) illustrated a rare painting (from the Bibliothèque Nationale) that showed a bird’s-eye view of a Peking church complex (ca. 1700?); he argued convincingly that this was the Beitang, and a comparison with the image on Map 1750:VII:8 confirms his opinion. The gardens were shown in the painting, not on the map.

or bronze; even the desiccated human remains (*roushen*) of a saintly person were sometimes enshrined. Most images were further decorated with gilt, paint, or lacquer. God images were also painted and displayed on scrolls, murals, and textiles.

Like the gods and saints of other religions, a Chinese deity could be simultaneously accessible in many images in different places. As the Qianlong emperor himself noted, "Gods [*shen*] are beneath the heavens [*tian xia*] just as water is in the earth [*di zhong*]. Although one drills a well to get water, we cannot say that water is exclusively in that place."³⁹ Each image of a god could be a conduit for a believer's prayer.

Temple names only partially reflected the connection between gods and temples. Nearly 50 percent of Peking temples had appellations that indicated straightforwardly their chief god: temples to the City-god (Chenghuangmiao), to Guandi (Guandimiao), to Guanyin (Guanyinsi), to the Stove-god (Zaojunmiao), to Junior Guardian Yu (Yu Shaobaoci), or to Heaven (Tiantan).⁴⁰

A god should best be understood, however, not as a straightforward, identifiable, uncomplicated cult object, but rather as a supernatural persona to which a changing cluster of beliefs was attached by a range of believers. Even a core identity can be difficult to isolate. Prasenjit Duara has proposed that we think of accretions to a deity's identity as "superscriptions," added meanings.⁴¹ Chün-fang Yü's work on Guanyin has shown how easily different versions of one god could evolve and coexist.⁴² The older the cult, the (usually) more diverse the body of beliefs about the god.

A god's different personae were distinguished by different appellations and iconography and by different temple names. Dashi (Great Being), Cibei (Merciful Compassion), Shuiyue (Water Moon), or Baiyi (White Robed) all described Bodhisattva Guanyin. A Fumo (Demon Queller) temple was dedicated to Guandi, because this was one of his titles. The Holy Mother of Mount Tai (Taishan Shengmu) was also called Bixia Yuanjun (Sovereign of the Azure Clouds), Tianxian (Celestial Immortal), or Niangniang (Our Lady), and these names were used for her temples. Xuandi (Dark Emperor) and Beiji (North Ultimate) temples were to Zhenwu, God of the North. Sometimes names referred to groups of gods: San Qing (Three Pure Ones), Wu Sheng (Five Sages), or Zhongjie (Loyal and Virtuous Ones). Many Buddhist temples, in addition

39. *BJTB* 71:211.

40. Most gods had more than one name, simultaneously and at different times. In Part One I will simplify by using the best-known (usually the latest) one.

41. Duara 1988.

42. Yü forthcoming.

TABLE 2.2 Common Gods in Peking Temples (Ming and Qing)

	<i>As Main Deity</i>	<i>As Secondary Deity</i>	<i>Total</i>
Guandi	278	50	328
Guanyin	203	50	253
Bixia Yuanjun ¹	116	43	159
Zhenwu	74	11	85
Dragon-king	55	9	64
Fire-god	50	6	56
Dizang	32	11	43
Five Sages ²	32	1	33
Jade Emperor	24	15	39
Three Lords ³	23	4	27
Wealth-god	21	23	44
Medicine-king	20	12	32
Buddha	16	18	34

1. Unspecified Niangniang were included only in my count of references to her as a secondary deity.

2. The identity of these Five Sages (Wu Sheng) in Peking was rarely made explicit. See *BJTB* 68:71-72.

3. San Guan: of Heaven, Earth, and Water.

to being named for their gods—Mituo (Amitabha), or Mile (Maitreya)—drew on concepts central to the religion: *ci* (mercy), *fa* (dharma), *pu* (universal), or *guang* (broad).

Who were the gods of Peking? A full and complete answer is impossible: we lack records of which gods were worshipped in the home, and we rarely know more than the most important god in any temple.⁴³ From the latter information, however, some rough generalizations are possible. Table 2.2 is based on my count of known deities worshipped in Peking temples (excluding mosques and churches). The thirteen gods listed were the primary gods in more than two-thirds of the temples for which such information is known.⁴⁴

43. Unfortunately, no one applied to the capital the methodology used by W. A. Grootaers in the 1940s in other parts of north China (1948, 1965, and other articles not cited here): a minutely careful investigation of every temple, big or small, and the identification and recording of each god image therein. For a reasonably thorough survey of Taiwan, concentrating on major gods only: Liu Zhiwan.

44. Some 986 out of 1,416. The information on secondary deities is especially incomplete. A complete list would reveal a vast range of gods from highly localized animal spirits,

By Ming times, many potent spirits of animals, plants, and natural forces had already been anthropomorphized and were understood as generic gods: fox-immortals, dragon-gods, fire-gods, stove-gods, and so forth.⁴⁵ Quite a number of gods, male and female, wore the attire of officials and rulers and appended to their names the titles of emperor, empress, king, or duke. A few “gods” were actually bureaucratic positions to which deceased humans could be promoted: earth-gods, city-gods, the gods of hell, and even the Jade Emperor. Human beings who became gods included admirable people who died tragically, saintly monks, and patriarchs of religious schools, but many people who were honored in shrines for their virtues were not transformed into deities.

There was no single overarching system that organized all the gods. Instead, various systems and clusters of gods overlapped and competed with one another and changed over time in confusing fashion. There were many versions of the “hundred gods” displayed in prints and paintings in ascending rows, forming a kind of pantheon, each a heterogeneous assembly of deities.⁴⁶ A great variety of titles had been assigned to different gods over the centuries in scriptures or by the state, but such systematizing attempts could only be partially effective. Titled and canonical gods were more likely to have established iconographies and biographies, especially when worshipped in monasteries or government shrines; greater variation prevailed for noncanonical deities. At every level of society, moreover, the pool of gods that were perceived as efficacious changed over time, affected by and reflected in the generosity of patrons.⁴⁷

Within a single cultural region—such as the Peking area—there would, of course, have been shared understandings created by long proximity and common history. Consistency across the empire seems to have resulted with more difficulty from the circulation of canonical scriptures and the efforts of clergy, officials, and emperors over many centuries to co-opt a few powerful local gods and draw them into an empirewide community of worship. Nevertheless, a fundamental pluralism of belief was not easily standardized.

As the world of the gods was plural, so was that of believers. Because there were different gods for different purposes, people were free to pick and choose their places of worship and would visit many temples for different reasons in the course of a month, a year, or a lifetime. Although temples sometimes served exclusive communities, the model generated by many

to deceased heroes from the historic past, to pious individuals, to the transcendent deities of Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam.

45. For the term “generic gods,” used slightly differently: Hansen 181–82.

46. For the received wisdom that Chinese gods were part of a celestial bureaucracy, see Wolf 1974; for a recent critique (that is not nearly critical enough): Shahar & Weller.

47. For this process in the medieval period: Hansen.

Chinese village studies is less well suited to the fluctuating populations of cities.

Doctrinal exclusivity was not a prominent feature of Chinese religion, but the intense devotion and attention to belief associated with Middle Eastern monotheisms were certainly known. Islam had been brought to Chinese territories in the eighth century, and by the Ming was well established in many parts of the empire, including Peking. Homegrown millenarian movements in which a clear distinction was made between believers and nonbelievers were also part of the late imperial religious landscape.

What made Chinese temples appear sacred was not simply that here one could communicate reliably with another realm, asking, thanking, or divining, but that here one could also see this other world, envision gods and demons, heaven and hell. Here, moreover, the human and the supernatural worlds were more likely to interact, in miracles, visitations, and hauntings.

Although clerics might live at the back or in the side-rooms of a temple, the principal halls were filled with the images of gods, images that were “alive.”⁴⁸ A ceremony called *kai guang* “opened the eyes” of the god by painting in the pupils.⁴⁹ Images were praised if they seemed lifelike, with “eyes like a living person” or “looking as if they were about to move” or “about to speak.” Through these images, deities were actively present, attentive and accessible.

The pungent upwardly curling smoke of the constantly burning incense was testimony that the communication channels from this world to the next were open. On holidays when visitors were numerous, a cleric might ring a temple bell each time a petitioner presented incense, and the percussive noise served as an announcement to the gods.⁵⁰ On ordinary days in a monastery, monks maintained the links through their sutra chanting and meditation.

Although visitors brought with them knowledge of the history and exploits of deities learned through theater, storytelling, and oral tradition,⁵¹ the images themselves also reminded visitors of this world of supernatural power.

48. The hall for the Jade Emperor at the Baiyunguan, for example, included his large image plus those of thirty-three others: Kim Kyōngsōn 1107–8. The Jiangnan City-god temple had 408 images in 1930: Peking City Archives J2:8:74. For how full such halls looked: *Jiu jing fanzhao ji*, plate 95 (for the Pantaogong).

49. For one reference to this rite: *BJTB* 72:187–88.

50. On the power of temple bells to call the gods: Dennys 1866:58–59.

51. Anne Goodrich (1964) relied on one informant to explain the temple to her, and he in turn drew on novels, especially the *Fengshen yanyi* (“The Enfeoffment of the Gods”), to tell her about the gods.

Gate guardians set the tone. At the entrance of the Eastern Peak temple, for example, stood two enormous statues of armed warriors, eyes bulging, legs tensed and ready to spring. The four Heavenly Kings whose hall was in the first courtyard of many temples were likewise large and fearsome.⁵²

Some temples housed deities who clearly looked like they came from another realm: they rode strange beasts or sat on lotus-flower thrones amid clouds. Dragon-gods were attended by minions with birdlike beaks, wings, and talons who were in charge of thunder and lightning.⁵³ Tibetan gods often wore necklaces of skulls, trampled bodies under their feet, engaged in sexual union, combined animal and human features, or spewed forth fire and flames.⁵⁴ Doumu, the goddess of the Big Dipper, had eight arms, while one incarnation of Guanyin was represented in gigantic wooden images with a thousand arms and a thousand heads.⁵⁵ Even human arhats showed the grotesque emaciation of the ascetic life.

By contrast, tranquil Buddhas seated in meditation were intended to impress viewers with their attitudes of transcendental benevolence and remind them of a promised escape from this world. Not a few monasteries decorated their walls with a great many small Buddhas or housed elaborate images like that in the Tianqingsi—a large Buddha made up of thousands of miniature ones.⁵⁶

Most Chinese god images took more ordinary human form, but even they were usually made to inspire respect. Dressed like emperors, empresses, kings, magistrates, and officials, gods tapped attitudes toward the long-entrenched and powerful imperial state. Represented in the full figure, larger than life, attended by servants and staff with the weapons of power (swords, horses, and record books), the supernatural bureaucrat reminded the worshipper of the real life one.

Some images were themselves marvelous—the beautiful multicolored “kiln-transformed” (*yaobian*) image of Guanyin in a pensive posture in the Baoguosi, for example. Others changed color, were too bright to gaze upon, gleamed with life, or seemed to look at you wherever you stood. Still others moved or disappeared mysteriously.⁵⁷ Some images were remarkable because

52. Examples from Peking are numerous: Goodrich 1964:40–41, plates Xa, Xb; Prip-Møller, plates 18, 19, 24. The Tianningsi pagoda had guardian kings in bas relief standing beside the doors: Liang, plate 70a. Examples from elsewhere in China are numerous, but in this section, I try not to go too far from Peking in reconstructing what visitors might have seen and known.

53. Various Dragon-kings: Fraser 158; Freeman-Mitford 344.

54. These gods looked particularly unusual in a Chinese context; e.g., Jiang Yikui 1:20.

55. For Doumu: Lowe 1:222–23. One large surviving Guanyin is in the Yonghegong.

56. Kim Kyōngsōn 1060.

57. *Yaobian* referred to the unpredictable colors of a misfired ceramic: *DJ* 3:108; Little 1904:46. For examples of the others: *DJ* 4:170–72; Wu Changyuan 7:129–30; Jiang Yikui 4:81–82; *JWK* 41:646–53; *Beijing lüxing zhinan* 205.

of the obvious cost necessary to manufacture them. Enormous gilt bronzes, wooden figures many meters high, or smaller images of imported sandalwood, jade, or gold embodied wealth and were proof in themselves of considerable devotion.

It was not only the temple images that reminded the viewer of the power of the supernatural world. Representations of heaven and hell were created so as to display, concretely, the pleasure or pain that, depending on one's merits, would come after death. As one stele warned, "The Buddha said that if one does good [*wei shan*], one will be born in heaven, if one does evil, one enters the abyss."⁵⁸ Descriptions in Buddhist and Daoist scriptures whose contents would have been familiar to believers were thus presented in a vivid and unmediated medium.

The Pantao temple had a three-dimensional mural called "Ten Thousand Immortals Pay Homage to the Ruler-Mother" that showed the paradise over which its central deity, the Queen Mother of the West, presided. The ubiquity of this deity in stories and folklore, usually seen holding peaches of immortality and attended by phoenixes, made such a scene immediately recognizable.⁵⁹ The Shanguosi had a similar display with five hundred pious Lohan scattered amid mountains, together with buddhas, immortals, and strange creatures.⁶⁰ The Qianlong emperor built several miniature heavens (*jile shijie*), models of hills and valleys in which gods were at play.⁶¹

Wall paintings of gods and immortals were probably more common than we can now appreciate, and few have survived as nicely as those at the suburban Fahaisi.⁶² Temples also owned paintings of gods or instructive scenes of the "transformation image" (*bianxiang*) type that could be taken out and hung in a hall on special occasions.⁶³ Elaborately decorated ceilings, with a concentric focus known as "the well of heaven" (*tianjing*) loomed above.⁶⁴

There were at least seventy-five temples with the word "heaven" (*tian*) in their official names, referring to heaven's mystery, efficacy, peace, happiness, or congratulations, instructing one to follow, protect, match, or face heaven, and so forth. There were five temples of the Nine Heavens, and many were named after gods who had heaven in their titles: dragons, sages, kings, em-

58. *BJTB* 52:148.

59. Sawada 1965:57-58; Bredon 207-8. Photographs were reproduced, not very clearly, in *Jiu jing sanzao ji*, plates 93-96.

60. *Beijing luxing zhinan* 105-6.

61. *JWK* 28:396-401; Bredon 97; Chen Zongfan 1:131-32. All of these bear a certain ancestral resemblance to the Tiger Balm Gardens of present-day Singapore and Hong Kong.

62. Qin Lingyun; also Kim Ch'ang'öp 170-73.

63. Baoguosi had 120 scroll paintings in one of its halls showing such illustrations of miracles about heaven and hell (*tiantang, diyu*). *JWK* 59:964, 53:847.

64. For one example: *Beijing luxing zhinan* 105-6. Ceilings removed from the Zhihuasi are on display at the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the Nelson-Atkins Gallery in Cleveland.

presses, or immortals. Although it was rare to invoke hell in a temple name, representations of that state—understood as a bureaucratic process of trial, judgment, and punishment—were also common.

Pantaogong had figures of the four Officers in Charge of the Fates standing near the temple entrance, and temples to the God of the Eastern Peak who judged life and death and to Yanluo (King of Hell) prominently featured reminders of judges and judgments.⁶⁵ Heaven and hell panoramas (*diyu jile*) at the suburban Biyunsi showed in miniature the possible worlds to come. One nineteenth-century Westerner was staggered by “the cruelty, ghastliness, ingenuity and severity of the punishments” shown in the representations of hell.⁶⁶

The kings of hell came in sets. The Capital City-god temple had eighteen offices (*si*) for them in the rooms along the sides of the courtyard. A small Dongyuemiao had halls for these kings, murals showing their hells, and a shrine for Dizang, the bodhisattva thought to save one from these torments.⁶⁷ The text on a bell in another temple explained that its sound could be heard even by those in the depths of hell and so could lead them out and into paradise.⁶⁸

The most spectacular visions of hell were to be found in the major Dongyuemiao where visitors were actively encouraged to reflect on how their deeds would be judged after death by this god of Mount Tai. (The ground plan of this temple is shown in Figure 7.1.) In an unusual layout, seventy-two small rooms opened onto three sides of the central courtyard, each housing an officer of hell and his attendants. These were the record-keepers whose reports helped the god determine one’s fate in the afterworld and next life. Each had jurisdiction over a particular kind of soul (those who died prematurely, thieves and robbers, those who did good deeds, and so on) or specialized in certain bureaucratic procedures (such as seizing evil-doers, interrogating them, affixing seals, or giving swift retribution). Most of the judges looked like real-life magistrates, others were demons and monsters; some offices showed life-sized plaster petitioners kneeling before these judges, many illustrated the tortures and punishments due evil behavior, and a few showed rewards for the good. Two gigantic abacuses symbolized the

65. For Pantaogong: Sawada 1965:56. In a series of entirely logical transformations, a small shrine to Judge Bao, the Song magistrate and righter of wrongs, was turned first into a prison for the prefecture, and (in the 1930s) into an office for the Public Security Bureau. *Beijing lüxing zhinan* 126.

66. Happer 370–72; photograph in Fujii.

67. Sun Chengze 1761:22:236–37; Li Zongwan 14–15; Pan Rongbi 17; *BJTB* 74:3. Also Survey 1943:2; *BJTB* 87:73–74; Bouillard 1922b.

68. Peking Library #7703.

coming reckoning of accounts.⁶⁹ Similar halls showing eighteen hells were to be seen in a small temple nearby. (Actually, it may be best understood as another courtyard of the larger temple physically displaced down the street.) Here too, large painted plaster figures showed the tortures that awaited the evildoer: the hells of the grindstone, the iron bed, mountain swords, boiling oil, cold ice, brimstone, the river of ashes, the bloody pool, the thunderbolt.⁷⁰

Such representations made the realms of heaven and hell graphic, immediate, memorable, and real. But the porous openings between this world and the other were primarily through the gods themselves.

In ordinary religious practice, gods communicated with humans in various measured fashions. Divining blocks thrown in front of the altar answered the petitioner's questions with a simple yes, no, or maybe. Or a container of slender numbered sticks could be shaken, and one selected and interpreted by booklet or resident fortune-teller. Prayers made in a temple could be answered weeks or years later, with the birth of a child, curing of an illness, or success of a business venture. Several temples had large models of a donut-shaped Chinese copper coin; people attempted to throw real coins through it, in the belief that success would bring good fortune.⁷¹

But sometimes deities intervened directly and explicitly. A god could make itself known by "descending onto the body" (*fu ti*) of a devotee, possessing that person and speaking through him or her. (Unfortunately, such episodes were rarely recorded in materials I have seen.) It was also not uncommon for gods to communicate in writing through the planchette, possessing a medium (a person or an object) that wrote messages on sand or paper.⁷² Sometimes, the god simply appeared, as Guandi did to assist both the Ming and Qing thrones in battle.⁷³ The interventions of gods in this world were painted on

69. The seventy-two halls date from the middle Ming. A. Goodrich 1964:242–55. By the twentieth century, four more officers had been added. For an even more detailed study (and information on the late Qing abacuses): Liu Dengyuan. This temple was reopened in 1999 after being closed for fifty years.

70. Using photographs taken by Robert des Routours, Anne Goodrich did a detailed study (1981) of this small temple as it existed in 1932–1933. Temples to Our Lady of Mount Tai, who was closely associated with Dongyue, often also portrayed the judgments of the afterworld: Bouillard 1923b:302–3; Peking Library #3681, #7595; *BJTB* 58:199–200.

71. At the Dazhongsi, Baiyunguan, and Dongyuemiao. One could toss coins at a bell with the same results: *Caozhu yi chuan* 13–15.

72. See, for example, Shoudu Library #50.

73. Shen Bang 19:203; *DJ* 3:97–100; Naquin 1976. Wenchang also assisted the Qing: Shoudu Library #148.

murals, and pseudohistorical events were recalled in plaster tableaux, both reminders that the line between this world and the other was quite permeable.⁷⁴

It was more common for gods to appear in dreams. Imperial dreams were often recorded, and literati came to various Peking temples for dreams predicting the outcome of their examinations. Guandi, Guanyin, and the Medicine-king all appeared in dreams to give instructions, protection, or cures. Some people founded temples when they encountered a place that looked like one they had dreamed of.⁷⁵

Devotees left gifts that testified to and advertised the god's responsiveness. Foreigners noticed "votive tablets," inscribed plaques given by grateful believers. Expensive ones were large and carved on fine wood, but others were simple testimonies written on yellow silk or ordinary paper and affixed to the walls and ceilings of the shrine. A typical one might read "All wishes shall be granted," followed by the year, month, and day, and the name of the person whose prayer had been answered. The walls of popular temples could be covered with such slips.⁷⁶ Other figures or objects (of plaster, of paper) were also left as evidence of prayers made and prayers answered: baby shoes, silk painted with eyes, figures of babies or dogs (before a god that cured dog illnesses), and so forth. Tibetan Buddhist images were adorned with donated scarves (known in Mongolian as *khatak*). Buddhist stories told of lesser gods who had listened to the sutras and been converted to the faith: the City-god from a nearby temple, pious snakes who embodied the dragon-gods in a mountain pool, or a tiny saintly spider. Some of these miracle stories were associated not with gods but with the holy clerics who were their surrogates.⁷⁷

The active presence of a god was indicated not merely by prayers answered but also by miraculous events. Some temples and their images had survived disastrous fires or floods. One temple had pillars in a buddha hall that repainted themselves; another had a strange flower. The bitter water in the well of a courtyard of the Guangjisi had suddenly become wonderfully potable.⁷⁸ The Gongdesi kept a magical wooden ball made by a Ming monk that could be sent rolling to the homes of potential patrons, where it would seem to kowtow before them; marveling, they gave money to the temple.⁷⁹ Other temples had objects that could heal: the stone monkey in the Baiyun-

74. For murals about Guanyin in the Dahuisi: Wang Zhimin & Shan Shuhua. See Pak Saho 894 or Kim Kyōngsōn 1038 for plaster-figure scenes of the supposedly traitorous minister Qin Gui tied up, kneeling, and asking the deified hero Yue Fei's forgiveness: *FXZ* 8:8.

75. Examples of these experiences appear elsewhere in this book.

76. Arlington & Lewisohn 145-46, 167. They can be seen in photographs of the Dongyuemiao, such as Mumm 156-157.

77. Examples from *Guangji zhi* passim and *Tanzhe zhi* passim.

78. *Guangji zhi* 53-67.

79. Jiang Yikui 3:51; *DJ* 7:291-95. Two centuries later, Tan Qian saw the ball placed on an altar in the then-abandoned temple: Tan Qian 1656:75.

guan or the brass mule-like creature in the Dongyuemiao; basins where you could bathe your eyes and be cured of eye diseases; medicinal seeds from trees in the courtyard of the suburban Wofosi.⁸⁰

The experience of the supernatural was continuous with communion with the very ancient, the awe-inspiring, the famous, and the merely unusual. How firmly can we really distinguish the miracle-seeking pilgrim from the humbled literati who entered the Peking examination hall as candidates, or those who saw the stain outside the Ministry of Punishments, allegedly from the blood of the martyred Ming official Yang Jisheng, or those who simply looked for the oldest wisteria in the capital?

Of course, not all close encounters were benign, beneficial, or wonderful. Gods could punish and destroy, dishearten and terrify, and such experiences also occurred and were remembered in temples.

Mountain caves and grottoes were understood in Buddhist terms as ideal locations for protracted meditation by monks and ascetics, and in Daoist terms as entrances to the underworld and passageways for immortals.⁸¹ In the Peking area, such caves were associated particularly with Guanyin, whose images were often to be found in niches inside.⁸² The dripping water, gurgling springs, and strange rocks, the close, deep, damp, dark quarters, this combination of danger with strangeness made them a popular site for the courageous visitor.⁸³ Even at ordinary temples, stories were told about a well from which dangerous sealed-up water-spirits might suddenly burst forth, or about strange multitudes of fireflies or butterflies in the courtyards.⁸⁴ Indeed, temples seem to have been places where people expected weird echoes, strange reflections, unusual noises, or dangerous vapors.⁸⁵

Stupas and pagodas stored objects that drew power from the dead, and so were often associated with strange events. Some stupas had special powers; others emitted sudden, peculiar flashes of light; still others changed color to forecast dynastic change. Because of their stabilizing (*zhen*) powers, some pagodas were used to control dangerous supernatural forces—to pacify the wailing souls on the site of an ancient graveyard or prison, for example.⁸⁶ Even Confucian shrines could house ghosts. It was said of the Zhengqi,ge,

80. Douin 2:125; Dun Lichen 28–30; Pan Rongbi 17; and *JWK* 101:1677–83, respectively.

81. Naquin & Yü 1992a:130, 138, 154–55, 324.

82. I know of at least a dozen such caves in and around Peking. They were also used to house monks' bones or bodies.

83. For some examples: Li Dongyang 6:2579–84; Fengkuan 65; *JWK* 103:1712; *DJ* 7:296–307; *JWK* 105:1738–39. For a hermit (at Jietaisi): Happer 366–69.

84. *DJ* 7:307–10; *Beijing lüxing zhinan* 105–6, 141–42.

85. Survey 1943:3; *FXZ* 4:36; *JWK* 60:974; *DJ* 2:53–54.

86. *DMJL* 1874:37; *DJ* 3:139–42, 4:182–83; *Tanzhe zhi* 77–79; *DJ* 4:157–61.

set up in 1841 by Zhejiang men in Peking to commemorate compatriots who had died fighting the British in the Opium War, that if the impure stayed there, figures in ancient hats and gowns would tell them to leave.⁸⁷

Links between temples and the human dead heightened associations with the supernatural. Because any dead person was potentially a god, and because Buddhist and Daoist professionals were officiants at funerals, it was natural that temples became responsible for the actual bodies of the dead.

Funeral services were usually held in or near the home; religious professionals were invited to perform rituals that would expedite the progress of the soul of the deceased through judgment in hell and into paradise or a better rebirth. The encoffined body was then removed from both the home and the community for burial underground. In a parallel process, the deceased soul was represented by a wooden tablet on which his or her name was written; the tablet was infused with the spirit at a ceremony at the graveyard.⁸⁸

In ancestral halls, the dead were present in an abstracted, formalized Confucian form as tablets and portraits. We are fortunate to have a description of one such building in the 1940s by a Westerner who visited the then-derelict hall belonging to his Manchu wife's family. Inside, "a tiered altar, rising to the ceiling and covering almost the whole of the north wall, was crowded to overflowing with spirit tablets hung with dusty cobwebs and leaning giddily in all directions." Large chests held "some two hundred" ancestral portraits, scrolls showing men and women in a frontal pose and formal attire. Here the family would come for regular family rites.⁸⁹

Religious professionals not only performed funeral masses in people's homes, they did so in temples at the request of relatives and at regular intervals during the year.⁹⁰ Monks and nuns also went out into the community to perform rites during large-scale disasters. During the Ming collapse in 1644, for example, one monk and his disciple helped bury abandoned bodies in a deep ditch; the neglected and thus potentially malevolent ghosts, seeing this piety and receiving these rites, were disempowered. The monks then held full-scale forty-nine-day rituals in each of the four suburbs, chanting masses for the lost souls on land and sea and ritually filling the mouths of wandering spirits burning with hunger and thirst. Thereafter, "one no longer heard the ghosts crying."⁹¹

The most extensive but regular chanting of rites for the untended dead

87. Ming loyalists from Shaoxing were also honored here. *FXZ* 9:4–5; Polachek 349.

88. For funerals in general: Naquin 1988 and rest of that volume.

89. Kidd 36, 100–105, quotation p. 104.

90. For an example at Tanzhesi: *BJTB* 79:28–29.

91. *Guangji zhi* 99–111.

was performed by Buddhist monks every year during the seventh lunar month, especially on 7/15, the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month. (Unless otherwise noted, all months are lunar months.⁹²) During that entire month, monks held “lotus flower assemblies” (Ullambana, *yulanhui*) for “hungry ghosts,” restless spirits of the untended dead. These rituals were ideally held in temples by the side of lakes, so that offerings could be sent on water-borne paper lamps shaped like lotus flowers and paper boats could be burned, symbolic of ferrying lost souls across the ocean to rebirth and salvation.⁹³

Although graves usually had a nearby altar for making offerings, temples were not the centers of community cemeteries as in many Christian countries. Ideally, children saw that their parents were buried in a family graveyard, and interment was a private affair needing only a geomancer and diviner. For the rich, a caretaker might be put in charge and housed near the gravesite.

Monasteries did, however, often assume responsibility for the childless or impoverished dead. As we shall see, rich eunuchs who had enough resources preferred to endow a new temple within which they could be buried, so that the clerics there could care both for their grave and their tablet in perpetuity. Deceased clerics were treated similarly: their remains were preserved by monasteries, and their souls prayed for. Temples with substantial property and large communities might have “stupa yards” (*ta yuan*) of stone monuments that held the remains of noted monks. One extensive yard survives today at the suburban Tanzhesi (Monastery of the Pool and the Mulberry), a fine example of the phenomenon. A dozen stupas were there by 1600, and by the twentieth century, seventy-five. Their different styles, some tall, some squat, some round, some with many eaves, some with rich carvings, testified to the passage of many dynasties.⁹⁴

It was surely the power that clerics were thought to have over death that led some people to place bodies in their custody “temporarily,” pending an auspicious day or adequate resources for burial. Temples south of Peking, near the routes to central China, were natural places for the coffins of so-

92. The calendar employed in Ming and Qing Peking divided the year into twelve months; the new moon fell predictably on the first of each lunar month, the full moon on the fifteenth. Certain solar events were also known and marked. The right to determine the calendar was a closely guarded privilege of the emperor (and had been from early times) and presumed knowledge of astronomy and mastery of complex calendrical skills. In order to harmonize the lunar and solar cycles, the number of days in each month had to vary between twenty-nine and thirty, and intercalary months had to be properly inserted (approximately every three years), so that the solstices and equinoxes always fell in the appropriate months; eclipses and other unusual astral phenomena had to be predicted. Those who used this calendar were, by doing so, making themselves part of the Chinese world. An intercalary month is indicated with an asterisk (*).

93. *DJ* 1:18–28; Dun Lichen 60–62; Bouillard 1923c:474–76. For more general descriptions: S. Hsu 45–46; Reichelt 81–104; Niida 1:103–9; Teiser 1988:21–23.

94. *Tanzhe zhi* 44–48; Zhao Runxing & Yang Baosheng 1986b:58; Naquin 1998.

journalers to be stored pending transport home.⁹⁵ Native-place organizations, as we shall see, not only took care of such coffins but sometimes created graveyards for them. In 1847 a Zhejiang money guild complained that coffins stored in the side-rooms of their Erlangmiao were “cluttering up” the area where rites were to be performed, and ordered that any that had been there more than a year be moved. They then built two community graveyards, with temples attached, where rites for “orphan souls” were performed each summer; at regular intervals, these graveyards had to be expanded.⁹⁶

It seems to have been a general Chinese cultural preference to place all graveyards outside the community.⁹⁷ There were, accordingly, no cemeteries in Peking’s Northern City (the Qing Inner City). Bodies were taken instead to the suburbs. The area enclosed in the 1550s (the Southern City) seems to have been off-limits for the following two centuries, but after the middle of the eighteenth century, “charity graveyards” were permitted there.⁹⁸

The hills to the west and north of Peking offered superior geomancy and were used by the imperial family, nobles, eunuchs, and other urban elites. In their more expensive form, such graveyards consisted of a small building, stelae with epitaphs, an avenue of stone animals, and large, aged, evergreen trees, all protected from general encroachment by an enclosing wall.⁹⁹ Their stout expensive coffins were buried deep and stayed buried, unlike the flimsy containers used in public cemeteries that soon left bones exposed to the open air. Ordinary family graves, even when regularly tended, were simply conical protrusions, sometimes arranged in clusters, lying among fields of millet or sorghum.

Peking was densely dotted with places where it was possible to make regular contact with the supernatural. Those places that occupied the most substantial territory were, however, of another order from the temples so far discussed. These were the seven great altars of the state religion. Open to the sky and devoid of anthropomorphic representation, they were reserved for emperors and their representatives to communicate with the greatest of supernatural powers. Combined with the array of large and small religious establishments housing more accessible gods common in any Chinese city, the altars made the capital an exceptionally potent and porous religious terrain.

95. Wu Changyuan 9:170. Sun Yatsen’s coffin was kept in the Biyunsi, outside Peking, between his death in 1925 and 1929, when it was moved to Nanking for burial: J. Liu 138–40.

96. Niida 1:103–9, 109–10.

97. Watson & Rawski 1988.

98. See Chapter 16.

99. For many of the famous Ming graves, see the account by Tan Qian, a historian who knew what he was seeing: Tan Qian 1656:250–54.

HOMES FOR CLERICS

If temples were primarily the homes of gods, they were secondarily the homes of people who had “left the family” (*chu jia*). Men and women who had removed themselves from society to lead lives as celibate religious professionals influenced in important ways what temples were and how they were perceived.

In Peking by late imperial times, Chinese terms for clerics were relatively clear-cut and stable. A *seng* was a plain word for an ordained Buddhist monk, *niseng* a Buddhist nun.¹⁰⁰ *Fanseng* and (later) *lama* were used loosely to indicate Tibetan Buddhist monks.¹⁰¹ *Daoshi* is more difficult to translate. I find “Daoist priest” misleading and will use “daoist,” written unitalicized in lower case, as a noun comparable (following Ming-Qing usage) to monks or nuns.¹⁰² The term *zhuchi* designated the person in charge of a community of daoists, monks, or nuns, and I have rendered it uniformly as “chief cleric.” I have used the word “cleric” for any and all of these religious professionals, even sometimes including Muslim mullahs and Catholic priests.

How many clerics were there in Peking? Hard information is very elusive, and the best data come from the first part of the twentieth century. Table 2.3 shows the partial picture revealed by a 1908 survey of the Inner and Outer Cities and suggests that there may have been about two thousand monks, nuns, lamas, daoists, and mullahs in the walled city that year.¹⁰³ Of the temples then surveyed, 40 percent had no cleric in residence; some of these had lay caretakers, others had no one. Only about twenty establishments had more than ten clerics, and most had only one or two. A 1941 survey (carried out under the Japanese) included suburban temples; it reported larger numbers but comparable proportions.¹⁰⁴ These data suggest that at the end of the imperial era, there may have been two or three thousand clerics in Peking; of these, ordinary Buddhist monks were the most numerous: there were seven monks for every one or two daoists and one nun. Lamas lived in monasteries, but only a third of other clerics did the same; most resided in ones and twos in small temples.¹⁰⁵

With current knowledge it is difficult to put Peking’s twentieth-century figures in a wider perspective. According to an 1846 government survey, in

100. More literary terms were *biqu* and *biquuni*.

101. For the ambiguities of *lama*: Lopez 17–20. The Chinese term “Lamajiao” (Lamaism) can be attested as early as 1573: *JWK* 39:617.

102. A more literary term for a daoist was *yushi*. I encountered no female daoists in my sources.

103. Survey 1908. It was carried out by the new Ministry of the Interior.

104. Monks 1,734, lamas 763, daoists 445, nuns 270, and mullahs 156: total 3,368. *Huabei zongjiao nianjian* 100–135, 197–98, 241–44, 315–16, 414–18.

105. These ratios were similar to those among all registered clerics in the empire. See *HC-wen* 5140 & 5141 for 1738 and 1739.

TABLE 2.3 Clerics in Peking in 1908

	Inner City	Outer City (half)	Estimated Total*
Monks	796	136	1068
Daoists	123	60	243
Nuns	94	33	160
Subtotal	1013	229	1471
Lamas	573	1	575
Mullahs	0	17	24
Grand total	1586	247	2070
Number of temples	702	201	1104
Without clerics	310	56	422
With clerics	392	145	682
With more than ten clerics	18	2	22
Clerics per temple			1.87
Clerics per temple with clerics			3.03

SOURCE: Survey 1908.

*Missing data for Outer City filled in by doubling the known other half.

the nearby city of Tianjin and its immediate suburbs there were fewer than half as many clerics per temple as in Peking, but reported numbers for the empire as a whole in 1667 are closer to those for the capital.¹⁰⁶ Sizable clerical communities patronized by the throne may have meant a relatively high density of religious personnel in Peking.

Building on policies of earlier dynasties, both the Ming and Qing states tried to exert some measure of control over these religious professionals. Two offices, the Central Buddhist and Daoist Registries (Senglusi and Daolusi), were under the authority of the Ministry of Rites but housed in temples in the capital (comparable agencies were set up in the provinces). The Registries were in theory responsible for the "affairs" of Buddhist and Daoist clergy throughout the empire, setting standards for ordination, controlling the number of licenses issued, and investigating malfeasance.¹⁰⁷

106. Tianjin: 115 registered clerics in 158 temples (clerics per temple: 0.72). *Jinmen baojia tushuo* j. 12 (this source brought to my attention by Rozman 1977). Numbers of registered clerics in 1667 in the empire: monks 110,292; daoists 21,286; nuns 8,615. A total of 140,193. Number of temples: 79,622. Clerics per temple: 1.7. Source: *Huidian shili* 1899:501:5. For a discussion of the number of clerics and temples in the medieval period: Gernet 4-14.

107. Each office staff had four levels of positions. *Huidian* 1587:126:1110, 1899:36:378; Ryūchi 1940; Yü 1981:166-72. In the Ming, the system allowed for the appointment of Tibetan Buddhist clerics (Field Museum #955); in materials I have seen, the second-rank position, Chanjiao, seems to have been used particularly for them.

In the Ming, the Daoist Registry was located in the Chaotiangong temple; the Buddhist Registry was in the Qingshousi until 1535 (when there was a fire), and thereafter in the Huguosi.¹⁰⁸ In this period, appointments to the Registries in the capital were prestigious, a sign that one had been noticed at court, and brought a stipend and the right to wear special robes.¹⁰⁹ Positions in the Registries were a significant stage in the career-track of upwardly mobile clerics, often held concurrently with appointments as abbots at large Peking monasteries and prominently mentioned in their stupa epitaphs.¹¹⁰

Registry officers seem to have had the authority to designate the chief clerics of new monasteries in Peking, but their powers appear rather limited.¹¹¹ In fact, by the middle Ming, appointments to these offices seem to have been commodified, and proliferated as empty titles to which lingering prestige was attached.¹¹²

The Ming (and Qing) wanted all ordained clerics within the empire to be registered, pay a fee, and receive a license (*dudie* for monks, *zhao* for daoists), but once the draconian measures of the Ming founder had weakened, enforcement of this policy was quite uneven. The biggest monastic institutions and most prominent monks may have had to comply, but probably not the majority of ordinary clerics. As time went by, the state seems to have become resigned to enjoying the income generated by a perfunctory awarding of licenses through the sale of a blank form.¹¹³

Comparable Registries were set up by Qing rulers even before the conquest, but by the 1670s responsibility had been shifted to the Imperial Household rather than the Ministry of Rites.¹¹⁴ Although their offices do not appear to have been located in designated monasteries as in the Ming, Qing Registry appointments—for which a written examination on the sutras was necessary—continued to be made to men who, as cause or consequence, were attached to the major temples in the capital.¹¹⁵ These officers were to

108. *Huidian* 1587:126:1110. I have no information about where the Daolusi moved after 1626 when the Chaotiangong burned down. The Qingshousi was also known as the Great Xinglongsi, and the Huguosi as Great Longshansi.

109. Peterson 1994:413, quoting the 1381 regulations as recorded in *MS* 67:1656.

110. For some examples: *JWK* 107:1778 (daoists); 96:1609 (foreign monk); 95:1589 (monk). These positions do not seem to have been open to nuns. For one stupa: *JWK* 95:1589.

111. See *BJTB* 51:128. For Registry investigation of a case of malfeasance, see the events of 1501 described in *JWK* 90:1527.

112. Yü 1981:169.

113. Yü 1981:146–7, 155–62, 1998:918–20; Huang 1974:246.

114. *Huidian shili* 1899:501:1, 5.

115. E.g., *BJTB* 73:32. Few of my sources made mention of daoists with positions in the Daolusi in the Qing, but even those that noted Peking monks with posts in the Buddhist Registry

approve appointments to capital abbotships, be on the alert for illegal religious groups, keep track of clergy within their jurisdictions, and adjudicate misdemeanors.¹¹⁶ The Qing attempted to recall the Ming licenses and issue new ones, but the old ones continued to circulate.¹¹⁷

Qing laws and regulations reflected the long-standing Chinese (state and Confucian) desire to control religious professionals and to maintain a clear line between the professional and the lay devotee. Clerics were prohibited—perhaps ineffectively—from performing ancestral rites toward their parents, taking wives, or having sexual relations with anyone, including prostitutes.¹¹⁸ At the same time, agencies in charge of religious professionals were kept weak so that they could not themselves become an independent source of religious authority. A papacy on the Catholic model would not have been welcomed by Ming and Qing emperors.

By late imperial times, Buddhist and Daoist practitioners performed overlapping and distinctive religious services for clients and patrons. Each had funeral rituals that could expedite the soul of the deceased through the underworld; each had liturgies intended for their professional clerics. Buddhist prayers were essential on certain holy days, but daoists were commonly brought in for regular calendrical celebrations in temples without a monastic presence. Just as neither group can be said to have dominated Peking's religious life, so the various filiations among Peking's clerics may have made little difference to the city's residents.

Daoist practitioners in north China were associated with two "schools" in late imperial times. The older was the Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity) tradition, led by the Zhang family, a line of self-styled "Celestial Masters" (Tianshi) who traced their authority back to the very beginning of religious Daoism in the first century and had been installed with hereditary privileges on Mount Longhu in Jiangxi province (central China) since the medieval period. These hereditary Zhengyi daoists married and lived in the world and performed *jiao* rituals whereby the powers of their deities were activated for a variety of

do not greatly help us understand their actual functions. See *STFZ* 1885: 24:3:763; *BJTB* 65:92, 68:1, 82:134–35.

116. *BJTB* 65:92, 71:32, 72:48, 82:175; Fang Junshi 195; *MQDA* A8–196. In 1844, perhaps in an effort to exert greater local control, these officials were given responsibility for clerical affairs in different sections of Peking. *Huidian* 1899:36:378, 92:935; *Huidian shili* 1899:501:5–6, 25–26. Copies of the occasional document from the late nineteenth century in the Peking City Archives (J181–15 *passim*) show a system of registration at work.

117. *Huidian* 1899:36:378; *Huidian shili* 1899:501:6.

118. Boulais #393, #295, #693–94. Also *Huidian shili* 1899:501:20; De Groot 1904:120–25; *GZD-R* 417. Noncelibate daoists were seen as particularly problematic: *Huidian shili* 1899:501:9–12.

purposes. On behalf of communities and clients, they carried out exorcisms, officiated at funerals, prayed for rain, celebrated the birthdays of their gods, and cured illnesses.¹¹⁹

The Quanzhen (Complete Perfection) school, founded in the north in the middle of the twelfth century by a man called Wang Zhe, was quite different. These daoists were celibate, emphasized meditation, and lived in monastic institutions like Buddhist monks and nuns. They grew their hair and often wore it in a topknot (in contrast to the shaved heads of Buddhist clerics).¹²⁰ In Peking, Quanzhen masters had been associated with the temple where Wang Zhe and his pupils stayed when hosted by the Jin rulers in the 1180s and 1190s. The sect expanded and Chinghis Khan later turned this complex over to Qiu Chuji, a disciple of Wang; when Qiu died in 1127, part of the site became the core of what would be called the Baiyunguan (White Cloud Monastery) in Ming and Qing times.¹²¹

Yuan rulers had simultaneously patronized the Zhengyi sect, receiving the current master in 1275 and installing his disciple Zhang Liusun in a temple near the imperial palace. In the 1320s, a new temple, dedicated to the God of the Eastern Peak, was built for Zhang east of the city. Other Celestial Masters came occasionally from Jiangxi to the capital.¹²² The fortunes of individual daoists and their temples rose and fell with imperial favor under the Ming, and different editions of the Daoist Canon reflected the influences of these schools.¹²³

Like daoists, the Buddhist clergy attended funerals in private homes, but most of their rituals were collective and performed within monasteries; these included meditation, sutra chanting, sermons on the dharma, lectures on specific sutras, recitation of penances, masses for the dead, and ordinations.¹²⁴

The two Buddhist lines of transmission (*zongpai*) most frequently encountered in Peking were the Linji and Caodong. Monks of (at least) twenty-one different temples associated themselves with the Linji, thus claiming a connection through successive teachers back to a Tang dynasty Chan (Zen) monk. Seven temples had stelae with diagrams that listed the generations of

119. *DJ* 4:172–76; Liu Ruoyu 16:42–43; Yao 171; Ricci 1953:100–101; A. Chan 1982:115; *FXZ* 3:29–31, 4:5–6.

120. Dean 1993:24–26; Yao 90; Ricci 1953:102. Goossaert's recent work, which I have not consulted, will probably be definitive.

121. Yao, esp. 111–17, 124, 133, 141.

122. *FXZ* 3:18–19; *JWK* 88:1489; A. Chan 1982:115; Ten Broeck.

123. The 1244 edition allowed Quanzhen masters to incorporate texts from their school, but both the Ming and Qing editions were testimony to the influence of the Zhengyi Celestial Masters: T. Liu, esp. 115; Boltz 1987:17–18, 64–68, 123–28, 139–73.

124. For such practices in recent times: Welch 1967:38, 185–97, 285–97, 506.

monks since the founder, a visual demonstration of an authentic line of transmission. By the start of the Qing, a monk could claim to belong to the twenty-eighth generation, and by the late eighteenth century, the thirty-fifth.¹²⁵ We find fewer references to the Caodong line but see the same kind of genealogies carved in stone.¹²⁶ Although the use of these school names and the knowledge of past generations may have indicated a higher degree of clerical professionalism, monks who so identified themselves did not necessarily live in big monasteries.¹²⁷

Generational position was an important aspect of Buddhist clerical identity, marked (as in families) by shared first characters in the names of monks and nuns.¹²⁸ Although master-disciple relations structured the relationship between clerics within a monastery and may have been important in securing abbotships, they do not seem to have been the grounds for enduring connections between temples.¹²⁹

Within the palace, eunuchs became clerics—both monks and daoists—and chanted sutras and performed rituals on appropriate occasions. Under the Ming, religious rituals inside the Forbidden City were handled by eunuchs attached to the three Scripture-Printing Workshops. Buildings in the northeast part of the Imperial City along the east wall served as storehouses for vestments, ritual utensils, and sets of the various canons.¹³⁰

Ming “temple households” (*miaohu*) seem to have been families attached to the shrines of the state religion as part of the system of occupational-cum-corr vee classifications created by the dynasty’s founder.¹³¹ The more numerous late Qing temple custodians (*miaozhu*)—lay persons paid to look after the property—were, by contrast, found widely in religious es-

125. Perhaps these stelae functioned partially like the dharma-scrolls described in Welch 1963. For some examples: Peking Library #7994 (the earliest diagram I have seen, 1454); *BJTB* 61:86–87, 63:35; *Guangji zhi* 58–59 (for a room where the patriarch of this line was worshipped). The differences between these so-called schools were a matter of affiliation not doctrine. Welch 1967:395–400; Foulk.

126. I know of eight, also spanning the Ming and Qing. For example, see *BJTB* 61:33–35, where more than twenty-six generations were named. The other lines I have seen mentioned are Caoxi and Dongshan (Chan lines, each twice), a Xitian (Western Heaven) line of foreign monks (twice), and the Longmen Daoist line (once).

127. See *BJTB* 74:31 for a monk of the thirty-fifth generation who became the founding cleric in a Guandi temple in 1778.

128. E.g., *BJTB* 51:133–34, 73:168–69.

129. Welch has suggested (1963:146) that these ties were part of “networks of affiliation [that] were superimposed one upon the other, loosely and haphazardly binding together, in different combinations, the hundreds of big monasteries and tens of thousands of small temples in China.” Perhaps. But in Ming and Qing Peking, such ties seem to have been very temporary, loose, and haphazard.

130. Liu Ruoyu 16:36–40, 47.

131. *Huidian* 1587 (216:1080) made mention of these for capital temples.

tablishments where no clerics were in residence.¹³² Various other professionals also clustered in and around temples: fortune-tellers; purveyors of religious paraphernalia—incense, paper-money, candles, god images; and beggars, who provided the pious with opportunities to earn merit through charity.

Peking was also the home for clerics whose religions were not as deeply or widely embedded in the fabric of Chinese society as were those of the Buddhists and daoists: Muslim mullahs, Catholic priests, and Tibetan Buddhist lamas.

Muslim communities had been part of Peking well before the Ming, and although this religion was affected by schisms and the appearance of new schools in the course of the next five hundred years, these developments—studied primarily in their Central Asian context—have not been shown to have had a major impact on believers in Peking. (I wonder.) In any case, as we shall see, religious professionals (mullahs, *ahong*) were predictably as important to Muslim communities in the capital as elsewhere.

What I here call “Tibetan Buddhism” developed out of Indian Buddhism in the medieval period and became established in Central Asia; in simple terms, it was distinguished by an emphasis on meditation and yogic practice by means of postures (*mudras*), phrases (*mantras*), and iconic paintings (*tankas*). Communities of monks perpetuated the teachings, and a Tibetan Canon consolidated the scriptures. In the late fourteenth century, a reformist movement was founded by Tsongkhapa, and this Geluk school gradually became dominant over the others. It was itself transformed in the sixteenth century by the idea that extremely holy monks (lamas, narrowly speaking) could be repeatedly reincarnated. With the help of powerful patrons, several lines of such incarnations subsequently vied for preeminence. Incarnate lamas were venerated as “living buddhas” and understood as manifestations of Buddhist deities.¹³³ Of these, the Dalai and Panchen Lamas were the most important in Peking by the Qing era, and after them the Mongol Qutugtu line. Tibetan and Mongol lamas and monks were resident in Peking from early in the fifteenth century.

There were far fewer Catholic priests in Peking than either mullahs or lamas; they arrived in the early seventeenth century and were effectively gone from the capital two hundred years later. Most were Jesuits, part of the intense evangelism in East Asia in the wake of the founding of the order by Ignatius of Loyola in 1534. In the eighteenth century, one could also find Franciscans and Augustinians in the Qing capital, and after the Jesuits were

132. Figures from the 1908 survey include *miaozhu* only for the Inner City, but there, they were twice as numerous as the daoists.

133. C. Bell chap. 8; Jagchid 147–48.

disbanded in 1773, another order, that of the Lazarists, was given papal charge over the Chinese missions in 1783.¹³⁴

References to monks, nuns, and daoists in the Peking materials used for this book are of a piece with the stereotypical images of clerics found more widely in late imperial and modern Chinese culture.

On the one hand, Buddhist clerics were seen as pious men and women who performed services for the community and devoted themselves to accumulating merit for themselves and others. The clerical community (*sangha*) was, after all, one of the Three Treasures of Buddhism. Monks could be admired for their ascetic discipline and reclusion from society, and daoists could be respected for their knowledge of the secrets of longevity and other powers. In the Ming, at least, some clerics were highly educated men, fit and desirable companions for literati.

On the other hand, clerics were readily characterized as social or physical misfits, freeloaders on the charity of others, people unconstrained by family commitments and conventional morality. They could be—and in Chinese fiction and drama usually were—seen as self-indulgent and insincere, devoted to worldly pleasures and high living, greedy for wealth, sex, and power, corrupted and corrupting. Because they were also people who could claim to speak to (or for) the gods, there was fear of their power to mislead others, especially the innocent, the foolish, and the female. Daoist exorcisms, elixirs, aphrodisiacs, fertility rituals, and similar techniques made them seem alluring and dangerous to some, but charlatans and fakers to others.

Temples, the homes of clerics, were thus understood as the refuges of vagrants and criminals as well as the pure and saintly, as places of dangerous liaisons and seductive depravity as well as sacred grounds of concentrated piety. Although a fuller picture of these negative stereotypes is beyond the scope of this book, this dimension was never far from the minds of the men and women whose activities will hereafter occupy our attention. But temples were not merely where fantasies were fulfilled, where monks and nuns and daoists lived, or where the earthly and supernatural met: they were physical spaces open to a wide public and potentially the focus for community life. In the following chapter, we will explore the ways in which these religious establishments were integrated into the society that surrounded and supported them.

134. Willeke 16–19.

CHAPTER 3

Communities and Public Space

Temples were not simply for gods and clerics. They were anchored in Peking society by the patronage and financial support of city residents. Not only were temples used in an organized fashion for festivals, charity, hostels, and politics, but they also served a diverse public as libraries, museums, and parks. Through the many activities that took place on temple premises, whether orchestrated by private citizens or the state, both communities and culture were created, in real and in imagined form.

In this chapter we will piece together the partial sources to discover how temples were financed and managed, then examine the more visible communities formed in and around them, and finally discuss their amply recorded use as public space. Most of the generalizations made here are illustrated with more specificity in Parts Two and Three.

PATRONS

To whom did Peking's religious establishments belong and who controlled their assets? Where did the money come from to construct and maintain the buildings, purchase the images and ritual paraphernalia, pay for the incense and candles, and support the resident clerics? What were the relationships between clerics and lay patrons? Materials from Peking do not provide straightforward answers to these questions, but we will try to unravel the problem by looking first at temple income, then expenditures, and then at the men who controlled these resources.

It is accurate to say that temples in Ming and Qing Peking were built and maintained by donations from patrons only if we construe "donations" and "patronage" rather broadly. At the core of a temple's patrons were self-conscious supporters, but even a person who wandered once into a

temple compound to look around and left without giving anything can still be understood to have testified (if unintentionally) to the power of the god. Authors who mentioned a temple in a published work or put it on a map likewise enhanced its reputation. In temples without an organized clerical community—by far the more typical in Peking—survival was thus an affair in which some people played larger roles but many played a part.¹

We begin this discussion of donors, management, and control with the people who donated objects of value or large amounts of money to Peking's temples, a subject amply documented in the historical record. (See Appendix 3.)² Gifts came from every social level, from individuals and groups, from one-time fund-drives, and from permanent endowments. Most of the donors were male, as one might expect from their dominance of the world outside the home. The only women visible in Peking's materials were individual imperial women and the female members of religious associations.

Ming and Qing rulers (including members of their immediate families) were well-publicized donors to 441 of the 2,344 temples with known Peking patrons (19 percent). Of these, 137 temples were on imperial property and effectively off-limits to ordinary patrons for most of this period; emperors thus patronized only 304 temples outside their domain (13 percent).³ I know of 330 temples patronized by eunuchs (14 percent), who were important donors in the Ming, and 217 that had clerical patrons of one sort or another (overwhelmingly monks) (9 percent). Religious associations, which could include all kinds of people, were patrons of 127 temples (5 percent); at least 97 had organized assistance from native-place or occupational lodges (4 percent). Temples to which private citizens contributed numbered 800 (34 percent), but this sphere was so poorly documented that it seems safe to assume that the 1,545 temples (65 percent) about which we have no (or imperfect) patron information were also supported by the citizenry.⁴ These figures, rough as they are, should make clear that although the presence of the emperor was a distinguishing characteristic of the capital, outside the imperial

1. A similar argument can be made for sacred mountains: Naquin & Yü 1992b.

2. This Appendix reports on nearly three hundred instances of specifically enumerated gifts over the period 1424 to 1911. I have also relied on many more examples of gifts whose exact amounts were not given.

3. This "imperial domain" is defined in Chapter 5.

4. These numbers add up to more than 100 percent because most temples had more than one kind of patron in the course of their history.

domain the throne had direct involvement in only 10 percent of the city's temples.

Patrons created temples and maintained them. The difference between founding and restoring was often blurred because sites were expanded and contracted and reused, and halls were rebuilt and transformed or partially rebuilt all at once or in stages.⁵ Data about temples that were built (or rebuilt) between 1368 and 1885 indicate an average life span of about two centuries.⁶ Some 50 percent of all Peking temples survived for between 105 and 325 years; the rest were equally divided between the shorter or longer time periods. Patronage made the difference in longevity.

The most generous possible gift consisted of funds adequate to build, outfit, and permanently maintain a temple. "It was said," after all, "that there is no merit greater than that of establishing a temple."⁷ More commonly, founding patrons gave money only for construction and basic furnishings. Other donors might subsequently cover the costs of repairs: fixing one hall, adding new rooms, or rebuilding the complex entirely. Smaller gifts were intended to replace or add to temple fixtures—incense burners, images, bells, scriptures, banners, stelae, altar cloths, ceiling decorations, ritual utensils, clothing for the god image, and so forth. Some people donated labor and participated in construction or helped ready the temple for regular festivals. Money was sometimes given for special occasions such as ordination-ritual expenses or plays for holy days. Individuals with few resources could join with others. The most common form of patronage was the burning of incense once or twice a month, accompanied by a small anonymous donation.

Most large donations were made on a single occasion as the result of either an individual decision or a fund-raising drive, but they could result from the pooling of resources and formation of groups, collectivities, and communities. As the rest of this book demonstrates, some groups were temporary and narrowly targeted, others regular and loosely coordinated; some were based on face-to-face contact, others on shared familiarity with visual or written media; some were grounded in voluntary and ad hoc ties, others in ascriptional and preexisting ones. The legitimacy and physical venue pro-

5. Differences between new and old were also confused (intentionally?) when an old name was recycled, the earlier use of a site was forgotten, or a new temple was termed a reconstruction.

6. My figure of 221 years is probably an underestimation because my calculations lop off the periods at each end. My pool consisted of 1,361 temples. By drawing a line at 1885, I eliminated those for which only one twentieth-century sighting was known.

7. *BJTB* 80:192.

vided by temples made this range of alternatives possible in a society where extrafamilial associations were not encouraged.

It is a sad fact that most acts of temple patronage went unrecorded. Only the exceptions make this book possible. The most common surviving format for commemorating donations was a tall stone stele that allowed for long-lived expressions of status, piety, and influence. (One is illustrated in Figure 14.1.) Usually, an inscription was carved on the front and the names of donors on the back. It was customary to seek out high-status persons first to compose (*xuan*) and then to write out (*shu*) the texts of these inscriptions. (Dividing the task between two individuals was more impressive and amplified the cast of patrons.) Most Ming inscriptions began with the names of these two individuals, each name preceded by the man's titles, the more grand and extensive the better.⁸ Consider one 1624 example: "Composed by the Holder of the Imperially Bestowed Metropolitan Examination Degree; Grand Master for Splendid Happiness, Pillar of the State, Junior Guardian [all honorary titles]; concurrently Grand Mentor of the Heir Apparent, President of the Ministry of Rites, and Grand Secretary in the Hall of Literary Profundity; Drafter in the Classics Colloquium, Imperial Diary, and Proclamations Sections, Veritable Records Director-General, Zhu Yanxi from Boyang [County]."⁹ In the Qing, the common practice was to put these names at the end of the inscription, just before the date. Some authors had a close personal link with the activity they were commemorating, whereas others were distantly connected or frankly ambivalent.¹⁰

Names of donors were listed on the back of stelae in horizontal rows with more generous and important patrons placed higher; sometimes the amount of the gifts was specified.¹¹ (See Figure 3.1.) Fund-drives made it possible for relatively humble gifts (less than one ounce of silver) to have a concentrated impact, and the stele format allowed such donors to share the glory with much wealthier people.¹² These acts of public charity were sufficiently infrequent and the monuments sufficiently permanent that it seems reasonable to assume that participation was something of a special event. Unfortunately, these lists did not distinguish loosely linked individuals from members of tightly organized groups, and, as we shall see, it is not easy to recover the connections among donors. The language of the stelae inscriptions cloaked them all in a haze of collective goodwill.

8. I have noted a tendency for these titles to be inaccurate.

9. *BJTB* 59:166–67. Zhu was from Dongchang prefecture in Shandong, a *jinshi* of 1595. *Jinshi suoyin* 1:766.

10. E.g., Shoudu Library #653.

11. Qing lodges and businesses were more likely to list the amounts of the donations than were other associations.

12. See Appendix 3 for my use of "ounce" rather than "tael."

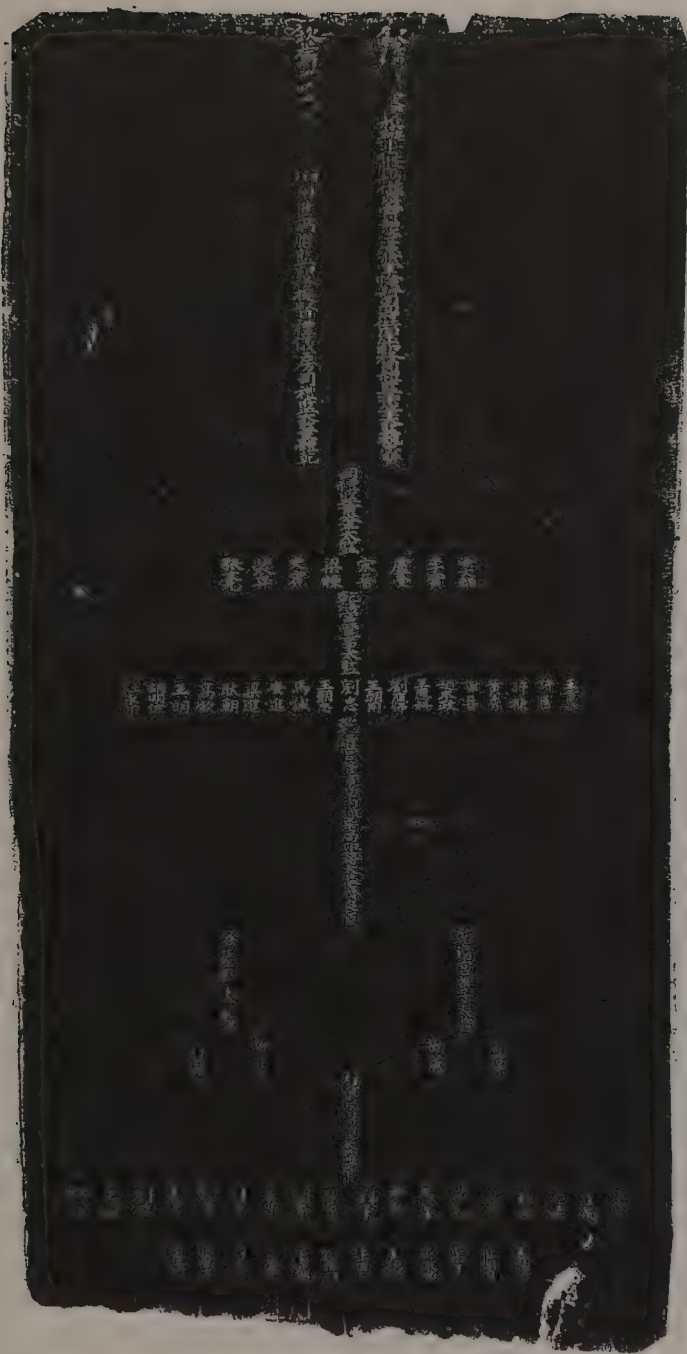


Figure 3.1. Back of 1624 Stele in the Western Summit Temple

This rubbing shows that the two highest ranking eunuch donors (and perhaps those who had given the most) were listed in parallel columns at the top; their names—Wei Zhongxian and Wang Tiqian—were preceded by their titles. Wei was in his ascendancy at this time, and his title is longer. The names of eight eunuchs of the Directorate of Ceremonial Affairs came next, then nineteen from the Qianqing Palace, and one from the Weaving and Dyeing Bureau. Below, the names of two lesser eunuchs from that palace were placed on the right, and two more from “various offices” were placed on the left. Finally, at the bottom, the thirty names of other eunuchs of the Weaving and Dyeing Bureau were listed.

SOURCE: *BJTB* 59:167.

The most common term in the Chinese vocabulary of “giving” was *juan* (to contribute), but sometimes people said *zhu* (help) or *ji* (assist), occasionally *shi* and *bushi* (bestow, give), and less frequently *gei* (give) or *shan* (make sufficient). *Chu zi* (give capital) was more pointed, as was *fa tang* or *chu tang* (issue funds). When someone went to potential donors and asked them to give money to a particular project, the term *mu* (or *muhua*, raising money) was used.¹³ Monks sometimes referred to *boqian* (money given to them as alms). As these terms suggest, gifts to temples could be expressed both as acts of charity and as investments. Spiritual rewards for the donor paralleled material benefits for the temple and its inhabitants.

Stelae inscriptions used conventionalized language—much of it Buddhist in origin but long since absorbed into ordinary discourse—to describe the motives of the donors. Individuals (and groups) often wrote of making a vow (*fa xin*) or a promise (*xu yuan*), and then of repaying it (*huan yuan*), doing so on their own or someone else’s behalf: “If this prayer is answered, I promise I will. . . .” Some temples were built in response to a dream or in gratitude for unspecified blessings (*fu*). Donors characterized their own actions as sincere and respectful (*cheng jing*), devoted and sincere (*qian cheng*). In groups, they emphasized unanimity and spoke of themselves as “like-minded ones” (*tong xin*) or “virtuous ones” (*zhongshan rendeng*) who “came from all directions” to participate because they loved to do good (*le shan*). Most stelae invoked the merit (*gong*) that could be expected from such good works. Imperial donations often claimed that their funds came from the privy purse (*nei, neiku*), not the central government treasury or from taxes or corvée, and so “the people were not troubled.”¹⁴

Inscriptions commemorating a temple founding (*jian, chuang*) usually justified the deed with praise for the resident god or emphasized the inspiring quality of the site. Most restorations (*chong xiu, xiuqi*) and reestablishments (*chong jian*) referred to the harm wrought by the passage of time: wind and rain had invaded and damaged the buildings; the hall was on the point of collapse; tiles were broken, pillars weak, walls sagging, roof leaking, front gate cracking, god images exposed. Such a state of affairs was “painful to behold,” and “stabs us in the heart.” “If the temple isn’t intact, how can it house a god?”

Restorations could involve expanding the property, rebuilding and repainting halls, replacing or gilding the statues, and generally making the place “handsome and impressive” once more. Emperors and ordinary citizens alike invoked the actions of previous individuals or groups to justify the need to continue the charitable work.

13. In one instance, *linghua*.

14. *JWK* 129:2077; *BJTB* 52:148; also *BJTB* 51:186. I see no reason to disbelieve the first half of this statement.

Imperial patronage was signalled by special language. A temple that had been built or restored with imperial funds could preface its name with *chi jian* or *chi xiu* (established or restored by imperial command). Names and other gifts were announced as having been “given by imperial order” (*chi ci*). A text composed by the emperor for a temple would be known as an “imperialy composed [yu zhi] account,” and “imperialy written [yu shu]” if done in his own hand.

Donations could be large or small and came in a wide range of forms. The largest and most valuable gifts were money and land. Temple endowments were called *xianghuo di* (incense-fire land)—land that would generate income to keep the temple incense burning.

Appendix 3 shows something of the range and scale of donations across the Ming and Qing. Although biased toward imperial gifts (especially in the Ming), these data do suggest trends in the type of donation: in the early Ming more gifts were made in land, in the seventeenth century they were equally in silver and in land, in the eighteenth century mostly in silver, and after about 1840 increasingly in copper cash. Our present level of scholarship does not permit rigorous comparison of the changing values of land, silver, and copper between 1500 and 1900, but these trends in donations are compatible with other better-established developments: a general paucity of copper coins in the Ming despite (or because of) the increasingly monetized and commercialized economy, the expansion of the money supply after 1600 with some inflationary effects, an expansion of the silver and copper supply in the eighteenth century, and deflations in the middle of the seventeenth and again in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁵

Neither the Ming or Qing throne came close to the grand scale on which land was given away in earlier eras.¹⁶ Overall, known gifts to temples in and around Peking ranged from the 3 *mou* purchased by eunuchs in 1566 as a site for a temple to Guan Yu to the 20,000 *mou* given by the mother of the

15. For the Ming monetary system: X. Peng 537–635, and von Glahn 1996; for the Qing: X. Peng 636–844. Paper money was not recorded as gifts to the temples, but Mexican dollars and gold may have been. The use of the word *jin* for silver makes it sometimes difficult to tell when gold was actually meant. See Appendix 3.

16. In 1059 a Liao princess gave the suburban Haotiansi ten thousand *mou* of irrigated rice fields as well as one hundred bonded families (the emperor gave 50,000 strings of copper cash and the empress 130,000): Wittfogel & Feng 295. For the Yuan court, donations of ten, twenty, and fifty thousand *mou* were not uncommon. See *JWK* 43:680–87, 52:833–36, 97:1623, 100:1659–64. The ability to dispense land in such generous quantities was unmatched in later centuries and meant that Yuan temples that survived with their endowments intact were at a considerable advantage.

Chenghua emperor to establish the Baoguosi in 1466.¹⁷ (A *mou* was roughly a sixth of an acre.) Imperial gifts of land in the Ming ranged between 100 and 6,000 *mou*, and most eunuch donations were well under 1,000. The largest gift of land under the Qing was only 3,500 *mou*.

Across the two dynasties, the average land donation was 584 *mou* and the median gift was 200, but almost all of the large gifts (over 1,000 *mou*) came from the throne.¹⁸ The three pieces of land (40, 60, and 100 *mou*) purchased with money given collectively by pious laypeople in 1710 to the suburban Tanzhe monastery, to be used for endowment income, were typical of later donations.¹⁹ The rather few gifts of land in the latter nineteenth century suggest not only a preference for money endowments but also land's increasing unavailability.²⁰ Although urban real estate was occasionally donated, most land given directly to temples in the late Qing was located at some remove from the city.²¹

Qing emperors (at least through Qianlong) were capable of spending considerable sums if they wished: 30,000 ounces of silver were issued by Shunzhi for the restoration of the temple to Confucius in 1657; and Qianlong spent 28,000 and 47,000 to restore two temples in 1761.²² Most gifts of silver were, however, well under 10,000 ounces: the median imperial gift was about 600, the average 2,500.²³

When Cai Yongqing, a man (merchant?) from Tianjin, gave the Baiyun monastery 6,000 ounces of "white gold" in 1808, another thousand in copper, and then 2,000 more in silver in 1809, his self-characterization as "a vulgar person with little ability" only confirmed the ostentatiousness of his gesture.²⁴ Collective efforts were more typical. In 1809, when men in the construction trade founded a modest temple, they had first to buy the land on which the temple stood, and then build a gate, main hall, two side-halls, and a surrounding wall; this work took half a year and cost them 6,200 ounces of silver.²⁵ The 84,500 ounces given in 1908 to the Baoguosi came from

17. Also known as the Great Cirensi: *JWK* 59:963–68. For Guan Yu: *BJTB* 57:103–4.

18. I have information on ninety-one donations of land between 1424 and 1911.

19. *BJTB* 66:148.

20. Only six temples received land after 1809.

21. Oyanagi 164–66; Shoudu Library #451.

22. *JWK* 66:1088–106; *NWF qingdian* 2:13–17.

23. *N* = 145. References to figures over ten thousand tend to be unsubstantiated. See those in Fang Junshi 172ff. that do not seem plausible to me. Nonetheless, the expenses of imperial projects could be genuinely high. Malone 83–88 said that the Anyougong, a shrine that he called "the most monumental building in the Yuanmingyuan," cost 600,000 ounces of silver when it was built in 1742. Another source claimed that the throne spent more than 800,000 ounces between 1731–1734 to repaint the buildings in the Forbidden City. *LSJN* 209 (original source not given).

24. Oyanagi 145–47.

25. *BJTB* 78:113.

eighty-one different officials (including the powerful governors-general Yuan Shikai and Zhang Zhidong) and members of the imperial family, each single gift consisting of only some 1,000 ounces. An even more common gesture was the 457 ounces given to a Wealth-god temple by the members of a Zhejiang guild in 1772 and consisting of individual donations that ranged from 4 to 170 ounces, with an average of 45 (and the median 30).²⁶

Donations in copper cash, increasingly common in the nineteenth century, showed a comparable range: from 30 strings (theoretically thirty thousand cash, equivalent to 30 ounces of silver but in this period worth more) donated by a bakery shop owner in 1790 in order to add to a temple's land endowment, to the nearly 10,000 strings donated (in addition to silver) to a Holy Mother temple by members of a pilgrimage association in 1880.²⁷ Some donations were systematically collected. A ceremony marking the restoration of two temples in a village in the southwestern suburbs of Peking in 1845, for instance, was financed by small assessments on each household who had land in the village.²⁸ Individuals gave building materials or labor, while religious and pilgrimage associations volunteered their services on festival days.

From all these donations, large and small, ephemeral and permanent, temples acquired property and status. From property came the wherewithal to survive beyond the moment of construction and to support and sustain the community's gods and the resident clerics. The irregular and unpredictable nature of these donations, however, made the finances of any religious institution precarious. Securing income sufficient to cover expenses was therefore a problem for both resident clerics and temple managers. Acquiring and protecting a revenue-producing endowment was even more difficult—and desirable.

ASSETS

Information about temple assets is difficult to find.²⁹ In Ming and Qing times, even quasi-public institutions had few incentives to make known their wealth and a good many reasons to keep such information private. Only in the 1930s, with the advent of a more invasive state, do there seem to have been systematic inventories of temple property in Peking, and those for only some cases. Generalizations can, however, be pieced together.

26. *BJTB* 89:174; Shoudu Library #1383.

27. Bakery: Niida 5:1015–16. Pilgrimage: Shoudu Library #711.

28. Some 160 strings of cash were raised at the rate of 30 cash per *mou* and were used for the ritual and banquet. Waijidang DG 5/11/28.

29. To the best of my knowledge, no private financial records are available for any pre-1949 Peking temple, but Zhao Runxing & Yang Baosheng 1986b:24–25 hints at their existence.

TABLE 3.1 Property of Six Temples Supported
by the Imperial Household, 1735

Name	Property		Annual Income Generated (in ounces of silver)
	Buildings	Mou of Land	
Guangtongsi	60	2,002	392
Fahaisi	7	3,000	588
Guangmingdian	33	3,008	785
Dazhongsi	35	8,868	1,384
Nianhuasi	121	6,006	1,572
Wanshousi	106	6,603	1,576

SOURCE: GZDZZ-YZ 25:378-79.

Some large temples had exceptionally extensive landholdings, almost always the result of imperial patronage. The Qing dynasty Yonghegong was certainly unusual, but fragmentary knowledge of its property gives us an idea of one end of the spectrum. In 1820, this lamasery received about 10,000 ounces of silver in rent from land in twenty-nine different counties.³⁰ The abbot of the Tanzhesi, an old suburban monastery that also received considerable imperial and private support in Ming and Qing times, was able to purchase 20,000 *mou* of land in one year alone (1764).³¹ Information about more representative examples of imperially restored temples in Qing times provided by a 1735 document from the Imperial Household is shown in Table 3.1.

Ordinary religious establishments not favored with gifts from the throne naturally had much smaller land endowments. I know of only twenty-five temples with more than 1,000 *mou* of land. For the others, the median was 200 *mou*, but most temples seem to have had little or no landed property at all beyond the land on which they stood.³² As Table 3.1 hints, rental income varied

30. Its 1820 income was precisely 8,578 ounces and 1,229 strings of cash (capital money). NWF-ZX 505:10-17; *Qingdai di qidi* 367-69. Rents varied; the Yonghegong's average in 1751 was 0.2 ounce of silver per *mou*; *Qingdai di qidi* 345-51. The only figures I have for rents for other temples in this period and area were substantially higher: from 0.6 ounce per *mou* to 1.3. Some 195 *mou* generated 117 ounces in 1784 for one temple (*BJTB* 80:56-57); 300 *mou* generated 400 ounces in 1826 for another (Oyanagi 147-48, 190-91). For a view of Yonghegong landholdings from the perspective of the tenant (in 1942), see *Chūgoku nōson kankō chōsa kankōkai* 2:59, 104, 132, 314-15, 453, 487.

31. *Tanzhe zhi* 209-19; Zhao Runxing & Yang Baosheng 1986b:24-25.

32. The number on which I have any specific information is 171.

with the quality of the land. This table also shows the number of buildings—urban real estate?—owned by these establishments.³³

As the economy became more commercialized, Qing temples accepted monetary donations and loaned their endowments out at interest. In 1811, the Daoist Baiyunguan had 8,000 ounces of silver in its treasury, and the compound interest was used to pay the costs of initiating new clerics. (Such specific figures are rare.)³⁴

Information gathered by the Nationalist government in the 1930s described the assets of more ordinary temples.³⁵ A small but old Guandimiao in the Inner City was typical. It had no endowment lands at all. Its total property consisted of eight rooms (*jian*) and the half *mou* of land on which the temple stood, one old *huai* tree (*Sophora japonica*), one iron chime-bowl weighing thirty *jin*, a wooden brazier, one drum, and one pair of wooden candlesticks. On the altars were seven plaster god images of Guandi, four standing generals, one groom, and one Horse-god.³⁶

The official Fire-god temple, which also dated from the Ming (or earlier) and to which the Qing Imperial Household had sent silver on a monthly basis, may represent the more well-to-do end of the spectrum. Its property was still rather modest: eighty-one *jian* of buildings and five *mou* of land, an additional fifty-two *mou* of graveyard land, one *huai* tree, two scroll paintings, eight Buddhist implements, one small stele, four scriptures, twenty-two ritual objects, eight buddha shrines, two flagpoles, two celebratory arches, four iron chime-bowls, two bronze bells, one small bronze bell, one iron bell, three large drums, and 105 god images, two of bronze and the others of plaster.³⁷

Most temples survived on rents, endowment income, or intermittent gifts. A few, however, were favored by regular support from the state, specifically the Ministry of Rites and the Imperial Household.

As part of what I term the “state religion,” a small number of altars and temples hosted regular rituals that were paid for by the Ministry of Rites and supervised and carried out by the staff of its Office of Sacrifices

33. They were termed “government buildings” (*guan fang*) and may have been state property of the throne whose income was designated for these temples.

34. Oyanagi 145–47.

35. In 1987 I was permitted to see Republican era files in the Peking City Archives that reported on the property belonging to a few dozen small temples. Much of the material was published in 1997 in *Beijing simiao lishi ziliao*.

36. Peking City Archives J2:8:47.

37. Peking City Archives J2:8:121; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:26.

(Taichangsi).³⁸ Regulations (accorded permanence in the Ming and Qing “Collected Statutes”) described the rituals themselves and specified their timing, offerings, and prayers (written in the Hanlin Secretariat).³⁹

In the Ming and Qing these rites were ranked according to three grades. The Grand and Secondary Sacrifices were performed at Peking’s suburban altars and in its temples to imperial ancestors, previous emperors, and Confucius. These two levels were generously funded in the capital, and counterparts of the Secondary Sacrifices were instituted in modified fashion at each administrative unit of the empire.

Tertiary Rites, by contrast, were comparatively unsystematic.⁴⁰ Their numbers increased over time, and they were sometimes performed in Peking and sometimes in the provinces. Local gods and heroic individuals could be selectively honored in this category if it was demonstrated that they had benefitted the dynasty (*hu guo*), but such state support was provided for rites at a limited number of specified temples, and not for the god in general. Ministry of Rites “enfeoffment” (*feng*) of a god with a title likewise meant that a designated temple (and usually only one) would be included in these “minor sacrifices.” Such titles, we might note, were not part of and did not constitute a systematic hierarchy, bureaucratic, celestial, or otherwise. Under the Ming, fewer than a dozen gods (and thus temples) were recipients of such third-rank rituals; under the Qing there were somewhat more.⁴¹

Designation of a god or temple as the recipient of state support was ultimately the result of bureaucratic action, not a matter of imperial whim. Unlike the higher-ranked cults about whose value and legitimacy there was more of a consensus, rites of the third tier had to be claimed and miracles specifically demonstrated. This overlapping zone between popular belief and state-funded rites was therefore fluid, and gods and temples were regularly added to and subtracted from the official list. Indeed, every temple whose rituals were endorsed or paid for by the Ministry of Rites must be assumed

38. Others have defined this worship variously, terming it the “state cult” (Weller), “official religion” (Feuchtwang 1977; Taylor 843), or “imperial cults” (Feuchtwang 1992). I prefer “religion” to “cult” so that the latter can be saved for the worship of a single deity, and “state” because both officials and emperors took part. I have tried to distinguish, as not all have (namely, Feuchtwang 1977:585–87), between the rites that took place only in Peking and those performed elsewhere.

39. *Huidian* 1587:81–94; *Huidian* 1899:jj. 415–54. For details, see discussions in Chapters 5 and 10.

40. They were termed *xiao si* in the Ming and *qun si* in the Qing.

41. Ming temples received primarily assistance in kind: animals, wine, grain, and silk to be used as offerings. *Huidian* 1587:93:530. Some of this burden was shifted onto local officials: see Shen Bang 14:108–15. Several temples that served as or were attached to institutions of government charity also received regular disbursements.

to have gained this place as the result of a struggle for both imperial interest and official acceptance. Few cults made it.

In Ming times, especially, imperial decisions were subject to frequent official commentary and criticism, and the resulting list of sponsored cults was very much a negotiated one: rituals were added, removed, upgraded, downgraded, and modified only with an effort. It is important to note, moreover, how circumscribed the list of sponsored gods was. Ming and Qing state religion did not provide for worship of a single Buddha, not for Guanyin, and not for the Jade Emperor. Furthermore, although the state rites were carried out with considerable pomp and circumstance, they were not in themselves occasions for more general festivities.

Emperors also supported temples privately, and figures from the Qing allow us to see the assistance that came through the Imperial Household Agency (and these sums can in turn help us understand temple expenses). (For a longer discussion, see Chapter 10.) The statutes for that agency (probably reflecting rates in the eighteenth century) authorized nearly one hundred Peking temples to receive money—once every month, or every three, six, or nine months, or once a year. Budgeted items included incense; candles, oils, rice, and vegetables as offerings; brooms; and silver for clerics and temple households. Clerics were paid additional fees for rituals performed on specified days. Some temples were also given special Tibetan incense on designated occasions.⁴²

Consider some examples. The Hongrensi, a generously funded Tibetan Buddhist temple in the Imperial City, received 59 ounces of silver for incense per month; 60 ounces every three months for candles, oil, and rice; 26 ounces every six months for grain and paint; 50 ounces three times a year (on the Buddha's birthday, emperor's birthday, and new year's day); sticks of Tibetan incense four times a year; and a generous supply of donative scarves. Its annual income from the Imperial Household was thus 1,150 ounces a year. (This temple is illustrated in Figure 10.5.) The much more modestly funded Mahakala temple (also in the Imperial City) received 15 ounces per month for incense, 7 every three months for candles, and so forth, and a tenth of an ounce five times a month for vegetarian offerings; its total of 214 ounces of silver per year was more typical of imperially funded temples. The Jingzhusi in the eastern suburbs received only 15 ounces a year altogether.⁴³ (As we shall see, these Tibetan Buddhist temples enjoyed a condition of special dependency. With a limited constituency among the local population,

42. *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:22–34.

43. *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:22–34 passim, plus *NWF Guangchusi* 2:52. Items mentioned here surely still represented only part of what was provided.

they were usually both founded and funded by the throne.) When the Wen-chang temple was elevated to the rank of a Secondary Sacrifice in 1857, it received a monthly subsidy of only 6 ounces of silver, not enough to cover the new expenses of those more august ceremonies.⁴⁴

Temples without imperial endowments or subsidies had to rely on the initiative of their clergy or the generosity of other patrons. Even in a city as large as Peking, competition for such support must have been substantial. If it is correct, moreover, that the fundamental dynamics of popular (in the sense of shared) Chinese religion necessitated that a god continue to appear efficacious (*ling*) in order for its temple to be maintained,⁴⁵ then permanent endowments can be seen as attempts by patrons and clerics to perpetuate a temple through those times when proof of the god's power was lacking. To use an economic metaphor, endowments were like price supports, a defense against the uneven supply of and demand for miracles and the volatility of the market. Temples and gods so supported were given a distinct advantage in the struggle for survival.

Sometimes clerics produced their own agricultural income. One can certainly read (especially in the Ming) of monks who "meditated and chanted, and in their spare time plowed the lands beside the temple." Monks of the Wanshousi, for example, tended the hundred *mou* of vegetable gardens behind their suburban temple. Orchards on the property, possible in the Outer City and the Western Hills, could provide a temple with regular income: in the fifteenth century the suburban Guanghuisi had 180 *mou* with thousands of fruit trees.⁴⁶ Other trees yielded seeds that made excellent dyes, rosary beads, and medicine.⁴⁷ Lamas manufactured and sold bronze god images, prayer wheels, incense burners, and ritual bowls and vases.⁴⁸

Some Peking temples became the sites for monthly or annual markets and fairs and collected rent (or a percentage of sales) from each vendor, politely calling such fees "incense money."⁴⁹ This income was managed, variously, by the resident clerics or temple associations.⁵⁰ Judging from data from the 1930s, these payments were individually rather small but collectively signi-

44. *BJTB* 90:25.

45. For such dynamics: Hansen. Successful temples were certainly explained as illustrations of the god's efficacy; see, for example, *BJTB* 86:123.

46. Plowing: *JWK* 60:992. Wanshousi: *DJ* 5:202-5. Guanghuisi: *JWK* 95:1597-98.

47. Happer 363-64, 366-69.

48. Bredon 224-28; Crow 285-86.

49. The right to a place at the market, hard-earned, could become a valued hereditary claim: Conger 1909:72; Survey 1937:59-60.

50. For example, the revenues from the twice-monthly market at the Medicine-king temple that were used to buy incense and lanterns. *BJTB* 67:104.

ficant.⁵¹ Other temples, especially those that were scenic, centrally located, or convenient to transportation routes in and out of Peking, turned themselves into inns and rented rooms to short- and long-term visitors.

At monasteries, income also came from the performance of rituals. Buddhist clerics chanted sutras and recited penances. Daoists wrote out prescriptions and charms and sold medicines. Both performed masses for the dead in return for contributions, and a few monasteries of each sort made money from ordinations.⁵² Temples with sets of divination sticks could charge for each fortune told.⁵³

Most temple clerics actively solicited donations, undertaking fund-drives and inspiring gifts by their piety and sincerity. Many stories of dedicated clerics seem apocryphal, such as the tale of the monk who set aside one grain of rice each time he chanted the Buddha's name and, after twenty years, had accumulated enough to establish the temple.⁵⁴ Better documented was the chief cleric in a Guanyin temple in the 1860s, "[who] made a vow to sit in meditation, chanting sutras day and night, for more than one hundred and sixty days. The humane people of all directions pitied his bitter vow and generously gave money. . . . Later, because there was no money for repainting [the temple], the monk made a vow to put a nail through his cheek [*ding sai*] and beg for donations, and a group of virtuous ones then gave money."⁵⁵

Miracles were even more effective. The monk Cuilin arrived in Peking in 1609, found an abandoned temple site, chained himself to an image of Weituo, and sat "broiling in the hot sun"; when the image itself miraculously began to sweat, donors came forward to give money for the restoration.⁵⁶ If the monk or nun were insufficiently inspirational, or died before a sufficient sum was raised, or if one miracle was not followed by others, such campaigns sputtered and died.⁵⁷

Temples incurred many expenses, and regular income was essential. On holy days, food and possibly accommodations for visitors would have to be provided, the god images and ritual implements cleaned or refurbished, and

51. Survey 1937:59–60.

52. Information on these sorts of activities is thin in my materials. See *BJTB* 59:6, 79:28–29, 81:131; *FXZ* 4:5–6; Lagerwey 1987:260–62. Also: Welch 1967:38, 185–97, 285–97, 506.

53. As happened in one temple in the 1820s, where petitioners were charged forty cash for each fortune. Shoudu Library #694. The divination sticks in a temple to Lü Dongbin provided "efficacious prescriptions" (*shen fang*). Grube 68.

54. *JWK* 54:879–80.

55. *BJTB* 83:46–47.

56. *DJ* 3:107.

57. Failures were not usually recorded, but see *DJ* 3:118–19.

incense and candles kept burning.⁵⁸ Temples that did ordinations had to provide for elaborate rituals and large numbers of aspirant clerics. Even in a small ordinary temple, incense offerings on the first and fifteenth of the month and food for the resident cleric had to be somehow provided.

The passage of time necessitated repairs, and stock phrases about the wear and tear of long years without major work were common to stelae inscriptions. A god (and his believers) would lose face if the temple was allowed to fall into an embarrassed state. Of the Long'ansi, it was written: "We don't know when it was that the monks left or the halls collapsed, or since when the incense ceased being burned, the candles stopped being lit, or the gilded image was no longer cleaned. Neighbors climb up on the building to relax, removing their caps and slipping off their shoes; we see youths standing on the Buddha's shoulder, looking for birds to take away. Passers-by tie up their horses on the arm of the Diamond [One] and recline against the Lohan. It has been this way for a century."⁵⁹

Fire was an ever-present danger and fire fighting limited in effectiveness, even after it became more organized in the late Qing. The conflagration of 1780, for instance, swept through the area outside the Zhengyang Gate, killing a hundred people and burning four thousand buildings including the gate tower itself, famous theaters, and at least two temples.⁶⁰

Peking was also in an earthquake zone. With frightening regularity, the earth rumbled and split, water churned, and buildings collapsed. Between 1400 and 1900, eleven major quakes affected the capital area.⁶¹ The 1679 quake, its epicenter just east of Peking and registering 8.0 on the Richter scale, struck in the late morning of 7/28. Fissures ripped open the ground, and government offices, people's homes, and buildings of all kinds collapsed. A reported 485 people died, 12,793 rooms fell in, and 18,028 rooms were entirely destroyed.⁶² Religious structures were not exempt: "There were no temples or pagodas in the capital that were not damaged," as one stele put it (I know of only eight that were seriously harmed).

The 1730 quake was less strong but centered in the northwestern suburbs. Careful imperial surveys of the damage (accompanied by gifts to assist

58. The Ming Long'ansi (in the Southern City) became famous for its new year's day offerings: "a thousand dishes of fruit and cakes" each costing "one [ounce of] gold." That extravagance was possible only during the tenure of a pious Sichuanese monk who had inspired generous donations, *DJ* 3:107. "Gold" may mean silver.

59. *DJ* 3:107

60. *FXZ* 7:2, 7:3, 7:13, *FXZ Draft* 2:184; Ji Yun A:41; Zhaolian 1986a:10:356. For the two temples: *BJTB* 74:105, 81:195.

61. The most serious occurred in 1484, 1586, 1679, 1720, and 1730. See *Zhongguo dizhen mulu* passim. I have counted all those that struck Peking directly (three) and only those measuring 6.0 or higher that included Peking within the affected area (eight).

62. *Zhongguo dizhen mulu* 102-3; *QSL-KX* 82:13-15.

with rebuilding) revealed that 201 people died in the suburbs, and 457 in the city; more than 25,000 houses collapsed.⁶³ Several Catholic churches were badly hurt; the White Stupa in the Imperial City suffered damage; the Ciyinsi was fractured; and the suburban Yuanjuesi lay in ruins for twenty years.⁶⁴

Peking was well protected from the depredations of bandits and rebels. There was rather little destruction (except in the palace) during the dynastic transition in 1644, although both temples and churches suffered badly during the military engagements of 1900. Concentrated weaponry did pose special hazards. On the seventh day of the fifth month of 1626, the ammunition factory in the southwest corner of the Northern City suddenly exploded. The damage was comparable to that of a quake but more concentrated. Many stories were told about the fantastic things witnessed that day: a roar like an earthquake, flying balls of fire, the smell of sulfur, and bodies split and scattered. The tops of sedan chairs were blown off, stripping the women within of their clothing. Dozens of old trees were uprooted, and “wood and stones, people and animals, rained down from the sky.” Elephants in the nearby stables stampeded in terror. A stone lion was lifted and propelled over the city wall, and clothing was found hanging from the trees as far away as the Western Hills. The scars of giant pits marked the site of the explosion, and temples nearby suffered directly.⁶⁵

In addition to the hazards of time and nature, state hostility and the threat of confiscation were ever present.⁶⁶ Ming officials intermittently lashed out at what they saw as the inappropriate influence of Buddhist establishments. The Baomingsi was saved by the intervention of imperial women, but when there was a fire at the Great Xinglongsi in the spring of 1535, bureaucrats managed (with difficulty) to convert the temple into a yard for practicing archery and exercising elephants.⁶⁷ In the Qing, temples were likely to be seized if they housed suspicious worship. When the Catholic South Church was incinerated in 1775, resident missionaries rebuilt quickly, but when the

63. *Zhongguo dizhen mulu* 120–21; QSL-YZ 97:11–13; Malone 58. Contrast the inflated figures given in Gaubil 1970:165.

64. Churches: Gaubil 1970:265, 337; Devine 77. Stupa: *JWK* 26:363–70; *Zhongguo dizhen mulu* 120–21. Ciyin: *BJTB* 74:52. Yuanjue: *BJTB* 71:78.

65. *FXZ* 3:4–5, 3:8, 3:10, *FXZ Draft* 1:69–70; *DJ* 1:42–43; Fan Bin 14; Hucker 1966:222. Was the explosion triggered by the 7.0 earthquake to the west, two days earlier? *Zhongguo dizhen mulu* 76–77. For temples, I know of the Cheng’ensi (*JWK* 49:786) and the Shideng’an (*JWK* 49:786–87).

66. If government officials found themselves pressed for funds (as many did in the nineteenth century), the income from endowed land attached to temples and shrines on the state payroll could be diverted to other purposes. Confiscation might also result from common lawsuits, as, for example, *GZD-MM* 497:1.

67. Baomingsi: T. Li & Naquin 136–40. The Xinglongsi’s association with the monk Yao Guangxiao did not make it popular in some literati circles. *JWK* 43:680–87; Qu Xuanying 112. For the clearly unenforced 1452 decree that “monasteries with more than sixty *mou* must give away the rest to the poor tenants,” see *Huidian* 1587:126:1110.

East Church burned down in 1811, a less tolerant time, the Jiaqing emperor used the occasion to forbid further reconstruction of any churches.⁶⁸

Peking's temple lands and clerical personnel both appear to have been exempt from taxes and free of the accompanying predations. Clerics living in religious communities did not (apparently) owe labor service or a head tax, and buildings within Peking were not assessed land taxes. The ubiquitous term "incense land" alluded to these privileges, pointing out that it was the god who received the benefits of such property, and imperial stelae made explicit the exemptions of certain suburban temple properties.⁶⁹

Maintaining temple property intact over many generations was difficult, even without tax liability. Deeds and contracts were essential to the preservation of ownership rights, and for safekeeping they were sometimes turned over to an affiliated temple, registered with the local official, or even carved on stone.⁷⁰ For select temples, Ming emperors were prepared to issue decrees (intended to be inscribed on stelae and placed on the property) forbidding encroachment or trespassing on temple land, and threatening violators with prosecution. For example:

Buddhism [*fo shi*] was transmitted to the central kingdom from the western regions and has long been revered. Its teaching takes emptiness and seclusion as the main line and salvation as its heart, transforming good people and enlightening the misguided. . . . [This temple] is a place for prayers for imperial longevity, and I am now issuing a special order for its protection. Its monks peaceably cultivate themselves; officials, soldiers, and citizens should not treat them disrespectfully. Nor is anyone to encroach on their mountain woods and cultivated lands. If there are those who deliberately cause trouble and impede their teaching, they are to be punished without leniency.⁷¹

As Peking's population spread into the suburbs, mountain-temple lands became attractive places to graze livestock, obtain wood, and mine coal.⁷² In city or country, an intact outer wall was the simplest protection against unneighborly encroachment, and a crumbling wall an invitation to invasion.

68. *JWK* 49:778-79; Devine 96; Chapter 15.

69. Geiss 1979:17 asserted knowledgeably that temples were tax exempt under the Ming, but I do not feel entirely sure. See various statements in the Wanping magistrate's 1593 *Wanshu za ji* that such-and-such a temple's land was exempt from corvée: Shen Bang 18:182-83. It is possible that such exemptions had to be granted in each case. The monks of the Tanzhesi felt the need to ask the Ministry of Revenue for assurance of their exemption: *BJTB* 72:182. The examples cited in Yu Deyuan 124 could support such an interpretation, although I do not consider them very solid evidence. The 1684 gazetteer of Wanping county (an unreliable source in many matters) made reference, presumably speaking only of rural temples, to a small amount of "incense land" that incurred a tax obligation of 0.03 ounce of silver per year. *Wanping xian zhi* 3:8.

70. E.g., Oyanagi 164-74; Niida 5:1021-22.

71. *BJTB* 52:6. I know of seventeen similar examples, two in the Qing, fifteen in the Ming.

72. *BJTB* 52:144, 61:150-51.

Temples that were officially registered (as they all were supposed to be in the Ming) may have had a better chance of defending their property. Those publicly identified in their name-plaques by the words “founded by imperial order” may have been able to intimidate predators. Indeed, any stele or plaque given by the throne could have been construed as an emblem of protection.⁷³

Temples with landholdings also had to worry about collecting their rents. Even an imperially favored establishment such as the Yonghegong seems to have been routinely paid only some 60–70 percent each year, and its tenants rapidly accumulated huge arrears. Fortunately, 70 percent was all the temple needed for expenses; the rest was surplus.⁷⁴ For clerics not assisted by the Imperial Household, getting tenants to pay might have been even more difficult. The Daoist Yuqingguan had some 4,500 *mou* in at least sixty pieces, plus buildings in six other places. No wonder that they arranged to have the Baiyunguan daoists (who controlled even more land and probably had professional staff) take over the job of collection for them.⁷⁵

Relying on the income of regular temple fairs could be a dangerous course. In almost every case, temples that did so either began as or turned into empty shells whose commercial functions became primary and whose religious purposes atrophied. When the Baoguosi began to host monthly markets in the early Qing, for example, it already seems to have had few monks and was known for renting out rooms to sojourners.⁷⁶ Similarly, Qing Inner City lamaseries that hosted markets had few resident monks or outside visitors; the fairs slowed the temples’ impoverishment but accelerated their secularization.⁷⁷

Temple endowments could be eaten away by the imprudent sale of assets, a vicious circle familiar to anyone who lives off capital. Even if land was not sold outright, redeemable sales (pawning and mortgages) were a dangerous step that could easily lead to endless complications and eventual loss of prop-

73. See the debate on the Baomingsi in T. Li & Naquin.

74. With an income of 10,000 ounces a year, it had arrears of 25,000 ounces in 1767, and in 1809 was owed some 40,000 ounces for the preceding forty years. Waijidang 80, JQ 14/7/4; NWF-ZX 505:10–17, DG 1/4/9; *Qingdai di qidi* 352–69. There are surely fuller records of the Yonghegong’s holdings in the Imperial Household archives in Peking; I located a few scattered references but did not undertake an extensive search. A 1735 memorial from the Imperial Household noted the difficulty that it and other temples had in collecting such rents and generously proposed an additional subsidy for a selected few. *GZDZZ-YZ* 25:378–79.

75. Oyanagi 164–66.

76. See Tan Qian 1656:92; Meskill 1964:361. There were few signs of monks during the Qing (e.g., *BJTB* 62:79; Wang Shizhen 1691:13:295; Pak Chiwŏn 25) and by 1908 there was only one daoist in residence. Survey 1908.

77. The Longfusi still had twenty-two monks living on the premises in 1908, but their presence had become increasingly insignificant. Presumably they were able to survive primarily because of the market income. A similar development occurred at the Huguosi; by the 1930s only a few clerics were in residence, the halls were collapsing, the images were gone, and little religious activity took place. Fischer 1924:36; Survey 1937:3–4, 60–61.

erty.⁷⁸ Such cases were often blamed on heedless or greedy monks and other “unreliable” managers, men who benefitted themselves not the temple community. Take the example of one small rural Tianxian temple. It had been endowed by a eunuch in the eighteenth century with four pieces of land (totaling 30 *mou*) intended to provide regular offerings and support one cleric. When the monk needed money for repairs, he mortgaged 20 *mou* but retained the right to plant it in return for rent. In time, however, the contract clarifying this arrangement was lost. When the mortgagor later tried to sell the land, the temple had to take him to court; it eventually blocked the sale and raised money to reclaim the land.⁷⁹ In another instance, a daoist hired by an occupational lodge to perform rituals at one of their temples not only pawned the property but also went to court to seize control of the temple itself.⁸⁰

Thus, in parallel and connected ways, temples became impoverished, the gods became less efficacious, believers disappeared, and temple buildings turned into empty shells. An early Qing official described how a temple adjacent to his lodgings in Peking was slowly abandoned (*fei*): first the monks began to leave and their quarters were rented out to visitors, then mules and horses were stabled in the courtyards; after thirteen years, the last monk died, the renters decreased in number, and the sound of animals died away. “All that remained were broken tiles and crumbling walls, tattered sutras and ruined images scattered about.”⁸¹ A late eighteenth-century observer lamented the changes he saw in the Outer City Baoguo: “Today the Pilu Belvedere has been converted to an ordinary hall of three rooms, the two pines have been taken to the lumber yard, and the [crab-apple] orchard has been abandoned for a clothes-dyeing works.”⁸²

At such junctures, a temple might simply disappear. And many did. One of the great Daoist temple complexes of the Ming period, the Chaotiangong, was destroyed in 1626; in those straitened late Ming times, imperial funds were unavailable and the area was converted to people’s homes.⁸³ In the relatively well-documented Inner City, 234 known Qing temples did not survive into the twentieth century.⁸⁴ Even the official shrine built in 1654 to the Ming general Kong Youde that was part of the state cult and received bi-

78. Cemeteries were particularly vulnerable; see the 1836 She county regulations reasserting their control over graveyard land. *BJTB* 80:104:

79. *BJTB* 86:55.

80. Niida 2:327–30. A magistrate blocked sale of a temple to Western missionaries in the 1860s, claiming that the monk could neither sell nor give it away. Dudgeon 1865:3–4.

81. *BJTB* 65:92.

82. Ruan Kuisheng 726.

83. “Chaotiangong” has endured as a place name. *DJ* 4:184–87; Wu Changyuan 8:144.

84. This, even before the antireligious activities of the Republican era. Other figures—I know of 269 Ming temples for which I have seen no Qing reference and an additional 288 Qing temples not known after 1900—are probably too influenced by erratic documentation.

annual offerings from imperial deputies fell into ruin; no one advocated restoration and its land endowment was gradually eaten up.⁸⁵ With money, of course, recovery was possible, and derelict temples sometimes survived. Time passed, and new patrons emerged, exclaiming, "This was the site of an old religious establishment; it should not be abandoned."⁸⁶

Generally speaking, Peking's temples were rebuilt about once every hundred years, or approximately every three generations.⁸⁷ Shorter intervals might result from continuous patronage. In the case of the splendid Dajue Monastery (which saw major construction in 1428, 1466, 1478, and 1516), the imperial family provided regular support; for the Sansheng shrine, the Shanxi tobacco guild sponsored construction in 1727, 1760, 1779, 1802, and 1816.⁸⁸ The reader should not, however, imagine neat cycles. Most temples showed the erratic patterns predictable from discontinuous leadership.⁸⁹ The Cheng'ensi was typical. Founded in 1513 by a eunuch, it was not restored until 1757; further repairs (by a Manchu prince and his eunuch) did not begin until 1843 and were not completed until 1850.⁹⁰

All in all, a temple was an expensive creation. To get started, it needed effective leadership and a great deal of money. To survive, it needed an endowment of enduring value and generations of dedicated managers. Such needs might have been met by a permanent organization, but because such organizations were not encouraged by the Chinese state, we see instead the more common pattern of an energetic founder, a period of vigor, slow encroachment and neglect, and (after two or three generations) abandonment or revival.

CONTROL

Who controlled temple properties and resources? Usually the donors or the resident clerics, each of whom sometimes selected managers to take charge of routine business. The balance of power and the level of cooperation be-

85. 1885 *STFZ* 6:176; Xu Ke 1:218; *ECCP* 435. Kong had sided with the Qing and committed suicide after losing a battle in the southwest. It is probable that the shrine was located next to Kong's grave.

86. *JWK* 96:1608.

87. I have information about 543 instances. The average interval was 114 years and the median 89 years; the range was from 2 years to 479, but 90 percent were rather evenly distributed between 14 and 292 years.

88. For Dajue: *BJTB* 52:134. For Sansheng: Niida 5:863-940.

89. There is a much smaller pool of temples (forty-six) for which we have four sets of figures and thus can calculate three sequential acts of rebuilding. While the intervals here were slightly smaller (73 median, 90 average), no temple showed a consistent or regular pattern. One (Guanyinsi) was rebuilt at intervals of 259, 113, and 60 years; a second (Long'ansi) at 150, 131, and 121 years.

90. *BJTB* 54:6, 81:68-69, 81:210.

tween these clerics and patrons varied greatly, depending on whether each was scattered or well organized, few or numerous.

The prototypical Chinese temple drew on a venerable Buddhist monastic model in which donors turned their gifts over to the chief cleric, and he (or she) saw to the management of the property. At Ming and Qing monasteries (Buddhist or Daoist), the chief cleric had the power and responsibility to acquire and disperse temple resources in the interests both of the god and the clerical community. He could, presumably, also decide what new gods could be added within the temple, how large the clerical community could be, whether new funds needed to be raised, and so forth. This headship was clearly identified and the authority transferred to a successor upon the death of the incumbent.⁹¹

At major monasteries in Peking the founders (especially imperial ones) could choose the chief cleric. Under such circumstances, the clerics' obligations to the donor were clear: monks were expected to pray for a deceased imperial ancestor (*zhuli*), or, in the case of a (Ming) eunuch patron, to care for the grave (on the premises) after his death.⁹² Rich and powerful patrons could exercise decisive influence in temple affairs and their access to the site was surely unimpeded. Nonetheless, polite language emphasized the formally independent status of such clerics: they were "invited" (*yan*) or "welcomed" (*ying*) or "asked sincerely" (*cheng qing*) to move into the monastery and take charge. Moreover, the chief clerics of Ming Peking's largest Buddhist and Daoist monasteries were often men of considerable stature and had too many resources at their command (real and spiritual) to be entirely dominated by the patrons, even imperial ones.

The social, intellectual, and political power of the clergy was decreasing in this era, however, and not many temples were actually monasteries. When only a few monks or daoists or nuns were in residence, patrons usually took charge of the temple and its property themselves. Patrons who were well organized could more easily dominate the clergy. Members of Peking's confectioners guild, for instance, had "invited [*qing*] the monk Dahui to look after the temple's incense fires," but they specified the procedures according to which a designated (and annually rotating) manager would check on his performance and, if necessary, summon (*zhao*) someone else.⁹³ Villages in the countryside around Peking seem to have acted rather easily as collectivities, exerting authority over hired clergy. In 1664, some specified on a stele that "this land is intended as incense land; the chief cleric is not per-

91. Niida 5:1015-16; *BJTB* 90:45-46; Survey 1937:59-60. Also *BJTB* 57:40-41.

92. *BJTB* 51:112-13.

93. Niida 5:1015-16.

mitted to enrich himself from it. If the monks of our temple privately pawn it, we, the group from this district [*zhong xiang*], will see and prevent it.”⁹⁴

Organized patronage does not appear to have been typical of urban neighborhoods in late imperial Peking. Although this picture may be partially an artifact of the sources,⁹⁵ residential turnover was much greater in the city than in the countryside, and neighborhoods were not as permanent, identifiable, or homogeneous. Outsiders came regularly into Peking as sojourners, and there were major population relocations in the 1420s and 1640s.

The anthropological literature derived from rural China in recent times may not, therefore, provide the best guide for understanding the relationship between temples and communities in the premodern city. The situation in Peking more closely resembles that found by Donald DeGlopper in the nineteenth-century town of Lugang in Taiwan, or even the Middle Yangtze city of Hankou.⁹⁶ That is to say, urban neighborhoods existed in a context of social fluidity created by population movement and the overlapping and crosscutting connections between families, heterogeneous land use, and regular rebuilding. Neighborhoods were not encapsulated communities like villages and should be understood as loose and unincorporated entities. When they coalesced, as to fund a nearby temple, they did so temporarily and probably incompletely. Those whose donations were the largest seem to have had a preponderant if only temporary interest.⁹⁷

Although Peking was reasonably dense with temples, they were distrib-

94. *BJTB* 65:82, erroneously dated by *BJTB* editors. See also Shen Bang 17:169.

95. It is not possible, for example, to map out the Earth-god shrines to see if the city was divided up in a tidy fashion, as Kristofer Schipper found for nineteenth-century Tainan. Schipper 1977:658. I have no confidence that the number of Tudi shrines known to me was close to complete, even for the late Qing. For instance, I know of only forty-seven for the Inner City, although there were surely many more. References to the contributions to any temple expected of residents in the vicinity are, moreover, rare. For one late Qing example that included only shopowners: *BJTB* 82:173.

96. See DeGlopper 153–60, 174, and esp. 155–56 for his difficulty in mapping out clear-cut neighborhoods even in the present day. He also argued persuasively that the rhetoric of “neighborhoods” misleadingly emphasized tidy harmonious communities (197–99, 241). William Rowe also emphasized the importance of crosscutting ties, although he found the neighborhoods and neighborhood temples of late Qing Hankou to be more fixed than seems to me true for Peking. Rowe 1989:77–83, 177–78, 239; the language of “kingdoms” or “parishes” is quite inappropriate. Taipei in the Qing (as seen by a modern anthropologist) seems to have followed the rural model: Feuchtwang 1974:268–80. Feuchtwang admitted, however, that the experience of the Japanese occupation had the effect of enhancing temple exclusiveness (285); did this distort his understanding of the earlier period (see 430 n.12)?

97. The term *liren* was sometimes used to refer to the residents of what seem to be urban neighborhoods. Shareholding corporations do not appear to have been created, nor was the language of transferable “shares” employed as it was in late Qing Taiwan according to Myron Cohen.

uted unevenly throughout the city.⁹⁸ Because each temple's pool of potential patrons included many newcomers, close ties among them would have been harder to create. Where patrons were scattered and poorly connected, resident clerics provided continuity and may have exercised relatively more control over temple resources.

In any case, a fluid urban social setting exacerbated the problem faced by all temples of how to assure continuous income and predictable leadership. Clerics and patrons faced constant competition over resources and uncertainty about the future. These pressures, as we shall see, encouraged both narrow, private, and secure patronage on the one hand, and wider, varied, but uncertain patronage on the other.

Some religious establishments were exclusive from the outset—ancestral halls, imperial chapels, and native-place lodges—and thus became the responsibility of particular patrons. At other temples, privatization (takeover by and for a limited group) solved the need for regular income. Once reserved for a clearly defined community, temples became themselves a form of cultural capital and vehicles for raising the status of the controlling group. When such patrons had ways of perpetuating themselves, long-term support could be ensured.⁹⁹ We shall see examples in later chapters of how patron-

98. What do we know about the number of temples in relation to the size of the population and pool of potential patrons? Ming and Qing population figures are extremely rough (Han Guanghui's 1996 estimates are the best), but we are on firmer ground in the middle of the nineteenth century. A survey by the Gendarmerie of the Inner City in 1851 reported that there were 866 temples in an area occupied by 91,000 households living on 1,224 streets. I have combined the 76,000 residential households with the 15,000 shopkeeper ones. According to this snapshot, there was thus one temple per 105 households (a figure that may be as accurate as we can get), one for each 1.4 alleyways, or some 500–600 people per temple depending on one's estimate of household size. Wu Jianyong 168; I am grateful to James Lee and Lillian Li for Wu's article. The Inner City population in 1882 was 479,000: Han Guanghui 1996:128. The results of a 1906 survey of the more sparsely inhabited Outer City were that there was one temple for every 165 households, and 2.8 streets per temple. Survey 1906:33, 35–36. Less reliable estimates for the eighteenth century confirm that one temple per 600 people is a good guess. (One can take the count of 1,275 temples within the entire walled city from Map 1750:Index 11–26; and a population of about 800,000 from Han Guanghui 1996:128.)

These figures indicate that we can probably use one temple for 600 people as a rough gauge of density in Peking, but points of comparison are few. In Tianjin city in 1846 there was one temple per 212 households, or one per 1,258 people (*Jinmen baojia tushuo* j. 12). In late nineteenth-century Tainan, Jiayi, and Zhanghua towns in Taiwan, there was one temple per 87, 86, and 50 households, respectively. Schipper 1977:651, 769. For the right idea but wrong scale and seriously inadequate data: Eberhard. These figures are, of course, averages and tell us nothing about the actual size of a meaningful community.

99. Consider the behavior of the fictional Jia family toward the "Temple of the Lunar Goddess" in the eighteenth-century novel *Hong lou meng*. When the family visited, the temple was closed off to the general public. Cao Xueqin j. 29.

age by the throne, minority religions, and occupational lodges all had a chilling effect on other users.¹⁰⁰

By contrast, many temples in Peking—and surely elsewhere in the empire—welcomed a plurality of patrons and eagerly accepted funds from different sources for different purposes. As a result, disparate individuals and groups visited and made donations, often in an entirely uncoordinated fashion. Ste-lae thus recorded not merely gifts but potential claims to influence. Because temples' reputations were differentially communicated through written and spoken words, they could reach out to many segments of the population, the proverbial rich and poor, male and female, old and young, as well as Chinese and foreigners. As I have argued elsewhere (using Peking's suburban Tanzhesi as an example), for many religious establishments, to rely on a single community of patrons, even had it been possible, would have been much less effective than promotion of multiple identities for the monastery and the search for numerous patrons. In such a situation, neither resident clerics nor any particular patron had great leverage, and coordination was difficult. Temple patrons were thus not a single community knit together by this activity but separate, self-contained, and parallel assemblages of donors.¹⁰¹

Most temples were, moreover, fundamentally competitors with one another. In keeping with the structurally weak position of religion in late imperial times, there were no strong connections between the clerics or gods of Peking's temples. From at least the fifteenth century, it is true, smaller temples could be designated (usually by an emperor or eunuch) as the "branch" (*xiayuan*) of a larger monastery. The monastery might assist or manage the branch, selecting its chief cleric and controlling its revenues. In a few cases, the main temple was not nearby but distant.¹⁰² I know of one hundred Peking temples that were *xiayuan* in the twentieth century, but there is little information about such ties in the Ming and Qing.¹⁰³

Temples in Peking were not founded, as they seem to have often been in Taiwan and southeastern China, "as affiliates of cults elsewhere."¹⁰⁴ In those places, incense from an existing temple was used to found a new temple to

100. These private and exclusive relationships were more similar to those found in twentieth-century Taiwan, where temple patronage followed the fault lines of, and reinforced, pre-existing solidarities and differences.

101. Naquin 1998.

102. Perhaps at Rehe or Mount Wutai. For some early Ming examples: *JWK* 101:1671–72; *BJTB* 51:198. Also *Guangji zhi* 209–10; *Tanzhe zhi* 42; Oyanagi 145–49, 164–66; *BJTB* 85:186; Peking City Archives 2:8:104; Survey 1943:2.

103. Data from the twentieth century are mostly from the Survey 1943.

104. Schipper 1977:653.

the same god, a process usually called “dividing incense” (*fen xiang*) (or a similar term). The two temples remained thereafter connected in a kind of mother-daughter or center-branch relationship, part of a single cult, and nested hierarchies of interlinked temples could thus be created over a wide area.¹⁰⁵ I have seen no reference to any such relationship among temples (or gods) in the Peking area.

The most systematically organized cult in northern China involved the two gods associated with Mount Tai. As we shall see, temples for these male and female deities were often called *xinggong* (travel-palace), a term used for the place where an emperor (human or divine) stayed when away from his normal palace residence. These temples were thus understood as parts of a network that radiated out from (and drew pilgrims to) one center.

A few temples in Peking were dedicated to other gods who, by the late imperial period, had major cult centers elsewhere in the empire. Through pilgrimages to these sites, residents of the capital enacted connections to a wider religious world. They might travel to Mount Wudang in Hubei where Zhenwu was enshrined and his life commemorated, to Hangzhou or Putuoshan in Zhejiang for the bodhisattva Guanyin, to Mount Wutai in Shanxi for Manjusri, and even to Meizhou in Fujian for Mazu. The component connectors in these networks were people, not temples. Personal links did little more than help standardize the religious iconography and give some consistency to a god’s history and identity. Within Peking, temples to the same deities were not formally connected, and, although the more popular temples might provide iconographic models, each was an alternative—and fundamentally competing—locus for devotees of the god.

ACTIVITIES

The variety of relationships possible between patrons and clerics plus the legitimacy conferred by respectable Buddhist piety allowed temples to become the locus and the focus for the formation of groups, associations, and communities. At the same time, the accessibility of temple space (and the lack of alternatives) encouraged the use of the grounds by and for the general public. These various activities not only helped constitute and justify communities of patrons, they also knit temples into the fabric of Peking life. Many examples of these processes are given in the chapters that follow, so we will make only a cursory survey here.¹⁰⁶

As the capital, Peking played a central role in the various ritual and mental constructions of the empire (*tianxia*). Through imperially funded and coordinated rites, the emperor and his officials acted out this larger polity,

105. Schipper 1990; Sangren 213–15; Feuchtwang 1992:126–35; Dean 1993:249.

106. Fuller citations will usually be found in later chapters.

demonstrated its existence, and periodically renewed it. The Ministry of Rites managed the state religion in Peking for the benefit of the residents of the administratively defined empire. The rites were closed to the public, and the chief offerants were representatives of the state. Prayers at such rituals routinely invoked the “merit for the dynasty [*guo*] and benefit for the people [*min*]” provided by supernatural powers.¹⁰⁷ By housing such rituals and the spaces dedicated to them, Peking’s identity as the imperial capital was strengthened.

Rituals of the state religion also helped constitute other disembodied communities. Many of the gods who received Tertiary Sacrifices in Peking were worshipped simultaneously by ordinary people. If we can speak of a national community of believers in these gods—and I am not entirely sure that we can—then the dynasty certainly helped constitute such cults. These gods’ reputations benefitted from government-supported rites and impressive titles even when imperial attempts to co-opt the gods and recast their identities were ignored or resisted.¹⁰⁸

There was nothing uniquely local about Peking’s temples—almost all had counterparts in the villages and towns of the region and beyond. And yet during the Ming and Qing periods the city’s religious establishments became part of, and were very important in helping define, what residents and visitors alike thought of as “Peking.” Used by a large urban public for many purposes, temples were drawn into the wider world of the city. As the setting for fairs, processions, markets, pilgrimages, public relief, lodging, and meetings, temples could become local landmarks. Let us see how this happened.

On a god’s birthday, when clerics were busy in one of the temple’s halls or courtyards, visitors filled the remaining space. Such holy days involved crowds, goods, parades, and entertainment as well as rituals and were called “temple fairs” (*miaohui*). Descriptions of these festivals were phrased in clichés about people gathering like clouds, coming in unbroken processions, filling the lanes and stopping up the streets, and clamoring and crowding into the courtyards. Sometimes the crowds were indeed so great that the god’s birthday came to be celebrated over a period of days, even weeks. The biggest annual celebrations thus became well-known local events.

These festivals were lively and exciting, with plentiful entertainment. Both lay patrons and performers offered (*xian*) plays and presentations to please the gods, a repayment (*bao*) for assistance that was also intended to promote good feeling on the part of god and worshippers and reinforce the ties be-

107. *Huidian* 1587:jj. 93–94. *Guo* in this and most instances meant the ruling dynasty and its institutions of governance, not “country” or “nation.” But see Preface, note 6, for my occasional use of “national” to mean “pertaining to the empire.”

108. See Duara 1988:782–85 for these complexities in the case of Guan Yu.



Figure 3.2. Medicine-king Temple in Kandan Village

A permanent stage faced this suburban temple. Pilgrimage associations came here to celebrate the god's birthday on the twenty-eighth day of the fourth month.

SOURCE: *ZNQT* #15. Also see Peking Library #3735; *BJTB* 71:8, 72:187–88.

tween temple patrons. If temple courtyards lacked room for a temporary stage of bamboo and woven mats, the street nearby could be used. In nearly two dozen cases, temples had permanent stages (*xitai* or *xilou*), most constructed in or after the eighteenth century by organized groups (from occupational and native-place lodges).¹⁰⁹ (See Figure 3.2.)

Other groups of performers came in disorganized profusion. There was heart-stopping knife throwing, acrobats, trapeze shows, jumping through burning hoops, walking on a wire or a pole, sword swallowing, tumbling, and shut-

109. I know of twenty-two permanent stages. Their construction probably paralleled the growth of public theaters. There were also a number of stages in temples within the Forbidden and Imperial Cities. See *BJTB* 79:160 for rearranging a temple's buildings so that the stage could be directly in front of the god's hall.

tlecock kicking. Others effortlessly wielded clubs, pitchforks, and staves. Skilled men and boys juggled balls, plates, jars, rocks, or heavy locks, lifting them up or throwing them high, juggling with a partner, balancing them on the head, supporting them with the elbow, and so forth. Magicians did impressive sleights of hand; others showed off their trained dogs, bears, monkeys, and even mice. One could watch troupes that performed dramas on stilts, that mimed a boat, or that dressed and danced as lions. One could listen to blind musicians, storytellers, and drum-song singers, or watch shadow-puppet and peep shows. Fortune-tellers hustled, as did a variety of touts and healers. Itinerant barbers and dentists and druggists, letter writers, seal carvers, and money changers all sought customers. Games of chance were all too easy to find, not to mention dice and cards, betting on quail and cricket fighting.¹¹⁰

In at least a half dozen places, because of the open land nearby, temple festivals were accompanied by sporting events—horse and cart races, polo, and mounted archery. Betting intensified spectator interest. (At some fairs, horse merchants used these displays to advertise their stock.) Qing Banner nobility and officials enthusiastically showed off their fastest steeds, deepening the long-standing martial component of Peking culture. In the late Qing, Westerners built a racetrack in the southwest suburbs (complete with grandstand and paddock) that became “the centre of that sporting life of Peking”; races—both flat racing and steeplechasing—were held religiously each spring and fall. Many Chinese went to watch and wager.¹¹¹

Rituals performed by Buddhist clergy were an essential component of festival days: washing the images, setting out lantern boats, exorcising demons, saving the souls of hungry ghosts, circumambulating the temple. Such rites not only defined the clerical community itself, displaying its presence and purpose, but also helped create a larger imagined community—one that never assembled—of people desirous of salvation in Buddhist terms.

Some gods made tours of inspection as part of their birthday celebrations, but such events were relatively rare in Peking, and little was recorded about them or their sponsors. We do not know who it was that took the God of the Eastern Peak on a “stroll” (*you*) in a sedan chair on his birthday in the Ming period (the festivities were a citywide event.) In the eighteenth century, lay associations linked the Inner and Outer City City-god temples by parades three times a year and so drew the city together symbolically.¹¹²

Mongol lamas had their own rituals through which they presented them-

110. Many sources, *passim*, but see Grube 99ff.; *Beijing minjian fengsu bai tu*; and Constant. For a detailed description of what a Korean emissary saw at the Summer Mountain Retreat at Rehe in 1780, see Feifel.

111. Ming: *DJ* 2:71. Qing: Chapter 16, note 30. The 1920s: Bridge, esp. chaps. 6 and 10.

112. As did patrons of newly established temples to the City-gods of Peking’s two counties who went out in procession (*chu xun*) twice a year a century later. Were Earth-gods, City-gods, and Dongyue particularly likely to mark off territory through processions? See Shryock 104;

selves to the Peking public, while simultaneously praying for the community of believers in their particular gods. By Qing times their winter rites of expelling demons and ensuring good fortune during the coming year, performed inside and outside several major lamaseries, attracted crowds of curious Peking residents. Lamas in full regalia were exotic by Chinese standards, with their yellow robes and feather-crowned hats, their human skulls and bones, chants that sounded like rumbling growls, and the low long tones of their brass horns. The general spectacle, noisily announced by the horns, conch, bells, and drums, was popularly called “beating the ghosts” (*dagui*).¹¹³

The courtyards of religious establishments were also quite suitable for the periodic markets that were informally (and invisibly) organized by city merchants. These “temple markets” (*miaoshi*) spilled over into adjacent alleys and lanes, and the market and the religious activities were usually kept separate. Such markets were normally held at ten-day intervals; “on the twos,” for example, meant on the second, twelfth, and twenty-second of the month, and so forth. By the Qing period, an interlinked sequence of temple markets had developed, one that allowed vendors to move predictably and efficiently across the city, serving each district in turn and permitting consumers to shop on nearly any day of the year. The intersecting holidays of a city full of temples, their crowds, vendors, entertainment, parades, and rituals became the backbone of what was understood as Peking’s annual calendar (*suishi*), which defined the local culture to participants as well as outsiders and was objectified in paintings and written guidebooks.

Religious establishments also provided grounds for other activities aimed at a wider audience and for the formation of other new communities.

Many temples became well known because they offered accommodation to visitors. In the hills and mountains near the city where few people lived, temples were open to weary travellers as a matter of principle. Because the Western Hills were not on a through route, there were no inns, and the monks of the mountain temples provided welcome hospitality, food, and lodging. The visitor could offer reimbursement as he pleased. In both Ming and Qing, literati took frequent excursions here, on foot and on horseback. Without maps or good guides, they often became lost, and temples were among the few landmarks. Arriving unexpectedly at the gate, these weary sightseers would be offered tea, shown around, told the history of the place, fed a vegetarian meal, and given a place to sleep and directions onward.¹¹⁴ As the West-

Feuchtwang 1974:273–74; but also DeGlopper 153. Peking sources are too slight to reveal if competition underlay these processions.

113. For an explanation of these rites: Chapter 15; Waddell chap. 20. For photographs: Mumm 61–62; Fu Gongyue et al. 267–72.

114. E.g., Li Dongyang 6:2579–84; Tao Yunjia; Tan Qian 1656:250–54; *Xiaofanghuzhai yudi congchao* 4:2405–25.

ern Hills were settled and made more accessible, urban people began renting temple rooms during the hot summer months in order to enjoy the cooler weather and cleaner air.

In the city, temples rented out their rooms more systematically. Peking was full of strangers who had difficulty with the local dialect and needed temporary lodging, not the least important of whom were the thousands of officials and examination candidates who poured into the capital.¹¹⁵ The city had many inns, but temples were also a frequent choice. When Pak Chiwōn visited the Xizhaosi in 1780, he found men from Fujian and Guangdong living there: “They are licentiates and have no money to return home, so they stay here, writing or teaching or carving [printing] blocks for a living. At this time, there are thirty-one of them. They are hired to teach and therefore go out in the morning and don’t return till evening.”¹¹⁶ Such rooms could be noisy. Qian Tengzhi couldn’t sleep at all the night he stayed at the Zengshousi, dusty and exhausted from his journey. The temple was being used as a soup kitchen, so the supervising officials’ horses filled the courtyards, ducks roosted in the bell tower, and tea sellers were everywhere. The noise of the carts on the street combined with the sound of temple bells and gongs kept him awake.¹¹⁷ Temples had to take responsibility with the local constabulary for their lodgers.¹¹⁸ In the late Qing and twentieth century, as the city’s religious establishments grew increasingly underfunded, rooms were rented out on such a scale and on such terms—as residences, warehouses, and stores—that the integrity of the temple was often lost.¹¹⁹

Ordinarily, lodgers came as individuals or in family groups, but the need for housing and mutual assistance also stimulated groups of sojourners to search in an organized fashion. Men who were already linked by shared place of origin or a common occupation normally wanted a place to worship a local god or the patron of their craft or business, so they often combined functions. They might establish a temple together and then use the side-rooms for housing, or they would rent a building and use some rooms for altars and some for accommodation. Those who could not support an entire building might rent rooms in a large temple.¹²⁰ Officials who came briefly for an audience could use these facilities, as could merchants in town for short pe-

115. Uneasiness about taking up residence in strange places may have been reflected in the many written references by visitors to the fox spirits that local people believed haunted empty rooms. Ji Yun A:48; Zhao Yi 2:2455; Hao Yixing 4:3-4; Huntington.

116. Pak Chiwōn 25.

117. FXZ 9:2.

118. At least during the Qing, Dray-Novey 1993:899.

119. The 1926 “Guide to Peking” listed 149 temples inside the walls where rooms were regularly available on a short-term basis. They were equally divided between the Inner and Outer Cities; eight suburban temples were also listed. *Beijing zhinan* 8:14-16.

120. See discussions of the Dongyuemiao in Chapter 14 or the Jingzhongmiao in Chapter 15.

riods of time. It could become necessary to create rules about the members who got drunk and committed crimes but wouldn't leave.¹²¹

Temples were also used to store the coffins of sojourners who had died away from home. "[In the capital] those who die poor or sick or orphaned or homeless have no graveyard. . . . Thus [in temples are] abandoned bones and half-rotting flesh, things that no truly humane person or filial child can bear. To hear of it wounds the heart."¹²² Some groups concentrated their collective activities at shrines attached to graveyards.¹²³

As we shall see in later chapters, the temples and lodges founded by native-place and occupational groups (usually called *huiguan*) were legitimated for secular association by a religious framework and public statements of disinterestedness. As *huiguan* proliferated, beginning in the Ming and dramatically in the Qing, they became an important and enduring new associational form in Peking—and then in the empire. In the late Qing, when national crises made the line between private and public business more fluid, they were used for new purposes such as organizing armies, fighting fires, and even plotting revolution.

The efforts of Chinese elites to provide their communities with public services have long been discussed in the scholarly literature. We know a considerable amount about granaries, water control, schools, emergency relief, charity, and militias. Because these activities have traditionally been conceived of as the responsibility of both government and community leaders, they have been performed by various combinations of official and private leadership during the course of China's history. Less attention has been given to precisely *where* these welfare activities were carried out.

By Ming-Qing times, officials usually employed buildings owned and maintained by the government, establishing granaries, schools, graveyards, and orphanages in provincial administrative centers as well as in the capital. But because there was considerable reluctance to permit large numbers of ordinary people onto the premises of government buildings, these structures could not substitute in times of emergency for the armory, school gymnasium, or neighborhood church that were pressed into service in other times and places.

The available space and charitable character of temples made them suitable for these purposes, and their grounds became a zone in which the state and private individuals could operate both separately and jointly. As we shall see, relief for the poor was made available in temples both in Ming times,

121. E.g., Niida 5:1015–16, 5:1019–20, or HG Henan 5.

122. *BjTB* 83:197.

123. E.g., the (Anhui) She county tea merchants and bankers. See HG She xian passim and Niida 6:1166 for a drawing of the complex.

when most charity had a quasi-official character, and during later waves of local activism. Temple space was thus used to serve (and define) a community for which both local government and local elites felt responsible.

In connection with such activities, elites combined a venerable vocabulary of “right behavior” with the language of religion to legitimize their actions. The word *yi*, often translated “charity” in this context, implied public-mindedness directed toward good and unselfish ends and was used as a prefix for buildings dedicated to these purposes: *yicang* (charity granaries), *yixue* (charity schools), *yizhong* (charity graveyards), and so forth.¹²⁴ Although their funds were often raised with official approval, these were usually institutions controlled neither by the state nor by an individual family, and they were intended instead for what we today might understand as public purposes. Even when its parameters were not specified, *yi* implied the existence of a community toward which such right behavior was directed.

The Ming and Qing states managed several public service institutions, namely orphanages, refuges for the homeless, and soup kitchens. Most began in or adjacent to temples but were funded by the local or national government and intended for the residents of Peking in general. (As we shall see, officials defined “the capital” loosely to include residents of the suburbs but exclude refugees from further afield.) When two protoacademies were founded under prefectural leadership in 1702, neither had its own building: one was housed in part of a large villa, and the other in a temple.¹²⁵

Peking’s elites (including long-term sojourners) saw charity as a field in which they could legitimately organize, and they too headquartered their activities in temples. It is harder to see the contours of the community they thought they were benefitting. It may sometimes have been no bigger than a neighborhood, although they usually attempted to gain the sponsorship of local government and so claimed to serve the city as a whole.

In 1705 the throne began to give regular support to a refuge for the homeless initiated by a local monk and called the Merciful and Compassionate Court (Cibei yuan), a name that proclaimed religious and altruistic goals. Once the throne added funds, it became known by the more generic name, Hall for Universal Relief (Pujitang).¹²⁶ Such co-optation reflected a widespread trend toward secular management. In another example, early in the dynasty, five soup kitchens were set up in temples in the poorer neighborhoods of Peking; in 1851 there were nine, and all but one were still in temples. In the

124. *Yi* is sometimes translated as “righteous,” although “doing what is understood as right” is more neutral and correct.

125. *FXZ* 8:25.

126. *BJTB* 69:179–80; *JWK* 92:550–51; *STFZ* 1885:12:316–18.

1860s–1870s, however, as many things began to change, twenty more were instituted, now mostly under the management of new community-led benevolent societies and not in temples.¹²⁷ These private societies known as “halls for good deeds” (*shantang*) were created in Peking in a great wave after 1875. Occasionally receiving government funds, they were for the most part privately managed, housed in their own independent buildings and cheerfully occupying the fuzzy zone between state and family. Even so, temples remained important to emergency relief and during the great flooding of the southern suburbs in 1890, they were the key nodes in the relief effort undertaken by benevolent halls. (These activities are illustrated in Figure 16.2.)¹²⁸

Serving as the locus for public charity brought legitimacy to temples. Whereas religious and pilgrimage associations were (just barely) tolerated by the state, by the nineteenth century benevolent halls and sojourner lodges achieved a certain unstated legitimacy. The same cannot be said for political activists who struggled in late imperial and early modern times to find a place to meet and a legitimate framework for constituting themselves publicly.

Educational institutions that concentrated on the Confucian tradition were natural places for debate by scholars about both ideas and policies and thus were important to scholar-officials and potentially dangerous to the throne. And they were not so dramatically different from temples as one might think.¹²⁹ Peking’s two enduring higher-level institutions for scholarship were the Guozijian and the Hanlinyuan, each of which has been misleadingly called an “academy.” The latter is best understood as an Imperial Secretariat where the most successful degree-winners were trained for the highest offices. The former, the Directorate of Education, was where officially sponsored instruction in the Classics took place. Located in the aptly named “Revere the Teaching” ward in the northeast corner of the city, the Guozijian complex was a focal point for the empirewide community of scholars articulated outside the capital through the schools and the examination system. Government-approved teachers, scholars, and texts stretching back into the past were embodied in its tablets, stelae, and books.¹³⁰ The adjacent temple to Confucius allowed ritual expression of this community. The hand of the

127. *STFZ* 1885:12:316–19; *Jinwu shili* 9:58.

128. *ZNQT*. Illustrations from this history of flood relief other than the one shown in Figure 16.2 (#24) showed the Jiuliansi refuge (#27) with thatched-roof huts set up in the courtyards for homeless women and children, and a Guandimiao being used to distribute porridge and firewood (#5).

129. See Walton for a discussion of such similarities.

130. The Guozijian also published editions of the Classics and dynastic histories. Zhang Lian, esp. 43–75.

state lay heavily upon these institutions, and although politics were discussed and factionalism omnipresent, these seats of power were unlikely and unsuitable places for active dissent or private literati organizing.

Unlike other cities of the empire, the capital had no private or quasi-public academies. In the tense political atmosphere of the 1620s, attempts by the anti-eunuch Donglin scholars to found such a school failed. In the Qing, scholar-officials took even greater care in meeting and associating so as not to be accused of partisanship, factionalism, or worse.

Some temples were, however, thought quite suitable for collective activities sponsored by the power elite, specifically the shrines (*ci*) to virtuous people that eulogized the unassailable virtues of service and sacrifice to the dynasty, loyalty (*zhong*), filial piety (*xiao*), and restraint (*jie*).¹³¹ The fraternal sentiments of men from the same native place as those commemorated sometimes justified the attention of organized groups to these shrines. Founded in the 1780s and restored in the 1840s, one such shrine was dedicated to Yang Jisheng, a Ming official who had become a symbol to some scholar-officials (especially but not exclusively those from his native place) of both toughness toward foreigners and courage in denouncing corruption. In 1844, in another instance, scholars gathered at the Baoguosi to erect an altar to the revered seventeenth-century scholar Gu Yanwu. In those years of crisis after the Opium War, their “shrine association” met regularly in the temple, with goals both personal and political, commemorative and contemporary.¹³²

Other temples offered more perilous possibilities. Becoming a monk could, under some circumstances, be intended as a political act, and temples could be places for ostentatious literati reclusion from politics. (Peking was, however, hardly the most convincing site for such a gesture.)¹³³ Like public houses, temples were also suitable sites for elite graffiti and, although our sources do not call it to our attention, this anonymous medium was ideal for veiled criticisms of powerful people and government business.¹³⁴ Monasteries were places where clerics could not only legitimately congregate but also give lectures and instructions, and noted monks travelled about (especially during the Ming), preaching to large clerical and lay audiences. This kind of

131. There were nearly two dozen such shrines in Peking in Qing times. *STFZ* 1885:6:170–80.

132. Polachek 217–21, 348.

133. There was a Ming officer who had become a monk in the Chongxiaosi in Peking at the time of the Qing conquest. He had painted a scroll showing a monk by pine and apricot trees. Kept at that temple by the clerics, in the course of the next three centuries it was sought out by many men who saw in it veiled political symbolism. Each attached a new colophon, making an impressive list: Wang Shizhen, Zhu Yizun, Weng Fanggang, Ji Yun, Kang Youwei, and Liang Qichao, among others. *Beijing liuxing zhinan* 94–95; Lowe 1:106–8.

134. The Mohe'an, for example, acquired a reputation for this kind of communication: Jiang Yikui 3:61.

activity—feared by the government—reached a peak during the heightened religiosity of the Wanli reign.

Under the Ming and Qing, emperors and officials were defined as the only legitimate political actors (heaven acted through the people only in extremis), and the state attempted to thoroughly dominate public discussion of politics. The throne (and to a lesser extent the bureaucracy) fought a constant battle to limit access to official information, control the media, and restrict political debate. “Wild” (*wang*) or “heterodox” (*xie*) books were censored or seized, factions among officials were grounds for serious charges, and laws on sedition were used to punish a range of popular protests.

Politically concerned people lived, moreover, in a world without modern newspapers. A state-controlled gazette published selected documents on a regular basis for official eyes only, and gossip assumed particular importance in the transmission of political news. Even as the seventeenth-century boom in publishing encouraged the dissemination of new ideas, books deemed dangerous were confiscated and their authors, publishers, and owners punished. In politics, communication therefore usually took place face-to-face or through very private channels.

Meeting places were thus crucial to an organization or movement of any size. But where could an uncensored or disinterested discussion of national business take place? Schools, private homes, and public houses (inns, tea-houses, and wineshops) each had their drawbacks. Because temples were a place outside the home and outside the offices of government where people could meet at their leisure, they became the locus for political conversation and association. Dramatic change did not come until the very end of the dynasty, and it was not until the twentieth century that the capital saw radically new forms of political action and organization.

As national communities could more easily be articulated by officially approved religious rituals, so, on a smaller and more manageable scale, could local groups. A wider public was attracted to temple premises by the rites performed for gods by resident clerics on holy days. By becoming nodes in the annual calendar, these festival days provided occasions for the legitimate formation of assemblies—and secured the place of temples in Peking’s urban culture.

Although Chinese gods were accessible at any time and their temples normally open to the public, religious establishments were most regularly frequented on the first and fifteenth of each lunar month (the new and full moons, respectively). On these days, individuals came to *bai*—to burn incense and paper-money and to pray; such visits “began at dawn and had ceased by noon.”¹³⁵

135. *DJ* 3:100–101.

Because most gods were anthropomorphized by Ming and Qing times, they were thought to be particularly receptive to the prayers of believers on their birthdays, when gifts were appropriate. Although most gods had birthdays, not all temples had a festival that attracted crowds on a large scale.¹³⁶ Getting ready for these celebrations involved refurbishing, sweeping, and cleaning the temple; hanging up fresh lanterns; dusting off and garbing the images; putting up extra tables and covering the courtyards with awnings; setting out incense, ritual vessels, candles, and offerings on the altars; and readying refreshments (tea or sour-plum juice) for visitors.¹³⁷ In monasteries, such time-consuming tasks were performed by resident clerics, but at many other temples, groups of pious individuals took over such functions. These groups used these activities to constitute themselves and justify their existence.

Clerical communities (*zhong*), already defined by ordination (and certification) and active on a regular basis in the performance of rituals, provided the model and legitimation for lay communities.¹³⁸ As we shall see in Chapters 7 and 14, the necessity of funding temple offerings and festivals was sometimes used to justify the creation of lay associations (*hui*). In time, such charitable and religious associations (*yihui*, *shenghui*) flourished as elaborate and long-lived organizations for funding, structuring, and perpetuating both temple festivals and pilgrimages.

LEISURE

Peking's temples catered informally to an even wider public, most of whom came for private prayers or casual diversions rather than for concentrated and organized action. Some temples were museumlike repositories that with the passage of time became old, antique, and even historic; some had novel, refreshing, or scenic settings. As knowledge of such pleasures was recorded in books, marked on maps, and shared by word of mouth, temples were further incorporated into Peking's sights and so helped define and constitute the city for visitors and natives.

Some monasteries had substantial libraries, other temples held unsystematic collections of texts in various media. Although class and literacy would have been decisive in easing entry, for men (and women?) interested in history, philosophy, and religion, these treasures were an alternative to more exclu-

136. I know of 108 temples with festivals, out of more than 2,500.

137. *BJTB* 72:187–88; and many examples in the chapters that follow.

138. ter Haar 1992:62 suggested that the use of this term for members of a lineage came originally from Buddhist practice.

sive imperial and private holdings. Predictably, the Confucius temple had its own library of sacred books, but so did at least two of the Qing period Catholic churches and several dozen Buddhist and Daoist monasteries.¹³⁹

The Chinese Canon of Buddhist sutras (the Tripitaka, *Dazangjing*) had been compiled and repeatedly reedited in and after the medieval period; at intervals, later emperors had expanded, reproduced, and distributed it to important monasteries across the empire. The capital's temples were particularly favored. They held copies of the Liao Tripitaka completed in 1064, the Jin edition of 1173, the 1251 Korean one, and the 1294 Yuan edition.¹⁴⁰ When another revision was undertaken by Yongle in 1410, copies were naturally distributed in the new capital: at least twenty Peking temples were given sets between 1445 and 1462.¹⁴¹ A second wave of donations accompanied the pious activities of Empress Dowager Li in the 1570s–1590s; she had blocks for new scriptures carved and printed and distributed with the earlier edition.¹⁴² The Guangji monastery, patronized by the first Qing emperor, cooperated in a reprinting of the Tripitaka done in Nanking in the 1650s and received a set from the emperor in 1663, for which a new library was built on the premises.¹⁴³ Yongzheng reprinted the canon in 1738, and his suc-

139. Churches: Verhaeren; Mungello 47. For scripture-storing halls: Prip-Møller 51–60, and plate 72 for the bookcase at Peking's Fahaisi.

140. For the dates of these editions: Ch'en 1964:374–76. The Liao edition was in the Dajuesi: Field Museum #732. The Jin edition was in the Hongfasi: *JWK* 155:2502. This text was the basis for the Yuan edition in the Huguosi: *JWK* 53:842–47. The Korean edition was in the Qingshousi: *JWK* 43:686. It is not clear to me which editions were given to the Hushengsi in 1332; one had the text in gold, the other had it in black. See *JWK* 100:1662–63; *DMB* 423.

141. This was the so-called northern, Yongle edition (not the southern one sponsored by the Ming founder in Nanking). See S. Hsu 76, 181. Kenneth Ch'en did not date the completion of the Yongle edition; I think it was 1445. All the acts of distribution come (or could have come) after 1445, and at least seven were distributed in that year. This edition was presumably the "new compilation" with an imperial preface dated 1440 mentioned by the *DMB* 293. The Daoist Canon, started about the same time, was completed in 1445.

142. This printing project and Madame Li's role in it deserve closer investigation. This edition was the first to be printed in book rather than pleated-sutra format. See Prip-Møller 60; *DMB* 141. The Wanli emperor described a 1590 gift of a supplement (41 cases, possibly sutras favored by his mother) plus the original (637 cases); see Shen Bang 18:194 and *BJTB* 58:13 for a similar gift the following year. It was presumably something comparable that was being given out (or promised?) in the 1580s and 1590s, and that was a source of fame and disgrace to the monk Deqing; see S. Hsu 76–82 and P. Y. Wu's essay in *DMB* 1273. The contents of one surviving set of this edition now in the National Central Library in Taiwan indicate that individual volumes were being printed one by one, and it is unlikely that there was a "complete set" available for donation at any time during the Ming, even though the language of imperial gifts implies this. Volumes seem to have been printed from the 1580s into the Qing period. *Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan shanben shumumu* 3:707–824. For some Peking sets: *BJTB* 58:197; Shen Bang 18:194; *JWK* 130:2095.

143. *Guangji zhi* 53–67, 110–11, 119–26, 179–89. This 677-case edition may in fact have been the completion of the project begun under Wanli.

cessor soon gave out at least three sets to capital temples.¹⁴⁴ A Manchu version was completed in 1773.¹⁴⁵

Yongle also sponsored the first printed edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, the *Kanjur*, in 1410, and the Qing court sponsored publication of Tibetan, Mongolian, and Manchu editions of the canon and its commentaries (the *Tanjur*) in the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁶ These sets permitted lamaseries in Peking to serve as centers for the education of clerics from across Inner Asia, just as sutras in classical Chinese formed a common devotional core for Korean, Japanese, and Chinese followers of Shakyamuni Buddha.

Peking residents also benefitted from comparable imperial investments in the Daoist Canon (*Daozang*). Woodblocks for the 1118 Song edition were brought to Peking by the Jin rulers and stored at the Daoist monastery that would become the Baiyunguan; a Jin edition was published there in 1191. Yongle initiated a new version of this canon in 1406 (even before he had turned to the Tripitaka), and it was finally printed in 1445 under the supervision of the Zhengyi school. A copy was kept in the Baiyunguan, for which a new library was specially built, and from which a new edition was printed in 1598 (by Empress Dowager Li). A shorter supplement was published in 1607.¹⁴⁷

By my calculations, there were (at least) thirty-nine temples standing in the city in 1610 that had sets of the Buddhist (thirty-six) or Daoist (three) canons. And these were large sets: the Tripitaka consisted of 6,000 individual *juan* in some 600 boxes and was still growing, while the late Ming *Daozang* was almost as long.¹⁴⁸ Possession of one of these canons was no trivial privilege. Educated clerics sought out monasteries owning these texts, as did literati with philological, historical, or religious interests.¹⁴⁹ Thus, although

144. To Qingfansi in 1737 (*JWK* 99:1649–50); to Tanzhesi in 1739 (*Tanzhe zhi* 13–15, 193–96); to Baitasi in 1753 (*Dai Yi* 22).

145. X. Wang 147, 151, 154.

146. Sperling 145. See also Chapter 10, esp. n.139.

147. T. Liu 105, 111–16; T. Yao 122–24; Dean 1993:220. Chen Guofu 174 noted that the printing continued for another ten years. His and other evidence indicate that the edicts announcing the gift of a canon usually preceded the actual gift. For the Baiyunguan: *BJTB* 51:159–60; Yan Chongnian 7; Dean 1993:220. This copy survived into the twentieth century and became the basis for modern reprinted editions. Other copies were given to two Zhenwu temples in Peking in 1447 and 1452: *BJTB* 51:148–49, 51:178. Considering the ripple effect on intellectual life in the eighteenth century generated by the Imperial Manuscript project (the boost it gave to the school of evidential research and the chilling censorship of texts deemed unworthy by the throne or its editors), we might wonder about similar consequences—now invisible for lack of study—for those involved with the Buddhist and Daoist Canon compilations.

148. Sung-p'eng Hsu said (76) that for the empire as a whole, only fifteen sets of the Tripitaka were being given away by the throne in the 1590s. Also Liu Ruoyu 18:6–7.

149. Miaofeng (Fudeng) did so in 1572: *DMB* 463. So did Bianrong in the same period: *BJTB* 58:84. See *ECCP* 676; also T. Liu 117, who reminded us that the scholar Liu Shipai came

central China had a high concentration of fine monasteries, imperial largess helped transform Peking into an important religious center.

The Confucian Classics were shorter and more widely available, but the definitive editions of the more voluminous commentaries, which reflected the changing place of different classics in the examination curriculum, were printed in Peking. The “Great Collections of the Five Classics and the Four Books” and “Works on Nature and Principles” published in 1415 by the Yongle emperor fixed the place of the Song dynasty Cheng-Zhu interpretive tradition (“Neo-Confucianism”) at the heart of the Ming (and Qing) examination system. Handsome Imperial Household editions of the Classics and the Histories were regularly printed.¹⁵⁰ In the 1790s, imitating Han and Tang dynasty practice, the Qianlong emperor had a standardized, authenticated, canonical version of the Thirteen Classics carved onto stone tablets. These nearly two hundred stones were placed in the Directorate of Education adjacent to the Temple to Confucius.¹⁵¹ The results of two other great Ming and Qing projects to systematize and rerecord knowledge were also kept in the capital: the great Yongle Encyclopedia (1407) and Qianlong’s Imperial Manuscript Library in Four Treasuries (1782).¹⁵²

Peking had, in fact, been a center for book production since at least the eleventh century. In addition to administrative and other compendia, the Ming court published scriptures at the eunuch-managed Directorate of Ceremonial Affairs and Sutra-Printing Workshops (Jingchang) in the Imperial City.¹⁵³ Temples were not only the recipients of imperial books, they were also active as private publishers.¹⁵⁴

to the Baiyunguan in 1910 specifically to use the Daoist Canon for his research on the Confucian Classics.

150. Elman 2000:114–16.

151. J. Liu 199–200; *ECCP* 199. Liu said that (in 1982) there were 189 stones containing some 630,000 characters (about the length of the “Lotus Sutra”).

152. The Encyclopedia was completed in Nanking and comprised more than 22,000 *juan*. The original was moved to the palace in Peking; in the 1560s two other copies were made (one was sent to the southern capital, and two remained within the Forbidden City). Under the Qing, one copy was given to the Hanlin Secretariat, and portions were copied into the Imperial Manuscript Library. The palace copy was destroyed in a fire in 1797, and no set survived intact into modern times. Giles; *DMB* 263; *ECCP* 198–99. One set of the Manuscript Library was kept in the palace, one in the Yuanmingyuan; the five other copies were elsewhere. *ECCP* 121–22; C. Liu.

153. Liao, Jin, and Yuan editions of the Buddhist Canon had been printed at the Hongfasi, on the west side of what would be the Ming Southern City. *Xijin* 68; Ch’en 1964:375. Ming workshops were the Hanjingchang (for Buddhist texts), Daojingchang (for Daoist ones), and Fanjingchang (for Tibetan Buddhist scriptures). Liu Ruoyu 16:36–40; Zhou Shaoliang 1987; Zhang Lian 181–83.

154. I know of four such temples in the Northern City and three in the suburbs, but there were undoubtedly more. Northern City: Longfusi, Ci’ensi, Yanfusi, and Guanyinsi. Suburbs:

The libraries of ordinary temples were, however, more modest than those of great monasteries: a Fire-god temple, its possessions inventoried in 1935, had only three scriptures, a *Guanyin jing*, a *Dizang jing*, and a seventy-juan “Lotus Sutra.”¹⁵⁵

In addition, temples accumulated texts in the form of stone inscriptions. The texts on Liao Buddhist *dharani* pillars represented Sanskrit sounds in long strings of strange repeated phrases. Visually the characters made a rich textured pattern on the stone, parallel to the dense silent sounds of the protective chant; indeed, the power of the spells lay not in human understanding of the words but in their power over demons and disaster.¹⁵⁶

Other temples (I know of thirty) exhibited Buddhist scriptures inscribed on stone slabs or pillars or cast on bells. Because of their brevity, the “Heart Sutra” (*Banruo boluo miduo Xin jing*) and the “Diamond Sutra” (*Jingang jing*) were preferred texts for such a format and were made as public displays of piety by emperors, monks, and scholars.¹⁵⁷ In the Longquansi in the Outer City, for example, one could see the “Diamond Sutra” written out by the great Ming calligrapher Dong Qichang (1626) and the “Heart Sutra” by the Qing scholar Weng Fanggang (1830).¹⁵⁸ A gigantic bell of 1406 had sixteen different scriptures cast on its outer and inner surfaces; it was said that the Yongle emperor commissioned it as a kind of prayer for the souls of those who died during the military campaigns when he had seized the throne.¹⁵⁹

Not all texts kept in temples were so publicly displayed, nor were they all religious in nature.¹⁶⁰ Much versifying went on within temple complexes, and the Qianlong emperor was not alone in his eagerness to leave traces of his poetic talents. At the Pavilion of Merriment, built on the site of a Guanyin

Wanshousi, Yanfasi, and Baomingsi. The printing was sometimes sponsored by clerics, sometimes by private patrons (including eunuchs and imperial relatives). Du Xinfu 1:8, 2:54, 3:39, 5:36; FXZ 4:38; Sawada 1975:107.

155. Peking City Archives J2:8:104.

156. For example, “itime itime itime atime itime nime nime nime nime nime ruhe ruhe ruhe ruhe tahe tahe tahe tuhe thule.” Hurvitz 322; the spell is from the “Lotus Sutra.” Also Siren 1942:53–54. At least twenty temples in Peking had such pillars.

157. I know of eighteen *Xin jing* texts, and seven *Jingang jing*.

158. Zhang Jiangcai & Xu Daoling 96–97. The Dong Qichang text was probably taken from the version he made in the course of fifteen days that year for his wife’s birthday as a source of merit for her parents: Riely 2:428, 453–54. The Weng Fanggang stele was set up after his death in 1818.

159. The bell (more than six meters high and wide) is now in the Dazhongsi. Some two hundred thousand characters cover its surface: J. Liu 142–45.

160. For several carvings of the *Wenchang dijun yinzhì wén* (“Wenchang’s Secret Good Deeds”) from the eighteenth century, see Zhang Jiangcai & Xu Daoling 8–9, 92; *BJTB* 77:135; and the undated (but 1799?) stele of this title in the Wutasi. Many Daoists texts were not freely disseminated, being appreciated instead as sources of power and income for practitioners—valuable private rather than public property. See also Dean 1993:213.

temple in the Outer City, nineteenth-century visitors wrote their poems on the walls for an audience of like-minded men; in 1885 the chief cleric of the complex gathered together a hundred of the poems and had them formally carved on stones.¹⁶¹

Temples were the repositories of objects as well as texts. There were no museums in the empire, and collected objects might not be systematically arrayed for consultation or viewing, but they were accessible, and traditions of connoisseurship made some of them suitable for the selective scrutiny and appreciation of outsiders.

Most of the objects in temples were ritual utensils donated as public records of donor piety and tangible signs of religious vitality: incense burners, bronze and iron bells, and metal chime-bowls (*qing*), whose *ping ping* sound when struck with a mallet accompanied clerical chanting.¹⁶² God images and temple murals were more likely to engage the attention of visitors, but they were rarely deemed of artistic merit by the literati visitors who dominate the historical record. Most murals were not by famous artists, and it was unusual that when Wang Shizhen and his fellow poet Song Lao gathered in one of the halls of the Sheng'ansi for a goodbye party for a friend, they wrote appreciatively of the mural in that hall by the early Ming court painter Shang Xi.¹⁶³ The much prized statues made by the Yuan sculptor Liu Yuan, already mostly lost by Ming times, were similar exceptions.¹⁶⁴ Like the strange paintings and murals in the Catholic churches, images might be noticed for their peculiar shapes or valuable material.¹⁶⁵

Other art objects were not thought out of place in temples. Scroll paintings were sometimes given by famous visitors and other times purchased by

161. *Ba qi wenjing* 13:14–15; *Beijing lüxing zhinan* 88–89. For two of many examples of Qianlong's poems: *BJTB* 74:50, 75:90.

162. I know of 135 mostly iron chime-bowls given as gifts; those that were dated fell into two clusters, between 1500 and 1700, and after 1800 (I have no idea why). Small in size, they seem to have been gifts that individuals or families could afford and were often inscribed with a short sentence naming the donor and date (see Xu Daoling 2:97). For weights and material: *Beijing simiao lishi ziliao* 26–425 passim.

163. I know of only thirteen temples with murals in the Peking area, but there were certainly more. The best, best-known, and best-preserved are in the Fahaisi and are well documented: *Fahaisi bihua*. For visual records of others: Yamamoto Sanshichirō 1909:#54 (Biyunsi); Wang Zhimin & Shan Shuhua 104–21 (Dahuisi, surviving); *Zhongguo fojiao zhi lü* 43 (Guangjisi, surviving); *Zhongguo fojiao yishu*, plate 127 (Huangsi, surviving?). For Shang Xi: Wang Shizhen 1691:14:345; Cahill 1978:25. For a close analysis of other murals in Shanxi: Katz 2000.

164. They had been in the Dongyuemiao: Tan Qian 1656:58, 99; Wang Shizhen 1691:14:345, 1704:1:6; Zha Sili 2:11; *JWK* 88:1484–91.

165. Tan Qian 1656:45–46; *Wanping xian zhi* 1:38–39; *JWK* 49:772; Yao Yuanzhi 3:6.

clerics.¹⁶⁶ A Korean who came to the Dipper-mother temple saw scrolls hanging from the walls, and rooms with “many old books and paintings”; he eagerly tried to locate the works of famous masters.¹⁶⁷ The early nineteenth-century Songyun’an monk Xinquan was known for his knowledge of painting, and dealers used to come to the temple to consult with him.¹⁶⁸ I have read of scrolls and stelae owned by temples that showed arhats, dragons, tigers, bamboo, pines, plum blossoms, cranes, orchids, and rocks, some allegedly drawn by famous men—Yu Zhiding, Wen Zhengming, Zheng Xie, Zhao Mengfu, and Dong Qichang. Cognoscenti also came to temples to admire inscriptions by famous calligraphers, although in Qing times workmanlike imperial penmanship was the more ubiquitous.¹⁶⁹

Temple trees and flowers were appreciated by Peking’s residents, especially those without access to private gardens. Relatively protected against the intensified deforestation of the plains and mountains, some temple trees became famous. A 1635 book on the sights of Peking discussed seven unusual trees, including the elms at the Altar to Heaven that produced fruit in the autumn rather than the spring and a dwarf pine at the Baoguosi whose extensive branches grew sideways.¹⁷⁰ The twisting purple wisteria in the courtyard of the Ministry of Personnel, supposedly planted in the late fifteenth century by the scholar Wu Kuan, extended thousands of feet by the late Ming and filled the rooms of the ministry with its scent.¹⁷¹ Qianlong wrote poems to two huge antique suburban ginkgo trees and gave titles to others.¹⁷² (A shapely white-barked pine at Jietaisi is shown in Figure 8.2.)

In the spring and summer months, many visitors came to temples in their leisure time to see the flowering plants. As in the palace and elite homes, the inside of temple complexes allowed ample room to grow bushes, tend potted plants, and lay out flower beds. In the countryside or mountains, there

166. For paintings in the Mingyinsi: *DJ* 3:103–4. In the Fayuansi: Luo Sangpeng 1:21:78–81, 1:22:102–110. In the Yonghegong: Lessing & Montell. For others: Zhenjun 7:25.

167. Kim Ch’ang’öp 170–73.

168. Lin Keguang 248.

169. For surviving calligraphy by Dong Qichang: *BJTB* 58:15, 58:99, 59:158–60. Other examples of his work held in temples were mentioned in Li Zongwan 6; *JWK* 49:774–78, 91:1542–47; Zhang Jiangcai & Xu Daoling 96–97. Kangxi, Yongzheng, and especially Qianlong often gave horizontal plaques or sets of vertical couplets, supposedly in their own hands, to temples whose construction or restoration they supported.

170. *DJ* 3:125. Some temples were named after trees: Pine Tree Guanyin’an, Dragon Claw Tree temple, and so on.

171. *DJ* 2:51–52.

172. One to a tree in the Dajuesi: *JWK* 106:1764–67. One to a ginkgo in the Xifengsi: *BJTB* 75:42. See also Deng Zhicheng 1:21 for the Jin dynasty pine in the Dagaoxuandian in the Imperial City.

was sometimes space nearby for economically productive orchards, a fine sight for visitors. Peking temples were famous for their lilacs, lotuses, chrysanthemums, and wisteria, their herbaceous and tree peonies, and their flowering catalpa, crab apples, cherry, apricot, plum, peach, and pear trees. Some plants were applauded for their color (“emerald bamboo,” “crab apples red like cock’s blood”), some for smell (“fragrant in summer”), some for rarity (green peonies), and some for volume (like embroidery, like tapestry, like a cloud of brocade). The modest Mohe’an in the western suburbs became popular for its “high balconies that await poetry chanting and shady rooms for private reading; when willow flowers, elm seeds, and pine nuts float and fall, they fill the courtyards.” A half century later, the temple was better known for the fragrant apricot orchards just beyond its walls.¹⁷³

Temples and monasteries were also repositories for bits of history: a piece of a meteor, an iron boat anchor, a rock with a curious pattern, a stone for pulverizing herbal medicines, a Portuguese table, an old zither, a large jade bowl, fragments of inscribed or decorated stones from old buildings, and so forth. Some were excavated at the site; others were brought in from elsewhere. Not always deemed worthy of note by elites, these objects constituted interesting curiosities for the ordinary visitor.

Although temples could unsystematically house collectibles of the sort that would later turn up in European museums of art or natural history, they did not usually keep living animals, wild or domesticated. In Peking, the imperial menageries were early zoos. Ming emperors had a Tiger Enclosure and Leopard House inside the Imperial City and also kept rhinoceros, elephants, seals, lynx, peacocks, parrots, and cranes. It was apparently possible to visit these places, to look down and throw food to the beasts, and—of course—be properly scared by them. Kangxi built a Tiger Pen near his summer villa, and it was kept up by his descendants at least through the early nineteenth century.¹⁷⁴ The imperial Elephant Stables in the Inner City, more convenient and less frightening, attracted many visitors. After all, elephants didn’t eat people, and the sight of the huge beasts being led into the moat in the summer to be bathed, and the fearful hope that they might burst into a rutting frenzy, was much remarked upon by visitors and locals alike.¹⁷⁵

In general, the books, antiques, art, and animals in religious establishments paled beside those in the more exclusive homes of emperors and

173. *DJ* 5:210–13; *JWK* 97:1614–16.

174. Yan Chongnian 142–43; Shen Defu 606; Malone 107–8.

175. Built in the Ming, the stables continued to house elephants (gifts from Southeast Asian tributaries, used to add oomph to imperial processions) into the nineteenth century. Jiang Yikui 2:22; Tan Qian 1656:45–46; Ides 3:574; *JWK* 49:784–85; *Caozhu yi chuan* 16–18; Arlington & Lewisohn 164–70.

wealthy elites. Moreover, although the relatively long life of temples helped preserve objects over many generations, it was easy for valuables to be broken or stolen, stelae defaced, books damaged, images misidentified, and history embroidered. Even in a monastic community, there were no institutionalized mechanisms for preserving the past accurately and carefully. One purpose of the guidebook literature was, as we shall see, to verify and record such information.

Some temples—mostly those outside the city—were like modern parks and attracted both leisured strollers and pious pilgrims because of the natural beauty of their sites, the combination of trees, water, mountains, and vistas.

Temples built beside the lakes within the walled city had the appeal of an open stretch of water, seasonal flowers and birds, and moderate temperatures in summer and winter. From the gate of the Jingyesi located on the more northwesterly of the city lakes (shown in Figure 3.3), one could look along the waterfront and see the villas of wealthy elites and the wooded grounds of other temples.¹⁷⁶ Teahouses, wineshops, and princely residences surrounded the willow-lined Shisha Lake during the Qing period.¹⁷⁷ Some temples had to make do with balustraded ponds for goldfish or with nearby streams for quiet fishing.¹⁷⁸

A natural spring could make a temple attractive, especially if the water was cold and sweet, the supply strong all year long, and the gurgling sound pleasant to the ear. It was common for such water to be directed into a small stream to feed a pool and wind through the grounds. Biyunsi had a cold sulfur spring from which visitors drank, but only one temple in the area had hot springs.¹⁷⁹ Temple names bespoke other attributes: Efficacious Spring, Clear Spring, Double Spring; Warm, Perpetual, or Scenic Spring.

In the Western Hills, monasteries often had caves on or near their property: some big, some low and shallow, some dripping with water, and some shining with crystalline rocks.¹⁸⁰ An ascetic monk spent forty years in the Cave of the Precious Pearl (Baozhudong).¹⁸¹ Other caves were used to store monks' ashes, coffins, or even mummified bodies; still others had images of the Dragon-king, Lü Dongbin, or Guanyin (by association with the watery grot-

176. *DJ* 1:19–28; *Linqing* 1849: 3:52–53.

177. Wu Changyuan 8:150; *Beijing lüxing zhinan* 132–33. Literally “Ocean of Sundry Temples”: the correct pronunciation was “Shichahai” but local people pronounced it “Shishahai.”

178. Or with reservoirs where fish and other aquatic creatures (deliberately purchased for the occasion) could live unmolested.

179. Biyun: Dudgeon 1871:81; Cook 1913:43. Others: *Peking and the Surrounding Country* 6.

180. I know of eighteen temples with caves.

181. *Beijing lüxing zhinan* 175–76.

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Figure 3.3. “Long-Life Lotuses at Jingye”

The Jingye (Pure Karma) Lake was the northernmost of the linked lakes that beautified the Inner City. The Manchu Bannerman Linqing did this woodblock print illustration to commemorate the invitation from five friends (all Bannermen) to feast him on his return to the capital in the sixth month of 1843. They viewed flowering lotuses across the water and breathed in their fragrant aroma. A Huatuo temple is shown in the lower right. Across the lake is the Jingye temple where Linqing and his friends can be seen looking out. That temple had been founded by Yongle’s adviser Yao Guangxiao in the early decades of the fifteenth century and visited several times by Qianlong.

SOURCE: Linqing 1849:3:52–53. Also see *JWK* 53:854; *BJTB* 71:187, 75:58.

toes of Putuoshan). Visitors climbed up to peer in cautiously or creep slowly inside.

Grand vistas were hard to find in flat, one-story Peking, hence the popularity of the places in the Western Hills that afforded small scenes of mountain greenery or wider vistas of the plain: spread out before you were the

suburban lakes “like a piece of silk,” rivers “like a jade girdle,” the waterways and plain “laid out like a piece of embroidery,” the gates and towers of Peking “shining brightly,” the golden roofs of the palace glinting in the sun. On a clear day, you could sometimes see as far as the pagoda in Tongzhou, twenty-some kilometers to the east.¹⁸²

In the city, some temples built “artificial mountains” (*jiashan*) and grottoes (the two went together) that mimicked natural formations.¹⁸³ Others had multistoried halls (*ge*, or *lou*) with views of the sunset on the lakes or the elegant Bell and Drum Towers. Peking had only one pagoda that could be ascended: the seven-story Fazangsi in the Outer City. From it one could see the walls, roofs, and gates of the Altar to Heaven and of the Inner City, the yellow tiles of the palace, and the distant hills.¹⁸⁴ The imperial family could climb the Hill of Imperial Long Life (Wansuishan) just behind the Forbidden City.¹⁸⁵ In the western suburbs in the 1770s, Qianlong recreated the Jin dynasty “fishing terrace” (Diaoyutai) by dredging a lake and building a raised platform for moon viewing.¹⁸⁶ In the Qing, foreigners even dared to walk along the city walls.¹⁸⁷

On the ninth day of the ninth month, elites sought out high places (*deng gao*) to drink and write poems. In the 1650s and 1660s, Wang Chongjian went out with friends virtually every year on this day. He visited a temple at Xiangshan in the Western Hills, ascended the belvedere at Mohe’an in the near west suburbs and the one at Baoguosi in the Outer City, discovered a high mound south of the city, climbed up to Baozhudong in the Western Hills, and walked on the city wall.¹⁸⁸

In the Ming and Qing periods, some scenic (*sheng*) sites in and around Peking became renowned (also *sheng*). In temples, the scenic and the sacred easily merged: “Thus, not a few of the beautiful mountains [*jia shan*] or scenic rivers [*sheng shui*], luxuriant forests [*rong lin*] or blessed spots [*fu di*] were used for

182. *JWK* 100:1666–67.

183. For example, at the suburban Wanshousi.

184. Hong Taeyong 277–78; Yi Kap 604; *JWK* 56:908. The temple was deserted by the early nineteenth century and had disappeared by 1905; the pagoda collapsed in 1971; Jin Shoushen 115–19; *FXZ* 7:27–28. Most pagodas in the north were solidly built to withstand the wind.

185. The Qing called it “Jingshan” (Prospect Hill), and nineteenth-century Westerners dubbed it “Coal Hill.” Liu Ruoyu 20:7; *JWK* 35:549–56; Poussielgue 1864:237:36.

186. *JWK* 95:1592–94.

187. In the early Qing, Korean visitors were in the habit of ascending the Outer City walls; by the mid-nineteenth century, Westerners had learned the pleasures of walking along the wall of the Inner City. Hong Taeyong 324; Thomson 1874:4:#11. References to Chinese ascending the city wall are much fewer: Wang Chongjian, in 1665.

188. Wang Chongjian; also Jiang Yikui 2:23–24.

refuges [i.e., temples].”¹⁸⁹ Temples not especially famous for their gods or monks thus became well known for their other attractions, noted on maps, sought out by tourists, thought of with pride by locals, and remembered with pleasure by visitors.

There were, of course, flowers, trees, waterways, and vistas in the extensive homes of the urban and imperial elites. And there were places besides temples where those without lofty connections could stroll—by the northern lakes and along the banks of the moat or the canals northwest and east of the city. Private homes, wineshops, and teahouses were also where the politically active met, gossiped, complained, and schemed. Temple festivals were likewise the most accessible but not the only public celebrations in Peking. Although the frequent movements of the imperial entourage in and out of the city were not supposed to be observed, the regular weddings and funerals of the rich could involve much interesting display on the streets.¹⁹⁰

In part because of their public quality, temples were suspect in the eyes of the government. The behavior of the Ming and Qing states—through their bureaucrats and their emperors—reflected a series of linked concerns that persisted undiminished into the modern era.¹⁹¹ A belief that the ordinary person was foolish, easily duped by hope of “obtaining blessings and avoiding disaster.” A preference for keeping women out of the public eye, except under the supervision of their husbands, and away from public gatherings where they might “mix” with men or unsuitable women. A certainty that religious activity was wasteful because it took people’s energy and time away from productive work. A distrust of temples because they attracted the poor, could be venues for improper activities by the clerics, and were a temporary residence for people without jobs or fixed residence (that is to say, potential troublemakers). A deep concern that any large gathering of people was dangerous. A worry that crowds would encourage robberies, fairs might attract gamblers, and pilgrimages could lead to “stirring up trouble.” A suspicion of any organization not under state supervision. A great fear of “heterodox” talk, whether it was expressed as rumors or printed in books. This

189. *BJTB* 53:144.

190. Soldiers cleared the roads and hung curtains to block the view from cross-streets. Scrolls painted to illustrate the Kangxi emperor’s departure from Peking for tours of the south showed empty streets and shop-fronts with closed shutters. To catch a view, one had to risk punishment by peeking out. Navarrete 2:221; Gaubil 1970:188–89; Freeman-Mitford 173–74; Carl 1906:154; Little 1899:493–505. For Kangxi, see *De Verboden Stad* 39; Malone 175; Hearn 1990:82, 169. Rehearsals were eagerly inspected by the public: Kim Kyōngsōn 1069.

191. These deeply felt concerns were expressed in many ways and so often as to become clichés—despite the seriousness behind them. I have not attempted to cite specific sources.

constellation of concerns, most consistently found among those in government but a part of the culture to which anyone might subscribe, coexisted with the valued, important, and legitimate place of temples in the life of Peking.

Part One has shown how religious institutions worked in Ming and Qing Peking, the different mechanisms that linked patrons to temples and temples to patrons, and the roles that temples played in the city and the lives of its residents. We turn now to Peking's actual history, beginning with the reestablishment of the capital in the early fifteenth century.

PART TWO

Ming Peking

CHAPTER 4

A New Capital

THE PAST PRESERVED

In 1403, Peking began to be physically transformed into the capital city that it would remain for the next five centuries, and that year has therefore been chosen as the starting point for this book. Although this demarcation exaggerates the discontinuity between fifteenth-century Peking and the city of preceding eras, a series of ruptures had loosened the connections with the past. In 1215, Mongol armies seized, destroyed, and abandoned the Jin capital at Peking, and only after an interval of fifty years did they build a new capital on an immediately adjacent site. This city served the Yuan dynasty for one century before being captured by Ming armies in 1368. It was then downgraded to a provincial town and allocated to Zhu Di, the fourth son of the dynastic founder; he resided here as the Prince of Yan for the next thirty years.¹ The new capital of the Ming was a thousand kilometers away on the north bank of the Yangtze River.

After Zhu Di seized the throne in 1403, he began to enlarge and rebuild Peking; by the time he performed the sacrifices to Heaven there as the Yongle emperor at the beginning of 1421, Mongol rule was several generations past.² But Mongol armies continued to challenge Ming authority long after 1368, and reminders of that era were still fresh. Moreover, Peking's status before the Mongols was itself also problematic (considered from the point of view of history-conscious elites): the Khitan and Jurchen rulers of the "barbarian" Liao and Jin empires (916–1234) had challenged and eventually divided the territory of the once glorious Song dynasty.

1. Wakeland 32.

2. Dreyer 186.

The residents of central China could not have welcomed Zhu Di's relocation of the capital to the distant city once occupied by foreign rulers. In the fourteenth century, the Southern Capital at the Yangtze River city of Jinling was a place with warm associations for the educated elites who had been the cultural and political tastemakers since the medieval period. Yongle's insecurity about his acceptance by such people contributed to the decision to move the capital far away from Nanking and made him more defensive about the choice. He needed a new capital with indisputably imperial qualities.

As emperor, Yongle concentrated first on those features that would make the city the equal not only of the one founded by his father, but also of the great capitals of past dynasties—Kaifeng, Luoyang, and Chang'an. A repertory of urban layouts characteristic of an imperial capital had evolved over the centuries, and key ingredients were already present in the Yuan city.³ By following these ancient patterns and idealized regularities, Yongle could ostentatiously manifest his claim to be the heir to this tradition. By emphasizing monumentality and lavishly commandeering marble and timber and skilled artisans from distant places, he aimed at impressive, high quality, and unmistakably imperial constructions.

Ming Peking was, therefore, built on the Yuan blueprint, walled and square, carefully oriented to the points of the compass, flanked by symmetrical gates, and organized around wide avenues that formed a regular north-south and east-west grid anchored by the emperor's residence at the center. The imperial symbolism of Yuan Peking was preserved but, like the remnants of older towns on the site, swallowed up in its Ming successor. With its formal designation as Jingshi in 1420, Peking's specificity as the "Northern Capital" became subordinated to its new identity as "[Our] Capital City." Nanking remained a secondary "southern" capital, and despite some hesitation after Yongle's death, by 1441 Peking status as the only Jingshi was secure.⁴

The construction of a cosmologically imperial layout was the first of many measures taken by the throne in the early decades of the fifteenth century to emphasize that this city transcended its particular locality and belonged to the empire as a whole. The physical endurance of these imperial structures, combined with the repeated articulation of this imperial view of the capital, made this aspect of the new city very well known. Yongle would have been proud (and perhaps amazed) to know that for many people today Peking has come to symbolize the worthy and inevitable culmination of China's long imperial history, the quintessential Jingshi.

But even Yongle himself—who had lived most of his life here—could not ignore Peking's rooted particularity. During the decades after 1403 when

3. A. Wright; Steinhardt 1990; Meyer.

4. Peking temporarily lost the designation of Jingshi between 1424 and 1441; I have telescoped the changes of these decades: Farmer 123, 175.

the massive imperial walls and grand palaces were being built and rebuilt, he was also concerned with finding ways to connect the city to its own more parochial history. This tension between what we can think of as the national city and the local city became a persistent theme in Peking's history. The dynamics and difficulties of this process were well articulated in Yongle's orchestrated re-creation of eight scenic local vistas.⁵

In 1414, a group of court artists from the Southern Capital who had accompanied Yongle on an inspection trip north completed a handscroll of scenes and poems that described a set of eight vistas in and around Peking. In choosing this topic, they were working within a long-established genre in painting and poetry, a way of writing about a geographic area by concentrating on a fixed number of previously designated scenic "vistas" or "views" (*jing*).⁶ These constructs were one way in which Chinese places were tamed for elite consumption, and Peking was clearly in need of such civilizing.

The court artists entitled their scroll "Eight Vistas of Yanshan." Although they were apparently inspired by sets of poems with this title written in the 1190s under the Jin, they used a name for Peking that had been current during a brief period of Song rule in the 1120s.⁷ Yongle's artists thus reached back over the Mongol Yuan to resurrect topoi that might be thought more suitable for a Han Chinese dynasty.

These artists were not only rejecting controversial parts of the city's past but also making a claim that Peking was a place worthy of respect. Their scroll, in Julia White's words, "subtly presented Peking as a safe harbor geomantically, geographically, and strategically," and because it "placed Peking in a class with other culturally significant areas . . . [it] validate[d] the significance of Peking as a cultural center."⁸ The scroll was an attempt, it seems, to show that the northern city might be an acceptable place for cultivated elites to live.

Working within the conventional preferences of the genre, the court artists presented eight vistas in and around the city:⁹

"Layered Shades of Green at Juyong Pass"

"Cascading Rainbow at Jade Spring Hill"

5. For this discussion, I have relied on Liscomb, J. White, and Shi Shuqing.

6. Murck 1984; Shi Shuqing 78; Brook 1988:59–60.

7. Liscomb 130. In 1123–1124, Peking had been briefly reclaimed and held by the Song, and during this time it had been called Yanshan (Mountains of Yan) prefecture. Chen Zongfan 1:2. The Jin poems are no longer extant. The handscroll is now in the Shanghai Museum (*SHTM* 1:jing-2-108). It is usually described as the work of Wang Fu, but I would prefer to emphasize the collective nature of both painting and poetry projects.

8. J. White 61.

9. Liscomb's translations, somewhat modified. Cheng-hua Wang translated "Qionghuadao" as "Island of Beautiful Stones."

“Crystal Clear Waves on Taiye Pond”
 “Spring Clouds on Jasper Flower Island”
 “Misty Trees at the Gate of Ji”
 “Clearing Snow in the Western Hills”
 “Dawn Moonlight at Reed Gully Bridge”
 “Sunset at the Golden Terrace”

The ambiance that these vistas suggested was poetic, secular, somewhat imperial, and not at all urban. Only two (the pond and the island) were actually within the Ming city walls (they were recreational sites inside the Imperial City, the former associated with a Han dynasty capital). The suburban Golden Terrace and Gate of Ji had already disappeared before the fifteenth century but were imagined as rural. Juyong Pass, Jade Spring Hill, the Western Hills, and Reed Gully (Lugou) Bridge were enduring local sights of the wider Peking environs, all some distance from the city. The “Eight Vistas of Yanshan” scroll—and the poems similarly produced—thus emphasized for the new capital area the conventionally scenic and historically venerable. Peking’s imperial symbols were enhanced by markers of literati taste, or so the artists (and the emperor) wished.

However contrived or forced at the outset, the idea and the names of these vistas took on new life. Down through later centuries, without imperial encouragement, visiting and resident literati continued to invoke them with apparent sincerity in both poetry and pictures. Initially artificial, these icons drew Peking into a broadly shared elite culture and became part of the city’s identity.

With the passage of the decades, the imperial palaces and altars were finished, houses replaced the tents where Mongols had lived, and the raw pretentious newness of the capital was softened. As Peking’s earlier history receded, it acquired value and became something more to be prized than shaken off; indeed, difficulties in recovering the past may have made it more precious. In a society without general literacy, historical knowledge was precarious. Even for the educated, whose training encouraged the study of the past (albeit a certifiably orthodox version of it), information about Peking’s history was easily lost, distorted, or suppressed. At the beginning of the Ming, literary resources for the history of the city were already rare, and thereafter formal knowledge accumulated in an unsystematic fashion.¹⁰ Visual records,

10. Knowledge of Peking’s history became more systematic in the late Ming; twentieth-century archaeological and other discoveries have greatly expanded and solidified our knowledge of the pre-Ming city.

which later practice suggests may not have been numerous to begin with, scarcely survived at all.¹¹

Of course, oral tradition carried much, now mostly lost to us. The past survived tenaciously in place names, customs, festivals, oral traditions, songs, and stories, but such knowledge was malleable and became more fragile with time. Surviving stories revolve most often around the Ming refounding of the city, evidence that it continued to be seen as a decisive moment in Peking's history.¹²

For all residents, literate or not, the city itself was the most ready and reliable repository for information about the past, a kind of three-dimensional museum-cum-encyclopedia, and to it we too can look for some understanding of what residents of the new capital may have known about pre-Ming Peking.

Although not easy to document, the physical carryover between Yuan and Ming Peking was appreciable.¹³ Stories of people and events were attached to places (even those later rebuilt in their entirety) that in turn became important points for communion with the past. The Ming kept the eastern and western walls of the Yuan city, redefined the northern and southern perimeters, and retained the center of Dadu as the core of the new capital. In this area, there was the greatest continuity of streets and waterways and presumably buildings and neighborhoods. The Imperial City was reshaped and rebuilt, as were the lakes to the north of it, but not dramatically. Many large buildings (and presumably smaller ones) either continued into the Ming or were rebuilt on earlier sites.¹⁴

The palace was one of the best preserves for the past—for those privileged to enter. Outside that complex, springs, lakes, trees, streets, walls, and the gridlike street plan remained more or less intact. Other Yuan structures surely survived and were reused, but we know little of the more ephemeral houses, stores, and workshops. Temples were the exception. Built to last and more

11. The *Da Yuan yitong zhi*, completed around 1300, might have included a regional map: Chen Gaohua & Chen Zhichao 334. Paintings of Lugou Bridge are the only representations of any part of Peking from the pre-Ming period known to me. One, from the Yuan, is in the History Museum in Peking and showed logs being taken downstream near an eleven-arched bridge; it is conventionally titled "Moving Log-Rafts at Lugouqiao" and is handsomely reproduced in Yan Chongnian 80 (also *SHTM* 1:Jing-2-273). The other similar painting in the Palace Museum in Taipei is supposedly from the Song and is usually called "Travellers in Snowy Mountains": *Gugong zhoukan* 276; also Shi Shuqing 83-84.

12. Stories about Nazha's miraculous shaping of the city, initially told about the Yuan capital, were later recast as tales about Yongle's reconstruction: Chan Hok-lam 1990, 1996.

13. Most scholarly effort to date has been dedicated to determining which parts of imperial Dadu survived. Zhu Xie 1936; Steinhardt 1981; *JWK* jj. 30-32.

14. For these older city sites, see Hwang maps #2-13, #2-14; *Atlas* #21-28.

likely to survive, they also had histories that were an accessible part of the public record. This advantage helped them attain their singular importance in Peking life and history (as in the empire generally).

My data on temples provide one way of examining the dynastic carryover outside the palace area. By this count, some 129 temples can be reliably said to have been built prior to 1403. Of these, two-thirds date from the Yuan, the rest before. An additional 64 temples claimed (without firm evidence) a Yuan or earlier founding.¹⁵

Should we consider these 193 pre-Ming temples a large number? I know of 352 temples standing in greater Peking in 1500, and, although both sets of numbers are underestimates, their ratio may be more reliable. If so, pre-Ming temples may have constituted as much as half of all religious establishments in 1500 and were a significant presence in the early Ming city; outside the palace, they were surely the most visible old buildings.¹⁶

F. W. Mote has argued that "Chinese civilization did not lodge its history in buildings," and differences in architectural style across the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries were certainly more subtle than dramatic.¹⁷ Moreover, temples (like other buildings) were continuously restored and rebuilt in major and minor ways. In architecture, as in other things, the Chinese past was folded gently into the present, and distinctions were blurred rather than accentuated. We may know that half of Peking's temples in 1500 dated from the Yuan, but people at the time may not have been able to tell this from looking at them.

The reader should be reminded that the Chinese did not keep track of the relationship between the present and the past by means of a continuous calendar that automatically located events in a straightforward relationship to one another.¹⁸ On the contrary, complex calculations were necessary for

15. 49 of the 64 (76 percent) claimed to be pre-Yuan. Only two of the 129 were within the Ming imperial domain.

16. If one considers only firmly dated temples, 36 percent were pre-Ming; the figure jumps to 54 percent if one includes those evidenced by hearsay. A different approach would be to compare the surviving pre-Ming temples with the total number of Yuan temples. That latter figure is, however, very difficult even to estimate. The Peking section of the comprehensive Yuan gazetteer was reconstructed from fragments and listed only 120 temples for the greater Dadu area, many of which do not appear to have survived into the Ming. Comprehensive Gazetteer 1303:1:21-54. A Yuan local gazetteer, *Xijin zhi*, was also lost and has been assembled from Ming and Qing sources; it overrepresents the survivors. *Xijin* 54-94. Neither source can be used to get more than a minimal estimate of the number of temples in the Yuan capital.

17. Possibly an illusion created by a lack of unreconstructed surviving buildings, insufficient scholarly attention, and Western definitions of "style"? Mote 1973:51.

18. Neither of the year-numbering systems in ordinary use (such-and-such a year in a repeating sixty-year cycle, or such-and-such a year of an emperor's reign) measured long time-spans or provided a simple way of linking shorter units to one another in connected sequences. One had to know the names of each emperor in sequence and the length of each reign in order to

figuring the interval between two dated events, and even the educated needed access to orthodox histories and a good memory. Ordinary people might know that Liao had been followed by Jin and Jin by Yuan, but surely they had only the vaguest sense of how many hundreds of years ago the Liao period was. The Yuan must thus have quickly become “old” for the inhabitants of Ming Peking, and the earlier dynasties even older. However valued, antiquity was understood imprecisely.

Nevertheless, public buildings served as repositories of the past and contributed to a shared sense of history. The shrine built beside the grave of Yelü Chucai in the Western Hills certainly did so. A native of Peking who had been on duty in the city when the Mongols captured it in 1215, Yelü later served both Chinggis and Ogodei Khan but acted as an advocate for north China’s interests at the Mongol court. In Ming times, literati visited both the grave and the adjacent shrine: a stone image inside and stone attendants outside testified without words to a certain hazy antiquity.¹⁹

The Huguosi, a large temple northwest of the palace, also dated from the Yuan period, as those who could read the texts of its stelae might learn. To others, the unusual attire and hairstyle of a pair of temple images appear to have inspired the story (for which there is no confirming evidence) that the site had been the residence of the Yuan minister Toghto.²⁰ The Baiyunguan just outside the western walls was a Daoist temple where Qiu Chuji, an early patriarch of the Quanzhen sect, had lived and died in 1227. Whereas Qiu’s history could be read on stelae, everyone seems to have known the story of how this immortal would return each year on his birthday.²¹

The past was attached to things as well as to places, and objects—whether small and portable or large and heavy—were more readily accessible to the public and more readily saved from decay and disaster when stored in tem-

measure the time between, for example, the second year of Ming Zhengde and the twenty-third of Hongwu; one had to know the length and sequence of each preceding dynasty by official count in order to know how many years before the Ming the Tang dynasty was.

19. It is today within the Yiheyuan. The date of Yelü’s burial and that of the building of the shrine were not obvious to visitors (1243 and 1261, respectively, by the Western calendar). *DJ* 7:307–10; Tan Qian 1656:73–74; *JWK* 99:1655; *Yuan Dadu* 36–37. Another shrine built in the Ming but dedicated to a Yuan figure—Wen Tianxiang—helped preserve another piece of Yuan history of both national and local import. See the discussions in Chapters 6 and 11. Between 1377 and 1545 there was also an officially constructed and maintained shrine to the Yuan emperor Qubilai in Peking; doubts about the appropriateness of such government support expressed by officials in the Ministry of Rites led to its abandonment. *JWK* 50:791–92.

20. This story was first mentioned (in materials I have seen) in the late Ming. *DJ* 1:33–36.

21. *BJTB* 53:126; Shen Bang 19:203; *DJ* 3:137–39. For Qiu: T. Yao. It is important not to conflate the Ming understanding of Yuan with our own. The Yuan earthen wall, Bell Tower, and Observatory were not so identified. Two pagodas that we call Yuan were rumored to have been placed on the site of prisons, “where at night wronged souls cry out,” but even scholars disagreed about how old the pagodas were: *DJ* 4:157–61.

ples. For example, the works of the great Yuan calligrapher and painter Zhao Mengfu were prized by the educated as art and as history. In addition to works in private and imperial hands, Zhao's writing survived on at least five public stelae in Peking temples.²²

In time, many Yuan places and objects disappeared, were transformed, or lost their prominence in a changing city. Traces of the tenth- to thirteenth-century Jin and Liao cities vanished even faster. The actual sites of these two capitals were southwest of early Ming Peking.²³ Like the vistas of Yanshan, most of the places that would later be associated with the Jin were either inside the palace or in the western suburbs. The island and surrounding lake named among the Eight Vistas and preserved inside the Ming Imperial City were said to have been a summer retreat under the Jin and were linked in particular to Emperor Zhangzong (reigned 1190–1208). The suburban Deer Park (Luyuan), Fishing Terrace (Diaoyutai), Fragrant Hill (Xiangshan), and Jade Spring Hill (Yuquanshan) were also known to Ming literati as places where Jin rulers went to relax and escape the summer heat. Such knowledge was embedded in oral and written sources, but no physical remains survived at these places.²⁴ Ordinary people, coming there, could see nothing of this past.

Ming and Qing records listed seventeen Jin temples and twenty Liao ones (within and beyond the walls in equal measures).²⁵ In the Jietaisi, far off in the hills, there was still a large stele from the "Great Jin" and an earlier one from the Liao. The Lingguangsi (also west of the city) had a 1479 inscription announcing (to those who could read it) that the temple antedated Dading 2 (1162), when the Jin ruler had changed its name.²⁶ For the illiterate, there was a huge spreading pine tree at Jietai that by the early seventeenth century was of such girth that it took four or five people to encircle it, a palpable sign of antiquity even to an untutored eye.²⁷ In many places, in fact, broad-trunked trees (pines and ginkgoes in particular) were understood as markers of ancient sites.

22. There were later rumors about his paintings in temple collections: Kim Ch'ang'öp 170–73. For Zhao's calligraphy: *JWK* 52:833–36, 52:836–39, 53:845, 104:1733–34; *DJ* 2:64; Ten Broeck. Zhao became a famous resident of the city, and his poems were occasionally reprinted in books about the sights of the capital (e.g., *DJ* 4:160).

23. Parts of the Liao and Jin capitals were incorporated into the western part of the new Southern City in the sixteenth century. See Steinhardt 1990: fig. 19.

24. Jiang Yikui 1:12–15, 3:47–48; Tan Qian 1656:250–54; Chen Wenshu 3:6; *JWK* 87:1462–63, 89:1515, 95:1592–94. Also Steinhardt 1981:47–48.

25. Hearsay evidence would add nine Jin temples and three Liao ones.

26. *B/TB* 52:148.

27. Jiang Yikui 4:77–78; *DJ* 7:310–14.

More obvious and distinctive relics of the pre-Yuan past were the tall, eight-sided, freestanding pillars (*chuang*) on which it had been the practice in Liao times to carve the texts of Buddhist protective spells. Not imitated or revived in later periods, this format was a characteristic marker of a Liao site. Twenty temples had at least one such *dharani* pillar.²⁸ Even the illiterate could recognize the dense pattern made by the unusual and repeated characters that covered these pillars' surfaces. Furthermore, it seems likely that the knowledge of monks in such temples would have been passed along to uneducated visitors, by whom the pillars might minimally be understood as old objects imbued with protective power. To literati (as to the modern historian), the objects and their texts were interesting as historical evidence.

There are few reliably dated Peking temples before the Liao. Seven claimed Song (that is, Northern Song, 960–1126) origin, but it was the Tang dynasty (618–907) that symbolized genuine antiquity. Although only the temples higher in the hills west of the city had plausible claims, twenty-five asserted Tang origins.²⁹ The proof was often no more than the memory of an earlier name.³⁰ Other temples treasured their supposed antiques: three Tang stone carvings of the “Heart Sutra,” for instance, or a marvelous wooden image of Guanyin that had been taken, it was said, from the Upper Tianzhu monastery in Hangzhou when the Jin invaded that city in 1130.³¹

Many temples gave a spurious precision to their claims of antiquity by insisting that their object—inscription, bell, or image—dated from the Zhen-guan reign (627–649) of the Tang, an era verifiably important in Peking's history.³² But accuracy is not entirely relevant to our concerns here. What matters is that Peking residents believed that some of their temples dated from the Tang and used them to construct the city's past.

Ancient objects on temple property were often associated with the dead—for example, the funerary stupas and epitaphs of Liao monks at the Western Hills Dajuesi (one dated 1068) and Tanzhesi (one dated 1175).³³ The

28. The Fayuansi had four. Zhang Jiangcai & Xu Daoling 72–76. There were, however, three early Ming pillars at the suburban Fahaisi (visit to site in June 1988).

29. None had independent evidence on the site; I have not attempted to verify these claims.

30. See Shen Bang 19:197 for the suburban Wofosi, or *DJ* 7:314–18 for the Tanzhesi.

31. A copy of the “Heart Sutra” and the date Tang Guangde 2 (764) were carved on a stone in the Shideng'an. *DJ* 4:154–55; *JWK* 49:786–87. For the others: *JWK* 50:788–91. For Guanyin: *DJ* 3:138; *JWK* 95:1594–96.

32. For some examples: *JWK* 50:788–91, 52:839, 61:998; *DJ* 1:36–37. The city was the headquarters for Tang expeditions in the northeast in the mid-seventh century. Yan Chongnian 45.

33. Dajue: *JWK* 106:1766–67; my Figure 15.1. Tanzhe: *Tanzhe zhi* 46–48. There were nearly a dozen pre-Ming stupas still at Tanzhesi in the eighteenth century. The imperial tombs of the

dead had staying power in oral tradition as well. The Fayuansi, one of the oldest temples in Peking, made the dead part of its founding myth. Its early name, “Minzhong” (Grieving for the Loyal Ones), referred to the Tang soldiers who had perished on Korean campaigns and whose bones were brought there for burial and care.³⁴ A late Ming tale accounted for the large anthills south of the city by saying that the unburied dead slaughtered there during the struggle between the Liao and the Jin had been transformed into these swarming insects. Every spring on grave-sweeping day the ants came back to this, their graveyard.³⁵

Peking’s known history grew ever thinner before the Tang. There were nine temples that asserted an origin in the Sui period (581–618), most without reliable substantiation.³⁶ The most visible was the lofty pagoda of the Tianningsi, thought of as one of King Ashoka’s repositories for the relics of the Buddha, whose Sui stele was supposedly lost at the end of the Yuan.³⁷

The Ming capital could even claim two antiquities from the near-legendary Zhou period (first millennium B.C.): the “stone drums” in the Confucius temple and the Sandalwood Buddha. Both were imperial trophies, said to have been taken by the Jin from the Song capital at Kaifeng in 1126, and objects that brought legitimacy to Peking as a successor capital. The ten drums (actually blackened boulders a meter high) preserved what we now know to be authentic Zhou dynasty texts in archaic characters.³⁸ Assertions that the sandalwood image of Shakyamuni dated from the time of this Buddha himself (seventh to sixth century B.C.) are less credible, but it had a palpable power for Ming observers: the color of the life-sized image shifted

Jin rulers were not very far southwest of Peking, but they seem to have been ignored until the late Ming when, in reaction to what was understood as the rebellious Manchu revival of the Jin dynasty, they were “desecrated.” Crossley 1999:170. It was not until the Qing period that the Jin tombs were tended once more and brought back to public consciousness. QSL-SZ 106:111–12; Gu Yanwu 1982b:42–43. For location, see the map in Yu Jie & Yu Guangdu.

34. *DJ* 3:118–19; *JWK* 60:972–85. The tradition that two pagodas were built over these mass graves later attached itself to the Shuangtasi. *DJ* 4:158. For sites similarly associated with the northern campaigns at the end of the Sui: *Wanping xian zhi* 1:57; *JWK* 60:973, 95:1598–99.

35. *DJ* 3:134–35.

36. Forty kilometers southwest of Peking in Fangshan county, an active medieval monastery became known for its massive project to carve the Buddhist Canon on stone slabs. This complex was brought within Peking’s orbit only by late Ming imperial patronage, and even then it remained beyond the cultural reach of most Peking residents. Tsukamoto; Lothar Ledderose has been working on this subject and I thank him for this reference.

37. The pagoda was probably built in the Liao. *DJ* 3:139–42; *JWK* 91:1542–47; Yan Chongnian 54.

38. Mattos 363. See discussion in Chapter 8, and also Bredon 171–73.

subtly with the seasons, and the wood was soft enough to be scratched, as light as lacquer, and yet had the hard resonance of metal.³⁹

Through their images, objects, stories, names, and physical presence, temples thus preserved and shaped Peking's history and made it accessible. In turn, temples became crucial testimonials to the city's continuity and identity.

THE CITY RESETTLED

In the early fifteenth century, as vast construction projects surrounded older buildings, the residents of Peking were joined by waves of newcomers. We know too little about the substratum of those who had lived in the city under the Yuan, essential carriers of indigenous language and traditions, but we can identify other elements out of which a new society and collective identity would be slowly constituted.

The interruption of grain imports from the south had compounded an economic collapse in the last decades of Mongol rule, but Peking did not suffer major physical damage in the Yuan-Ming transition.⁴⁰ In the summer of 1368, as the new dynasty was being established in central China, Dadu was abandoned and taken by the Ming general Xu Da without a major battle. Although the Yuan ruling strata fled, many ordinary residents, Mongol and Chinese, stayed behind or soon returned. General Xu was headquartered in the city, now named Beiping (Pacified North), and when the Ming founder allocated lands and titles to his sons in 1370 he chose this city for the seat of his fourth son's enfeoffment. Zhu Di, then a boy of ten, was given the title Prince of Yan, married Xu Da's daughter, and in 1380 moved into the refurbished Yuan palaces.⁴¹ By the end of the fourteenth century, aided by princely encouragement of military colonists, the population seems to have recovered from the Yuan collapse.⁴²

When the Hongwu emperor died in 1398, he was succeeded by the son of his eldest son. In the summer of 1399, after a number of successful campaigns on the frontiers, the Prince of Yan began the three-year rebellion that would put him on the throne instead of his nephew.⁴³ In 1402, as the Yong-

39. The object of worship of Tibetan Buddhists in Qing times, it was housed sequentially in six Peking temples. *DJ* 4:170-71; *JWK* 41:648-49.

40. For a much more detailed reconstruction of the emergence of early Ming Peking society, see Geiss 1979, esp. chap. 2.

41. *DMB* 355-57; 605-7; Zhu Yizun 1688:1:23-25; also Dreyer.

42. Xu Daling 41-42; Farmer 61, 65; Geiss 1979:53-56; Wakeland 35-36. How much confidence can we place in the 1.2 million "people" (*kou*) registered in 1393 in the "capital area"? *JFTZ* 1735:30:18. How many lived inside or near the walled city?

43. Secondary sources for these events are plentiful. See *CH-7*, *CH-8*.

le emperor, he moved south to Nanking, but his ties to Yan remained strong and he began almost immediately to transform the seat of his principality into a second capital city. In 1403 it was renamed Beijing (Northern Capital) and an urban plan was drawn up; major construction began in 1406. At the same time, ground was broken for an imperial tomb complex north of the city. In 1417 the emperor moved north and took up residence permanently in what was now called the Jingshi, and he performed inaugural rites here in the first month of 1421. Further rebuilding completed the imperial complex, and in the 1440s, after having shared dual-capital status with Nanking for several decades, Peking finally became the primary seat of the dynasty.⁴⁴

As Ming Peking took on life and energy, it had to adjust to the loss of the extraregional connections that had tied it to the lands of the Mongols beyond the mountains to the north and remake itself into a heavily guarded bastion against military threats from this direction. The city also needed to forge closer ties with the Chinese lands to the south, a task made easier by the restoration of the Grand Canal in the 1410s. Soon, with the resources of the state behind it, Peking began to attract—and to commandeer—goods and services and people from all over the empire, and the local economy became more vigorous.

The conversion of the frontier city into a national capital in the first decades of the fifteenth century drew a great wave of immigrants, some voluntarily, some at imperial command.⁴⁵ Place names outside the southern walls reflected some of those communities who came as soldiers and were barracked together: the narrowly spaced alleys of the Shanxi and Sichuan garrisons near the Xuanwu Gate, for example, or those for the Annan and Manzi soldiers from the distant south.⁴⁶ As land near the city that had been used for pasturage and princely estates under the Mongols was freed for cultivation, more military colonies were set up, criminals from the northwest were brought in to work the land, and peasant migrants (presumably in much larger numbers) were drawn by opportunities and the promise of tax exemptions. To boost local agricultural output and government revenue, in 1403 the new emperor ordered some three thousand “propertied house-

44. Dreyer 186; *CH*-7:209, 237; Hwang 36–37; Farmer 128.

45. Farmer 100. David Robinson (1995a:83) quoted other secondary literature to the effect that as many as a million people probably moved to the Northern Metropolitan Region (in which Peking was located) during the first three reigns of the Ming (that is, before 1425).

46. Other place names within the city indicated concentrations of new residents: Henan Garrison; White Huihui Alley, probably for Muslims; Shanxi Workshop; Shaanxi Lane; and Fengcheng (a city in Jiangxi) Alley. Zhang Jue, *passim*; *Atlas* #31–32. It is not clear that these survived as distinct neighborhoods.

holds” to move to the capital from central China; still others settled inside the city to service the court.⁴⁷

Peking had been the capital of non-Han dynasties for the four preceding centuries and retained its heterogeneity in the early Ming. Muslims, Mongols, Jurchens, Tibetans, and Uighurs were common sights. One scholar estimated that in the 1460s there were ten thousand Mongols living in the city.⁴⁸ A certain cosmopolitanism was also provided by the foreign missions that began to arrive on a regular basis, quite what one would expect from the emperor (Yongle) who had sponsored unprecedented ocean voyages to enlarge the number of Ming tributaries. Missions came from Korean and Annamese kingdoms, from Siam, Java, Brunei, Champa, Persia, the potentates of Central Asia, and even from non-Han enclaves of Miao, Yao, She, and Zhuang within the empire.⁴⁹ Yongle also took an intense interest in the Tibetan form of Buddhism, and as soon as he became emperor he invited delegations of clerics from Central Asia to his capitals (first Nanking, then Peking), as did, intermittently, his successors.⁵⁰

Out of this diverse and unsettled society, the powerful and prominent emerged, most drawing their economic and cultural capital from the court, and some from success in the examination system and bureaucratic office. Chapter 6 examines these elites in more detail. For the moment let us sketch the general contours of capital society in the Ming.

The importance of the throne was paralleled by the social, political, cultural, and economic prominence of an interconnected imperial-military elite. As others have argued, this combination of the ruling family, their in-laws, the Imperial Bodyguard, and palace eunuchs emerged in the course of the fifteenth century and became a defining feature of Peking life.⁵¹

47. Farmer 151–52; Geiss 1979:13 and passim; Wakeland 182–88; Wan Yi 32; Satō. Skilled artisans from central China and eunuchs from the north China region came to work at court: D. Chan 97–100; Geiss 1979:65; von Glahn 1991:282. Zhenjiang, Suzhou, and Yangzhou Alleys in the southeast corner of the Northern City may indicate the homes of such transplants: Zhang Jue passim.

48. Waldron 95. See also Serruys 1961; Chan Hok-lam 1990. David Robinson (1995a:chap. 2) has shown that the importance of Mongols among the soldiery in and near Peking continued into the sixteenth century. For the convenience of readers, I use the anachronistic twentieth-century term “Uighur” to refer to the Turkic-speaking Muslims of the Tarim Basin oases of Ming and Qing times.

49. *CH-8* passim. Wing-hoi Chan’s research suggested that we may want to say “alleged non-Han.”

50. *MS* 331:8572–77; Ryūchi 1941: esp. 70–75; Sperling.

51. *DMB* 859; Geiss 1979:206–7; Wakeland 290–95; Dreyer 68, 86; Soulliere; Robinson 1995a.

At the core was the imperial line. Thirteen descendants of Zhu Di succeeded to the throne during the next two and a half centuries, all born and raised in Peking. Other princes were sent to live far from the capital, while imperial daughters were brought up within the palace and then married to local men. The young women who came into the Forbidden City as concubines were likewise usually natives of the capital area. Those lucky enough to give birth to boys rose dizzyingly in status, becoming wives and even empresses and empress dowagers. Accompanying them on this social ascent were their relatives, especially their fathers and brothers.⁵²

Some imperial in-laws were of common origin, and some were members of military families, often officers in the Imperial Bodyguard (*Jinyiwei*). Others received appointments to the bodyguard after marrying into the imperial line.⁵³ A few were then rewarded with hereditary ranks. Titles of duke, marquis, and earl were assigned to both imperial in-laws and other favorites, and these families became the backbone of a “nobility” (*güiren*) that was local in original.

There were seventy-five men of noble rank who appear to have resided in Peking between 1420 and 1620.⁵⁴ These included seven dukes, twenty-eight marquises, and forty earls. Ten were imperial in-laws. Fifty-five families continued their patrines and maintained their titles through more than eight generations. The others disappeared more rapidly. The prestige of a noble title was substantiated by a stipend that, for members of the imperial family and the imperial household, came as income from imperial lands in the vicinity.⁵⁵ These large estates (*huangzhuang*) were a characteristic feature of the area around (and especially south of) Peking.⁵⁶

Intertwined with the titled families and the officers of the Imperial Bodyguard were Peking’s most powerful eunuchs. It was a natural alliance. Eu-

52. Princes: *MS* jj. 103–4. I have never seen a reference to a Ming prince as a patron of a Peking temple (except Yongle when he was Prince of Yan). Soulliere 301 said that eunuchs helped select which families married into the imperial house; I have not done a systematic study. For examples of princesses who married local men: *DMB* 75, 856, 1102. See Soulliere for an extensive discussion of the lives of Ming palace women.

53. Soulliere 311–18. Given the predominance of the military within the society around the capital, this alliance is not surprising. Robinson 1995a:100.

54. *MS* jj. 105–7 *passim*. I have excluded from these totals those many families that held titles for only one generation or less than thirty years, as well as those few families that clearly resided entirely outside the capital. I have had to use 1620 as a cutoff date because of incomplete information in the *Ming shi* on the last generation of many title holders.

55. These stipends ranged from 5,000 *shi* (of grain) down to 900 *shi* per annum; dukes received more than 2,000, the others 1,000 or so. *MS* jj. 105–7 *passim*. I have reserved “Imperial Household” (upper case) to refer to the Qing agency that managed the affairs of the imperial household; in the Ming, such matters were handled by eunuch offices.

56. Huang 1974:106–7, 303; Geiss 1979:91–95; Yu Deyuan; Robinson 1995a:94–97; Tsai 165–70. Some estates were used to support specific palace halls: Shen Bang j. 8.

nuchs were in charge of managing the imperial estates, the affairs of the imperial household, and life inside the palace. Many of these men came from the greater capital area itself, maintained ties with their native communities, and behaved like local men.⁵⁷

Twelve major eunuch offices encompassed a full range of palace service and supply responsibilities: personnel, accouterments, regalia, horses, temple offerings, food, seals, credentials, palace maintenance, apparel, communication, and ceremonial affairs. The directorships of these offices were positions of prestige and power, and over time there was a general elaboration and outward extension of eunuch authority into not only Peking and the capital area but also the economy and politics of the empire. The Eastern and Western Depots became fearsome extrabureaucratic surveillance agencies managed by the Director of Ceremonial Affairs with Imperial Bodyguard staff.⁵⁸

Complementing the eunuchs inside the Imperial City were a smaller number of serving women who acted as attendants, maids, wetnurses, seamstresses, launderers, and cooks. These palace women (surely local people) created relationships of fictive kinship with the eunuchs, and, in concert, these imperial servants became very active in the life of the capital. Eunuchs also formed close and important ties with the titled nobles and were even more influential as agents for empresses and princesses.⁵⁹

Not all members of the imperial lineage, the capital garrisons, or the palace staff were rich or powerful. For the elites at the top of these hierarchies, imperial power and connections provided money, property, authority, and many opportunities to use and abuse their power. Histories of the Ming, written by their rivals, have been quick to tell us about their irresponsible, extractive, and cruel behavior. In Chapter 5 I try to correct (possibly overcorrect) this imbalance and look more sympathetically at the leadership role that this interlinked Peking elite played in local religion and polite society. As we shall see, many of them poured money into the building and restoration of Peking's temples, patronized the clergy, built durable graveyards, and entertained lavishly in their villa gardens.

Imperial power was thus grounded and channeled into interwoven networks of families whose roots were in the capital area. For good and ill, imperial influence flowed outward through women and servants and relatives, through the military, nobility, and eunuchs, beyond the walls of the palace and Imperial City, into Peking and into the region. And local culture flowed upward along the same channels.

57. Geiss 1979:91, 93. Robinson 1995a:91-94.

58. Hucker 1985: #2231, #5238, #7421; Tsai 39-56; *CH*-7:349, 465-66.

59. Soulliere 261-62, 266-68; Huang 1981:13, 58; Heer 12.

This court elite reflected both the rough, fluid, frontier character of the northern capital and its isolated, feminized palace world. Eunuchs and imperial in-laws built their positions on a more precarious base than those whose status came from wealth or education. Dependent on transient imperial favor, constantly challenged by palace intrigues and bureaucratic hostility, they could expect to enjoy their power only during a lifetime—at best—and they were necessarily anxious, not to say single-minded, about making their way. And yet Peking society was not incommensurate with that in other cities. Hereditary titles and stipends gave its nobility a staying power that was similar to (though perhaps even somewhat greater than) those who survived over many generations by commercial, landholding, and examination success.

The palace elite did not entirely dominate the capital. Garrisons were deployed in the wider region and in the suburbs as a defensive cordon for the city, and military families were an important component of local society.⁶⁰ Moreover, although the proportions were different, like other cities, Peking had both a local educated elite and an array of sojourning officials, intellectuals, and merchants.

The revival of the examination system in the early fifteenth century created the scaffolding up which local families could ascend into the state bureaucracy, a bureaucracy that was not, as it had been under the Yuan, closed to them at the very top. Daxing and Wanping (the counties that included Peking) showed modest success in producing men who were able to rise to national prominence through several tiers of examinations and attain the highest degree, the *jinshi*. Between them, the two counties turned out 204 first-degree-holders in the seventy-nine exams in the course of the dynasty: not many men at first, but a few each year between the 1440s and 1520s, fewer thereafter, and a brief surge again after 1625. By comparison with other places in the empire, we can call these respectable results.⁶¹

In fact, the number of *jinshi* from Peking was actually twice as large. An even greater number of local men were registered in the Imperial Bodyguard

60. Estimates ranged between 150,000 and 300,000 men and were vague about precisely where in the capital area these men were stationed. Farmer 173; Geiss 1979:57–63; Wakeland 99; *CH*-8:54–72.

61. The average was 2.6 per exam. *JFTZ* 1884:5:35–36:128–353 (my totals). A bewilderingly different and larger set of figures (611 versus the total of 480 here)—which I have not used—may be found in the early Qing gazetteers for these two counties: *Wanping xian zhi* 5:3–30; *Daxing xian zhi* 5b:3ff. The 1885 Shuntian prefectural gazetteer agreed roughly with the Capital Region gazetteer: *STFZ* 1885:115:5560–90. See also Satō 75, 85. The total for these two counties (204) compares favorably with those of the much larger prefectures “of unusual academic success” as given in P. Ho 1962:246. See also Elman 2000:table 5.9.

or other capital garrisons and also took the exams; beginning in the middle of the fifteenth century, they did rather well and came to include some of the city's more famous and quite respectable native sons.⁶² Some of these local degree-holders rose to high positions; others achieved fame through their poems or paintings or hospitality—that is, their mastery of a refined elite lifestyle. These examination elite families mingled socially with both the imperial-military elite and the sojourning officials and merchants, often forming a social bridge between the two.

Most of those people who moved (or were moved) to Peking in the first half century of the fifteenth century began as outsiders and became residents. The city population was further enriched by other sojourners, men whose native place was elsewhere but who lived in the capital for professional reasons.

The three-tiered empirewide examination system not only shaped a local elite but drew thousands of candidates to Peking two out of every three years, century after century. Beginning in 1405, Peking was the site for the second-tier provincial *juren* exam in which thousands of men from the surrounding province participated in the eighth month of every third year. The metropolitan *jinshi* exam was first held in 1415 and was given thereafter each spring at three-year intervals. The five-thousand-odd candidates for these nerve-wracking tests of memory and stamina may not have stayed in the city more than a few months at a time, but many of them came more than once, and the influx was regular and relentless.⁶³ Those—few—who were successful then stayed on to await government positions; some would make their careers in the capital.

The Ming metropolitan bureaucracy was staffed by perhaps a few thousand civil officials, graded by rank, and assigned to six ministries and a host of smaller offices.⁶⁴ Clerks outnumbered their superiors; some were probably hired from among the locals (including, at first, men who had done similar work under the Yuan), but the middle and upper levels may have come initially from Yongle's princely entourage and from Nanking. Most of the buildings of this nerve-center of the empire were located in a large block

62. Imperial Bodyguard families produced 276 *jinshi*. *JFTZ* 1884:35–36, 128–353 (my totals). Although these families lived generation after generation in Peking and took the exams under local quotas, their registration category and initial place of origin (often far from Peking) remained part of their public identity.

63. Dreyer 179; *JWK* 48:747–58; Elman 2000:table 2.2.

64. Huang 1981:53. Wakeland 99 estimated 3,000 to 5,000 civil officials plus “students.” The sojourning clerks from Shaoxing prefecture in Zhejiang were not established until the late Ming; Cole 97.

immediately outside and to the south of the Forbidden and Imperial Cities.⁶⁵ Concerned at work with empirewide affairs, in their private lives these men were, for shorter or longer periods, Peking residents.

The capital also housed offices of local government, with presumably similar ratios between officials and staff. North of the Imperial City were the yamen for the two counties that had jurisdiction over the city and for Shuntian prefecture. Peking was garrisoned with atypical density through several military bureaucracies and was the headquarters for five Military Commissions. Of seventy-four Capital Guard units stationed in the immediate area, thirty-three belonged to the Imperial Guard, and of these, the most important was the Imperial Bodyguard (*Jinyiwei*), answerable to the throne and spaciouly housed near the palace.⁶⁶

The needs of this imperial and bureaucratic strata were met by a host of merchants, brokers, shopkeepers, manufacturers, and service people. Some came to fulfill corvée duties; others were long-distance merchants, eager for government and private business. They included artists and artisans from the Lower Yangtze, dealers in tea, ink, and lumber from Anhui, and Shanxi sellers of oils and metals, Jiangxi porcelain, and Fujian paper. Some were relatives and neighbors of examination candidates who mixed socially with other elites (or tried to).⁶⁷ Many of these sojourners lived in the capital for long periods, compounding ties at home with those in Peking; there were few impediments toward their assumption of local leadership. (Lower-class transients, especially refugees, were less warmly welcomed.)

It is difficult to know how many people lived in Ming Peking, especially for the early period; only by 1600 is the evidence even slightly firm. Setting aside tax figures as too low and using instead estimates of grain consumption, Joanna Wakeland has calculated that the late Ming population of the city was somewhere between 600,000 and 1.15 million people. Most other estimates favor the lower number. Of this total, we can specify roughly a few thousand nobles, perhaps several ten thousand eunuchs, 50,000 local merchants, 50,000 officials, and perhaps 150,000 military households.⁶⁸

For most of the Ming, walled Peking meant the Northern City. The sparsely

65. There is an excellent detailed map of the offices of government in Ming Peking in *CH*:7:243.

66. Hucker 1985: #1248, #1177, #1127; Wakeland 57–58.

67. Geiss 1979:65–67, 186–87; Wakeland 98–99, 279–80.

68. Wakeland 84–99. Educated guesses about these numbers range widely. For nobles: my guess. For eunuchs: from 10,000 to 100,000, although most scholars agree that their numbers increased in the course of the dynasty. Hucker 1966:44 gave approximately 10,000 at the end of the fifteenth century, and 70,000 at the end of the Ming. Bartlett 305 n.20 stated that many estimates of the number of court eunuchs were inflated, and suggested several thousand or fewer in the Qing. Given the propensity of literati sources to (over)emphasize eunuch power, like others I would favor the more conservative figure of Ray Huang who proposed that there

populated palace and the workshops and warehouses of the eunuch-managed Imperial City—both off-limits to the general public—dominated the central core. The economic centers of gravity appear to have been the streets and markets just south of the palace and the densely populated area outside the Front Gate. The eastern side of the city, nearer the connections to the Grand Canal, was the more commercialized. Most of the space eventually included by the Southern City wall retained a rural character.

The picture of Peking as a city devoid of manufacture, isolated from the surrounding countryside, and dependent for its survival on resources commanded to it by the throne has surely been overdrawn. The Ming city was itself a producer, and it both extracted resources from its environs and invested there. The imperial household offices included workshops of many kinds, and goods produced by them (such as bronzes and lacquer), as well as those shipped to Peking for imperial use (porcelain, silks) or brought by foreigners as tribute (furs), also found their way onto the local market. Coal and lime were mined and quarried in the hills west of the city; there were iron works to the northeast; books were printed in the city; and bricks and tiles were made here.⁶⁹ Moreover, from the surrounding countryside Peking drew peasants seeking permanent or temporary employment and customers for their goods or services. The substantial volume of vegetables and fruit consumed by all social strata had to have come from nearby farms. Rental income supported the imperial family and nobility, horses were grazed on imperial pastureland in the vicinity, and flowers were raised year-round.

The early fifteenth-century rebuilding and resettlement accompanying the creation of the Northern Capital by Yongle constitute the first of the great social disjunctures to be treated in this book. This upheaval was followed by several centuries during which Ming society emerged—the subject to which we turn in the remainder of Part Two. As we shall see in Part Three, after the Ming rulers were ousted in 1644, Peking experienced a new wave of immigrants and a second great reorganization. Once more, city life had to be reconstituted and communities forged out of disparate elements.

were about 20,000 eunuchs in the late sixteenth century. Huang 1981:13. For serving women: Soulliere 262 estimated 3,000 to 12,000. For soldiers: 50,000 to 160,000 soldiers (plus their households) in the early and mid-Ming. Huang 1974:59, 68; A. Chan 1982:33; Wakeland 99. For a higher estimate: *CH*-7:247.

69. Geiss 1979:71–75, 199–200. For coal: Deng Tuo.

CHAPTER 5

Imperial Peking

Existing descriptions of Peking society in the Ming have focused on the city's role as the capital. Reflecting the biases of imperial and scholar-official sources, they emphasized the importance of the court, the abuses of power by eunuchs and imperial relatives, and the inefficiencies of local government.¹ A focus on temples makes possible a broader view, one that examines the local impact of throne, politics, and government while presenting a more diverse picture of Peking culture and society. Having already seen how temples served as accessible links to the city's past, we shall be particularly concerned in subsequent chapters with their role in the creation and demonstration of status, the formation of communities and collectivities, and the expression of local identities.

We begin with the pinnacle of Peking society. Those associated with the throne were not merely emblems of the city's status as capital, but active participants in local society. By defining this imperial world and examining religion, patronage, and temples within it, we can begin to evaluate the place of this domain in the social fabric of Peking.

IMPERIAL DOMAIN

Life in Peking cannot be understood without first identifying the parts of the city that were entirely given over to the activities of the throne, an area to which public access was highly restricted and that I will call the imperial domain.²

1. The most sustained accounts are the unpublished dissertations of James Geiss and Joanna Wakeland. *Beijing tongshi*, vol. 6 is similar in approach.

2. I am using "imperial" to mean "pertaining to the ruling family" rather than "pertaining to the empire."

This domain shaped Peking physically and symbolically, skewing the trajectory of its development and differentiating it as the Jingshi.

As a prince, Yongle had already reserved the land at the center of Peking for his family. By rebuilding the walled palace complexes after 1403, he not only preserved the Yuan layout but replicated much older Chinese patterns of spatial centrality in imperial capitals.³ The walled enclave at the heart of Peking was known as the Imperial City, and within it were the Forbidden City and adjacent imperial gardens. By 1420 great altars had been built in the suburbs for the highest and most exclusive sacred rituals. Yuan pasture land south of the city was turned into an enormous hunting park. These properties came to constitute the home and working space of the emperors, their immediate families, and the staff who served and guarded them. Roughly speaking, this domain removed from use by ordinary citizens about one-sixth of the city and a far larger portion of countryside.⁴ (See Maps 1.1 and 1.2.) Some parts of this domain were for the exclusive use of the imperial family and its servants; others were open to selected visitors and guests.

Those who lived and worked in this domain during the Ming probably did not exceed one hundred thousand people (surely fewer in the early years of the dynasty)—no more than 10 to 15 percent of the city's population—but they were disproportionately important in Peking life.⁵ Their roles and spheres of involvement were many. By considering the construction and use of religious buildings within the imperial domain, we may begin to understand the court and its connections with the society beyond its many walls. By identifying the different communities formed in these temples, we may begin to see the place of the imperial family in Peking society. By examining the tensions between the private and public faces of the members of the imperial household and their participation in both local and national communities, it should be possible to see how the residents of this imperial domain were both a part of and apart from Peking life.

Within the Great Interior (Da Nei), at the center rear of the Forbidden City, resided the emperor, his wives and minor children, and a host of female and eunuch attendants. Placed at the back of the complex far from the front gate, the Interior was comparable to the residential quarters of an elite home, although built on a far larger scale. This private and most impenetrable part

3. See Steinhardt 1990.

4. There were other suburban lands that were imperially controlled and used for grazing horses, growing fodder, and planting vegetables. Xu Daling 42–44. For the economic development of Peking's hinterland: Yin Junke.

5. Huang 1974:8 estimated more than 100,000. Joanna Wakeland 99 suggested 45,000–60,000 people. See discussion at note 68 in Chapter 4.

of the Forbidden City was supposed to be isolated from outsiders, and the evidence suggests that it was.

Many considerations dictated the isolation of this family within the palace: the symbolic importance of the emperor's person, the need for the protective seclusion of his wives and children, and the security provided by high walls. Yet guards, eunuchs, and other servants came and went on a daily basis, carrying goods and information to and from the outer world.

In the Interior nearly all social and physical space was given over to family use. As in private homes throughout the empire, most gods were worshipped in niches or on altars within rooms—in the chamber of a widowed empress, for example—but some halls were dedicated to private worship of deceased parents. Each new emperor and his household members could choose which gods to worship, and most religious activities were very personal.⁶ Eunuchs served as clerics.

The larger “Forbidden City” (Jincheng), of which the Great Interior was only a part, allowed for more diverse religious practices, a reflection of its relatively more open and varied character.⁷ It encompassed the rest of the imperial house: reception rooms, business offices, guardrooms, storerooms, and so forth. All of the expenses were apparently covered by the throne from the privy purse or the imperial estates, not by the regular government bureaucracy. Access to this area was slightly less restricted than that to the Interior, but security was good.⁸ Different communities made use of this palace space: rites of passage for the imperial family were held here, officials came to meet the emperor in audience and to deal with affairs of state, tributaries were received, and rituals on behalf of the empire were performed.

Many of these events took place in the three great central halls, monumental spaces that were progressively given over to public functions, and the ceremonial heart of the palace. Early in the dynasty, the first of these halls was used for ancestral rites, and Yongle had an image of Zhenwu painted on the walls. Later, the major annual rituals were held in these halls on new year's day, the winter solstice, and the imperial birthday.⁹ Although these rites en-

6. Wei Qi; *JWK* 35:546; Sun Chengze 1761:6:11; *MS* 51:1334–38; Liu Ruoyu 20:1–10; *Huidian* 1587:92:529. The only templelike building seems to have been a small shrine to the Four Constellations located in a rear garden area, and it may not even date to the Ming: Sun Chengze 1761:6:12; *JWK* 35:547.

7. The Ming terms I have seen for the Forbidden City include “palace,” “forbidden interior,” “interior garden” (*nei yuan*), and “purple forbidden city”: Liu Ruoyu 17:1, *DJ* 5 among others.

8. The defenses held during a would-be coup in 1461: Robinson 1996. It was only with eunuch connivance that in 1615 a man was able to slip past unguarded gates and enter the Cininggong in an attempt to kill the heir apparent who resided there. *JWK* 35:542; Sakai 1961.

9. Sun Chengze 1761:7:73; *JWK* 34:501, 515–20.

acted and so defined the political community of the empire, some Peking people took part in their capacities as metropolitan officials, guards, and servants. The wider public was excluded, but practically anyone could learn about these rites second- or third-hand. Through the stories of participants, a fascination with—and a voyeuristic appreciation of—life in the palace seeped steadily into Peking culture and became inextricable from it.

Parts of the Forbidden City also functioned as imperial offices, space where the emperor could act (as he ought, but in the Ming, only if he wished) as chief bureaucrat, presiding over a large network of government officers. Audiences with officials were held in one of the great halls, and grand secretaries were supposed to come daily into the palace in their capacity as the emperor's closest advisers. The Grand Secretariat (Neige) was eventually located just inside and northeast of the Meridian Gate, and grand secretaries were posted to the nearby Wenyuange, where documents were stored and portraits of Confucius and other worthies hung.¹⁰

Probably the most charged space for emperor-official relations was that just outside the Wu Gate, the southernmost entrance to the Forbidden City. Beneath this great portal, dwarfed by the walls of imperial vermilion, officials waited before dawn for audience with His Majesty; here they presented protests, and here they were brought to be interrogated, to be publicly humiliated, and to be beaten.¹¹

Although bureaucrats had access only to certain parts of the palace, they must have gladly served as channels for gossip. As in most capital cities, national political issues absorbed the attention of many temporary and permanent residents to the exclusion of what by contrast appeared to be trivial local matters.

The Forbidden City did not have formal temples or resident clerics, but clergy were invited in to perform specific rituals. For some emperors, religious life within this part of the imperial domain seems to have revolved around certain favored religious specialists. These men were known for moving into the palace and diverting imperial attention from important matters of state, behavior that earned them harsh criticism from bureaucrats. The cavalcade of these alleged charlatans (coupled with the emperors they served) is well known to students of Ming political history: Yongle and Yao Guangxiao, the monk whose religious name was Daoyan; the Chenghua emperor, the daoist Li Zixing, and the monk Zhixiao; Hongzhi and the daoist Cui Zhiduan; and Jiajing, Shao Yuanjie, and Tao Zhongwen. With one exception, none of these men were connected with any Peking temple, and they appear to have confined their activities to the palace com-

10. Sun Chengze 1761:23:243–52; *JWK* 12:165; Zhang Lian 100–101; C. Liu 223–39.

11. Huang 1981:24; Yan Chongnian 102; *CH-7*:411, 417, 423, 476; possibly Mote & Goodman 18 and Zurndorfer 154 (in 1637).

plex. Even when Jiajing built and rebuilt the halls in the Western Park, sought an elixir of immortality in a series of esoteric rituals and practices, invited various “Daoist” masters into his quarters, and held mediumistic sessions, he kept these activities private and did not perform them in temple buildings.¹²

However unseemly, it was not uncommon for rulers, their families, and their eunuchs to arrange such privately organized religious activities. They also preferred to take the shortcut of performing, within the more convenient premises of the palace, private versions of rituals that were supposed to be carried out outside: praying for rain on the steps of the Fengtiandian, or worshipping Heaven and Earth without going to the suburban altars.¹³

Such behavior invited the concerned attention and interference of classically educated officials. In 1476, the Chenghua emperor was prevented from setting up a shrine to the Jade Emperor inside the palace. Two decades later, high-minded Confucians criticized the use in the Qin’andian of rituals and equipment intended for the suburban altars, blocked the flying of banners, and objected strenuously to the power of religious professionals within the supposedly private domain.¹⁴ This periodically resurfacing bureaucratic antagonism toward activities that were beyond their control inside the palace reflected a more general and vigorous competition between officials and eunuchs over access to the emperor and to imperial power.

Beyond the walls of the Forbidden City, both inside and outside the Imperial City, were several parklike areas reserved for the imperial family. If the Forbidden City was comparable to a family home, then these were the recreational quarters, the inner garden open only to the household and their invited guests.¹⁵

The early Ming emperors had followed Jin and Yuan dynasty practice by commandeering several of the city’s lakes for their private pleasure.¹⁶ Ming rulers redesigned the area just west of the Forbidden City and continued to enjoy its openness, water, vegetation, and views. Two of the celebrated Eight Vistas were here. The Jiajing emperor moved out of the Forbidden City in 1542—shaken because some of his palace women had nearly assassinated

12. *CH*-7:351, 464–65, 479–82; *JWK* 42:661–64, 42:665–66. Because of Daoyan’s personal involvement in various temples in the city, he was the exception.

13. *Huidian* 1587:84:486–87; De Groot 1910:5:781. For intimate versus more formal ancestral worship: Cheng-hua Wang 79–117.

14. *JWK* 35:546–47. One part of the conflict between the Jiajing emperor and his officials over worship of his father involved his insistence on using a private hall for this purpose. *MS* 51:1336–38; Fisher.

15. *DJ* preface:5. Cheng-hua Wang (229) discussed an additional park, the Dongyuan, which is unfamiliar to me.

16. These are known today as Beihai and Zhongnanhai, the latter still closed to the public.

him—and took up residence in this Western Park (Xiyuan) during the last twenty-five years of his reign.¹⁷

Within this park, there were halls and pavilions suitable for strolling but no substantial temples. There was a small shrine to the gods in charge of the waters, built so that the Jiajing emperor could make offerings after boating.¹⁸ Here he also constructed an Altar to Sericulture (Cantan) in 1531, having decided that the more ritually correct site in the northern suburbs was too inconvenient for the empress.¹⁹ (One facet of the Qing transformation of the Xiyuan would be the addition of temples.)

Although the Western Park was open only by imperial invitation, it became a landmark of Ming Peking, even to those who perforce enjoyed it from afar. The large island with its rocky hill was especially popular as a place for Ming rulers to entertain. Some liked to invite groups of officials (that is, grand secretaries, heads of the Six Ministries, high officers in their bodyguard) to come into the park for a day's sightseeing, often including a boat ride, mountain ascent, wine, and food. Literati commemorated these visits in prose and verse ("Viewing the Chrysanthemums at Xiyuan," "Strolling to Wansuishan"). An early seventeenth-century encyclopedia that catalogued famous places in the empire included a putative illustration of the Western Park and described hyperbolically its deep broad pool, its fragrant and elegant reeds and lotuses, and its island of strange rocks and handsome halls reminiscent of the isle of the immortals.²⁰

In the course of the dynasty, the natural beauty of the lakes, hills, gardens, and pavilions, enhanced by association with the power and prestige of the throne, helped promote their wider fame. Written accounts, like gossip, exposed this rarefied world and made it more public, and thus helped integrate palace life into a larger Peking. Those who had not been there read about the park, heard it talked of, imagined it, and wished to visit.

The walls of the Imperial City (Huangcheng) encircled a wider and less intimate imperial property. This greater openness might have made it possible to build temples and to staff them with clergy, but Ming emperors rarely did so.²¹ (Qing rulers would do differently.) Energetic Jiajing built the Dagao-xuandian between the mountain and the lake in 1547 and installed images

17. Liscomb 140–141; *DMB* 318; Jiang Yikui 1:12–15; Gao Shiqi 2:4–5; *CH*-7:464–65, 479–82.

18. Gao Shiqi 2:4–5; *JWK* 36:570–71.

19. *JWK* 36:562–64; *STFZ* 1885:5:133; Lam 57–74. The rites were abandoned after 1559 (Lam 72).

20. *San cai tuhui* 6:250–51. The *STFZ* 1593:6:68–117 included a few poems about this area; Jiang Yikui 1:12–15; *JWK* 35:549–56, 41:638–40. See also Clunas 1996:61, and Cheng-hua Wang 233–46 for the Xuande reign.

21. I have been able to identify only the three discussed in this paragraph.

of the Three Pure Ones; here eunuchs could learn and participate in Daoist rites.²² A decade later Jiaping had another large circular hall built west of the lake, shaped like one at the Altar to Heaven; it was rumored to be where he studied internal alchemy with Tao Zhongwen late in his reign.²³ Bureaucratic hostility extended to these religious buildings in the Imperial City. When Zhengde constructed a Tibetan Buddhist temple west of the lakes, he was roundly criticized by his officials (“destroy this Buddhist monastery, throw out the foreign monks”), and the temple did not survive long.²⁴

The Imperial City housed two highly respectable sites for the highest level of imperial grand sacrifice. The Shejitan and the Taimiao balanced one another across the central axis south of the Forbidden City, one for agricultural rites of great antiquity, the other for worship of the imperial ancestors. (See Map 5.1.) Like the suburban altars, rituals here were orchestrated several times a year by the Ministry of Rites and directed toward the well-being of the emperor, the empire, and the dynasty.²⁵

Laid out by Yongle but rearranged and enlarged in 1530, the suburban Altar to Heaven (Tiantan) and the Altar to the Mountains and Rivers (Shanchuantan) became substantial walled compounds in what would later be enclosed as the Southern City; in the north, east, and west suburbs were smaller altars to the Earth, Sun, and Moon. Within each complex the principal rites were conducted on altars open to the air and the elements. The emperor was expected to perform them annually in person: at the Tiantan on the winter solstice, at the more modest Ditan on the summer solstice, and at the others in their turn.²⁶ And yet, these altars were not as isolated as their lofty rites might imply. These rituals necessitated regular imperial processions, each involving large numbers of official participants and support staff, out of the palace and through the city streets.

For private purposes, the Ming ruling house kept a substantial country preserve to the south of Peking, a place that permitted a change of scene and greater freedom of movement. This was the Southern Park (Nanyuan), or as it was also then called, Nanhaizi, the Southern Marshes, a great expanse many times larger than Peking.²⁷ (It is shown on Map 1.2.) Previously used for relaxation by Yuan emperors who may have helped drain the marshes to create lakes, the area was enlarged and walled by Yongle and stocked with

22. The Dagaouxuandian was (and is) off the southeast end of the northern lake. *JWK* 41:638–40.

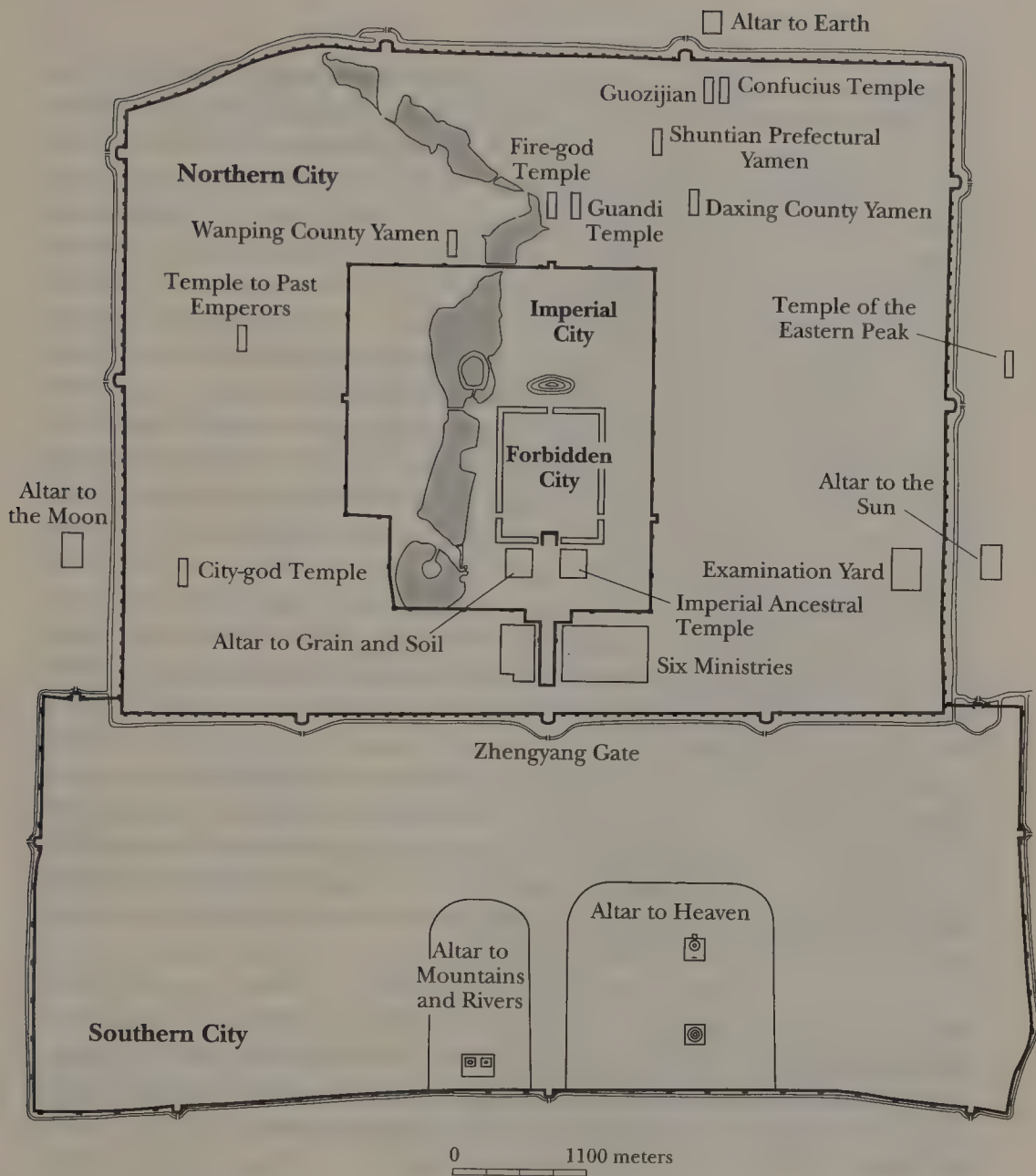
23. Gao Shiqi 2:91–93; *JWK* 42:665–66.

24. *JWK* 42:656.

25. *Huidian* 1587:85:488–90; *JWK* 9:129–35.

26. Xu Daoling 1:182–86, 2:7, 14–15, 39–40. These rites changed in the course of the dynasty in ways not emphasized here but that would repay close attention. For example, the separate Altar to Earth was not created until 1530.

27. *Atlas* #38.



Map 5.1. Ming Peking

deer, pheasant, rabbits, and animals for imperial sacrifices. Hunting (part of local as well as imperial culture) was conveniently combined with military exercises. By the time the Zhengde emperor visited the Southern Park in 1507, he found it in need of repairs; after another half century, prohibitions against public entry were being ignored, the buildings were overgrown with brambles, the trees were being cut down, the animals had escaped, and land was being taken over by eager peasants.²⁸

The Southern Park was tended by resident eunuchs and servants, and was home to a few temples. The Dragon-king was worshipped in one temple built in 1472—appropriate for such watery terrain; the popular god Guan Yu was enshrined in another. When Zhengde had a bridge near one of the park gates repaired, he had a new Longwang temple built and composed the stele inscription himself.²⁹ Overall, however, imperial involvement in these temples—as in the park itself—was slight; eunuchs, not their imperial masters, may have been the most active patrons.

Finally, there was the imperial cemetery. Yongle had selected a scenic valley forty-five kilometers north of the city for these Hills of Heavenly Long Life (Tianshoushan). Construction of tombs took place at intervals, as each of the thirteen Ming emperors and his wives and concubines died and were buried here.³⁰ The graves were maintained at imperial expense.

Incense was burned and offerings were made at the tombs on the death-days of past emperors and empresses, the list of which grew ever longer with the passage of time. These rites were carried out regularly, by the emperor or his deputies, ensuring deep grooves in the road to and from Peking. Xuande came twice in person; Longqing once (his only excursion out of the city); Zhengtong came four times; Jiajing three. Wanli's four trips in thirty-four years were considered excessive (by his officials). These expeditions included a huge entourage and were, in fact, usually rather extravagant.³¹ Officials came here also, supervising construction or accompanying an imperial coffin, but the tombs—like most Chinese graveyards—remained a relatively private part of the imperial domain, closed to the public and not of legitimate interest to outsiders.³² As an early seventeenth-century book

28. Controlling this property was never easy. Geiss 1979:65; *BJTB* 53:153, 57:132; *San cai tuhui* 6:248; *DJ* 3:134–35. For hunting: Geiss 1987:9–10, 17; Liu Ruoyu 20:5.

29. *BJTB* 78:81; *JWK* 74:34; *BJTB* 53:153, respectively.

30. Actually, the first person buried at this site was Yongle's empress, who died in 1407. Gu Yanwu 1982a:1:5. The last Ming emperor was entombed here by the Qing in 1644. See Paludan.

31. Huang 1981:121, 123; Na & Kohler 130–31. Cheng-hua Wang 75 said that only seven of the Ming emperors went to the tombs.

32. See, for example, Riely 2:50, 2:432; Jiang Yikui 4:85; *JWK* 136:2184–95, 137:2196–2220; or Gu Yanwu 1982a:1:3–12. One of the eunuch Wei Zhongxian's many presumptuous actions was his visit to the tombs in 1623, travelling as if an emperor, with the road covered in yellow sand. Dunne 200.

about Peking noted, “The four altars and the imperial tombs, these the officials and people gaze upon from afar.”³³

One ruler was not buried with the others. He was the unlucky Jingtai emperor, Zhu Qiyu, who took the throne when his reigning half-brother was captured by the Mongol Esen in 1449; when the brother returned eight years later, Jingtai was ousted (and possibly murdered). Treated posthumously as a usurper, he was buried in the northwest suburbs of Peking, north of Yuquan-shan.³⁴ Although this area around Jinshankou was frequented by elite visitors, it was used as a burial ground for several dozen Ming consorts and concubines, women who had committed suicide at the death of their husbands or were for other reasons buried separately. One of the many stories concerning the Jianwen emperor, who had been unseated by his uncle (Yongle), told how he had been seized in distant Guangxi province, transferred to Peking for trial, and buried in the Western Hills; the Jiajing emperor was rumored to have visited his grave.³⁵ This moving tale of injustice unavenged, when linked to an imagined lost gravesite, deepened the cultural resonance of local topography. No wonder that when the historian Tan Qian visited here in the 1650s, he brooded about unhappy “wandering souls.”³⁶

The Ming carried out its responsibilities to past emperors (dictated by its claim to be their legitimate successor) by authorizing their worship as part of the state religion.³⁷ A shrine to Qubilai Khan (whose actual grave site was unknown) had been built in Peking in 1377, while Nanking was still the capital; rites were performed twice a year by the Shuntian prefect until the 1530s when a Temple for Past Rulers (Lidai Diwangmiao) was built for the consolidated worship of the founding emperors of the Han, Tang, Song, and Yuan dynasties.³⁸

Such was the imperial domain—the inner core of Peking and certain walled-off areas of the suburbs. Most of the temples here were either small altars for private worship or large ones used in the state religion, and it was almost exclusively the communities of family and of empire that were celebrated ritu-

33. *DJ* preface:5.

34. *DMB* 294–97. For a fine detailed study of that reign: Heer. For the grave: Jiang Yikui 4:86; *JWK* 100:1664; *DJ* 5:222–23.

35. Jiang Yikui 4:86; *DJ* 5:222–23. See *DMB* 397–405, esp. 404, for F. W. Mote’s thorough discussion (apparently shortened by the volume editors) of this emperor and these legends.

36. Tan Qian 1656:253–54; *JWK* 100:1667–70.

37. Such rulers, from the legendary Fuxi down to Song Lizong (d. 1265), were worshipped in thirty-six places. *Huidian* 1587:93:531–32. No Liao or Jin rulers were included on this list. The Ming founder had originally established a temple at the Jin imperial tombs southwest of Peking, but Yongle abandoned these rites. *JWK* 51:806–7.

38. Separate worship of Qubilai then ceased. His shrine was called the Yuanshizumiao. *Comprehensive Gazetteer* 1505:1:27; *JWK* 50:791–92. For the Diwangmiao: *Huidian* 1587:91:517–20; *DJ* 4:181–82; *JWK* 51:806–22.

ally in these spaces. These aspects of religious life seemingly mirrored and certainly encouraged the isolation of the Ming imperial domain from its surroundings. Visual representations of this domain produced by insiders give further insight into the society of the palace, while those created by outsiders tell us about how it was viewed from afar. In both cases, images objectified the rituals and helped viewers reexperience or imagine this exclusive world.

Pictures of life from within the Ming imperial domain are (and seemingly were) few in number.³⁹ Most consisted of vignettes and fragments that concentrated on special occasions presented in detached isolation, with the wider palace complex and the city itself both absent. The picture of court life was thus quite incomplete.

Paintings of scenes of pleasures (*xingle tu*) recorded the emperor enjoying himself. A well-known example is the six-meter horizontal scroll showing the Xuande emperor watching demonstrations of archery, kick-ball, and riding, and participating in other games. The location was apparently the palace, but only the imperial presence signalled this. The setting was appropriately elegant but not otherwise distinctive. The halls were unnamed and had a generic look. Xuande, the second emperor to reign in Peking, employed at court a variety of congenial and talented painters from the central provinces and used them more than any of his successors to chronicle palace life. A very large hanging scroll, a comparable product of the same period, showed the emperor riding with his entourage in a wooded but parklike setting.⁴⁰

A slightly later scroll conveyed the same impression of imperial isolation. It carried a date of 1485 and illustrated the Chenghua emperor, also in the privacy of a palace setting, enjoying a variety of entertainments, this time specifically during the new year and lantern festival holiday. The earlier scroll was spartan by comparison. Here, performers filled the courtyards, juggling, leaping through hoops, balancing on poles, and doing other acrobatics; musicians played, and lanterns adorned a large tower constructed to show them off. This lively occasion was again placed in a generic palace courtyard, the world outside indicated only by symbols of the palace—high sturdy vermilion walls and swirling mists.⁴¹

39. I am aware that here and throughout this book there is some danger in assuming that the skewed sample of what has been preserved stands for the larger universe of Ming paintings.

40. For this genre: Cheng-hua Wang chap. 4. For the first painting: Ma Jige; Murck 1988:356; Barnhart 91. For the second, which is nearly four meters wide and half as tall: *China* #190; Barnhart 56–57. Both are now in the Palace Museum in Peking. Cheng-hua Wang has identified the Chenghua emperor as the subject of the handscroll and Xuande in the Western Park as the subject of the hanging scroll (223–46).

41. Q. Fu 73; *SHTM* 1:Jing-2–268. Another (undated) Ming painting that may also be comparable showed what could be imperial women burning incense on an open terrace next to cloud-wreathed palace halls. A specific scene seems to be represented, although I am not sure what. *SHTM* 4:Lu-2106.

An imperial progression to and from the ancestral tombs (perhaps in the 1550s) was another aspect of court life illustrated in a grand manner. A thousand-man entourage accompanied the emperor, who travelled out by horseback and back by barge, and we can see in attentively rendered detail the attire and equipment of a great range of eunuchs, imperial bodyguards, and other attendants. A large gate (to the city? to the palace?) looming up through the clouds marked the point of departure, and a similar gate followed by a complex of red walls and gold roofs with a clear central axis, wrapped in mists, awaited the returning procession.⁴²

These insider paintings showed palace life very selectively. They emphasized calendrical occasions when many people congregated, perhaps because these were defining moments of community for the participants. If those portrayed constituted a community, the paintings emphasized that it included not just the emperor and his intimate family but servants and officials as well. Produced by court artists, these pictures were presumably put on view for the same people who were depicted in them.⁴³

These paintings of court life do not suggest a deep rootedness in Peking. The setting vaguely invoked the palace, but nothing reflected a desire to describe a particular site or emotional attachments to specific places within the imperial domain of Ming Peking. On the contrary, and by contrast with the Qing, the representations of palace gates and walls were distinctly iconographic. Did such visual materials imply that early Ming rulers had not yet (learned to?) become sentimental about their imperial home?⁴⁴

We lack personal testimonies by emperors, but one late Ming eunuch described the palace world with the passion of an enthusiastic insider. "Deliberations on the Past" (*Zhuozhong zhi*), composed by Liu Ruoyu in the 1630s, is better known as an accounting of the fractious court politics of the Wei Zhongxian era, but it showed a fierce and well-developed attachment to life

42. Two scrolls on this topic are in the Palace Museum in Taipei. Na Chih-liang (Na & Kohler 129–37) presented various theories about the identity of the emperor, but argued that he was Jiajing and that the events in question took place ca. 1536–1538. For the scenes of the palace, see pp. 121–23. The clean-shaven attendants were eunuchs. These scrolls are twenty-six meters long and almost a meter high. See also Fong & Watt 332–33, where Wen Fong speculated that "the scrolls are idealized representations commemorating all his [the Jiajing emperor's] visits rather than a record of any specific visit" and dated them "ca. 1550." For comparison with the very different literati-style version of a comparable event, see the Dong Qichang paintings discussed in Chapter 8 n.50.

43. Some of these same points were made in Cheng-hua Wang chap. 5.

44. Birds, flowers, animals, and generic landscapes seem to have been much more popular topics for court artists: Barnhart. It may be relevant that none of the six emperors who resided in Peking between Yongle and Jiajing (that is, 1425–1522) lived past the age of forty; most died in their mid-thirties.

in the Forbidden City.⁴⁵ The extravagance of consumption described in the section on seasonal foods and observances, for example, was compelling in its precision and variety: roast goose, roast chicken, roast duck, cold strips of sheep's tail; fatty pork, onions, and garlic, minced and wrapped in lettuce leaves; fresh steamed crab dipped with the fingers in vinegar and garlic.

A different insider vision of the imperial domain, indicative of a different kind of community, can be seen on four large late Ming hanging scrolls that portrayed, indisputably, Peking's Forbidden City.⁴⁶ Similar in approach, each took a bird's-eye view of the palace complex, looking north at the line of halls, courtyards, and walls that extended back along the main axis. In the foreground was usually the gate we know today as Tian'anmen and the recognizable white marble bridges and tall marble columns topped with a cloud and mythical beast that still stand nearby. The palace halls were exaggerated in size and wreathed in clouds, and they dominated the frame.

Although the Forbidden City was the centerpiece of these paintings, there were usually also token references to a larger Peking, compressed in the outer margins. One (referred to as "Painting 1" in my notes) showed in detail the Western Park lakes (with boats among lotuses), the Six Ministries, the city gates, and the East Four-Arches intersection of the city itself. These peripheral areas were more reduced in the other paintings. In each scroll, a large out-of-scale male figure stood in the right or left front; these men have been identified as architects.⁴⁷

It is relevant for our purposes that these scrolls reflected an intense concern with the specificity of the buildings portrayed and real pride in the

45. Liu wrote this "Measured Accounting" (as the title might also be translated) while in prison. The work was banned in Qing times, but circulated in manuscript and under different names; parts were made available in the much shorter *Ming gong shi*, and the full text was published in the mid-nineteenth century. For details, see Fang Chao-ying's biography of Liu at *DMB* 950-53.

46. Two are presently in the Palace Museum in Taipei, and one is in the British Library. The *Guoli Zhongyang Tushuguan shanben shumu* 1:338 listed what I will call "Painting #1" and "Painting #2." (These are the only two I have seen in the original.) Another, which I will call "Painting #3," is in the History Museum in Peking. Lü Shuzhi illustrated Paintings #1 and #3. Painting #3 is better reproduced in Zheng Lianzhang. A fourth, Painting #4, is in the British Museum; details of it have been often reproduced, and the full scene is shown in Whitfield, plate 14. There may be others in the Palace Museum Peking. In size, the three for which I have dimensions range from 1.7 to 2.1 meters long and from 1.1 to 1.7 meters wide. Paintings #2 and #4 show other figures in the foreground.

47. Although no one has made a careful comparative study of all examples, the paintings appear to commemorate the rebuilding of palace halls after major fires. An inscription on Painting #1 clearly identified its subject as the reconstruction of 1562 under Xu Gao. Most discussions of these works interpret them differently, but I have relied on Lü Shuzhi for a convincing argument about architects. For Xu Gao and the other honors showered on him by a grateful emperor, see *DMB* 750-51.

mighty halls of the palace rendered in this exaggerated fashion. Painted and kept at court, not intended for a wider audience, these pictures not only make sense as great compliments by grateful emperors to their court architects but also seem to show an attachment to the Forbidden City shared by those who resided and worked in it. I take such representations to indicate the embedding of Ming palace life in the real city of Peking.

By contrast, the imperial domain was not painted by or for outsiders, just as it was not written about systematically for a reading public.⁴⁸ A few printed Ming maps of the city have survived, and on them we see this domain portrayed as a defining but inaccessible feature of Peking, a world closed off from public scrutiny.

Figure 5.1 shows a map that was printed in a 1560 book about Peking. The Imperial City was indicated by its walls and by the sequence of nine halls that formed the backbone of the city. The suburban altars were marked, although not to scale.⁴⁹ In fact, by the early seventeenth century, certain visual conventions for the Forbidden City were well established: an ascending row of hipped roofs surrounded by clouds, high vermilion walls, two large cloud-columns, and a marble bridge. (They can also be seen in the woodblock in Figure 8.1.)

These symbols for the palace had, in fact, become symbols of Peking, but of Peking in its identity as the political and ritual center of empire. When members of the scholar-official elite portrayed the palace in pictures, it was likewise in a national context, specifically national politics. The bureaucrat-emperor relationship became conventionally encapsulated in the pivotal moment when officials stood outside the Forbidden City. An undated painting of Huang Daozhou (1585–1646) showed him standing by one of the cloud-columns on the route in through the Wu Gate.⁵⁰ More of the tension implied by this site was dramatized in the final scene of the popular elite-authored play “The Peony Pavilion” (1598), when the young heroine appeared before the emperor at this spot.⁵¹

The tourist literature of the late Ming also emphasized the high walls and revealed how little knowledge about the palace was publicly disseminated.

48. Even the Grand Sacrifices were not described in words or pictures—except for the itemization of their rituals in the “Collected Statutes of the Great Ming,” a compendia for bureaucrats. *Huidian* 1587: jj. 81–88.

49. Zhang Jue, map. They were labeled the North, East, and West Suburban Altars, the Tiantan, and the Ditan (i.e., Shanchuantan). Similarly, on a 1593 prefectural gazetteer map, the palace area was indicated only by sketched rooftops floating amid clouds within the Imperial City walls. *STFZ* 1593. These maps were not intended for the casual visitor.

50. N. Wu 27. Huang was in Peking intermittently between 1622 and 1640: *ECCP* 345–46. For four Ming album leaves that also showed officials waiting outside the halls of the Forbidden City, see #Vm 2874–77 in the National Gallery, Zbraslav, Prague.

51. Swatek 29, 38.

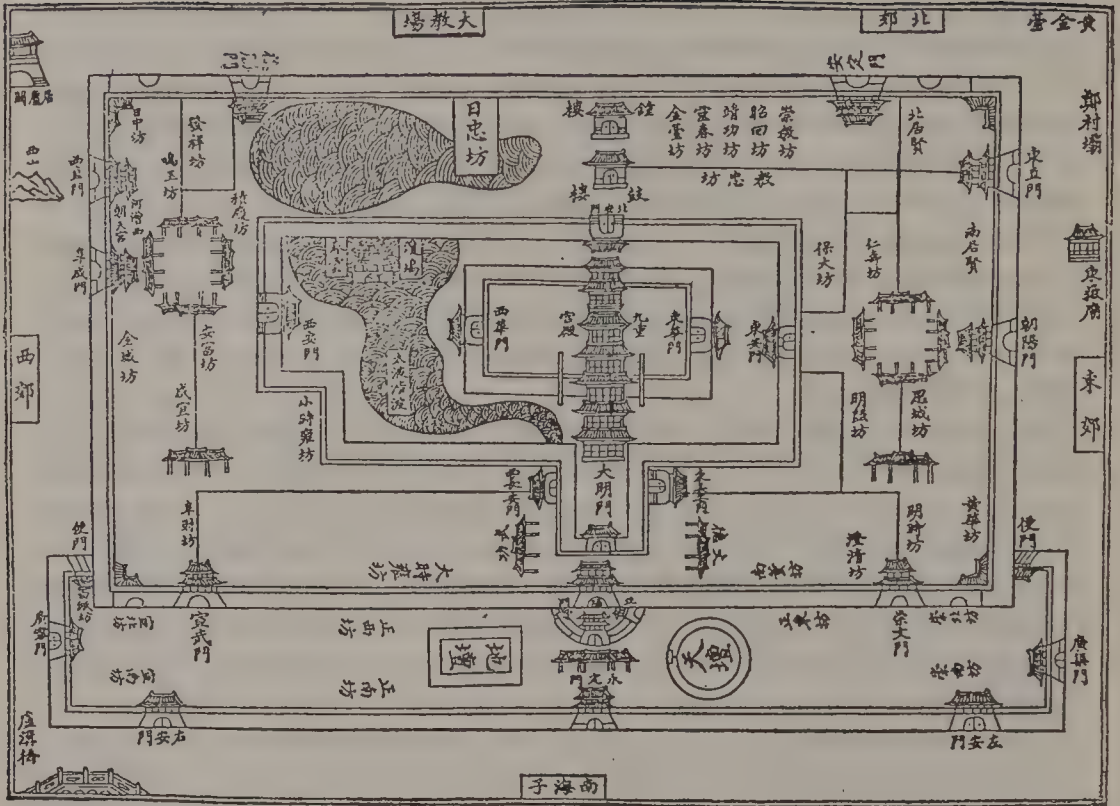


Figure 5.1. Peking in 1560

This drawing from Zhang Jue’s 1560 “List of the Wards and Alleys of the Five Districts of the Capital” is one of the earliest surviving maps of Peking. The central axis extends from the Yongding Gate in the south, through the Imperial City, to the Bell and Drum Towers in the north.

SOURCE: Zhang Jue, map.

Neither “Visitor’s Remarks on the Capital” nor “Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital,” two important early seventeenth-century books about Peking’s sights, included sections on the Imperial City. The former book slipped a discussion of the Western Park (home to two of the Eight Vistas, after all) into an entry on Peking’s lakes.⁵²

We can catch a glimpse of the role that the palace played in the popular imagination through an unusual Ming painting preserved in Japan. Much schematized, it took the same perspective as the architects’ scrolls: the viewer looked north at the Imperial City, whose walls and gates and roofs were carefully arrayed and squeezed into a neat rectangle. Figures representing the emperor and his ministers sat in one palace hall, and elephants stood out-

52. These works were the *Chang’an ke hua* and the *Dijing jingwu lue*. See Chapter 8 for details.

side the Wu Gate. The inscription at the top listed in verse the names of the emperors and the number of the years of their reigns. Errors in names and dates indicate a nonimperial origin and audience.⁵³ Seeing the Forbidden City exposed to curious outsiders, we are encouraged to imagine how much more information of uneven reliability about the private lives of emperors circulated orally and in ephemeral media.

Although the imperial domain was central to Peking's wider identity as the capital of the Great Ming, the few and narrowly focused representations of it by insiders and the relative invisibility of life within the imperial domain for outsiders mirrored both the paucity of large gatherings here and the unsteady course of imperial involvement in wider Peking life.

And yet, an important contrary trend was at work: the participation of the court in city life through intermediaries. Although Ming emperors travelled rarely outside the palace, they acted at a distance through surrogates and thus invested considerable resources outside their own domain. Moreover, bursts of imperial involvement in the physical and cultural construction of the city were followed in due course by the appropriation of these sites by Peking residents. To understand these processes, we must turn to imperial patronage of the temples and buildings of Peking and the ways in which it linked throne and city.

STATE RELIGION

The scholarly literature has tended to emphasize the deleterious economic effect on greater Peking of the involvement of Ming emperors and members of their household. An inspection of imperial patronage of the temples and religion of the city suggests, however, a relationship in which support, protection, and investment were at least as important as extraction and oppression.

We should begin with some definitions. What precisely was "imperial patronage" in Ming times? Following the approach set out in Chapter 3, I use "patronage" to include a wide range of assistance to a temple: endowing land or money; funding the (re)construction of halls; paying for rituals and offerings; supplying a stipend for clerics or caretakers; donating objects for use or decoration; gracing the temple with a visit; or bestowing a name.

Specifying what is meant by "imperial" is more complex. The Ministry of Rites paid for certain rituals performed by the reigning emperor, but who was responsible for the "funds issued from the Interior" (*chu nei tang*) and the

53. Ren Jincheng. The scroll is 99 x 50 centimeters and is held by Tōhōku University. I am grateful to Cary Liu for bringing this painting to my attention. The text listed emperors through Wanli, but Ren concluded that its information on palace halls dated from 1531–1562. Liu wondered if it might have been a visual aid for storytellers.

gifts that came “from the palace” (*gong zhong*)?⁵⁴ Occasionally, emperors invoked personal reasons to explain their acts of patronage and composed the texts of public inscriptions.⁵⁵ More often, at least in religious matters, they acted indirectly, with and through other people and agencies. In these cases, it is not always possible to disentangle emperors from their eunuchs, wives, mothers, and daughters. The rest of this chapter examines these different actors, but considers all gifts or actions taken in the name of the throne as “imperial” donations. (Patronage by eunuchs without reference to a member of the imperial family is considered separately in Chapter 6.)

Ming imperial patronage of Peking temples, so defined, was varied, multistranded, and far-reaching. Through it, money and prestige flowed from the otherwise isolated center out into the city. Despite intermittent official disapproval, the imperial family became involved in and a part of the religious culture around them. Moreover, imperial patronage made possible substantial and significant additions to the city’s temple infrastructure, resulting, as we shall see, in the expansion of available public space in the city.

To explain these developments, let us examine first the state religion and related activities, and then look, in turn, at emperors, their wives and mothers, and their eunuchs and other servants.

One of the distinguishing features of Peking was the large number of religious establishments—twenty-four—built and regularly funded with tax revenue by the Ministry of Rites. The considerable time, money, personnel, and space given over to their rituals made these temples a significant part of Peking life.

The graded rites of the state religion were originally set up by the Ming founder in Nanking (following precedents from previous dynasties), then reestablished in Peking by the Yongle emperor, and then transformed in the 1530s under Jiajing.⁵⁶ At that time, the rituals and physical structures for the Grand and Secondary Sacrifices were entirely reorganized. The south suburban altars were rebuilt, expanded, and reconstituted: the Altar to Heaven (Tiantan) and the large complex to Mountains, Rivers, and other gods (most commonly called the Shanchuantan). Altars to the Moon, Earth, and Sun were created in the west, north, and east suburbs. The Altar to Soil and Grain (Shejitan) was constructed as a complement to the Imperial Ancestral Temple (Taimiao), which was redesigned. The Temple to Past Emperors (Lidai

54. The three Imperial City treasuries, one of them within the Forbidden City, were presumably the source of such funds. Huang 1974:10–20. Huang noted that from the Inner Chengyun Treasury came money for “contributions to religious institutions” (10).

55. Although it was difficult for emperors to speak in public in a private voice, some of the texts we have were less formulaic than others.

56. Fisher; *CH*-7:443–50, 457–58.

Diwangmiao) was built, and the rites to the First Teacher (Xianshi, Confucius) were substantially altered.⁵⁷ Buildings and outdoor altars were planned with heightened attention to imperial symmetry and symbolism. Wooden tablets—rather than images—were mandated for use in the Ancestral Temple, the Temple to Past Emperors, and the Temple to Confucius.⁵⁸

Protected and generously supported, these sites were long-lived; only the Shanchuan altars do not survive. They were also extravagant in their use of space. One need only glance at Map 5.1 to see that the two largest altars occupied nearly as much land as the Imperial City itself. The Taimiao and Sheji altars, twin complexes south of the palace, were themselves enormous, and either alone was several times larger than any other public building in the city. This monumental scale was commensurate with imperial command of local resources and with the importance of the rituals themselves.

The objects of these rites, the prayers used, and the people present show that the intended beneficiaries were the emperor, the ruling house, and those under their authority. The prayers referred to the emperor as *Tianzi*, Son of Heaven, to the Great Ming (*Da Ming*), and to benefits for the *min*, the people under dynastic authority. Events important to the dynasty (*guo*) were reported to these supernatural powers. Through these two highest levels of the state religion, the emperor and the officials of the state bureaucracy thus invoked and continuously recreated the imagined community of the empire. And so these altars and rituals were unmistakable assertions of Peking's status as capital of the territory under Ming rule.

In the Tertiary Sacrifices (the “minor sacrifices”) we find gods as more conventionally understood, who were worshipped in buildings and represented by images. Rites at this level not only drew to the throne the protection of powerful gods but also involved the state directly in popular worship. According to the “Collected Statutes”: “For any mountain, river, earth god, or meritorious official who gave protection against great calamities or warded off great disasters, or for those whose great exertions on behalf of the dynasty had led to death, there could be an imperial order to build a temple, give a plaque, or extend imperial protection and support; all would receive statutory rites.”⁵⁹

The deities so honored in the Ming were a heterogeneous assemblage,

57. *Huidian* 1587:jj. 81–83, 85:488–90, 86–88:497–511, 91:517–25. For the Shanchuantan, I am oversimplifying a complex of worship that was rearranged several times in the course of the Ming. The site included the Xiannongtan, but was sometimes misleadingly called the “Ditan” in Chinese (see Zhang Jue, map) or the “Temple of Earth” by foreigners. Xu Daoling 1:182–83; *Huidian* 1587: 81:460, 85:492–95, 92:525–26. At least two other altars had a more ephemeral existence, the Disheji and Cantan. *Huidian* 1587: 85:490; *JWK* 36:562–64. Romeyn Taylor 845 listed these rites for the late Ming.

58. At the same time, Confucius's title was lowered, from “king” to “first teacher.” *DJ* 1:3–14; *CH* 7:458; Sommer.

59. *Huidian* 1587: 93:531–32.

difficult to generalize about. The battle between the throne and the bureaucracy over which cults were to be officially sponsored was sporadic but fierce. (A contrast with the Qing.) A proper study of this conflict has not been done, but its intermittent flare-ups are known. In general, emperors championed deities worshipped by ordinary people, deities whose public status they attempted to improve or co-opt in the face of Confucian bureaucratic hostility.

Eleven of the temples designated for Tertiary rites were in Peking, fourteen others were in Nanking, and a handful of others were elsewhere in the empire. In the northern capital, only two were within the imperial domain, and nearly all the others were in the Northern City, several clustered conveniently near the north gate of the Imperial City. (See Map 5.1.) Most were thus accessible to both the state and the public. For the people of Peking, the emperor's power to honor selected deities and subsidize temples in the city in the name of the empire had concrete manifestations, promoted local religious activity, and may even have reflected a genuine community of interest between the throne and the citizenry.

Some of these deities honored with third-level rites in Peking were obscure, worshipped in only one or two places. Others were gods to whom there were many temples besides the officially designated one: the Fire-god (at least sixteen other temples to him), for example, Zhenwu (thirty-five others), and Guan Yu (eighty-nine others).⁶⁰ And yet, imperial patronage cannot be said to have either consistently led or followed popular practice. Sometimes imperial support gave a boost to a cult, and sometimes it had no lasting effect; sometimes it mirrored popular belief, and sometimes it ignored it. The unstated limits of the state religion were revealed in the lack of Buddhist deities and paucity of female ones. Let us look at some of the seventeen temples in Peking where Tertiary Sacrifices were offered in order to see these processes at work and their specific consequences for the people of the city.

Direct imperial involvement could parallel and supplement popular belief, as it did in the cases of Guan Yu and Zhenwu. The Yongle emperor believed that Zhenwu, God of the North, had rendered invaluable assistance in his struggle for the throne; as is well known to students of Ming history, the emperor became a major sponsor of this god's cult. In 1412 he began building the complex of Daoist temples on Mount Wudang in Hubei that would become a vigorous pilgrimage site in the centuries to follow.⁶¹ Three years later, thanking the god for his "invisible protection," Yongle had a shrine to Zhenwu built in Peking, locating it just north of the northern gate of the Imperial City. Later emperors progressively elevated the temple's designation from *ci* (shrine) to *miao* (god's residence) to *gong* (palace). Offerings

60. These are figures for the entire Ming period.

61. Lagerwey 1992, esp. pp. 299-300.

were made every year on 3/3 (Zhenwu's birthday), on 9/9 (his ascension as a god), and on the birthday of the reigning emperor.⁶² This uncontested imperial support seems to have contributed to (and reflected) the popularity of Zhenwu in both the capital and in the empire during the Ming.

The Three Kingdoms-era hero Guan Yu was likewise widely known in the empire (through story-cycles and plays especially), and the Ming founder built a temple to him in Nanking in 1395. Official worship in Peking came to focus on a particular manifestation, Lord Guan riding a white horse.⁶³ In 1477 the Chenghua emperor generously enlarged and restored one temple to Guan, then titled Marquis, and made it part of the statutory rites. In 1536 the god was elevated to King (*wang*) and in 1614 to Emperor (*di*).⁶⁴ Although these promotions undoubtedly enhanced Lord Guan's authority, belief in his efficacy was well entrenched in the culture. There were nearly a hundred temples to him in Ming Peking, only one of which received state support.

By contrast, we can see more disconnected imperial patronage in the Lingjigong, built in 1417 by Yongle to honor the Xu brothers, two Fujianese gods. He promoted them to Daoist Perfected Ones (*zhenren*), bestowed land and titles, and called for officially sponsored worship on their birthdays. No other temples to these gods were subsequently built in the capital, no local constituency for their worship developed, and eventually (in 1642) metropolitan officials were able to denounce them as "the sons of rebels who should not receive the prostrations of our officials" and have the cult removed entirely from the state religion.⁶⁵

Most gods honored by inclusion in the state religion enjoyed a mixed combination of official opposition and imperial and popular support. The Peking Dongyuemiao (Temple of the Eastern Peak), for example, had been completed in 1329 through the efforts of the Heavenly Master Zhang Liusun. It was restored and enlarged at imperial expense in 1447, and regular worship was funded. An association with Mount Tai, the Eastern Marchmount, worshipped by emperors for more than a millennium, seems to have assured it a certain distance from Daoist sectarianism but not a secure place

62. *Huidian* 1587: 93:530; Shen Bang 18:189-90.

63. Perhaps incorporating a local horse cult. According to one version, after his successful 1410 campaign against the Mongols, Yongle returned to Peking and learned that people were talking of a white horse that had suddenly begun panting and sweating at the time of the battle. The emperor took this as confirmation of the vision that he and his army had of a god who looked like Guan Yu on a white horse, leading them to victory. *DJ* 3:97-100, also *DMB* 12-15. Shen Bang 19:203 mentioned a dream by emperor Yingzong to explain the cult.

64. *BJTB* 52:129; Shen Bang 18:189; *JWK* 44:696-700; *Huidian* 1587: 93:530.

65. Shen Bang 17:182, 18:190; *DJ* 4:172-76; *JWK* 44:691-95; Boltz 1987:91. Davis 45 cited examples of visitors to Peking who worshipped at this temple, but argued (40-41, 46-47) that Yongle's patronage had actually helped kill the cult.

in the state religion. An attempt was made in 1488 by Ministry of Rites bureaucrats to withdraw official support from this temple and confine it (in tablet form) to the Altar to Mountains and Rivers in Peking and to the mountain in Shandong. The emperor, surely as aware as his officials were of the great popularity of this temple, overruled the recommendation.⁶⁶

In the 1488 broadside, Minister of Rites Zhou Hongmo not only attacked official worship of Dongyue in Peking, but also proposed stripping another thirteen gods of comparable state support. The newly enthroned Hongzhi emperor considered the issue and then rejected the ministry plan in four cases, modified it in four, and accepted the others.⁶⁷

The place of Daoyan (a.k.a. Yao Guangxiao, 1335–1418) in the state religion was also the subject of protracted controversy. A monk from the age of thirteen and a man of obvious talent and broad education, Daoyan was Yongle's trusted adviser for many decades. Officials and literati blamed him for the usurpation, but his tablet was installed in the Taimiao in 1425 by Yongle's son and successor. In 1530, the Hanlin scholar Liao Daonan persuaded the Jiajing emperor that it was inappropriate to have a monk's tablet in such a shrine, and it was shifted to the Qingshousi (a monastery where Daoyan had once lived). Minor offerings were still made twice a year by the Ministry of Rites. After a fire at that temple in 1538, the tablet was moved again, this time to a Tibetan Buddhist temple (the Huguosi). Here, in a small hall, Yao's twin personas were represented, one a recognizable image in monk's garb and pose, the other an austere tablet. State-funded worship was continued until 1586, when—bureaucratic triumph—it was finally halted entirely.⁶⁸

The history of the state religion tells only part of the story of the complicated relationship between imperial patronage, official scrutiny, and popular worship. To see how the throne and ordinary worshippers became more entangled with one another, we need to expand our field of vision. Those temples that were either part of the state religion or located within the imperial domain made up only an atypical fraction (one-fifth) of the larger number of establishments patronized by the Ming throne.⁶⁹ To this wider sphere, let us now turn.

66. *BJTB* 51:152, 57:134–35; Peking Library #1102; *JWK* 88:1484–91; Ten Broeck; *MS* 50:1306–10.

67. Separate worship of the City-god continued, for example, but that of Wenchang was downgraded. *MS* 50:1306–10; Kleeman 78–79.

68. *Huidian* 1587:93:530; Shen Bang 18:192; *DMB* 906–7, 1561–65; *JWK* 43:684–85; Jiang Yikui 1:20. Most Ming and Qing sources wrote respectfully of Daoyan but called him by his lay name.

69. Out of 191 imperially patronized temples, 29 were in the imperial domain, 30 were part of the state religion, and 42 were in one or the other or both.

IMPERIAL INITIATIVES

In their private capacity, emperors could reach out beyond the imperial domain and beyond the formal commitments of the Ministry of Rites. The stela inscriptions supposedly composed by emperors were few in number, often set up after large-scale construction projects, and formulaic in content.⁷⁰ Personal concerns have been obscured by the language of the texts and the veiled presence of others behind the scenes. It is, moreover, difficult to generalize about the religious interests of Ming emperors. The fourteen men who ruled from Peking differed widely from each other; they were eclectic, interested variously in Daoist or Buddhist or Tibetan Buddhist practitioners, enthusiastic or disdainful about Confucianism, and sometimes highly eccentric in their religious concerns. Nonetheless, their reasons for giving money or land to a temple were consistent with what we find in the society as a whole: gratitude to a god who had proved efficacious, respect for the spiritual powers of a religious person, and hope for the pious acquisition of merit. Emperors differed primarily in their resources. A search for long-term patterns may not be worthwhile, but a close look at a few well-documented incidents of new temple construction at explicit imperial initiative gives us a feel for the purposes, rhetoric, and occasions of such activity.

Of the 1,091 Ming temples known to me, 44 were founded by emperors, a small subset (4 percent) of the temples assisted in some way by the throne.⁷¹ These several dozen acts of patronage were distributed unevenly but predictably in time, with a peak in the Yongle reign, a spurt under Jiajing, and the greatest temple-founding activity (one-third of the total) during the Wanli reign (1573–1619). Obviously, the steady accumulation of religious establishments in the city did not discourage more construction.

Imperial patronage could easily take on a quasi-official nature. Peking's Chaotiangong (Palace for Homage to Heaven) was constructed in 1433 by the Xuande emperor to provide a handsome place in which to worship the three highest Daoist gods. Built on the site of the Yuan dynasty residence of the Heavenly Masters of Longhushan, it was an enormous complex of a dozen halls and thousands of rooms, generously endowed with land but not independent of its patrons. The Jiangxi daoists resided here when in Peking and used it for *jiao* rituals performed for the benefit of the dynasty. The officers of the Daoist Registry were also housed here, and the premises were used for rehearsing the large-scale imperial celebratory rites performed on the new year, winter solstice, and emperor's birthday.⁷²

70. I know of sixteen such stela, most composed by the Chenghua emperor.

71. I have excluded restorations and small gifts.

72. Jiang Yikui 2:22; Shen Bang 18:171–72, 181–82, 19:202; *DJ* 4:184–87; Sun Chengze 1761:66:991. For the Daoist and Buddhist Registries, see Chapter 2. During the Ming, the Yuan

Under the influence of a daoist from Hangzhou, Yongle took up the worship of Wang Lingguan, building a temple in the northwest part of the city; one hall held images of twenty-six heavenly generals of whom Wang was said to be the premier. Yongle's successors enlarged the temple, and offerings were made at imperial—not Ministry of Rites—expense on regular occasions. But in this case also, imperial belief did not generate wider popularity, and Confucian scholars criticized the cult. Nevertheless, the temple survived without imperial support and became popular with literati for its twisted pines and belvedere view.⁷³ This process of imperial founding followed by private support was a common one, and because of it the capital's religious infrastructure was enlarged, enriched, and sustained.

The imperial construction of temples to Tibetan Buddhist deities in Peking reflected both personal and strategic interests of emperors that were distinct from those of the wider society. Ming rulers had followed the Yuan practice of establishing patron-client relations with high Tibetan and Mongol lamas. Like his father, Yongle invited such men to court, bestowed ranks and titles on them, financed the performance of elaborate rituals, and welcomed regular missions first to Nanking and after 1413 to Peking. Many clerics stayed on in temples that were granted formal stipends by the throne and regularly supplied with offerings.⁷⁴

We can see high tides of such patronage between 1420 and 1520, especially under Yongle, Hongzhi, and Zhengde, but without extensive support among the populace, this Tibetan Buddhist infrastructure was fragile (especially as compared with the Qing period) and subject to occasional imperial and official disfavor. The most serious blows may have come under Jiajing, who personally saw to the destruction of at least three such temples.⁷⁵ This patronage nevertheless allowed monks from Central Asia and establishments with Tibetan Buddhist images to survive on the Peking scene, giving a distinctive flavor to the city's culture.

Other imperial patronage was more private, directed as charity toward imperial dependents. Halls of Peace and Happiness (Anletang) were built

title of "Tianshi" had been taken away and these masters were known as "Zhenren," Perfected Ones.

73. The temple was known as the Xianlinggong. *DJ* 4:176–79; Sawada 1965:56–57; *JWK* 50:800–801; Shen Defu 917; Survey 1908.

74. There had been Tibetan temples in Dadu under the Yuan: Sperling 80. Yongle and Empress Xu both received initiation into the Karmapa sect: Sperling 78–82 and chap. 4.

75. The Bao'ansi in 1523: *JWK* 49:786. The Great Ci'ensi in 1535: *JWK* 43:685. The Shanfodian in 1536: Ryūchi 1941:73. For official attempts in the early Zhengtong reign to decrease the number of foreign monks: *MS* 28:331:8577; *JWK* 53:844.

in the Imperial City for old and dying palace servants and the storage of their coffins; these halls had altars for worship and clerics in residence. The bodies of those who died in service were taken to a place outside the city for cremation and burial where a small shrine was also attached.⁷⁶

It was surely the intention of individual emperors that their patronage of religious institutions, once initiated, be thereafter carried out regularly and systematically, and it was surely possible for the imperial household to do this (as it did in the Qing). It is clear from available sources that funds were supplied from the privy purse for certain temples. For example, the eunuch Liu Ruoyu's late Ming account of the palace told us that under Wanli a dozen eunuchs were sent regularly to an unspecified number of temples to burn incense.⁷⁷ However, given the highly divergent religious interests of Ming rulers, it seems most likely—and quite in keeping with the personal nature of this sort of action—that individual emperors dictated this kind of budgeted support only during their lifetimes.⁷⁸

The occasional imperial reference to a decision to invest in a temple previously founded by an imperial ancestor confirms this lack of ongoing institutional support. The texts of the eleven inscriptions for Peking temples written by the Chenghua emperor (r. 1465–1487) testified to his informed knowledge of the history of previous patronage and his consequent eagerness to restore temples established by his father, grandfather, and even great-great-grandfather.⁷⁹

Overall, however, imperial withdrawal from affairs of state, so characteristic of many Ming emperors and so deplored by their officials, was paralleled by a comparable sequestration from Peking. These rulers seldom ventured outside the palace and gardens on their own—and they were not encouraged to do so. I know of fourteen temples visited by Ming emperors inside the imperial domain and fifteen outside it (most of these were in the north-

76. The first such hall had been founded by Yongle in 1417 for the artisans working on the palace. The burial place was known as Gongrenxie. Jiang Yikui 3:62; Shen Defu 901; *JWK* 39:615, 41:645–46, 96:1606–8; Chen Zongfan 2:476; Liu Ruoyu 16:47–48; Survey 1908.

77. Liu Ruoyu 16:47. In the *Ming gong shi* version of this passage (2:37), four temples were named and others implied.

78. Uneven patterns of imperial involvement seem to indicate this. For example, upon taking the throne in 1465, the Chenghua emperor sent eunuchs to the Yuan dynasty Baitasi with incense, candles, and lamp oil every month. It received ad hoc imperial patronage before but not after his reign. Shen Bang 19:196, 18:193; Jiang Yikui 2:26.

79. For example, *BJTB* 52:134. They also reveal his responsiveness to the requests of his mother and other family members.

west suburbs).⁸⁰ The Gongdesi, for example, restored by Empress Dowager Zhang in 1427, was a lakeside temple in the northwest suburbs that Liao, Jin, and Yuan rulers had reportedly liked to visit. She and her son, the Xuande emperor, and her grandson, the future Yingzong, all stayed here when coming to Yongle's tomb, and an elaborate suite of rooms at the rear of the temple was kept ready for them.⁸¹

Travel outside the imperial domain—especially for religious purposes beyond the statutory rituals—was loudly, and often successfully, opposed by high-ranking bureaucrats. Some emperors resisted such strictures but most acquiesced. In a well-known case in 1453, the recently enthroned Jingtai emperor planned to go see the Longfusi, newly constructed at imperial expense a few blocks east of the palace. His was to be a full-scale visit, the date auspiciously selected and the city streets cleared before dawn, but the naive emperor was forced to cancel the trip by strenuous objections from the Ministry of Rites.⁸²

The Zhengde emperor was something of an exception. In 1507 he built a private palace in the “Leopard Quarter” in the northwest corner of the Imperial City behind the north lake; there he practiced military drills, staged hunts, and escaped from his censorious grand secretaries.⁸³ He repaired and used the Southern Park, enjoyed the mountains near the Jade Spring, and visited temples in the Western Hills; moreover, he made a southern tour and a series of expeditions to the northwest frontier.⁸⁴ The Wanli emperor also liked to make detours en route back from his visits to the tombs of his ancestors north of the city. He would stop at the Black-Dragon Pool to pray for rain, halt at the Wanshousi (which his mother had helped build) for a vegetarian meal, or rest in the Western Lake area, where he and the women of his entourage would boat. Visits were usually accompanied (or followed) by imperial gifts.⁸⁵

Emperors may not have appreciated the effect of their generosity—

80. I have not undertaken a thorough study based on the Ming “Veritable Records” but have relied only on information recorded in connection with the temples themselves. The resulting numbers are certainly too low.

81. Li Dongyang 6:2579–84; Shen Bang 19:197; Jiang Yikui 3:51; *JWK* 100:1659–64.

82. *BJTB* 51:186; *DJ* 1:43–44; *JWK* 45:709–11. Objections of this sort were inconceivable under the Qing.

83. Geiss 1987. Geiss has reconstructed the probable location of this complex and argued (sensibly) against accepting the literati characterization of life in the Leopard Quarter as nothing but debauchery.

84. *BJTB* 53:153, 54:8; Shen Bang 19:197, 198; *JWK* 104:1726–27; Fengkuan 41; *CH* 7:418–23, 430–36; Geiss 1987.

85. *JWK* 106:1759–64; *DJ* 5:202–5; Tao Yunjia. When the Zhengtong emperor travelled to a monastery in the Western Hills in the autumn of 1446, for example, he presented it with silver and silks. *JWK* 101:1671–72.

although they doubtless heard many flattering words from their eunuchs. In fact, the impact of imperial patronage on Peking came primarily not from the ruler's personal presence, but from a combination of money from the throne and the visits of more mobile members of the imperial household. It was common for a variety of court personnel to join together in these projects. The rebuilding of the Huguosi in 1472, for instance, nominally credited to the emperor's initiative, was subscribed to by his mother, the empress dowager, the empress, a number of concubines, female palace employees, and eunuchs.⁸⁶

Temple patronage by emperors contributed to the diversity of Peking's religious infrastructure. Although ad hoc and eclectic, a reflection of diverse personal beliefs, such patronage was of enduring importance because of the resources that could be committed. Over time, a wide variety of temples, with various religious rites and practitioners, found momentary (or sustained) imperial favor.

The secondary literature has not presented imperial patronage of religion in a favorable light. A few emperors have been guardedly praised, most have been criticized, and much blame has been shifted onto eunuchs and women close to the throne. Zhu Youtang, the Hongzhi emperor (r. 1488–1505), for example, has been praised for his devotion to “Confucian teachings” and for the enthusiasm with which he dismissed the “disreputable Daoist sorcerer,” “rapacious Buddhist monk,” and thousands “of their ilk” who were received at court by his father. Imperial gifts to temples during the Hongzhi reign have been therefore attributed instead to the evil influences of his wife (to whom he was devoted) and her relatives.⁸⁷

Separating rulers from influential members of their households is indeed a tricky business and perhaps not amenable to categorical distinctions. To explore the problem further, let us turn to these other imperial patrons of religion in Peking—first to female relatives, and then to eunuchs.

IMPERIAL WOMEN

As patrons of local religion, emperors often acted in concert with their wives, mothers, and daughters. They usually referred to such connections indirectly through euphemisms—the Forbidden Area (*jin zhong*), the Interior (*nei* or *da nei*), the Central Palace (meaning the empress), or the Eastern Palace (meaning the heir apparent or his mother). Donations and gifts were made

86. *BJTB* 52:95, 52:96–97.

87. *CH*-7:351–56. He famously resisted bureaucratic advice in 1488 and in 1501.

privately and irregularly, paid for by the privy purse, and were beyond the reach of the Ministry of Rites.

Most of the women of the ruling family came from the Peking area and were more in touch than the emperors with the world outside the palace. Being beyond direct official censure, imperial wives and daughters had greater liberty than their husbands and sons to patronize Buddhist establishments. It was not the custom for them to enter nunneries, so they expressed their piety in visits and gifts. Surely knowledgeable about local beliefs, familiar with a range of clerics (with whom conversation might have been possible), in touch with their relatives, intimate with their female attendants, and in many cases seriously interested in religion, imperial women were able to appreciate what a land endowment, new hall, bestowed name, or mere visit might mean to a temple, its clerics, and its neighborhood.

We know most about the activities of the empress dowagers, the wives of emperors who lived on into the reigns of their sons and grandsons. Eight Ming empresses outlived their husbands by more than a few years, and four of them survived their sons. Those who were able to enjoy the powerful position of empress dowager for many decades became some of the most active and powerful Ming women—certainly in the sphere of religion.⁸⁸ Through these unusual women, we can appreciate the range of possibilities for cooperation in the imperial family and catch an occasional glimpse of the less visible empresses, secondary consorts, and princesses. Their patronage had a palpable impact on Peking.

A nearly abandoned Liao temple with a fine view over the plain toward Peking was reestablished in 1428 with palace funds because of a request by Empress Dowager Zhang, the mother of the Xuande emperor. The monk Zhiguang, a Chinese follower of the Indian monk Pandita, was established here and assigned more than a hundred monk disciples; the temple was renamed the Dajuesi (Monastery of Great Enlightenment). A second round of imperial patronage helped it become one of the great monasteries of the Western Hills. In the 1470s, Empress Dowager Zhou, with her son the Chenghua emperor's approval, paid for a major renovation. She made donations of land (ensuring an enduring income) and arranged, as most empresses probably did, to have eunuchs make regular visits to burn incense.

88. See Table 1.1, where the surnames of those eight women and their death dates are given. They survived their husbands as follows: Empress Dowager Zhang, by sixteen years; Sun, twenty-seven years; Zhou, forty years; Wang, thirty-one years; Zhang, thirty-six years; Xia, fourteen years; Chen, twenty-four years; and Empress Dowager Li, forty-two years. *DMB* passim.

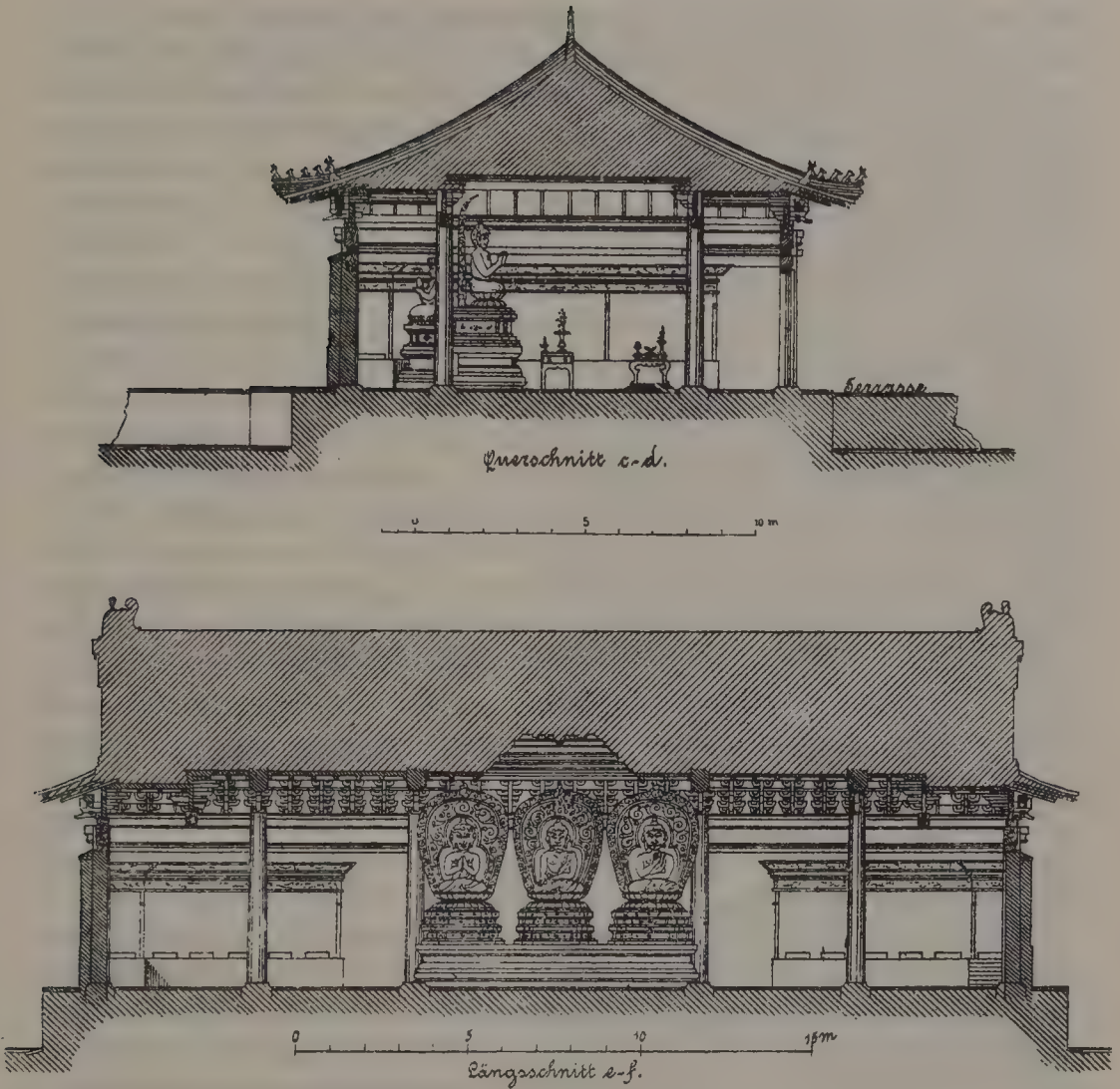


Figure 5.2. Main Hall of the Dajuesi

These drawings done by Heinrich Hildebrand in 1892 show two cutaway views of the central hall of the Temple of Great Enlightenment in the Western Hills, one from the side and one from the front.

SOURCE: Hildebrand figs. IV and III.

Although surviving records do not show it, surely these women also visited the temple in person.⁸⁹ (See Figure 5.2.)

Although emperors did not always agree with their mothers, sentiment

89. Field Museum #921, #957; *JWK* 96:1608–9; *BJTB* 53:130, 53:150. I have no information about the location of this land; presumably it came from imperial estates.

combined with the articulated virtue of filial piety to make it difficult for these men to oppose maternal wishes and awkward for bureaucrats to criticize compliance. In an example about which I have written elsewhere, the Jiajing emperor was unable to close down a temple outside Peking in 1527, despite his own preferences and official enthusiasm for doing so. The women of his family, not the least his own mother, successfully protected it out of reverence for its pious nuns.⁹⁰

One woman did more than any other Ming (or Qing) empress to build temples in and around Peking: Madame Li (1546–1614), the concubine of the Longqing emperor who became consort in 1567 and empress dowager in 1572 at the age of twenty-six when her young son took the throne as the Wanli emperor. Until her death forty-two years later, she was the most powerful woman in the religious life of the court, in the capital, and in the empire.⁹¹ In the Peking area alone, she was substantially responsible for establishing at least thirteen temples and restoring twelve others, as well as making important donations to six more.⁹² On most occasions, her gifts were supplemented by bequests from palace eunuchs and other members of the imperial family. More than half of the imperial donations to temples in the years that she was empress dowager were demonstrably her gifts, and many of the rest were probably also. Between 1571 and 1602, scarcely a year passed that she was not building a temple somewhere in the city. Religion was clearly of immense importance to her, and, coming after a generation where little imperial money was dispensed outside the state religion, such largess had an even greater effect.⁹³

These contributions to the infrastructure of the capital were so substantial that they are worth spelling out at greater length. They illustrate Madame Li's active involvement in the city that lay beyond the palace, as well as her relationship with her husband, her sons and daughters, her eunuchs and palace serving women, and the occasional metropolitan bureaucrat. Although the following list is incomplete, the relative wealth of detail helps us understand processes that are obscure in other instances.

In 1571, when her husband was still alive, Madame Li donated 1,500 ounces of silver (and had 1,000 more given by others in the palace) to rebuild a Guanyin temple in the east suburbs. She bestowed on it a newly printed copy of the Buddhist Canon, another of her projects.⁹⁴

90. T. Li & Naquin 136–40.

91. *DMB* 856–59; portrait in plate 9.

92. My information surely understates the case.

93. During the 1540s, 1550s, and 1560s, almost no private temple funding was forthcoming from the court. Imperial lack of interest undoubtedly played some role, but it may also have been relevant that between 1543 and 1570, the privy purse funds normally used for such purposes had been diverted to pay military bills. Huang 1974:272.

94. *BJTB* 57:4.

In the spring of 1574, as empress dowager, she rebuilt and greatly enlarged another temple to Guanyin in the south suburbs where a young boy had once been made a monk as a ritual substitute for her imperial husband. Six hundred *mou* of land was given for endowment income. That same month, she assisted a eunuch-led effort to restore a temple that had been founded by other eunuchs earlier in the century in honor of a famous monk.⁹⁵ She also established a temple to the regionally popular Lady of Mount Tai in a city sixty kilometers south of Peking.⁹⁶

Between 1576 and 1578 she paid for the construction of the Cishousi west of the city, where she could make offerings to her deceased husband and where her son, who was about to be married, could pray for male offspring. She bestowed land on the temple and enlisted the chief minister Zhang Juzheng to compose the stele (as he had for temples in 1574 and 1575). A thirteen-story pagoda was built beside it.⁹⁷ She persuaded the emperor to help her pay for a major, two-decade-long restoration of the Temple to the God of the Eastern Peak.

In 1577–1578, Madame Li financed the building of another long-lived temple northwest of the city. For this task, as for many others, she dispatched the eunuch Feng Bao to select an auspicious site through divination and supervise the construction. Zhang Juzheng once again composed the stele inscription. Nearly one thousand *mou* of tax-exempt land was bestowed on this Temple of Longevity (Wanshousi), half near the temple, the rest elsewhere and a source of rental income. The enormous sutra-inscribed bell cast in the Yongle reign was brought out of storage and hung here. Miniature artificial mountains were constructed inside representing the Buddhist sites of Putuo, Wutai, and Emei.⁹⁸

In 1581 she arranged for Feng Bao to purchase the residence of a eunuch in the northern part of the city so that it could be turned into the Nianhuasi and used as a residence for Bianrong, a monk newly arrived in the capital from western China. More than 1,700 eunuchs and palace women also donated money, and dozens of bronze images were specially cast.⁹⁹

In 1589 Madame Li restored and renamed a small Buddhist temple in

95. *JWK* 90:1526–27; *STFZ* 1885:17:530; *BJTB* 57:21; Shoudu Library #1089.

96. The temple was in Zhuozhou, where there had already been an active Dongyuemiao, and where a bridge was being simultaneously built at imperial expense. *JWK* 128:2065, 129:2077.

97. Cishousi: *DMB* 857; Shen Bang 18:182, 19:197; *DJ* 5:216–17; *JWK* 97:1611–13. The pagoda survives. Eastern Peak: *BJTB* 57:40–41, 58:34.

98. *DMB* 859, 462–65; Shen Bang 18:183, 19:198; *DJ* 5:202–5; *JWK* 77:1291–97.

99. *BJTB* 57:101–2; *JWK* 54:875–77; Bredon 193–94. In 1598, after Bianrong's death, she built a seven-story pagoda in the near northern suburbs for his remains, giving it money, buddha images, and nearly five hundred *mou* of land. *BJTB* 58:84.

the Southern City, perhaps as a place for the famous monk Zhenke to stay.¹⁰⁰ In 1591 she and her fellow empress dowager, Madame Chen, as well as princesses, concubines and nobles (275 donors in all), gave money to rebuild a Guanyin temple just west of the city. Having heard about how the monk Guikong had toured the three Buddhist mountains, burning off one finger to each of the great bodhisattvas, the empress dowager paid to establish a temple for him when he arrived in Peking in 1592.¹⁰¹ In that same year she gave money to assist in the rebuilding of a monastic complex that had been started at the initiative of a monk from Sichuan. In 1594 Madame Li donated funds for new halls at the Tanzhe monastery in the Western Hills.¹⁰²

In the early winter of 1595, probably as a move in the elaborate political struggle then underway to select an heir apparent, Madame Li founded a temple intended for prayers that the emperor live a long life. She was joined in this effort by her former maid Madame Wang, the mother of the emperor's eldest (but not favorite) son.¹⁰³

In 1599 she paid for the rebuilding of another suburban temple and had the calligrapher Dong Qichang inscribe a poem for a stele there. In 1608 she gave money (and persuaded the emperor to do likewise) to assist with the transformation of a small suburban Zhenwu shrine into a substantial temple to Bixia Yuanjun, whose manifestation had recently roused believers by speaking through a local shaman. Madame Li's demise at age sixty-eight left unfinished the restoration of an Earth-god temple in the Southern City, an undertaking completed for her in 1615 by her son.¹⁰⁴

In addition to these projects, Empress Dowager Li was alert to the possibilities for smaller gifts (her eunuchs probably brought them to her attention). We can document her gifts of at least six sets of the Buddhist Canon to Peking temples between 1573 and 1593, and in the years thereafter, a bell, a handsome embroidered Buddhist robe, a large incense burner, and the gilding of a life-sized image of Shakyamuni.¹⁰⁵

These many acts of piety were motivated by many normal concerns—for the soul of her deceased husband, for her son's health, and for the continued vi-

100. *DJ* 3:103-4; *JWK* 58:947-48; *DMB* 140-43. Thirty years later, Dong Qichang wrote an account of "The Buddha Completing the Way," remembering when he met his friend Zhenke; it was engraved on stone and set in the wall of that temple.

101. 1591: *BJTB* 58:131-32. 1592: *DJ* 3:116-18. On this temple, as with many others, Arlington and Lewisohn are unreliable (219).

102. 1592: *JWK* 96:1605-7; *BJTB* 58:32-33. 1594: *BJTB* 58:50.

103. *BJTB* 58:61-62; *DMB* 208.

104. 1599: *BJTB* 58:98, 58:99. 1608: *BJTB* 59:166; Peking Library #2781. 1615: *JWK* 59:959.

105. Canon: *BJTB* 57:4, 57:144, 58:13; Shen Bang 18:194; *JWK* 100:1665. See also Chapter 3 n.142 for four other sets of the canon for which she may also have been responsible. 1594

tality of the imperial line—but they also arose from Madame Li's personal beliefs. They reveal the importance of charismatic and talented monks (and to a lesser extent, nuns) in late Ming society, a subject treated in secondary literature on such national figures as Hanshan Deqing and Yunqi Zhuhong.¹⁰⁶

Most of the temples that Madame Li patronized can be called Buddhist—that is, their central deities (where known) were identifiable buddhas or bodhisattvas, not other gods. Her very considerable patronage outside of Peking (a subject in itself) was directed particularly toward the sacred mountains of the three great savior-beings.¹⁰⁷ Of these, the empress dowager seems to have been personally devoted to Guanyin, with whom she eagerly identified. Four of the temples she established had in their names the word “benevolence” (*ci*), a quality associated with Guanyin, and Madame Li's own title was the Cisheng (Benevolent and Holy) Empress Dowager.¹⁰⁸ One of her first acts of patronage a few months after her husband died in 1572 was to donate a bell to the Baomingsi nunnery. Here Guiyuan, a young nun, claimed to be an incarnation of Guanyin. Perhaps inspired by her example, sometime circa 1587 the empress dowager—then about forty years old—had a dream in which a bodhisattva gave her a “Nine Lotus Sutra” (*Jiulian jing*), and she too became convinced she was Guanyin's incarnation.¹⁰⁹ Images of this Nine Lotus Bodhisattva were thereafter placed in Peking temples that Madame Li patronized.¹¹⁰

As we shall see, a great many people followed Madame Li's lead in donating money to these Buddhist temple undertakings, and it seems likely that her devotion to Guanyin enjoyed a wider resonance—and that her generosity (what bureaucrats called “extravagance”) may have been appreciated by other residents of Peking and done much to make up for the absence of Buddhist institutions in the state religion.

Empress Dowager Li also made gifts to another female deity, Bixia Yuanjun.¹¹¹ Although this Lady of Mount Tai was responsive to requests for sons

bell (in the Lingguansi in October 1991): *BJTB* 58:61–62. 1599 incense burner (at Jietan): Bouillard 1922b; *DJ* 4:170–72. Robe: *Arts of Asia* (January–February 1991): 24–25; the correct date for the robe should be 1595, the year the temple was built.

106. S. Hsu; Yü 1981; *DMB* 141; 462–65.

107. See *DMB* 856–59.

108. She received this title in 1572. She also founded (date unknown) another small Guanyin temple inside the city. *BJTB* 64:112–13.

109. 1572 bell (in the Dazhongsi in 1981): T. Li & Naquin 140–43, 152–59. This experience may have encouraged her efforts to sponsor the printing of new scriptures in the Buddhist Tripitaka, including this text. *DJ* 5:216–17.

110. In the Cishousi: *DJ* 5:216–17; Peking Library #3192, #3194. In the Ci'ensi: Peking Library #2538; prints of this engraving were for sale in Peking in 1987. After her death, in the Changchunsi: Tan Qian 1656:122–23; *JWK* 59:956–58; Okada Gyokuzan j. 4.

111. See notes 96, 97, and 104 above.

and was a popular deity in the Peking area, Madame Li obviously had an absorbing interest in all kinds of female gods. When Matteo Ricci presented Wanli with a painting of the Virgin Mary in 1601, the emperor turned it over to his mother.¹¹² She must have had quite a panoply of such images by that time.

Most of the temples Madame Li had built or renovated were large in size. Each project injected imperial funds into the local economy, helped develop the section of the city or countryside where the new temple was located, and tightened its links with the center of town. The majority were in the near suburbs, mostly within a few kilometers of the city walls; half a dozen were clustered on the road that led west out the Fucheng Gate, convenient to the estate of her father, Li Wei.¹¹³ Scenic locations later made many of them popular with a larger public.

During her lifetime, criticism of Empress Dowager Li was muted and redirected toward eunuchs and monks (much easier prey). Complaints about the money she spent in 1574 on the Bixia temple in Zhuozhou were brushed aside by the throne, but one can read the 1595 trial of the cleric Hanshan Deqing as an indirect attack on the woman who was his imperial patron.¹¹⁴ The protracted struggle over Wanli's heir apparent was manifested in patronage of religion as well as in other domains.

Historians since the Ming have followed the lead of her bureaucratic critics and regarded Madame Li's generosity toward religion in a harsh and unfavorable light, preferring to call attention to how these resources might have been used to benefit the empire as a whole (for example, to fund a more successful defense against the Manchu threat in the northeast). From a local perspective, however, it is clear that imperial donations to temples during the Wanli reign were an extremely valuable investment in the Peking economy and the public infrastructure of the city.

And it is not as if the empress dowager acted without the formal support of the bureaucracy. Officials may have disapproved (as the orthodox histories of this period insist), but many lent their names to her projects. Madame Li's alliance with Grand Secretary Zhang Juzheng when Wanli was young and

112. Dunne 78–79. The painting was a copy of a famous image from the St. Mary Major basilica in Rome.

113. She was clearly responsible for 18 percent of the 139 Peking temples (re)built during her forty-two years as empress dowager, including 16 of the 34 that were larger than three halls. I have little information about the labor used for these construction projects, but the gifts of silver seem to have been quite real. See also *DMB* 856–59.

114. Zhao Canlu, the critic, was punished later in 1574 for ostensibly different reasons, but the lesson was surely not lost on others. *MS* 221:5824; *JWK* 128:2065, 129:2077; *DMB* 57. For Deqing: S. Hsu 82; *DMB* 856–59.

before Zhang's death in 1582 is well known. We see it illustrated in stelae for the projects described here, for which Zhang composed at least five inscriptions in the years 1574–1578. For later temple renovations, metropolitan-degree-holding scholars, ministry presidents, and other respectable officials composed and wrote out similar texts.¹¹⁵

Empress Dowager Li also often acted in concert with other members of what we might call the palace community. Her 1572 Baomingsi bell was subscribed to by eight consorts, forty-one principal eunuchs from the palace (led by Feng Bao), the Chengguo duke Zhu Xizhong and his brother Zhu Xixiao and many of their kin, fifty-five nuns of the temple, and more than seventeen hundred others, at least half of whom were women (probably palace servants).¹¹⁶ Stelae from other projects publicized the names of similar participants: princes, princesses, eunuchs, and ladies-in-waiting, joined by nobles and Madame Li's own relatives.¹¹⁷

We will see further examples of this court elite in action. More an aggregation of families with connections to the throne than an organized group, they were nonetheless capable of collective action reflective of shared interests. Bells and stelae expressed links between men and women of different ranks. Did these hundreds or thousands of people ever assemble together in one place, perhaps for the dedicatory ceremony for their gift? Even if not, mechanisms obviously existed to collect money from each of them, and some shared beliefs and values underlay the inscribing of names on enduring monuments. Religion may have reflected their sense of community, but it was probably even more important in creating it. These patronage activities, all of which took place outside the imperial domain, illustrate, moreover, that this palace community must be understood as important actors in Peking's local history.

EUNUCH INTERMEDIARIES

Eunuchs were the eyes and ears and legs of the Ming imperial family, and it is time to look more closely at them. A reader familiar with the secondary literature on the subject may notice that the adjectives "evil" and "rapacious" are missing from this book. In the Chinese imperial system, as idealized by centuries of scholar-officials, those who governed on behalf of the emperor earned their authority by success in nationwide competitive examinations that tested their knowledge of classical texts. Others were not to intrude. In

115. Scholars interested in national politics for this period may find these temple sources useful for probing factional alliances.

116. T. Li & Naquin 141–42; 1572 bell (in the Dazhongsi in 1981).

117. For example, *JWK* 97:1612 for 1576, or *BJTB* 57:177–78 for 1590.

the Ming (as in earlier dynasties), eunuchs had the kind of intimate access to the imperial family that could readily allow not only personal aggrandizement but also usurpation of power. The governmental structure made eunuchs the rivals of bureaucrats. But officials, even when politically outmatched, had a compensating weapon: a near monopoly of the historical record. The history of eunuchs has therefore been written by their archenemies.¹¹⁸ To begin to reappraise their role in Peking, we must shake off that perspective, at least temporarily.

Eunuchs were an informal but crucial link between the imperial family and the city around them. Although eunuchs are better known for keeping emperors happily ignorant, in religious matters they were active conduits for information inward (about the arrival of a famous monk, existence of a collapsing temple, availability of an attractive site) and funds outward (hiring labor, managing construction). They used (and abused) this position to attract dependents, acquire property, and become rich.

When eunuchs were appointed by emperors and empresses to take charge of construction projects—as they often were—it is difficult to disentangle them from their imperial masters and mistresses and not always obvious where the initiative came from. When were eunuchs just following instructions, when were they proposing targets of patronage, and when were they acting on their own authority? The range of actual cases suggests that eunuchs shared with others in the palace community a sincere rather than opportunistic interest in religion (although “both sincere and opportunistic” is probably closer to the mark) and that they should be credited with some initiative.

In addition to publicly joining charitable projects initiated by emperors and empresses, eunuchs played complex roles as imperial agents. Consider Gu Dayong. He was one of “eight tigers” (a not-so-friendly appellation by their enemies) on whom the Zhengde emperor relied in the first decades of the sixteenth century.¹¹⁹ His acts of patronage closely intertwined his own goals with those of his master, making it difficult to distinguish the one from the other.

In 1508 Gu himself donated a large bell for a new hall of the Daoist Baiyunguan. In 1510 he and other eunuchs carried out the emperor’s orders (supposedly) to restore the Lingtongmiao in the Southern Park. By 1512 he and five fellow eunuchs had completed the restoration of the large Yanfasi outside the west gate of the city, eliciting donations from the emperor and members of the imperial family. In 1512 Gu and eunuch Zhang Xiong followed

118. The *Zhuozhong zhi* is an obvious exception. A more balanced appraisal of all aspects of eunuch life is overdue.

119. *DMB* 744–47. I do not know his native place.

the emperor's instructions to restore the Huguosi so that it could house Central Asian monks. In that same year, while assisting the emperor with another restoration in the far Western Hills, Gu apparently initiated his own project. He discovered a ruined temple on a lonely ridge with a single monk in residence, and "thinking of doing the good deed of reviving the monastic community," spent a substantial sum to tear down the collapsing complex and rebuild it. "Thus this wild and abandoned rubble was turned into a bright and glittering sacred precinct."¹²⁰

Or consider Feng Bao, native of Shen department (two hundred kilometers south of Peking), and ally, agent, associate (and friend?) of Empress Dowager Li. In 1569, even before Madame Li became powerful, he petitioned the throne for aid in restoring a Buddhist temple in the capital. After 1572 he served the throne actively, as we have seen. It was typical that in 1573, when the other empress dowager heard (through a eunuch and palace woman) about a pilgrim-monk from Henan who had taken up residence on an old temple site in the Southern City, Feng took charge of building a new temple there. In 1575, it was the Wanli emperor himself (perhaps at Feng's urging, because no reason for the action was given) who gave Feng instructions (and presumably funds) to buy the residence of a deceased eunuch in the Northern City and turn it into a new temple. (Zhang Juzheng composed the stele.) In that same year, seemingly on his own initiative, Feng built a Medicine-king temple, to which members of the inner court donated medicines. He restored three Buddhist temples in the mountains of Fangshan county, southwest of Peking, and while he was in charge of the five capital-armies, he had a shrine established at the exercise field north of the city, to which the emperor contributed a thousand ounces of gold.¹²¹

The actions of Gu Dayong and Feng Bao show not only their role behind the scenes in bringing to imperial attention the famous monks who arrived in Peking seeking patrons, but also wide-ranging eunuch involvement in the temples of the city, within the walls and beyond. In addition, these cases illustrate the obscure mixture of eunuch initiative and imperial cooperation that was typical of so many of their actions.

Some patronage resulted from a shared interest in charity toward monks and temples. But those eunuchs who worked in the Interior and were close to a particular imperial consort, princess, or emperor also had a narrow interest

120. 1508: Bell at site in 1987. 1510: *BJTB* 53:153. Yanfasi: *BJTB* 53:174, 53:176. Huguosi: *DJ* 1:33-36; Tan Qian 1656:78-80. Golden Immortal Monastery (Jinxian'an): Shoudu Library #874.

121. 1569: Shen Bang 19:196. 1573: *JWK* 55:890. Rensheng Empress Dowager Chen was a childless wife of the Longqing emperor; she died in 1596. *DMB* 367. 1575: *JWK* 48:770. Medicine-king temple: Shen Bang 19:204; *BJTB* 57:30. Buddhist temple: *JWK* 130:2096-97. Shrine: *JWK* 107:1775-76.

in the health and fertility of their patron.¹²² To endow a temple and staff it with monks who prayed very specific prayers could therefore be an expression of nascent (or full-blown) factions organized around national problems and concealed behind a general concern for the survival of the imperial house.

Ming eunuchs also followed in imperial footsteps by rebuilding and expanding existing temples and making generous donations to them. Sometimes eunuchs accompanied an imperial gift with one of their own, as when twelve of them gave a bell inscribed with sutras to the suburban Dajuesi in 1430, two years after the major reconstruction funded by the empress dowager. Or they enhanced an imperial project by making later additions or repairs: their renovations to the Xiyusi in 1493, for example, continued a tradition of imperial and eunuch patronage of the influential monk Zhi-guang.¹²³ As we shall see in more detail in Chapter 6, eunuchs often used their privileged access to secure additional funds for their own projects and to have monks assigned to favored temples.¹²⁴ They sometimes also arranged for temples to receive new names along with a decree that warned, "Let no one encroach on this property!"¹²⁵

For a much larger number of temples, eunuchs simply arranged for an "imperially bestowed" (*chi ci*) name. In Ming times, it was possible to petition the throne and receive a new name that would then be recorded on a plaque ostentatiously displayed on the premises: "Such-and-Such Temple Whose Name Was Bestowed by Imperial Order." Requests seem to have been made to the throne, approved, and then carried out by the Ministry of Rites.¹²⁶ This kind of gift constituted the lowest level of imperial blessing, one-time only, and not involving funds. Comprehensive records of such bestowals do not seem to have survived, but I know of 185 Peking temples (17 percent of all Ming temples) that were recipients of an imperial name.¹²⁷ Arranging for a name-plaque took connections, and probably eunuch con-

122. For situations involving princesses and concubines and the eunuchs who worked in their residences, see, for example, *BJTB* 57:177–78.

123. 1430: Field Museum #921, #923; also *BJTB* 53:150. 1493: *BJTB* 53:20–21, 53:108; *JWK* 96:1608–9.

124. E.g., the new halls built at Tanzhesi by the eunuch Dai Guming in 1507–1508, to which the emperor contributed. *Tanzhe zhi* 1619.

125. In most (probably all) cases, stelae so inscribed seem to have been ordered by the emperor for the benefit of temples built or rebuilt by eunuchs. The fifteen Ming cases I know of were concentrated in the Chenghua, Hongzhi, and Zhengde reigns (1465–1521), with one exception of a tax exemption granted in 1579. For the exemption received by the nuns of the Baomingsi in 1499: Shen Bang 18:182.

126. See *BJTB* 51:161–62 for an account (not entirely clear) of the procedure.

127. Shen Bang's *Wanshu za ji* took particular care to note temples with imperial bestowed names. I do not believe that these plaques were the basis for a comprehensive system of temple registration.

nections in most cases.¹²⁸ This privilege was extended only to temples that were outside the imperial domain and not part of the state religion. Many were Buddhist establishments.¹²⁹ Public statements of protection and the bestowing of names were arenas of contestation between eunuchs and civil officials, the eunuchs promoting their common interests with the throne, and the bureaucrats fearing that imperial privilege would be used frivolously.¹³⁰ (The name-giving system was eliminated in the Qing.)

We should not assume that eunuch cooperation with the throne in acts of religious patronage was venal, misguided, or mindlessly extravagant. Eunuchs, like other people, could be motivated by piety and humility and a sense of indebtedness, as well as a desire for prestige and status. Giving money to build a temple was a serious, expensive act, and (when we consider the other possibilities) not especially self-indulgent. Why should we dismiss eunuch language of “gratitude for His Majesty’s favor” and “a sincere desire to repay [imperial] generosity”? These servants were uniquely dependent on the throne, and it is natural that those who prospered felt fortunate and grateful.¹³¹

Bureaucrats objected, of course, to the “waste” of money and what they perceived as pernicious influence on the throne, and when imperial women were not directly involved, these officials could be forthright in their criticism. A 1501 stele described enthusiastically a handsome temple just founded by the eunuch Li Xing in the southeast suburbs of the capital. The emperor had heard about this deed, considered it excellent, and so bestowed upon the temple the name Longxi (Eminent Blessings) and a decree of protection. But Censorate officials raised a series of heated objections, including charges that the emperor had hitherto not been involved in building temples, that praying for imperial longevity was simply a pretense, that Li Xing’s

128. Most (85 percent, 135 out of 185) of the temples with plaques had been otherwise patronized by the emperor, imperial women, or eunuchs; eunuchs were known to be active patrons of 72 percent of the temples with such plaques.

129. Some 60 percent by my count, but the real number was probably substantially larger.

130. For one example: *JWK* 90:1527. See also the discussion over the weight to be given to the term “imperially bestowed” in T. Li & Naquin.

131. In 1432 Wang Miaoxiu, who had nursed Zhu Zhanji (the Xuande emperor), used her savings to buy land outside the southern walls and over a period of twelve years built a temple on it. By housing monks who would pray for the imperial welfare, this act of piety was intended to express thanks for the privileges awarded her family. *BJTB* 51:128; Fan Bin 12–14. The term *zhuli* was used to describe the rites intended for the long life of the emperor (or imperial parent, or heir apparent) that a grateful donor could commission. I know of seven Ming temples where this particular prayer was to take place. For the concept: *BJTB* 52:6, 60:135–36; *JWK* 61:1002–3. For a eunuch patron: *JWK* 97:1621–22.

motives were entirely personal, that promotion of a lewd monk was improper, and so forth. Repeated bureaucratic attempts to destroy the temple and take away its symbols of legitimacy were unsuccessful, however, although the Ministry of Revenue was able to undo an exchange of temple land for government land that Li Xing had requested.¹³²

Because of his dependence on imperial favor, a eunuch's career could be short and perilous; his enemies stood ever ready to attack, and the death of an imperial patron usually spelled the end. Within six weeks of the Zhengde emperor's death, Gu Dayong was in prison and many of his fellow eunuchs out of power. Feng Bao was cashiered by Wanli himself after Grand Secretary Zhang Juzheng's death and charged with crimes and sent, ultimately, to Nanking.¹³³

The late Ming eunuch Wei Zhongxian, whose relationship with his bureaucratic enemies was unusually violent, was an extreme case. His extraordinary power at the court of the Tianqi emperor (1621–1627), brutality toward official critics, and extravagant attempts at self-aggrandizement are well known. Perhaps anticipating the reversals that would follow a fall from power, in the summer and winter of 1626–1627 Wei began building “shrines for a living exemplar” (*shengci*), where prayers could be offered for him. (He would need them.) More than one hundred of these shrines were supposedly created in the empire and at least nine in the capital. Following the death of his imperial patron in 1627, Wei committed suicide; his body was decapitated, the corpse cut up, and the pieces thrown in a river. Those shrines in Peking, some only half finished, were swiftly converted to other uses, and the public record of his patronage was erased with unusual thoroughness.¹³⁴ But the powerful eunuch survived in local memory. Twenty years later, after the fall of the Ming, his clothes and hat were interred by loyal friends in a handsome grave that Wei had wisely had constructed in 1623 behind the scenic Biyunsi in the Western Hills. Unusual god images with pale unshaven faces were rumored to be him.¹³⁵

We will have more to say in Chapter 6 about private eunuch patronage of local religion, but for the moment, bearing in mind the intertwined patron-

132. *JWK* 90:1527. This is the same Li Xing mentioned in *DMB* 960. Money from the Hongzhi emperor, empress, and heir apparent had already accompanied eunuch initiative in rebuilding two temples in the Western Hills in 1492–1493. *BJTB* 53:20–21, 53:22.

133. See *DMB* 746 for Gu, and 111–13 for Zhang Yong, another active temple patron, also from the Peking area. For Feng, see 50 and 326.

134. Hucker 1966:213; Wang Shizhen 1704:1:2–4; Deng Zhicheng 1:2; Mammitzsch 250, 293. Identifying these shrines is not a straightforward business; I can confidently count nine, but there were others. Wei's involvement in religion needs investigation.

135. Although the monks did not advertise it, early Qing visitors had little difficulty locating the grave. In the 1690s a censor notified the throne and proposed that this distasteful reminder of eunuch power be leveled. And so it was. Tan Qian 1656:74, 250–54; Tan Qian 1911:1:58; Wang

age of emperors, empresses, members of the imperial family, and their eunuch servants, the reader may be ready to eschew categorical denunciations.

IMPACT OF IMPERIAL PATRONAGE

The effect on Peking of two and a half centuries of Ming imperial patronage of temples was considerable and, in my judgment, beneficial to the city and its inhabitants. Funds and attention from the throne added new buildings, encouraged urban and suburban economic development, supported existing institutions and personnel, helped resist the anticlerical impulses of the bureaucracy, strengthened the shared ground of belief between the court and the populace, and made the capital into a prestigious religious center.

Imperial patronage occurred continuously throughout the Ming period, although the number of new temples was high early in the dynasty, tapered off slightly, and then rose in the Wanli reign.¹³⁶ The diversity of court interests and the limited sphere within which the bureaucracy could interfere led to imperial support for a variety of gods, sects, and clerics, some obscure, some well known. The exclusion of Buddhist deities from the state religion was offset by informal patronage: 90 percent of these imperially supported temples had monks or nuns in residence.¹³⁷

State investment in the public infrastructure of Peking outside the imperial domain focused on granaries (which were large, expensive, and crucial to the city's well-being), on government offices (most of which were concerned with national matters), and on the warehouses and workshops necessary to provisioning the imperial household. Nearly all of these establishments were located in the Northern City, as were 70 percent of the temples within the walls that received imperial gifts. In the commercialized area outside the Front Gate, there were virtually no temples founded or funded by the throne. Suburban temples, particularly those northwest

Shizhen 1704:1:2-4; Zha Shenxing 1; Wang Hongxu 2:811; *JWK* 87:1474; Zhu Yizun 1708:67:6-7. For supposed images of Wei: *Beijing lixing zhinan* 198; also Dudgeon 1870:125. A similar case involved the destruction—also during the Qing—of the stelae connected with the fifteenth-century eunuch Wang Zhen; on one that survived inadvertently, the text was systematically mutilated but the accompanying portrait not harmed. *BJTB* 52:19. Stelae texts were rather rarely defaced; most commonly the dates or the names of despised eunuchs were dug out. For some examples: *BJTB* 57:63-64; Peking Library #7994, #10221, #7595 (involving Wei Zhongxian).

136. Imperial foundings are so much better recorded than any others that it is difficult to know whether this pattern would hold for all Ming temples.

137. Half dedicated their main hall to canonical Buddhist deities. Twenty-four (12 percent) had daoists, and five are known to have housed Tibetan Buddhist monks. The throne gave limited patronage to three mosques and one small Catholic church.

of the city, received considerable imperial patronage.¹³⁸ Although the Zhengde emperor had a small villa near the Western Lake, Ming rulers did not construct “summer palaces” outside the city.¹³⁹ The existence of well-endowed temples in the countryside encouraged the expansion of Peking’s population into this area and was important in converting country into suburbs.

Imperially patronized temples, narrowly defined, constituted only 18 percent of all temples, but they were larger, richer, endured longer, and became more famous.¹⁴⁰ Their stone and brick structures, solid timbers, numerous rooms, vast libraries, large gilded images, clerics with good connections, and income intended to last in perpetuity were a lasting legacy from the emperors and empresses of the Ming.

It is difficult to estimate accurately the sums expended on imperial religious patronage. The Ministry of Revenue paid for building, maintaining, and expanding the temples and altars of the state religion; these expenses were very great (given the size of the properties) but, considering their ritual and symbolic weight, thought to be well spent. Informal expenditures varied widely.

Recorded imperial donations during the fifteenth century were almost all in land, a reflection perhaps of a shortage of metal.¹⁴¹ (See Appendix 3.) They ranged from the very small (six *mou*) to the very large (six thousand *mou*), averaging more like six hundred.¹⁴² These donated lands must have come from the palace estates, and once they became temple property, they seem to have remained tax-exempt. The economic effect of these transfers was thus to take revenue intended for the privy purse and put it in the hands

138. The ratios of all Ming temples in the Northern City, Southern City, and suburbs are 43 percent to 16 percent to 38 percent (n=1081). Comparable ratios for imperially patronized Ming temples (excluding those for which the only evidence of patronage is the bestowal of name-plaques) are 41 percent to 10 percent to 49 percent (n=191).

139. Yan Chongnian 148.

140. Some 191 out of 1091 Ming temples were imperially patronized: 40 percent of those with land (53 out of 130); 60 percent of those with clerics (51 out of 85); more than half of those larger than three halls (34 out of 56). By 1644, 83 percent (162 out of 196) of imperially patronized temples were still standing; 130 of them survived until the end of the Qing in 1911. These temples also tended to be well documented, and their history was thus accessible to a reading audience. They constituted 29 percent of all temples known to have had stelae, and 45 percent of all known Ming stelae were found in them. So as not to overstate the case, in this note I have excluded temples that received only eunuch-generated name-plaques; their inclusion would have raised the numbers but not changed the picture.

141. Von Glahn 1996: chaps. 2, 3.

142. In the twenty-four instances known to me, a total of nearly 16,000 *mou* of land was given. The very largest gifts may not have been recorded. See Appendix 3.

of the temple clergy. Imperial income was siphoned off into the private sector, but regular government revenues would not have been affected. Monks were probably more ineffectual if not more benevolent landlords.

Gifts of money were recorded only as approximations in the sources I have used: one thousand ounces of silver; four thousand, ten thousand, or three thousand "white gold"; one hundred "gold"; and so forth. A major construction project might require five to ten thousand ounces of silver.¹⁴³ Labor was probably provided at no immediate extra cost to the throne by soldiers from the Peking garrison, but materials may have been expensive to acquire.¹⁴⁴ I know of sixty-one temples that were constructed *de novo* by the throne over the period of two and a half centuries.

Ray Huang, whose efforts to put the Wanli emperor's expenditures into a balanced perspective are instructive, has noted that Empress Dowager Li had an annual income from palace estates of nearly fifty thousand ounces of silver.¹⁴⁵ If the preceding estimates are roughly correct, this sum could have accommodated even her energetic religious activities. The same should therefore have been true also for empresses earlier in the dynasty, and surely for emperors.

Huang has argued that the structural weakness of the Ming fiscal system played as important a role as imperial fecklessness in cramping and then crippling the central government.¹⁴⁶ On balance, it is difficult for me to see that the patronage of religion in Peking was as serious a hemorrhage of funds as its critics would have it. Indeed, the expenditure of silver should have had a stimulating effect on the economy of the capital area. But it is certainly true that national interests were being sacrificed to those of Peking.

Within the city, precisely who benefitted from these expenditures? Some temples supported by the throne were closed to a wider public; their rituals were intended for the imperial family and the dynasty. Elsewhere, imperial patronage probably had a chilling effect on other patrons. At those temples that were incorporated into the state religion but open to the public, the regular processions and their accompanying disruption, along with the ne-

143. The restoration of the substantial Shanguosi, a two-year undertaking (1503-1505), cost "more than ten thousand ounces." *BJTB* 53:144. But see also *BJTB* 56:93-94 for a lower figure.

144. Huang 1974:58, 68. These soldiers were already being paid by the emperor, and from the same silver storehouse. See pp. 282-84 for Ray Huang's rather complex estimates of the expenses of palace construction in the sixteenth century and the suggestion that the cost of materials (about which I have no information) may have been very significant.

145. Huang 1974:303, 325. The 49,000 ounces was for the two dowager empresses.

146. Huang 1974, esp. 272-75.

cessity for special paraphernalia and preparatory visits from the Ministry of Rites, surely discouraged organized involvement by others. An imperial visit was expensive to host, and not all temples had special rooms reserved for august visitors.¹⁴⁷

From the viewpoint of temple clerics, informal and intermittent imperial patronage, especially if combined with substantial gifts, was probably desirable on balance, particularly if there were long intervals between imperial visits. At temples that were built or rebuilt by the throne and then ignored, such periods of neglect permitted the search for other clientele—indeed, necessitated it.¹⁴⁸

The existence of so many religious establishments that were identified with the throne became a characteristic of and an asset to the capital. The highest altars impressed visitors and residents alike with their walls, vast grounds, and inaccessibility. Elsewhere, grandiose traces of imperial beneficence were ostentatiously displayed and not without effect: the imperially bestowed name-plaque over the main gate, the copious scriptures in the library, the expensive altar utensils, the large handsome bell or inscribed incense burner, and the stelae standing on giant stone tortoises. One might see such treasures outside the capital, but in Peking they were powerfully concentrated.

The rich and spacious temples founded by the throne became particularly important in city life. In later centuries, at least thirty-four served as sites for festivals, twenty-two for charitable activities, twelve for markets, ten for pilgrimages, and at least seven for informal political organizing. One-third of them (sixty-three) went on to acquire private sponsors, from merchant or religious associations to ordinary citizens. Imperially patronized temples were also often mentioned in Ming tourist literature; at least eighty-nine (probably more) of them received regular literati visitors, and sixty were visited by foreigners.¹⁴⁹ These numbers should not be taken too literally, but they show that the urban public domain was much enhanced by the fruits of imperial patronage. In order to see exactly how these temples contributed to the religious activities of Peking's ordinary residents, we must look beyond the imperial family and outside the imperial domain.

147. As the Gongdesi did. Shen Bang 19:197.

148. See Naquin 1998.

149. Of the 123 temples listed in the 1635 *Dijing jingwu lue*, 52 (42 percent) were imperially patronized; of the 385 Ming temples in the 1688 *Rixia jiuwen*, 117 (30 percent); of the 585 Ming temples in the 1785 expanded *Rixia jiuwen kao*, 156 (26 percent).

CHAPTER 6

Urban Communities

Ming Peking was much bigger than the imperial domain. By 1550 the city had at least a million inhabitants, perhaps more, and had spread well beyond the walls. The coming and going of couriers, officials, exam candidates, merchants, and service people now justified the claim that Peking was the “hub of the five directions.”¹ Some residents had deep roots in the area, some were more recently settled, and others sojourned. How did they make themselves part of the city and the city part of their lives?

The sources make it difficult to recover the thoughts, feelings, and ordinary experiences of residents, but by scrutinizing the traces left by religious activities we can learn about the organized groups, associations, and communities that gave texture to city life in the aggregate. In this chapter and the next, we examine such collectivities, concentrating on those that were formed around temples but setting them in as wide a social context as possible. It should thus be possible to gauge the liveliness of the zone outside the family and the bureaucracy and so gain a better understanding of Ming Peking’s complex and changing public life.

We begin with the artificial framework created by government—its public ceremonial life and the associations it engendered—and then turn to the organized activities of court eunuchs, local literati, sojourning officials and businessmen, and, finally, religious communities.

OFFICIALS

The ward, county, and prefectural units created by the Ming to govern Peking’s urban populace shaped the nature and vocabulary of official records

1. This phrase became more of a cliché in the Qing, but see *BJTB* 60:75–76.

but did not mirror preexisting social affiliations. Nevertheless, in time these units were given meaning and resonance by local people and influenced the contours of urban identity, and it is difficult to talk about city life without understanding them. To disaggregate these layered administrative units, we must begin from the top and work down.

The city's name was a reminder of empire: Jingshi, "Our Capital."² In common parlance, Peking was also referred to as the *ducheng* (capital city) and its residents as *duren* (the people of the capital). (The English lexicon for capital cities is impoverished compared to Chinese.) It was not merely the name and the presence of the emperor and imperial domain that marked Peking as a capital, but the numerous physical structures required by the nerve center of a vast empire: the complex of ministries south of the palace, the imperial academy and great examination hall, the astronomical observatory, the mints, the granaries, and the army camps. The working life of many city residents took place in these buildings and was concerned with national affairs. Secular rituals such as the examinations paralleled the rites held at the suburban altars and reminded residents and visitors that they were part of this wider political unit. These aspects of life in the capital are commonplace in histories of the Ming and do not need attention here. It will be more rewarding to turn instead to the local layers of bureaucratic identity and their contributions to Peking's noncapital self.

Rather than a nested hierarchy of counties within prefectures within provinces, exceptional institutions of local rule were created for Ming Peking precisely because it was the imperial capital. The city was located in Beizhili (Northern Zone of Direct Rule), parallel to Nanking within a similar southern unit; officials of these quasi-provinces reported not to their own governors (there were none) but directly to the capital ministries. Peking itself belonged to Shuntian (Follow Heaven) prefecture, a new administrative unit created in the Yongle reign. It encompassed fifteen (and eventually twenty-two) separate counties and departments, and its prefects were headquartered in Peking. In consequence of this structure, the city's identity as the site of this prefecture was strong, but its links upward with the province were weak. The provincial-level focus that was developed elsewhere in the empire in Ming times was stifled here.³

There were normally no purely urban units of governance. Each county included villages and small towns as well as an urban center. Large metropolises were often split between counties to discourage the independent power

2. Sometimes, but not formally, Jingdu or Jingcheng.

3. Hucker 1985:#1024; *STFZ* 1885:35:1165; *MS* 40:884-85.

of cities. Such administrative fragmentation was also the rule in Peking. The city was made the seat of two counties: Daxing and Wanping, names of some modest antiquity.⁴ Both county offices were in the Northern City, which was theoretically divided between them, but not evenly (Daxing, on the east, was bigger). Each county included portions of the adjacent countryside. “Residents of the capital” thus had no meaning in administrative terms, and independent county-level identity also developed with difficulty. Wanping and Daxing were each both less and more than Peking.

County of registration was, however, an important component of individual identity, a necessary marker for anyone who took the exams, lived away from home, or dealt with the government for any reason. The examination system imbued these administrative units with resonant cultural significance, for they were its basic building blocks. Here Peking was again anomalous, because its two counties did not have separate exam quotas (as other counties did) and a single school (administered by the prefecture) served them both.⁵

To make matters more confusing, although residents of the capital were registered in Daxing and Wanping for examination purposes and although their magistrates had offices in Peking, on most matters county authority extended only to the countryside.⁶ The intramural residents of Peking were governed by another, independent administrative structure. In an arrangement found only in Peking and Nanking, responsibility for the capital was subdivided among *wu cheng*, literally “five walled areas” or “five cities,” but here translated, for clarity (because they were not walled), as “Five Districts.”⁷ After the 1560s, four districts took responsibility for the Northern City, and the South District managed the newly walled Southern City. Each district was under the charge of a police magistrate who was subordinate to the Ministry of War.⁸

4. There had been a Wanping county here under the Liao (eleventh century) and a Daxing prefecture that included Peking under the Jin (twelfth century). *STFZ* 1885:35:1154, 1157. For a map of these counties in the Ming: Wakeland 61. This sketch of the situation as it existed after the southern wall was built relies on Wakeland, *passim*, but especially chapters 3 and 4 (although I have not used her terminology); *Beijing tongshi* 6:73–75, map; Zhang Jue; Hucker 1966:85.

5. Wakeland 124–25.

6. Even in the countryside, counties were subject to considerable interference from above. Shen Bang, a thoughtful late Ming magistrate of Wanping, has left an account that referred often to his marginality: much of the land in his county belonged to imperial estates, court elites interfered routinely in local affairs, he was perennially short of funds, and the county offices were predictably run-down. Also Wakeland 139, 169, 187, 306 and *passim*. When I write of the intramural area being “in” these counties, this limited jurisdiction should be understood.

7. In order to distinguish the Ming *wu cheng* from the different Qing ones, I am calling the former “Five Districts” and the latter “Five Boroughs” (borrowing the term used for the Ming by James Geiss).

8. Wakeland 58–60; Hucker 1966:85.

The Five Districts were themselves subdivided into thirty-six wards (*fang*). Complicating further the distinction between city and suburbs, the populations immediately outside the city's outer gates belonged to other quasi-wards, an acknowledgment of their urbanized character. Most of the ward names had been carried over from the Yuan city; many had auspicious meanings, and a few had local associations. "Jintai ward," for example, referred to the Huangjintai (Imperial Golden Terrace), one of the Eight Vistas, and the name of Jiaozhong (Instruction in Loyalty) ward invoked memories of the Song minister executed here by the Yuan.⁹ These wards were in turn subdivided into precincts (*pai*) and subprecincts (*pu*).¹⁰

Families who lived within the walls were thus part of a confusing array of overlapping administrative units, residents of a ward within a district for some purposes, residents of a county within a prefecture for others. It proved difficult to make a clear distinction between intramural Peking and the suburbs (*jiao*). Ming administrators used the physical-cum-social idea of the *guan* (city gate), and designated the built-up area immediately outside each gate (known as *guan wai*) as an identifiable administrative zone and allowed it to be governed by urban authorities. The Five Districts thus supervised the *guan wai* area just beyond the gates along the western, northern, and eastern city walls. The near-suburbs outside of the southern gates were formally incorporated into the districts (and subdivided into additional wards) when the new wall was built in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Informally, the new enclosure was called the New City (Xincheng), but slowly it began to be known as the Southern City (Nancheng).¹¹

These crosscutting and overlapping administrative categories reduced the large urban and suburban population to manageable units of governance, in keeping with state concerns for control and security. At the same time, such a complicated system worked against consistency and coherence. Moreover, government provided little mental or administrative scaffolding for a sharply defined urban identity; indeed, it worked (seemingly intentionally)

9. There had originally been thirty-three wards. After the southern wall was built, the Northern City was redivided into twenty-nine wards, and the new sparsely inhabited Southern City into seven more. *JWK* 38:605, 611; *Beijing tongshi* 6:75. *JWK* 37:592–93, 38:600–602 listed the forty-two Yuan wards and gave the origin of their names. Jintai: *JWK* 38:600. It would be used in the name of the eighteenth-century Jintai Academy. See Chapter 12. Jiaozhong: Zhang Jue 18.

10. The *pu* seems to have been the smallest unit in Peking's household registration system, but the question of what this lowest level looked like in the city and how it changed during the Ming calls for more serious attention than I have been able to give. Useful material on many aspects of local government may be scattered through the *Ming shilu leizuan: Beijing shi juan*.

11. Zhang Jue, map. Xincheng: Zhang Jue 17. Nancheng: Shen Defu 686–87; Shoudou Library #302. The Yuan city had a *nan cheng*, and the same term was used to describe the part of the palace where Zhu Qizhen was imprisoned in the 1450s. *JWK* 40:626–30.

to diffuse and undermine such an identity.¹² Evidence of government-led citywide activities is limited.

When magistrates and local elites elsewhere collaborated to edit local histories, Peking did not.¹³ The 1560 “List of the Wards and Alleys of the Five Districts of the Capital” was an enumeration of these names as they were reformulated after the enclosure of the southern suburbs. It was not a proper local history as the genre was defined in this period, and no people or society were described in it. Its map showed the gates and ward names and imposed a neat, oversimplified regularity on the city.¹⁴ (Its map is shown in Figure 5.1.) The slightly later (1593) *Wanshu za ji* was not a local history either but “Miscellaneous Notes About My Office at Wanping” written by a magistrate. By this measure, county-level leadership was not strong.¹⁵

County officials in Peking did not perform the rites to Mountains and Rivers, Soil and Grain that their counterparts elsewhere in the empire did. Instead, the imperial rituals of the state religion subsumed these local ones. Similarly, state-sponsored public rituals that in other places were used to mobilize and define local communities were shifted to higher levels in Peking because of its status as capital and its multiple identities. In consequence, local people were regularly marginalized or excluded.

In many administrative centers, it was the City-god (Chenghuang), the supernatural counterpart of the magistrate, whose temple provided a lively focus for the expression of the shared interests of local officials and the inhabitants of that center. But Ming Peking, ever anomalous, lacked its own proper City-god. The Yongle emperor had designated the twelfth-century Chenghuangmiao in the southwest part of the Northern City as the Capital (*du*) City-god Temple. Accordingly, it housed images of City-gods for each of the thirteen provincial capitals, representatives of the empire; a local focus was thereby displaced. There was no festive public celebration on the Capital City-god’s birthday as might have been expected.¹⁶

Prefectural identity was expressed through schools and examinations. The

12. Joanna Wakeland, who based much of her thesis on the work of Shen Bang, stressed the unusual and cumbersome nature of local government. The fragmentation of local administration has been obvious to everyone who has studied the subject and an obstacle to understanding and exposition.

13. Gazetteers for Daxing and Wanping were allegedly produced in the 1440s, but only titles have survived and I have never seen one quoted anywhere. *STFZ* 1885:122:6327–28. I am even less convinced by this source’s speculations about the existence of a second set of lost Ming gazetteers (122:6332).

14. Zhang Jue, map. The boundaries of the Five Districts were not shown, but the immediate suburbs were.

15. For more discussion of these sources, see Chapter 8. The two counties headquartered in Suzhou (Jiangsu) produced two Ming gazetteers each.

16. The City-god of Nanking, probably understood as a bureaucratic equal rather than a subordinate, was not included. The temple received a small subsidy from the Ministry of Rites

Shuntian school was the social locus for aspirants from Peking and the other counties of the prefecture, and they joined together on at least one ritual occasion. Each year in the dead of winter the rite of “welcoming spring” (*ying chun*) took place at a suitably secular open area just beyond the walls in the northeastern suburbs. Prefectural and county officials, their staff, and the students and teachers attached to the school took part. They came into the city on horseback in a procession and presented an effigy of a “spring ox” to the emperor and imperial family. The ceremony thus helped define and create a community of scholars from the prefecture; afterwards, the holiday became more inclusive. The participants returned to the “spring clearing” (*chun chang*) to relax; the court elite raced horses. Did ordinary people gawk or wager from the sidelines?¹⁷

Other examination-related public rituals involved a national elite, not a regional or local one, and occurred at important Peking landmarks that were closed to the public.

Shuntian prefecture was in charge of three government-funded shrines in Peking.¹⁸ The most politically and socially important of these was to the Yuan martyr Wen Tianxiang. Wen came from Luling county, Ji’an prefecture, in Jiangxi province, and initially it was his fellow natives who promoted his cult in the capital. A sojourning official from Ji’an had petitioned in 1376 to have a shrine built near the spot where Wen had been executed in 1283, and people from Luling gathered at what later sources called their Huai-zhong (Embracing Loyalty) lodge. In 1408, however, the rituals for Wen were turned over to the prefect and incorporated into the state religion, and his cult was thus neutralized politically.¹⁹ Because the site of the shrine was within the prefectural school complex, it was periodically restored by a combination of local officials, teachers, and scholars from the capital region and visited informally by literati from many parts of the empire (and also by pious Confucian Koreans). Thus, although this shrine continued to attract a disproportionate number of visitors from Jiangxi, the authorities seem to have been

in the form of offerings sent on the emperor’s birthday, the god’s birthday (5/11), and (after 1530) each spring and autumn. *Huidian* 1587:93:530; Shen Bang 18:189; *JWK* 50:792–99.

17. *Huidian* 1587:216:1080; Jiang Yikui 1:10; *DJ* 2:65–66; Liu Ruoyu 20:2. These were the Ming remnants of a ritual of some antiquity. See Morgan 48–58 and *passim*. The rites were supposed to be performed on *lichun*, a solar holiday (February 3–4) that often fell in the twelfth lunar month but in Peking was conflated with new year’s day.

18. Responsibility for one was split between Daxing (which performed the rites in the fall) and Wanping (in the spring); Wanping shared charge of the other with nearby Liangxiang county. Shen Bang 18:187, 190–92, 19:206; *MS* 106:3134–36; *DMB* 64–67.

19. Wen was buried in Jiangxi. His cult was dropped by the Qing. *Huidian* 1587:93:530; *DJ* 1:14–18; *JWK* 45:713–18. The term “lodge” (*huiguan*) may have been applied retrospectively in the 1630s, but some institution of this sort appears to have had a fleeting existence. See the discussion in Chapter 7.

successful in moving it out of the private into the official domain.²⁰ Its audiences, in any case, transcended Peking.

Those who aspired to become part of the national elite came to the capital with their eyes on the examination hall. The Gong Yuan itself was a well-secured and unfriendly place: after its enlargement in 1574, there were tall watchtowers, many rooms for the examiners and their clerks, and five thousand small cubicles to which the candidates were confined. It was dangerous too: a fire in the hall trapped the participants in the *jinshi* exam of 1463, and ninety of them perished.²¹ The culminating moment of the triennial ordeals was the public posting of the results, famously recorded in a handscroll attributed to the professional painter Qiu Ying (ca. 1495–1552).²² Locally oriented public rituals were thus overshadowed or replaced by those intended for a frequently changing national elite.

A more loosely defined local community was created through the distribution of charity. Formal responsibility was unsystematically divided between the court and various bureaucratic offices, but imperial funding and involvement were greater than for other cities. Rather than empower local elites to share such responsibilities, the state guarded its organizational authority, earned cultural capital itself, and strengthened political rather than social bonds of obligation and gratitude.

At the beginning of the dynasty, the throne had rebuilt an old temple within the walls, the Fangansi, and used its facilities for poor relief. A daily allotment of grain and a monthly ration of fuel were issued to feed “the Jing-shi’s poor who were cold and hungry.” A second temple, the Lazhusi, was built in 1506 on the other side of town (probably by a eunuch) and used to care for the sick and encoffin the dead. No strict definition of residential eligibility was applied at either place.²³

20. The school was thought to stand on the spot where Wen had died. *STFZ* 1885:61:2123–25, 62:2183–84. The prefects drew on the prestige of successful *jinshi* and powerful grand secretaries to secure titles for Wen and to commemorate him, and their own activities, for a reading public. *BJTB* 58:71, 60:61; Sun Chengze 1761:22:7–13; *DJ* 1:14–18; *JWK* 45:713–18. For a portrait of Wen carved on stone: *BJTB* 60:141. Also *MRZJ* 843; *Huidian* 1587:93:530; ; *BJTB* 55:136, 58:41. Given Wen’s potency as a symbol of resistance to unjust rule, there was surely a political dimension to this cult.

21. The hall had been built on the site of the Yuan Ministry of Rites. *JWK* 48:747–58. Those who died in the fire were made posthumous *jinshi*.

22. This “Guan bang tu” is in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. The precise location of the scenes shown (which appear to be both outside and inside the Imperial City) is not clear to me. Qiu is not known for having sojourned in Peking. Cf. Cahill 1978:201–10.

23. Shen Bang 19:196; *JWK* 43:676–77, 50:800; *FXZ* 2:9, 3:17; *Beijing lüxing zhinan* 148–49. Apparently, registered residents of either county, inside and outside the city, could receive assistance.

Local officials shared responsibility for the welfare of the populace in general. Among the tasks of the Five District and ward officials were maintaining the streets and walls and canals, fighting fires, and caring for the poor.²⁴ By 1457, Wanping and Daxing each had a poorhouse (*yangjiyuan*) built in belated response to a decree from the Ming founder.²⁵ They were intended only for the destitute who were registered residents of those counties; food was supplied by the central government, and eunuchs were put in charge. Fraud and profiteering were chronic problems, as in many welfare institutions, and officials routinely investigated, monitored, and attempted (ineffectually?) to streamline these charities. Fragmented management was inefficient, and when eunuch handling of relief at the Fangansi and Lazhusi became lax, power was shifted jointly to the Ministry of Rites, Five Districts, and country magistrates.²⁶ Such sharing of power was necessitated by the socially arbitrary administrative demarcations.

County magistrates also took charge of—and claimed the credit for—burying people who died without family or resources. There were public graveyards under the jurisdictions of both Wanping and Daxing, but we know more about the former because of the detailed records left us by the Wanping magistrate Shen Bang. By 1593 that county managed eight “charity cemeteries” (*yichong*), occupying some five hundred *mou* in the countryside outside the western city gates. Only two existed before 1579.²⁷

These meager institutions could not have been adequate for a city the size of Peking, where the poor, homeless, helpless, and hopeless were ever-present.²⁸ Yet one finds no examples of food riots or social catastrophes. Whenever the population of Peking became abnormally enlarged or seriously threatened, the throne took over. Refugees fleeing crises in the countryside were a recurrent problem—as they were for any large and well-provisioned city. In 1550, for example, when Mongol invasions drove many refugees inside the protective walls of Peking, it was the throne that met the crisis with special orders for special relief. At the very end of the dynasty, funds were issued by the court for medicines to treat the epidemics then sweeping through the city.²⁹

All in all, the government showed little interest in creating or maintaining a local community in Peking, preferring the security of divided governance

24. Wakeland 125, 257–58; *Huidian* 1587: 225:1109.

25. Zhang Jue 10, 12; *JWK* 50:791; Wakeland 125–26; A. Chan 1962:145.

26. *JWK* 43:676–77; Shen Bang 11:80–82.

27. *STFZ* 1593:2:74–75, 1885:26:839; Wakeland 125; Shen Bang 20:251–52. One late Ming estimate was that about two hundred corpses could be buried in one *mou* of land (paupers' corpses, that is); over time the land could presumably be reused. *STFZ* 1593:2:74–75.

28. For example, see the discussion of Peking's beggars in Xie Zhaozhi 5:401–2.

29. A. Chan 1962:146; Tan Qian 1653: 99:5985.

to power-sharing with citizens. If community there was, it was the throne and the local officials who acted on its behalf, not a local elite. In order to understand better the interaction between local officials and local people and to distinguish the weak and fractured spatial order created by government from the actual social order, we need to turn to other perspectives.

LOCAL ELITES

As suggested in Chapter 4, the local elite in Peking was made up of both those connected to the court and those who pursued scholarly or bureaucratic careers. Although sometimes distinct in their sources of power and modes of displaying status, these families were active in similar arenas and often difficult to distinguish. Because religion was an important way for the socially ambitious to establish themselves, it gives us a glimpse into the workings of Peking society. We shall begin with the court elite of eunuchs and members of the Imperial Bodyguard and then consider other kinds of influential local families.

The professional and private world of the eunuchs was to be found within the Imperial City. Those who were not personal servants in the palace worked in the multifarious production and storage facilities of the imperial household. The utilitarian purposes that occupied their attention on a daily basis can be seen in the names of alleys, offices, buildings, storehouses, cellars, and places for making and storing a host of things: beancurd, lanterns, baskets, saddles, arrows, satin cloth, paint, porcelain, combs, wine, soysauce, carts, sutras, chairs, screens, clothing, ammunition, candles, incense, hats, weapons, court robes, ink, lumber, lime, firewood, coal, books, rope, ice, tiles, salt, and rice. Eunuchs also staffed Imperial City workshops for weaving and dyeing and laundering, for working iron, silver, and jade, and for varnishing, printing, and glass making; they labored in vegetable gardens, flower beds, grape arbors, fruit orchards, fodder storage yards, and granaries; and they kept pens for horses, sheep, camels, leopards, tigers, dogs, falcons, and pigeons.³⁰

Although there was considerable traffic into and out of the Imperial City, management of this vast production complex was in eunuch hands, and ordinary people were supposed to live elsewhere. Here, eunuchs constituted the local community, and to understand life in the Imperial City, we must understand them. Because imperial household activities extended into the near and distant suburbs, to droves of horses and fields of fodder, to mines

30. *FXZ* 1:1–39 *passim*.

and quarries, eunuchs also linked the city to the countryside. Moreover, their work and their castrated state shaped their lives decisively, including their involvement in religion. And, as we shall see, they showed an unusual capacity for collective action.

A great many Imperial City workplaces (probably all) included small shrines for their protective gods. A temple to the Horse-god (Mashen), built in 1515, was attached to the Directorate of the Imperial Horses; just to the south were the yards within which the horses grazed.³¹ Similarly, the office for coin manufacture managed seventy-two workrooms; their powerful furnaces were referred to as the seventy-two dangerous spirits (*xiong shen*), and nearby was a protective Zhenwu temple.³² A great many workplace shrines were dedicated to Zhenwu, but a Guanyin temple inside the Western Park was built in the early sixteenth century and repeatedly restored by the eunuchs who worked there.³³ In these instances and others, the lists of donors included only eunuchs, and it seems clear that it was fellow workers who maintained, and were sustained and defined by, these rituals and acts of collective support.

These servants of the imperial household did not limit themselves to occupationally defined collectivities but became patrons of religion in general. Eunuch contributions to the religious infrastructure of Peking were considerable, greatly outweighing that of the throne or any other single identifiable type of donor. Some 189 temples benefitted from imperial gifts during the dynasty, but another 293 received separate eunuch patronage; 42 temples were founded by Ming emperors and empresses, but 140 by eunuchs. Eunuch initiative was especially important during the first half of the dynasty, but even as the number of new temples gradually decreased, eunuchs continued to play a vital role as patrons.³⁴

Many Ming eunuchs were local men.³⁵ Their behavior suggests that, whether castrated as children or adults, those who came from the capital area

31. *JWK* 39:620–21.

32. *BJTB* 57:83–84; *FXZ* 1:20.

33. There is Qing evidence for other Zhenwu temples located on Ming workshop sites—the red-weave workshop, the hanging-screen storeroom, the wine storehouse, and so forth. Xu Daoling 1:88–89; *Wanping xian zhi* 2:50–51; *JWK* 39:614; Wu Changyuan 4:71; *BJTB* 56:42, 56:170. For a more general statement about the Ming Imperial City popularity of Zhenwu, see *BJTB* 57:83–84, but I am not sure why he was so common in eunuch work areas. Guanyin temple: *BJTB* 57:132, 57:133. There were also eunuch-sponsored temples connected to workshops outside the Imperial City. *BJTB* 52:115.

34. Local people appreciated the eunuch role, but literati critics have tended to exaggerate and disparage it. Yu Yizheng's preface to the 1635 *Dijing jingwu lue* commented approvingly, "Of the big religious establishments of the Western Hills, half had eunuch founders; like glittering waves of gold and azure, there are more than six hundred of them." *DJ* preface 6.

35. Robinson 1995b. As they were in the Qing: Rawski 1998:163.

knew and shared the beliefs, gods, and festivals of their parents, relatives, and neighbors. Like imperial in-laws and members of the Imperial Bodyguard, north China eunuchs must have seen Peking as a great but familiar metropolis. In this, they differed from the exam-takers, merchants, and bureaucrats who were visitors and near-foreigners from elsewhere in the empire.

Once eunuchs took up positions in Peking (lifetime employment, after all), they became true local men. Their residences were inside the Imperial City, the Northern City, and the suburbs, and many chose to be buried near Peking.³⁶ Those who became very wealthy played an important role in the local economy and dedicated their resources to power and pleasure. Like *nouveaux riches* everywhere, Ming eunuchs used their wealth to create negotiable cultural capital and enhance their social status.

Buddhist norms, vocabulary, and beliefs seem to have been particularly appealing to eunuchs, men for whom the immortality of a normal patriline was impossible and for whom charges of self-indulgence rang true. Building a monastery where clerics might accumulate karma through continuous prayers was a widely acceptable way of acquiring honor in this life and merit for the next, and the rhetoric justifying such a deed positioned the donor as aloof from selfish purposes. Temple construction also enhanced the physical and moral environment in which these eunuchs lived: it created jobs, generated admiration (at least in some circles), and was altogether a conspicuous expenditure appropriate to aspiring members of a local elite. Having a temple for which one was the major patron accomplished more private purposes as well: the gods might ensure good fortune, the buildings could serve as a place of business and retirement community, and the monks could care for a grave on the property.³⁷ In such temple patronage, we can thus detect both public motives and privatizing impulses.

Unless they adopted a son, eunuchs had no one to care for them in old age and death. The court allotted a (steadily increasing) sum for funeral expenses, and some eunuchs joined together to form “philanthropic associations” and to buy cemetery land for their collective use.³⁸ A smaller number—those who could afford it—found an auspicious grave site, endowed an adjacent temple, and staffed it with clerics who promised perpetual offerings.

Although the surviving records do not always make it plain, many of the temples founded by Ming eunuchs in and around Peking were built next to

36. *JWK* 48:770; *BJTB* 57:101–2.

37. Monks could also serve as agents and intermediaries for eunuchs. These irregular activities were rarely documented in the kinds of sources on which I have relied most, but see Lu Rong 5:9.

38. *JWK* 87:1474. For these associations, see Chapter 7.

a grave. I know of nineteen, and six probable others.³⁹ All were in the suburbs where there were attractive and geomantically auspicious burial sites; most had monks in residence. These temples could be of modest size, but some were built on an enormous scale, entirely overshadowing the graves at the rear of the property. Many of these richly endowed temples endured to be used for other purposes, their founders' intent forgotten with the graves themselves. A few examples will show the first stages of a process important to Peking's later social history.

Wei Bin, one of the eight tigers of the Zhengde reign, used divination to locate a burial place in the south suburbs, and in 1514 he built the Hongshansi there, obtaining an imperially bestowed name and a land endowment. In time, the grave was neglected, but the temple, informally called Sir Wei's Temple, became popular for its unusual trees and crab-apple orchards.⁴⁰ The Mohe'an in the near western suburbs was founded in 1546 by Zhao Zheng, a eunuch who had risen to a high position on the empress's staff and who was buried just outside the compound; it too later became a favored place for literati visitors.⁴¹

Temples easily served eunuchs' purposes during their lifetimes. For those who lived to enjoy retirement, a monastery offered a home, one that took advantage of the similarities between eunuchs and celibate clergy. In 1508, for instance, three eunuchs decided to retire and "live in chastity" in a pretty mountain temple north of Peking; it had already been the object of eunuch donations, and at this time thirty-five others gave money to enlarge it. (Eunuch-monks continued to live and be buried there into the eighteenth century.)⁴² Another long-lived "monastery" for a community of eunuchs was built on a slight hill in the near western suburbs. It began as an attachment to the grave of "Iron" Gang, an early Ming eunuch known for his strength and physical prowess; other eunuchs were later interred nearby. Thereafter, still others regularly made donations of land, refurbished the temple, and took up residence there in their old age.⁴³

It was also not uncommon in the latter half of the fifteenth century for well-to-do eunuchs to donate their own residences for conversion into temples. Ruan An, propelled by the discovery of a stele from a Yuan temple on

39. Not all temples used for graves were built explicitly for that purpose. Li Tong founded the Fahaisi in the early 1440s out of gratitude for imperial favor, but when he suddenly became ill and died, Li was buried there. Peking Library #10224 and photo from site, #10423 and photo from site; *JWK* 104:1723. The lovely murals for which this temple is now famous were added later (ca. 1515?).

40. Tan Qian 1911:5:48; *DJ* 3:125-32; *JWK* 90:1524-25.

41. *BJTB* 55:134; *JWK* 97:1614-16; *DJ* 5:210-13. Such examples could be multiplied: *BJTB* 55:144; *DJ* 5:196-97.

42. Peking Library #5326; *BJTB* 66:144; Lu Qi & Liu Jingyi, map.

43. *BJTB* 55:153-57, 58:25; *DJ* 6:278-79; *JWK* 104:1724-25. The temple still stands.

his property in 1447, decided to turn his home into a religious establishment, one over which he surely continued to exercise considerable influence.⁴⁴ Such a decision was, we might note, the first step in a process whereby imperially bestowed resources were converted first into semiprivate and then into public property.

The close connection between eunuchs and their temples was preserved in temple nicknames.⁴⁵ The Daoist Chongxuguan founded by the late Ming eunuch Cao Huachun was usually called Lord Cao's Temple or Old Lord Cao's Temple. The village in which the Yumajian eunuch Cai Xiu had rebuilt the Buddhist Puhuisi was popularly called Lord Cai's Village or Lord Cai's Mart (were the residents also his tenants?).⁴⁶

Most eunuch patronage of temples had conventional goals: to honor a revered monk, to repair halls or add to an endowment, to build (or rebuild) a pagoda. In the 1470s, two eunuchs heard about a monk who had drilled a well in order to provide water for weary travellers; they "admired his determination and pitied him for his expenditures" and therefore gave him money for a massive restoration of his temple. Zhang Yong, yet another of the eight tigers (and a native of the area south of Peking), was not yet at the peak of his power when he stopped by chance at an old Buddhist temple by the road west of the city. Conversation with the monk persuaded Zhang to rebuild the temple and endow it with one hundred *mou* of land. For this pious purpose, he enlisted the help of more than a hundred other eunuchs.⁴⁷ I see no reason to dismiss these motives as insincere.

In most cases, it is difficult to unearth the networks on which the eunuchs' collective action were built. It is quite clear, however, that eunuchs were either unusually good at forming groups or that their actions were unusually well recorded, or both.

In the 1430s, when the eunuch Song Wenyi was looking for temples on which the emperor could bestow a set of the Buddhist Canon, he came to the Minzhongsi in the southern suburbs. The temple claimed a Tang origin and was certainly Liao, but was scarcely fit for an imperial gift. Song was persuaded by a resident monk to raise the money from several colleagues. In the course of the next decade, a medium-sized monastery was constructed, including a two-story building for the Tripitaka; the monk was made abbot. The names on the back of a stele commemorating this project reflected this (perhaps ephemeral) community: of some two hundred

44. Shen Bang 19:195. I know of more than a dozen cases.

45. I know of eight Ming temples so nicknamed.

46. Cao: *JWK* 52:840-41; Dun Lichen 16-17; *DMB* 1475. Cai: *JWK* 95:1589-90.

47. 1470s: *JWK* 89:1516. Zhang Yong: *BJTB* 53:160, 66:163.

and fifty men's names, one-third were monks in residence and the others were eunuchs.⁴⁸

As the preceding and other examples show, it was a common pattern for a high-ranking eunuch to decide to make a substantial donation and then to enlist his fellow eunuchs and other palace residents in the good deed. The number of people involved could be quite substantial. When Shang Yi of the Directorate of Imperial Accouterments led the way in rebuilding the Baoguangsi in 1440, two stelae recorded accompanying gifts from 939 eunuchs, termed, as they usually were in this context, "pious officials" (*xin guan*).⁴⁹

The bid for social acceptability by eunuch patrons was manifested in the commemorative stelae inscriptions routinely composed or written for them by scholar-officials with high degrees or positions in government. Virtually all of the stelae cited in this section testified to the apparent willingness of powerful civil officials to endorse these acts of eunuch generosity toward religion.

Hu Ying, a Jiangsu man whose career in Peking was unusually long (off and on between 1400 and his death in 1463), composed at least thirty stelae inscriptions between 1438 and 1461. On most of them, he was identified as the president of the Ministry of Rites. It is possible that such compositions were expected of the incumbent of that position, but the phenomenon seems more general.⁵⁰ Shang Lu, grand secretary in the 1470s and known for his opposition to the eunuch Wang Zhi, composed stelae inscriptions for quite a number of eunuch-patronized temples.⁵¹ During his retirement in the decades of the 1570s–1580s, Liu Xiaozu, a scholar-official from a military family, wrote inscriptions for eunuch donations to nine different temples.⁵² The early Qing historian Tan Qian has told us that Ye Xianggao, conventionally remembered as a foe of eunuch power, composed the stele commemorating (his alleged archenemy) Wei Zhongxian's restoration of the Biyusi.⁵³

48. This is the temple known today as the Fayuansi. *BJTB* 51:106–7, 51:145; Luo Sangpeng 1:8:88. Other examples: *BJTB* 53:122–23; *JWK* 52:830–31.

49. *BJTB* 51:99, 51:164–65.

50. *DMB* 643–45. For the stelae: *BJTB* 51:passim; *JWK* 50:800–801, 52:830, 58:948, 59:955, 61:1004–5, 101:1671–72, 101:1677–83, 105:1738–42, 114:1884; Shen Bang 19:196, 197, 199, 203; Field Museum #940; Peking Library #5308.

51. I know of the following: *BJTB* 51:189, 52:90, 52:161; Shen Bang 19:197; *JWK* 60:986–87.

52. *JWK* 55:890, 99:1636–37; Shen Bang 19:204; *BJTB* 57:27, 57:81–82, 57:83–84, 57:132, 57:134–35, 57:148.

53. Tan Qian 1911:158. Ye had composed another inscription in 1599 for a religious association that included eunuchs, and in 1622 and 1623 he authored two others, including one at a Bixia Yuanjun temple that was surely patronized by Wei. *BJTB* 58:91–92; *JWK* 98:1631; Li Zongwan 6.

Not all eunuchs were highly placed within the imperial household or could enlist powerful assistance, but they still acted as temple patrons, just on a more modest scale and usually collectively. Han Gui came from a small village west of Peking; orphaned, he became a eunuch but returned annually to sweep his father's grave. He often stopped to burn incense in a nearby temple, and in 1637 he decided to enlarge it. After many years, with the help of a hundred of his fellow eunuchs, Han saw the work completed; he composed and wrote out the stele inscription himself.⁵⁴

Although most of the examples so far mentioned involved Buddhist deities, eunuchs were also patrons of other gods. Their devotion to Zhenwu, so prominent within the Imperial City, extended beyond it. The eunuch Wang Qin (of the Directorate of Imperial Accouterments) built a Zhenwu temple by his country estate north of the city; 182 other eunuchs contributed.⁵⁵ Wei Zhongxian was a devotee of Bixia Yuanjun and visited and gave money to many of her temples—most notably to the so-called Western Summit temple in 1624 and 1625, for which he enlisted the cooperation of many others.⁵⁶ (The names of some of the donors are shown in Figure 3.1.) In 1628 the eunuch Ji Liang, who worked in the Great Interior, was “unable to bear the sight” of the dilapidated temple to King Guan next to his Imperial City residence, where he burned incense every day, and so undertook to restore it; he drew on contributions from seventy fellow eunuchs. Lord Yan's Shrine, built in the Western Hills in the early sixteenth century by the eunuch Yan Zhong, contained images of the revered worthies of the Confucian state, the texts of the Five Classics carved on stone, and poems and writings of former scholars. Other court eunuchs were Muslims (as were members of the Imperial Bodyguard), and it was natural for them to be active patrons of Peking mosques and to arrange for them to receive imperially bestowed plaques.⁵⁷

The geographic range of the temples patronized by eunuchs was likewise large and (although we cannot be concerned with this dimension here) extended all over the empire. Within the greater Peking region, temples were rebuilt by eunuchs in places where they travelled on official business and such

54. *BJTB* 60:81–82. Eunuchs also cooperated with ordinary people but on a less organized basis. Pu An, for instance, had a dream directing him to assist the commoner Guo Zhen in restoring a temple in the mid-fifteenth century. Shen Bang 19:196.

55. *BJTB* 51:148–49.

56. *BJTB* 59:166; Peking Library #2781. The text describing his involvement with the Yan-shougong has been defaced: Peking Library #7595. For the Zhuozhou temple: Liu Ruoyu 24:209.

57. Ji Liang: *BJTB* 60:5–6. Yan Zhong: *DJ* 6:270. A single monk was in residence and had Buddhist images in his small room. Muslims: *BJTB* 53:47, 57:89–90, 59:152–53; Wu Changyuan 7:139.

actions helped draw the region together. In the mountains southwest of Peking (present-day Fangshan county), where eunuchs were involved in stone quarries, mines, and metal working for the court, for example, they also funded temples, road repair, and well-digging throughout the sixteenth century.⁵⁸

Most eunuch efforts were closer to home. Of the 293 temples of which they were major patrons, 84 were in the Northern City (including 16 in the imperial domain), 32 in the Southern City, 166 in the suburbs, and only 11 more (known to me) in the greater Peking region. Eunuch contributions to the development of the space outside Peking's walls, where more than half of these temples were located, is particularly noteworthy. Considering the absence of imperial involvement in the more commercialized districts of what became the Southern City, moreover, eunuch investment of substantial sums in the area's religious infrastructure promoted development and helped unify the two sections of town.

Eunuchs were not the only members of the court elite to act as temple benefactors independently of emperors and empresses. During the first half of the dynasty, nobles and well-connected members of the Imperial Bodyguard patronized religion in a similar manner. Take the case of the Yuxuguan. In the autumn of 1437, Lü Yi, a member of the bodyguard, was strolling about his property outside the southern wall together with a Daoist master and an elderly retired scholar. When he learned that there had been a Daoist establishment on the site, Lü was encouraged to convert his property into a temple dedicated to Zhenwu. For funds, he turned to influential local men, including the younger brother of Shi Heng. The Shi were a military family from north of Peking, and by the time these deeds were commemorated (in 1453) Shi Heng had been ennobled and was a powerful man at court. In subsequent years the daoist proved effective at praying for rain, and the temple attracted the attention of the Hui'an earl (brother of the empress dowager) and the emperor.⁵⁹

In the early Ming, there were only occasionally men and women of noble families who on their own founded or restored temples or patronized monks and daoists; examples of independent patronage by Imperial Bodyguards were even fewer.⁶⁰ In the middle and late sixteenth century, members of the

58. Some examples: *BJTB* 52:161, 53:30, 53:70-71, 54:47, 54:74, 56:19, 56:30, 60:162, 62:8; *JWK* 131:2117.

59. *JWK* 59:954-55; *DMB* 1202-4. Similarly, the Taining earl—the descendant of one of the men who helped build the new capital under Yongle—and his mother acted in concert with several hundred eunuchs to refurbish a temple in 1451. *BJTB* 51:174-75.

60. Members of the Zhu family of the hereditary Chengguo dukes: *JWK* 52:830; *BJTB* 55:172; Shoudu Library #305; *MS* 106:3099-3102. The first Xiuwu earl, Shen Qing: *MS* 107:3213-14;

court elite were associating instead with examination-oriented families. As mentioned in Chapter 4, men from the Imperial Bodyguard had begun to be successful in the examinations by the middle of the fifteenth century, and they continued to be so.

We can see the early stages of this transformation of Yongle's military followers into Peking's scholar-official elite in the career of Li Dongyang. Li's great-grandfather was from Changsha prefecture in Hunan and had come north in the bodyguard of the Prince of Yan. His descendants, born and raised in the capital, kept that formal status. Li Dongyang, presented to the emperor as a precocious youth, earned the metropolitan degree at sixteen, rose to the very top of the bureaucracy, and in the course of the next half century served three emperors, mostly in the capital. As a distinguished grand secretary (1499–1513), Li worked both with and against the powerful eunuchs at court.⁶¹ He wrote many poems about local sites, and after his death, a shrine was built to him, the sites of his residences were sought, his suburban grave was restored, and his memory was repeatedly and respectfully invoked.⁶²

Other well-known men of military ancestry whose families made a similar shift include Liu Xiaozu (1550 *jinshi*), a poet and historian who composed inscriptions for stelae marking eunuch patronage of temples in the capital in the 1570s and 1580s after his retirement from government service.⁶³ Cui Zizhong, who earned only the lowest degree but was well known as a painter, and the artist and scholar Mi Wanzhong (of whom, more later) also came from Imperial Bodyguard families.⁶⁴

By the late Ming, even Peking's nobility aspired to a style of life whose standards were set primarily in the cities of the Lower Yangtze—Suzhou, Nanking, and Hangzhou. Like Imperial Bodyguard families they valued fa-

JWK 52:830; *BJTB* 51:121–22; *JWK* 52:840–41. Hui'an earls: *JWK* 95:1589; *Guangji zhi* 83–85. Pengcheng earl: *Guangji zhi* 83–85. Yongning earl: *JWK* 48:769–70. Guangping marquis: *JWK* 52:832. I know of only eight temples founded by members of the Imperial Bodyguard, all before 1560, and half a dozen others to which they donated money or gifts. A few examples of temples they founded: *JWK* 59:955, 99:1649; *DJ* 1:37–39; *BJTB* 59:51–52; Shen Bang 19:201.

61. Between 1501 and 1515 Li composed at least ten inscriptions for Peking temples. In all cases for which the information is clear, these had been built or restored by eunuchs—including one by Liu Jin, the eunuch Li finally ousted in 1510. Members of the local nobility often joined Li as patrons. It is perhaps significant that despite his reputation as a calligrapher, he did not lend those skills to any of these endeavors. Shen Bang 19:196; *BJTB* 53:81–82, 53:102, 53:105, 53:130, 53:174; *JWK* 88:1483, 99:1636–37, 99:1632, 104:1722, 107:1776; Field Museum #985.

62. *DJ* 4:155–57; *DMB* 877–81. The family line died out because, it was said, neighbors had disturbed the geomancy of the graveyard.

63. *DMB* 949–50; Sun Chengze 1658:14:411–12; I know of nine inscriptions. *JWK* 55:890, 99:1636–37; *BJTB* 57:27, 57:81–82, 57:83–84, 57:132, 57:134–35, 57:148; Shen Bang 19:204.

64. For Cui: *ECCP* 777; Sun Chengze 1658:19:558–61.

miliarity with the literati arts of calligraphy, poetry, and painting, proper taste in the acquisition and consumption of goods, and acceptance by those who already had such taste.

Judging from the Peking evidence, the most valuable kinds of cultural capital were not created through the patronage of religion but through the construction and social deployment of gardens. These *yuan* (gardens, villas) were recreational extensions of a family's living complex that included pavilions and walkways, flowers and trees, ponds and lakes, rocks and hills.⁶⁵ As extensive pieces of attractive real estate open to a select public, these parklike estates were in many ways comparable to temples on the local scene. And yet they bespoke the secular values of the empire's literati elite.

The largest of Peking's gardens was the Western Park within the Imperial City. It gained status through its grand scale and its relative inaccessibility and was publicized through written accounts by invited guests. It may even have provided inspiration for the elegant gardens being designed in Suzhou in the early Ming, and if anyone considered it vulgar, they were unlikely to circulate that opinion openly.⁶⁶

Elsewhere in Peking, three neighborhoods were especially favored for private villas: the southeast corner, the northern lakes, and the northwest suburbs. (It was not uncommon for the rich to have one residence within the walls and one in the suburbs.) Because the most desirable sites were those by water, rich families drained and banked marshy lands, expediting their conversion to more valuable (and more urban) real estate. The circulation of these properties as family fortunes rose and fell only enhanced their reputations.

The southeast corner of the Northern City where embankments enclosed the wetlands of the Paozihe (Bubbling Stream) was one of the earliest areas for villas, dating back before the Ming.⁶⁷ Here were the homes of noble families of the court elite. The villa built in the 1510s by the Xianning marquis, for instance, was acquired by the Chengguo dukes after the last marquis died in disgrace (in 1552). They called it the Ten Vistas Villa (Shijingyuan): it had a fine belvedere, a substantial pond, a dozen pines, and a scholar-tree said to be between four and five hundred years old. The property later came to belong to Wuqing marquis Li; as that family began to slide from power (after the death of Empress Dowager Li in 1614), it was transferred to an imperial son-in-law.⁶⁸ The villas of Peking's high officials, although less well documented and perhaps more modest in scale, were also located at Paozihe.⁶⁹

Somewhat later in the dynasty, lakeshore sites in the Northern City were

65. J. Smith 1992; Clunas 1996.

66. Clunas 1996:61–62.

67. *DJ* 2:52–54; *JWK* 53:858.

68. *FXZ* 4:14, 4:31.

69. Yang Rong's Xingyuan, for example.

avored for luxury homes. The late Ming upper-class infatuation with garden building had clearly infected the capital, and villas and temples were intermixed along the lake.⁷⁰ In 1633 the Yingguo duke, Zhang Weixian, admiring the property of a finely situated Guanyin temple one winter day, immediately purchased half the property and made it into a private villa.⁷¹ This story should remind us how temples provided ordinary people with access to scenic areas and were points of resistance against the gobbling up of choice real estate by wealthy elites and the throne.

The most famous villas of the late Ming were in the developing suburbs northwest of the city near the Western Hills. In the 1590s, the estate of the Zhang family, the Huaibo earls and descendants of a powerful empress of the early Ming, grew acres and acres of peonies. Guests strolled among the flowers in bamboo hats provided by their host or viewed the fragrant fields from open pavilions, feeling free to stop and snooze awhile.⁷²

During their glory years (ca. 1570–1620) the Li family had properties here. Li Wei, Wuqing duke and father of Empress Dowager Li, first built a three-story hall on the grounds of the Baoguosi in the Southern City, which he used as a getaway. He also dredged some of the marshes in the eastern suburbs to create a substantial lake, suitable for boats, surrounded by pavilions, and convenient to places to eat and drink. But the family's most famous villa was the Clear Flowering Garden (Qinghuayuan) in the northwest suburbs. Ten *li* square and encompassing newly created lakes, it was famous for its rocks, peonies, and belvedere. (A *li* was about half a kilometer.) Not far to the south, near White Stone Bridge, was the late Ming villa of another in-law, Wan Wei, husband of Madame Li's daughter, the Rui'an princess. Here too willows, pines, bamboo, peonies, and crab-apple trees made a congenial environment for "strolling." The Li family thus partook not only of court culture, joining the empress dowager in spending large sums on temples in and around the city, but also of the more secular villa culture of scholar-official elites.⁷³

Literati standards for refinement were constantly challenged by the resources and prestige of the court elite. Mi Wanzhong, a *jinshi* of 1595 only one generation removed from his family's Imperial Bodyguard background, created an estate in the suburbs—the Dipper Garden (Shaoyuan), that

70. Clunas 1996:97.

71. *DJ* 1:19, 29–32, which listed eight villas here and described several in detail.

72. *DJ* 5:199–200; *JWK* 96:1610; *DMB* 340.

73. Baoguosi: *JWK* 59:968. East suburbs: *DJ* 3:104–5; *FXZ* 8:9 (I am following these editors, who disagreed with the traditional understanding that this villa was north of the Tiantan). Qinghuayuan: Jiang Yikui 4:69–73; *DJ* 5:217–22; Tan Qian 1656:113–14. Wan Wei: *DJ* 5:197–99; Zhou Shaoliang 1987:11. Temple patronage: *DJ* 3:100–101; *BJTB* 59:125. For more on "strolling," see Chapter 8.

quickly became renowned. The garden's completion in 1615 was celebrated in a three-meter handscroll by the artist Wu Bin, Mi's friend since their days in Nanking. In understated literati style, the painting recorded the spring-time party and took the viewer on a tour of the grounds, depicting its trees and walkways, lakes and bridges, pavilions and halls. Mi's goal seems to have been to persuade visitors that, by contrast with the majestic nearby villa of the Wuqing Lis, his Shaoyuan was the more intimate and more elegant.⁷⁴

Peking's examination elites were not active, generous, or organized patrons of the city's temples. They visited religious establishments to enjoy the scenery but rarely spent money on them, singly or collectively. The 1583 local *jinshi* Fang Congzhe composed a stele in 1606 for a renovation of a Buddhist monastery in the Southern City. Mi Wanzhong composed and wrote out a biography for the stele of an impressively pious monk on whom imperial largess had been expended; he also wrote a poem about the temple, as did Zou Yuanbiao (1551–1624).⁷⁵ But such examples are few.

Nor were these examination-elite families very active in what we might call community concerns. Instead, as we have noted, care for the poor and needy was supplied by the government with little (documented) cooperation or assistance from local people. We know that land for four of the ten charity graveyards managed by Wanping county was donated by private citizens; but management of one was then taken over by officials, and two others were attached to temples.⁷⁶ (Of course, the local elite built small, private graveyards for themselves.⁷⁷) The range of responsibilities shouldered by the state in Peking thus seems to have discouraged, perhaps even precluded, elite activism.⁷⁸ To make matters even more difficult, all of Peking's local elites had stiff competition for leadership from the city's many rich and influential sojourners: candidates for degrees and office, officials posted to the capital, and wealthy well-connected merchants.

74. The garden site is now part of Peking University. Jiang Yikui 4:69–73; *DJ* 5:217–22; *ECCP* 572–73. Wu Bin's painting: Suzuki A13–010; Weng 15, 28. For another version by Mi: Hung; Cahill 1982a:167, plate 83.

75. Fang: *BJTB* 58:176–77. This was the Fayuansi. Mi: *BJTB* 59:101; *DJ* 3:116–18.

76. The known donors were eunuchs and military men (the court elite, in effect). Shen Bang 20:251–52.

77. Evidence for graves is plentiful. Li Dongyang and Mi Wanzhong were both buried in the northwest suburbs, and Fang Congzhe was buried in the southwest. *Wanping xian zhi* 1:57; *JWK* 99:1632. And of course many noble families had cemeteries in the countryside; for the Yingguo Zhang, Dingguo Xu, Hui'an Zhang, and the Xiuwu Shen, see *STFZ* 1885:26:843–45. So did eunuchs with enough money to acquire land but not enough to endow a temple: e.g., *BJTB* 57:69.

78. For such activities elsewhere, see Liang Qizi 1997:chap. 2, and the many earlier works cited therein.

SOJOURNERS

Outsiders were common sights in Peking, as in many Ming cities. Because the household registration system did not facilitate a quick transfer of formal residence and the culture did not encourage an easy shift in loyalties, those who sojourned, even when they stayed a lifetime, retained ties to their native places. Although many of Peking's nonresidents were rich and powerful and absorbed in national affairs, they nevertheless came to play important roles in the local life of the capital. Their minds set primarily on politics and their careers, officials, would-be officials, and exam candidates used Peking's temples and villas for both private and public socializing and even occasional politicking. They helped create new and enduring quasi-public corporate organizations, and because they had the leisure for and the habit of sightseeing, they were disproportionately influential in defining Peking's tourist sights. To see how they formed communities in the capital by using temples and other public spaces, we will look first at sojourning scholars, examination candidates, and officials in the metropolitan bureaucracy.

Like capital elites who entertained sojourning officials and degree candidates in private villas, bureaucrats long resident in the capital played host at home. Pictures from the early Ming have preserved for us information about intimate gatherings of like-minded men.

Yang Rong (1371–1440), a native Fujianese and important official of the Yongle and Xuande reigns, seems to have lived in Peking ever since it was designated the capital; he had a villa known as the Apricot Garden (Xingyuan) on the eastern side of the city. A birthday gathering there in 1437 was commemorated both in woodblock book illustrations and paintings. The nine guests of honor were all capital sojourners, powerful men like their host, and they were shown in full official robes, standing or sitting by indigenous white-barked pines and imported Lake Tai rocks, attended by servants.⁷⁹

79. Two paintings of this scene have survived, both attributed to the early Ming Zhejiang court painter Xie Huan. Lu Jiubi discussed and reproduced the one in the Zhenjiang Museum in China; also *China* #191, p. 182. The other is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (cf. Barnhart 78–79). The party was also represented in a set of woodblocks, printed ca. 1560 in a book called the *Eryuan ji* (and reproduced in Clunas 1996:65–66.) The woodblock scenes closely resemble the Zhenjiang painting, and both show Xie Huan in the first frame; the vegetation in the Metropolitan handscroll is more southern than northern. The Zhenjiang version and the woodblocks therefore seem to me to describe more accurately the original scene. I am grateful to Jan Stuart of the Freer Gallery for directing me to Lu Jiubi's articles on these paintings. For the three Yangs: *DMB* 1519–21, 1535–38. For the (not very precise) location of

In 1499 another birthday was celebrated in self-conscious imitation of the preceding event. Zhou Jing, a Shanxi native who served most of his career in Peking, invited guests to his Bamboo Garden (Zhuyuan) for a celebration. Those present were men on their way up the capital bureaucracy, including Wu Kuan, who was responsible for the woodblocks illustrating the party; the scene was likewise recorded in poetry and painting.⁸⁰ A 1503 scroll represented another reunion in Peking, this time of ten men who had received their *jinshi* degrees forty years before, including Li Dongyang, the youngest of the group.⁸¹

In the late Ming, similar less-exalted men illustrate the continuing importance of this kind of socializing. As on the first day of spring in 1631, when the Peking gentleman Mi Wanzhong invited members of his poetry club—not local men like himself—to come and commemorate in verse the completion of his new villa by the lakes, the Boundless Garden (Manyuan).⁸²

The pictures were intended to recall intimate communities of friends and colleagues: the host, the guests, the elegant garden, the painter, the poems, and the nature and date of the occasion.⁸³ They showed private scenes inside a garden, without reference to the urban world outside. Anyone who appreciated these works would have realized that such gatherings could have taken place only in the capital; Peking did not have to be shown. At the same time, the gardens and villas had an intentionally generic look because

the villa, see Zhou Shu's colophon on the scroll in the Met. I found the illustrated book in the Library of Congress through the description in Hummel 163–65. In addition to the painter Xie Huan, those featured in the picture (both woodblock and paintings) were (from right to left) Qian Xili, Yang Pu, Wang Ying, Yang Rong, Yang Shiqi, Wang Zhi, Zhou Shu, Li Shimian, and Chen Xun. For the woodblock records, each participant wrote an accompanying poem; all nine have colophons on the Met scroll.

80. For the woodblock: *Eryuan ji*. For Zhou: *DMB* 268. The painting, which closely resembles the woodblock, was described in Pan Shenliang and is in the Palace Museum in Peking. Wu Kuan was a Changzhou (Jiangsu) native who had placed first in the 1472 metropolitan exam and lived in the capital since then. In the early spring of 1489, he invited friends to his home (also somewhere in the eastern part of Peking) to view the chrysanthemums. This gathering was recorded in a painting by Du Qian (since lost?) and accompanying verse. *JWK* 45:704–6; *DMB* 1487–89. The *JWK* mentioned a painting of another structure in this villa, the Yuyan pavilion, by one Zhang Jianyang. Another small scroll in the Shanghai Museum—entitled “Five Sames Meet”—seems very much of the same type as the Apricot and Bamboo Garden scenes. See *SHTM* 4:Lu-1-2114.

81. *DMB* 880–81. I do not know the present whereabouts of this painting.

82. *DJ* 1:23. The 1638 hanging scroll “Seeing Off a Visitor in the Apricot Garden” also showed a private scene with rocks and flowering trees, servants, and two seated scholars. The local artist Cui Zizhong painted it to commemorate the hospitality of Liu Lüding (presumably a later owner of the garden), with whom he had been staying in Peking. (Or was it a different garden with the same name?) See Suzuki A3 1–148; Cahill 1982a:224–26, plate 127. The painting is in the Ching Yüan Chai collection.

83. Richard Vinograd has called them “private aide-memoires.” Vinograd 1991:190.

Peking was not the subject. It was a sense of shared, empirewide literati culture that was created through such places and occasions and their pictorial and poetic representations.

Peking's villas were open to crowds of diverse visitors to a degree one would not suspect from the paintings. Although it seems unlikely that the ordinary person who arrived on foot and covered with dust would be permitted entry, sojourning scholars and officials apparently had easy access to many late Ming gardens. Proud literati from central China could enjoy (and perhaps criticize beneath their breath) the handiwork of those whose vulgar beginnings were softened by vast wealth and intimate connection with the court and the throne.⁸⁴

Did Peking's sojourning scholar-officials also patronize the city's temples? Yes, but lightly and not to the extent that the court elite did. Those who lacked access to villas often used temples for meetings or recreational space, treating them as semiprivate gardens and representing them as such. A well-known scroll by Chen Hongshou recorded a gathering in the late 1590s of the Grape Society, an informal group that included the talented Yuan brothers, in the gardenlike courtyard of Peking's Huguo temple.⁸⁵ Those who came to picnic and enjoy the vegetation and open air contributed to a temple by their mere presence, but relatively few were active donors.

The examination elites, from both near and far, concentrated predictably on temples connected with their worlds of study and government. Some deities gained a reputation for their accurate predictions of the future. In a temple located near the examination compound, the Daoist god Lü Chunyang became known for revealing exam results in cryptic dreams to candidates who spent the night there. In a prominently displayed 1613 stele, the Jiangsu scholar Gu Bingqian told how he had come here to pray in 1592 when he and his three sons were all attempting the *jinshi* exam. He dreamed of three ducks and deemed the prediction fulfilled when one son took third place. He himself failed, but upon his return three years later, Gu again composed a prayer, again dreamed of three ducks, and this time he and two friends passed.⁸⁶

84. Jiang Yikui 4:69–73; *DJ* 5:217–22. Craig Clunas has argued persuasively for the accessibility of Ming gardens, emphasizing their similarities to parks in Europe: Clunas 1996: 91–103.

85. Chen painted eight scholars and one monk gathered before an image of Manjusri in a garden setting. Cahill 1982a:256–57, plate 134. The Huguosi (a.k.a. the Chongguosi) had a Manjusri hall, images of that bodhisattva, and a grape arbor, all specifically mentioned by Yuan Hongdao in an account of a 1599 visit to that temple. H. Yuan 105–6; Yuan Hongdao 9:509–10; *DJ* 1:33–36; also Vinograd 1992:35, and Chapter 7.

86. Imperial Bodyguards paid for the restoration that occasioned this stele. *BJTB* 59:51–52. The 1592 *jinshi* was Gu Tianjun, who, even as this stele was being set up, was active in the Donglin cause. *MRZJ* 949, 953; *DMB* 742.

(Dream interpretation allowed for such flexibility.) No wonder that many scholars came to that temple when the metropolitan exams were being held. The darker side of this examination experience, the most critical moment in the life of a young man who had trained for nothing else since boyhood, was reflected in the tales of the ghostlike vapor that could sometimes be seen hovering over the water behind this temple, luring men to death by drowning.⁸⁷

The Front Gate between the Northern City and Southern City had two small temples within its outer, semicircular wall. The temple on the west side was to Guan Yu. We know nothing of its history before the 1590s, but by then visitors to Peking believed that they should pause here to burn incense and pray. Divination sticks were keyed to prognosticatory verses, and many visitors asked the god if their business in the capital would be looked on with favor.⁸⁸ In these close quarters, literati rubbed shoulders with people of all classes, foreign and Chinese, and the seriousness with which they took this worship was reflected in the stele placed here in 1591—an event that may in fact have ensured the future fame of the small temple.

In that year, nineteen men commissioned a large stone inscribed with a text in prose and verse praising Guan Yu's loyalty, righteousness, and determination. These donors knew about determination first-hand, because fourteen of them had survived the grueling elimination by exam to become *jinshi* in the class of 1589. One, Jiao Hong, the author of the inscription, had achieved the unparalleled success of becoming the *zhuangyuan*, number one of the three hundred and forty-seven who passed. There was no higher academic honor. Eleven of those fourteen had then come through the subsequent exam that permitted them to enter the Hanlin Secretariat, and nine of these had, in the fall of 1591, been among the handful that passed the last of the Hanlin tests. Dong Qichang, the man who wrote out the inscription, was then in the first stages of what would be a long and eminent career as official, painter, art historian, and calligrapher. Within a short time, Jiao and Dong were being called the "two exceptional ones."⁸⁹ As the demonstrable best in the empire, all had good reason to make a public display of their gratitude.

87. *DJ* 2:52–54; *JWK* 46:719–20; also Field Museum #1108. For another story of a Wanli-era predictive dream here, one that can be in a sense verified by the *jinshi* records, see *JWK* 46:720. There were comparable temples in other cities where examinations were given, part of the lore of anxious candidates. See Elman 2000:chap. 6.

88. Jiang Yikui 2:24–25; *JWK* 43:671–73; *DJ* 3:97–100; *BJTB* 58:15. For the history of these oracular texts, see Strickmann.

89. Field Museum #1073; also *BJTB* 58:15. It is entirely thanks to Cecelia Riely that I was able to understand the constellation of men who subscribed to this stele. My statements about the levels of success of these men is derived from her research (including her translation of the inscription), part of her ongoing work on Dong Qichang, which she generously shared with me in 1989. My thanks also to Chang Lin-sheng for assistance with that inscription. It is

Aspirants in subsequent years visited the temple, and in short order, the god acquired other testimonials from local men and from outsiders. Mi Wanzhong and Wang Siren both earned their *jinshi* in 1595 and erected a stone with a verse of thanks; two men from the same county in Shanxi province who had been able to achieve their degrees at the same time set up their own stele in 1613.⁹⁰ Through such actions, the Front Gate Guandi temple achieved fame in Peking and across the empire.

Once successful and serving in the capital, officials were participants in and the audience for the rituals of the state religion at the great altars. Because the Chaotiangong temple complex west of the palace was used for rehearsals, it was regularly written about in poetry by men with this shared experience.⁹¹ Capital officials sometimes also became involved with Peking's temples by serving as the authors or calligraphers for formal commemorative stelae in establishments with which they may have had no personal connections.

Of course, some had serious interests in particular temples. Consider, for example, Huang Hui, a Sichuanese from Nanchong (on the Jialing River, a major thoroughfare going north from Chongqing) who passed the *jinshi* in 1589 and went on to serve in the Hanlin. In the 1590s Huang helped establish a temple for a Sichuanese monk, obtaining additional assistance from eunuchs and Empress Dowager Li. He carved the wax mould for its Buddha image and inscribed a meter-high stupa for a pious spider (understood as a reincarnated bodhisattva) that seemed to be listening to the sutra chanting. This suburban Cihuisi became a place where Huang, his fellow graduate Dong Qichang, and their friends would meet. Huang and Dong both also wrote stelae for the Yuantongsi, Huang composed the inscription for a temple where three other Sichuanese monks had been active, and he was part of the Grape Society mentioned previously.⁹²

And yet, such examples are few and sojourner attitudes toward local religion were more often lukewarm. Wu Kuan usually visited temples to socialize and write poems, and in a 1458 poem he rued the contrast between the lively festival at the Daoist White Cloud Monastery and the silent neglect of the temple to Confucius. But included in his residence was a Water-

my assumption that the other five men, who were not 1589 *jinshi*, had some similar (it would hard to be comparable) grounds for gratitude to the god. Jiao had reason to be particularly grateful; he was already forty-eight years old. Dong was thirty-four. For *er jue*: *JWK* 43:671.

90. Mi and Wang's stele is undated. *BJTB* 59:122; *DMB* 1420-25. For the 1613 stele: *JWK* 43:671-73; my thanks to C. Riely for alerting me to the bond between these donors. For other stelae: *BJTB* 58:198, 59:127.

91. It was destroyed by fire in 1626. Jiang Yikui 2:22; *DJ* 4:184-87; Li Dongyang 2:963-65 and *passim*.

92. Huang: *Jinshi suoyin* 2:1473; *DMB* 1636. Cihuisi: *BJTB* 58:120, 58:136; Jiang Yikui 3:62; *DJ* 5:208-9; *JWK* 96:1605-7. Other: *BJTB* 58:98, 58:99; *JWK* 49:786; *DJ* 1:33-36.

moon temple (Haiyue'an) where an (elegant?) image of Guanyin was enshrined.⁹³

Some visiting elites introduced new religious practices into the capital from the Lower Yangtze. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, literati began to form groups for the purpose of "releasing living beings" (*fang sheng*). A 1585 essay by the reformist monk Zhuhong, "To Refrain from Killing and to Release Sentient Beings," provided both inspiration and a blueprint for action. In Peking like-minded men donated money to build ponds where fish could be raised safe from the hook and to purchase captive animals in order to set them free (with much fanfare). Regular rituals of release on temple grounds provided an occasion for a quasi-public display of religious merit.⁹⁴

In 1601, inspired by Zhuhong, Tao Wangling organized a society to "release sentient beings" in his native place (Shaoxing). A few years later, in Peking, he and Huang Hui organized a similar monthly meeting in the newly restored Shideng'an, an old temple in the southwest corner of the Northern City. They gathered (*ji*) friends and, while monks chanted, released "birds from cages, fish and shrimp from basins, and snails from baskets"; the birds flew away, and the aquatic creatures were supposed to swim off into the relative safety (from fishermen) of the nearby moat. The practice found some imitators, but one wonders what local people made of such impractical potlatches.⁹⁵

Overall, displays of public activism by Peking sojourners were rare. The elderly ministry president Xu Pu, who had been involved in charitable activities back home in Jiangsu, composed the inscription for the founding of a well in a Guan Yu temple in the northwest suburbs in 1499, but this was his only known involvement despite forty years' residence in the capital. There were almost no other examples of charity wells or bridge building, forms of elite public service common elsewhere in the empire.⁹⁶

It may be more important that these prestigious scholar-officials brought

93. *JWK* 45:704-6; *DJ* 2:71.

94. Yü 1981:27, 83-85, 94. Joanna Handlin Smith has argued that the meaning of these activities in the Lower Yangtze went beyond the Buddhist framework in which Zhuhong developed them, as may also have been the case in Peking. J. Smith 1999.

95. *JWK* 49:786-87. For Tao in Zhejiang: Yü 1981:85. The temple had been restored in 1606 through the initiative of Zhencheng, a monk from Jiangsu who had been residing in a mountain temple in Fangshan county (some distance southwest of Peking). The practice of *fang sheng* was continued (revived?) by two 1628 *jinshi*, Lin Zengzhi and Tan Zhenmo. *DJ* 4:154-55. A stele indicated a similar activity in 1624 at another temple in the same quarter. Peking Library #99.

96. *JWK* 100:1666; *DMB* 598-600. Two charity wells in a suburban Buddhist temple were set up in 1468 by a pious eunuch. *BJTB* 52:63-64. For private charity elsewhere: Liang Qizi 1997:chap. 2.

Lower Yangtze taste and culture to the capital and took Peking culture home again. In this way, they created and renewed an empirewide literati culture of which Peking's local and court elites were a part. Because sojourner interests and activities favored the public places connected with Peking as Jingshi, their investment in these sites also strengthened and perpetuated Peking's national—not its local—identity.

Not all temporary visitors were men intent on official careers. The capital necessarily attracted from afar a wide range of service people, tradesmen, artisans, dealers, and businessmen. Most of them shared with educated elites a cultivated attachment to their own native place. It is time to explore more fully these habits of protracted sojourning, the practices of chain migration based on common native place and shared occupation, and their organizational potential.

LODGES

The primary identity for men was as part of a patriline, but ever since at least the medieval period, families also identified themselves with a locality. "Native place" (*jiaxiang*) was a socially useful and fluid designation, one that could be expressed in terms of different levels—counties, prefectures, and provinces. It became, in fact, one of the most acceptable grounds for building relationships, an enduring organizing principle of association among the great many Chinese men who made their careers away from home.⁹⁷

Native place provided a seemingly natural excuse for fellowship among strangers, who were, after all, likely to speak the same language, prefer the same foods, and worship the same gods. The tie was grounds for giving and receiving assistance and could be expressed through increasingly inclusive units as one went farther away from home. Because sojourning and chain migrations often involved men in the same line of work—producers and distributors—native place and occupation were often overlapping and mutually reinforcing categories.

Not all circumstances encouraged the accentuation of native-place identity. Much depended on distance and numbers and language. Because Peking attracted such a variety of people, there were grounds for many kinds of association. Men from the regions of northern China near the capital may have easily blended into the big metropolis, happy to act as natives. Those from the cities of the Lower Yangtze may have been less eager to do so, put off by the powerful but remote world of the court into which mobility was difficult, by a local elite with no special claim to culture or distinction, and

97. For general descriptions (mostly for the Qing) of this well-known aspect of Chinese culture: Skinner 1976; B. Goodman 4–14; He Bingdi 1–9.

by a spoken language different than their own. Visitors from the ends of the empire surely felt even more the outsider.

Although native-place identities had obvious potential for encouraging geographic encapsulation, most Peking neighborhoods do not seem to have been created or maintained on this basis.⁹⁸ Perhaps the in-migration was too small, too slow, too diverse, or too diffused to encourage significant concentrations of fellow natives. Those sojourners who were linked by occupation as well as origin had the greater impact on Peking society.

For taxation purposes, the state recognized the linking of businesses into occupational *hang* (row), a form of organization known since the medieval period and often translated as “guild.”⁹⁹ In the 1580s, Peking’s 38,000-odd registered firms were classified into 132 *hang*, defined by the product sold or service rendered—the firewood, printing, matchmaker, beancurd, or pawnshop *hang*, for example.¹⁰⁰ Some were local firms, some were sojourning outsiders.

For our purposes such *hang* are probably best understood as occupation-based associations. They derived their legitimacy in the eyes of the state from their role as units for the negotiation of tax liability, but they also informally coordinated prices, set standards, and settled disputes among their “members.”¹⁰¹ I have seen no evidence that Ming Peking’s *hang* had common property or regular meeting places, and thus the translation “guild,” which I use here, should be taken to mean “guild association,” without the implication of a guildhall.

The shift by some guilds toward a more corporate identity was part of an important new development in the Ming. From the impulse to have a place to meet and lodge came a new organizational form, the corporate association called the *huiguan* (literally, “assembly lodge”). Pioneered by sojourners in Peking, these lodges were commonly based on both the shared occupation and native place of members.

Sojourners had particular need of lodging. Temporary visitors could stay in inns that were run by and catered to people who spoke the same language

98. Despite the examples cited in Chapter 4, clusterings by native place do not seem to have been a pervasive or enduring pattern. Ming evidence is, however, rather thin, and the evacuation of the Northern City in 1644 impedes study. Is the existence in the eighteenth century of a Sichuan charity graveyard and native-place lodge at the spot known in the Ming as the Sichuan garrison (in the Southern City) also an exception? 1784 (*jiachen*) Sichuan *huiguan* stele fragment (located in Wutasi); Dai Lu 10:249; *FXZ* 10:27.

99. Katō 1936. He made (p. 79) the same distinction between guild and guildhall that I do.

100. Shen Bang 13:96. Thirty-three were listed here.

101. I have not seen evidence of these functions in Ming Peking, although they were surely present.

and came from the same part of the empire, but inns were not very selective. Where could men congregate more privately to discuss shared interests, pray to a familiar deity, or enjoy a banquet? Cemeteries were another unhappy necessity, even if just for temporary burials. To meet these needs, sojourners at first turned to temples, but in time the *huiguan* was developed.

The association between *huiguan* and temples, often dismissed as inconsequential, was close and important. Both provided legitimate space for extrafamilial association and both used the cultural power of gods and rituals for the constitution of shared loyalties. It should not be surprising that many of the earliest Peking lodges were actually what we should call “native-place temples.”

Although a full early history of this institution still needs to be written, the pioneering work of Ping-ti Ho showed that something like these lodges made a sporadic appearance in the early Ming and began proliferating in a slow but steady fashion after the middle of the sixteenth century.¹⁰² (The Ming term *huiguan* became widely used in the Qing when the institution reached its full development. See Chapter 15.) *Huiguan* can, therefore, be seen not only as one manifestation of the quasi-public life of Peking’s sojourning elites, as they are treated in this chapter, but as part of the general late Ming increase in associational activity.

Several characteristics of the lodge are important for understanding its significance in Peking life. *Huiguan* existed separate from the government and were not formally authorized by it. Like the religious association, the lineage, the guild (*hang*), the sect, or the monastic establishment, they were ways of organizing unrelated people and preserving these links over many generations. But *huiguan* were also corporations with shared property, like the individual firm, the lineage, or the temple. And they were most certainly, by definition, a physical place.

Sometimes this place was a temple, sometimes a building attached to a cemetery, sometimes a rooming house, and most commonly a lodge, one hall of which was reserved for religious rituals. It is of crucial importance that, like the lineage and unlike the sect, the *huiguan* was tolerated by the Ming state. Like the temple, it used the language of collective good to justify its existence and deflect charges of selfish particularism. Hence the double legitimacy of a native-place temple. From the point of view of the government, these lodges were efficient ways of controlling visitors to the capital: elites (*shen*) were in charge, sojourners had places to stay, and visi-

102. He Bingdi. I read Richard Belsky’s 1997 Ph.D. dissertation on Peking’s *huiguan* after the research for this book was completed; his more thorough research confirmed this picture (35–42).

tors were reported to the authorities.¹⁰³ The large number of sojourners in Peking and the fact that a great many of them were respectable and well connected—more so than in other cities—seem to have made it possible for what might have otherwise seemed a dangerous institution to develop.

Trying to categorize *huiguan* by type or clientele (mostly merchants, mostly officials) is an approach with limited value, and it misses an essential point by insisting on single functions or single meanings for this institution. In practice, the criteria of same-native-place or same-occupation were variously and flexibly defined and subject to change with time and circumstance. The impetus to organize came from all quarters, and the *huiguan* seems to have become popular precisely because of its adaptability. The fact that in Peking there were examination-taking scholars, officials returning for audience, and merchants important to the throne, often educated people from the same place, made it even easier for lines to be blurred.

Unfortunately, information on Ming lodges is, like many aspects of Peking's history, unsystematic and fragmentary. The earliest attested use for the term *huiguan* (known to me) was only in the first decades of the seventeenth century, and I prefer to be cautious in using the term or identifying the institution retrospectively.¹⁰⁴ I have information on the existence of forty-five lodgelike institutions in Ming Peking, but half are known only through hearsay of uneven reliability.¹⁰⁵ (These lodges are listed in Table 15.1.) We will therefore let a few better-documented examples illustrate the nature and function of these organizations.

First an overview. The general locations of two-thirds of these lodges are known: seven were in the Northern City, and the rest were in the commercial districts of the Southern City. (As we shall see later, those in the Northern City are probably underrepresented because of the events of 1644.) The patrons of these lodges can be identified as men from eleven different provinces and two occupational groups, but the categories overlapped in

103. *DJ* 4:180–81.

104. See Shen Defu 608–9 and *DJ* 1:14, both cited in He Bingdi 17. A 1618 stele that does not survive may have used the term: HG She xian A:4. For a 1791 assertion that this was a Ming term: *BjTB* 75:185–86. Histories of some Peking *huiguan* were written in the twentieth century (I know of twelve), but they too were hampered by the lack of documentation from the Ming. My discussion is skewed by the better-documented ones (such as Fujian). I have not employed the method used by Ping-ti Ho (He Bingdi) and Richard Belsky—that is, consulting the local histories of the counties that were represented by *huiguan* in Peking. Such an approach is necessary for a full history of Peking's lodges. Although later sources refer to and quote from the texts of Ming stela inscriptions from the 1580s, the earliest stele known to me that survived into our times and used the term *huiguan* was dated 1667 and was set up by Shanxi merchants. See *BjTB* 62:85.

105. Belsky's thorough research has counted seventy (58, 115, 341–47); their spatial distribution was similar to my findings.

many cases. At least sixteen groups (the word seems justified) used temples as their meeting place, and six had graveyards.

The earliest example of a *huiguan* anywhere in the empire, uncovered by Ping-ti Ho, involved a metropolitan official from Anhui who served in Peking when it was first made the capital in the early fifteenth century. When he left (in the 1420s or 1430s), he donated his residence outside the Front Gate to serve as a kind of lodge for exam candidates.¹⁰⁶ This practice, with which the term *huiguan* was associated only after the fact, was not widely imitated. All of the other twenty-two for which a founding date (or reign period) is known were begun after 1560; the second half of that century witnessed quite an organizational boom.

Construction of a temple to a local god or a shrine to a home-town worthy was initially the most common way for men from the same native place to create a space where they could conveniently lodge and legitimately meet. Rituals there gave life to the group. A formal *huiguan* might later be created.

The Xiaogongci (attested in 1560, for men from Jiangxi) and the Zhangxianggongmiao (1565, Zhejiang) were among the earliest temples associated with specific sojourning groups.¹⁰⁷ Gods imported from home could be attractive, politically unthreatening, socially restrictive foci, and their temples useful meeting places. Two inscriptions from 1586 and 1587 from Shaowu and Tingzhou prefectures in Fujian stated that because eight other prefectures of Fujian already had a lodge, these two had acquired their own property in the Southern City and established a temple for the worship of their own local City-gods.¹⁰⁸ In 1624, Shanxi men (probably bankers) seized the chance to commemorate fellow natives who died on campaigns in the Northeast, and this Shrine to the Three Loyal Ones (Sanzhongci) became the basis for their *huiguan*.¹⁰⁹

Temples were also a natural focus for men in the same occupation who would make regular offerings to their patron deity. By using a temple for which they were the major or exclusive patrons, firms that made up part or all of a *hang* were constituted ritually and gave themselves increased status and institutional visibility. The Shanxi paper merchants (from Linfen and Xiangling) had built such a temple in the southwest corner White Paper Ward of the Southern City, probably in 1592.¹¹⁰ Other Shanxi men,

106. He Bingdi 13-14.

107. *JWK* 55:886; *BJTB* 80:25; Grube 57; *FXZ* 2:18.

108. HG Minzhong 3. At some point during the Ming, another Chenghuang temple was built in the west suburbs by sojourners from Jiangnan whose City-god was not represented in the main Capital City-god temple. Li Zongwan 14; *BJTB* 70:195.

109. *BJTB* 73:122; *JWK* 59:951-53.

110. Wu Changyuan 10:198. They may also have had an "east lodge" in another part of town: *BJTB* 72:174.

from Lu'an prefecture and in the metals business (brass, iron, tin, and coal), paid for a Furnace-god temple—dedicated to Laozi, who was associated with alchemical powers—some time in the Ming, in the same part of town.¹¹¹

Scholars and officials were also organizationally active. The best known of the early lodges was the (Zhejiang) Jishan *huiguan*. It had been founded in the mid- or late fifteenth century in the Southern City primarily by scholars from the seat of Shaoxing prefecture (GuiJI and SHANyin counties) coming to take the exams. The building intended for worship of a supposedly ancient bronze image of Guanyin was soon used for lodgings.¹¹²

The historian Shen Defu complained about the *huiguan* for Jiaying prefecture (in Zhejiang), his native place, that was founded after considerable discussion in the early seventeenth century; he objected that it snobbishly permitted only “noble visitors” (*guiyou*) to stay there, not minor officials and literati.¹¹³ Men from Hunan (Changsha), Sichuan, Hubei, Shandong, Guangdong, Henan, and Yunnan also later claimed a Ming founding for their *huiguan*.¹¹⁴

In 1563 sojourning merchants from She county in Anhui (the tea *hang*?), motivated by the need to bury those who died so far from home, collectively purchased cemetery land outside the Yongding Gate, along with an adjacent temple, and living quarters for a caretaker. Offerings were made there twice a year. The three *mou* of land soon filled up, however, and by the 1580s and 1590s a second and third graveyard had been acquired; in the early seventeenth century, ten additional *mou* were added in bits and pieces. At the same time, other cemeteries were created in the Southern City, mostly by men from Anhui.¹¹⁵

All in all, these Ming lodges seem rather fragile structures, possessed of slender corporate resources (a small temple, building, or graveyard), dependent

111. Wu Changyuan 9:169; Niida 5:1067–68. Other groups are less well attested. The guild of cooks founded a temple to their patron, the Stove-god, in Ming times (Wu Changyuan 9:167; A. Chan 1962:133–34), as did (supposedly) the confectioners (Burgess 77).

112. The contemporaneous use of the name “Jishan *huiguan*” was attested in *DJ* 4:180–81; also *JWK* 61:998; *HG* Shaoxing 8–13.

113. Shen Defu 608–9.

114. Respectively: *HG* Changsha 2:1, 25–26. Fragment of 1784 Sichuan *huiguan* stele (in Wutasi). Shen Defu 924–25; *FXZ* 8:6; *HG* Huguang. *FXZ* 2:3, 2:4. Tan Wen 111, 114; *BJTB* 87:190. *BJTB* 75:185–86. *BJTB* 69:80.

115. The She merchants also had a lodge in the Northern City (lost in the Ming-Qing transition). Niida 6:1173; *BJTB* 70:105; *HG* She xian A:1–5, B:1, 5, 15; Zhao Jishi 1:47; He Bingdi

on good leadership, and built on a limited population with a high turnover and unleavened by the presence of women.¹¹⁶ Their temples were of the highly privatized type, and their *huiguan* were created to exclude the many and privilege the few. These lodges were undoubtedly afflicted within and without by intermittent resentment, jealousy, and competition among people of different occupations, different home towns, different politics, and different purposes. And, of course, not all sojourners created such institutions. The vast majority of sellers and producers worked within the looser *hang* structure. Other visitors remained unorganized, and dissolved into the society of the capital.¹¹⁷

Just as the villa was a channel through which the court and literati elite could create and express shared values while competing for status, so the native-place lodge masked the crumbling distinctions between merchants and officials. The flourishing business community of the capital sought and found respectability in association with scholar-officials and a degree of protection against state hostility.¹¹⁸

Although infrequently mentioned in written materials and (to my knowledge) not represented in pictures, the *hang* and the *huiguan* nevertheless flourished in the soil of Peking's cosmopolitan commercial life. On the disparate foundations of these Ming sojourner lodges would be built ever more independent grounds for social and political action. But it would be wrong to read Ming *huiguan* as some kind of higher form of social life, a sprout of modernity. Their purposes were private, not public. Better to see native-place temples and lodges simply as one of many different grounds for association that were becoming available to residents of Ming Peking.

If we are to have a full picture of the range of communities in existence in Peking, it is necessary—before turning to that lively late Ming world—to consider one final type: the religious community formed by clerics. Although ostensibly self-contained, these groups were also rooted in and an active part of the society around them. Their variety and character gave a distinctive flavor to Peking culture, and they provided occasions and organizational models for new and numerous lay associations.

19. Other cemeteries: Zhang Jiangcai 1934:3:1680–81; *BJTB* 69:33; HG Xiuning; HG Quan jun 1.

116. See Shen Defu 608–9. Belsky 190–91 argued rather convincingly for the longevity of scholar-official lodges.

117. Men from Fuzhou prefecture in Jiangxi (according to a Qing source) had come to Peking in the mid-Ming and over the course of several generations “became” (*wei*) Wanping people. *BJTB* 74:123.

118. It seems unlikely that they did not come under suspicion by the government during the crises of the 1620s.

CLERICS

The communities formed of celibate professional clerics were among the best organized and enduring extrafamilial institutions in Ming Peking (or anywhere else in the empire). In their most developed form, they had property, regular income, leadership structure, self-absorbed routines, shared purpose, and legitimacy in the eyes of the state and society. Solidarity was encouraged by the common residence, their initiation rituals, belief system, distinctive clothing and diet, and lifetime commitment—not to mention the hostility of their critics. Moreover, these concentrations of piety attracted patrons and devotees who came regularly to worship and helped embed the clerics in the wider society. We shall begin with the monks and daoists whose monasteries were models for lay collectivities, then turn to the Tibetan Buddhist lamas and Catholic priests who formed similar communities in the temples and churches of their faiths. We will conclude with Peking's Muslims and the mosques around which their distinctive community revolved.

Most Peking temples had at most one or two professional clerics in residence. Ming monasteries for monks, nuns, daoists, or lamas, with internal hierarchies of command and responsibility, rules and regulations, and some kind of endowed income, were relatively few: some eighty establishments. Most monasteries used medium-sized temples, half of them in the northwestern and western suburbs.¹¹⁹ Those with many rooms, extensive property, libraries with the canon, and the right to perform ordinations were far fewer, between ten and twenty places, no more. One-seventh housed daoists, and the rest monks and nuns.¹²⁰

Clerical communities were expensive to run, and a high percentage enjoyed imperial patronage. Of the eighty-one monasteries, twelve were founded by the court and twenty-nine others by eunuchs; thirty-eight more had support from the court or eunuchs or both, and—tellingly—only four had neither. (And there are hints that these four might also have received such gifts.) Half of these temples seem to have antedated the Ming, and that dynasty's patronage probably followed upon comparable (or even more lavish) atten-

119. Some 83 out of 1091, or 7 percent. The number of resident clerics was rarely given for the Ming. I have used some combination of the following as diagnostic elements: an abbot, more than two generations of clerics in residence, quarters for monks, a patriarch's hall, ordinations, stupas of deceased monks, a Buddhist or Daoist Canon, extensive land holdings, many rooms, and branch temples.

120. Location of monasteries: Northern City: 24 (29 percent); Southern City: 13 (15 percent); suburbs: 46 (55 percent). I know of only 6 with the authority to do ordinations, only 14 with a genuinely extensive layout of rooms and courtyards, and 42 with editions of the canon. There is simply too little information to estimate the average number of clerics per monastery.

tion from Yuan, Jin, and Liao rulers.¹²¹ Securing imperial support and converting it into a lasting endowment had to have been the fundamental challenge for abbots and their patrons. Some were more successful than others.

The headquarters of the Quanzhen school of celibate daoists was the Baiyunguan (White Cloud Monastery) just beyond the city walls on the west. It had been restored by Yongle before he became emperor and expanded again by eunuch patrons. In 1444 it housed at least eighty-eight daoists and a set of the new edition of the canon and could be justly called the “chief Daoist monastery [*guan*] of the capital.” The gods installed here were for worship by the clerics—the Three Pure Ones, the Jade Emperor, and the sect patriarchs—but the principal celebration was the raucous annual gathering for Immortal Qiu’s return on 1/19. Having a place in Peking’s calendrical celebrations ensured the temple of popular support, but inner court patronage continued as well.¹²²

Peking’s other major Daoist establishment, the Dongyuemiao, dedicated to the god of Taishan, the Eastern Peak, was on the east side of the city; it had been founded for the Zhengyi Celestial Masters. These were not celibate daoists and—as we shall see in Chapter 7—its lay patrons wielded considerable power. Connections with Jiangxi were maintained; the forty-third Celestial Master was put in charge of the Yongle edition of the Daoist Canon, and the fiftieth supervised the Wanli edition. A communal *jiao* ritual was celebrated annually on the god’s birthday on 3/28, but because of the huge crowds, Daoist rites were dwarfed in a sea of other festivities.¹²³

Although the founding of a monastery often came from the initiative of the elite, the clerics themselves sometimes played the decisive role. A charismatic person whose ability to express or be in touch with transcendental powers could be both inspirational and contagious. Such clerics could gain support for their temples or persuade their patrons to build new ones.

The young monk Daoshen had come to Peking in 1421 from a native chieftaincy in Guizhou (in the remote southwest) as part of one of the early tribute missions to the new Yongle court. He stayed in the capital and studied with Zhiguang, the most influential disciple of the Indian monk Pandita. Daoshen’s growing command of Buddhist scriptures brought imperial favor

121. Such age can be firmly attested for thirteen and was claimed by an additional twenty-seven. I have made no attempt to keep track of such patronage, but for some examples, see *JWK* 53:845, 59:958–59, 94:1575–85; and Chapter 3 n.16.

122. *BJTB* 51:122, 51:159–60; 53:126; *DJ* 3:137–39; Liu Ruoyu 20:3.

123. *BJTB* 58:192; *DJ* 2:64; *Xijin* 54–55; Chen Guofu 174. Kim Yuk 214, who could only have had a very rough idea, said that there were “several dozen” daoists here in 1637. Were they in permanent residence?

and an appointment to the registry. A temple was founded for him in 1439 in a deserted area of the Western Hills, and between 1439 and 1472 he composed the stelae for at least eight other temples in the same suburban area, many also founded by eunuchs.¹²⁴

Similarly, as we have seen, one of the large community of monks at the Minzhongsi persuaded eunuchs to finance a renovation that brought the temple back to life in the 1440s; there were eighty monks in residence at that time. It received no recorded patronage for the next century and a half, but then another energetic monk made the temple interesting to outsiders once more. He “treated the worthy with polite manners and loved guests, and so most of the well-bred scholars [*shi shen*] who came from all over the empire to take the exams and present themselves as candidates stopped in.” The stele marking these repairs in 1601–1602, subsidized by eunuchs, was composed and written by the local men Fang Congzhe and Zhang Bangji.¹²⁵

There were far fewer nuns than monks in Peking, and I know of only one long-lived and substantial nunnery. The Baomingsi was unusually successful in securing lasting support from the palace. As I have described elsewhere, this temple was founded by the emperor for a nun in the 1450s, and her successor abbess was eagerly patronized by empress dowagers, princesses, and their relatives in the 1520s–1530s. Later, Empress Dowager Li became a benefactor of Guiyuan, another nun in this temple, and was joined by some 1,700 palace eunuchs and women. By the 1570s, after nine generations, there were at least fifty-five nuns in residence.¹²⁶

Some monasteries found security as nodes for the bureaucratic extension of imperial control and, perhaps in consequence, did not enjoy such lively or independent roles in local society. The two monasteries where the Buddhist Registry was consecutively located were the recipients primarily of imperial patronage, and there is no evidence that their Daoist counterpart was involved with the Peking community in any regular way.¹²⁷

Of course, monasteries were not primarily about patronage. They were a home and a way of life for the relatively small number of men and women who chose

124. Pandita was from the Nepal-Indian border and had come to Nanking in 1371: *DMB* 1111–13. For Zhiguang, a Shandong man: *JWK* 96:1608–9. For Daoshen’s life: *JWK* 100:1666–67; *DMB* 823, 1553. For his residence east of the city after 1458: *JWK* 88:1495–96; Li Zongwan 8. For temples for which Daoshen composed stelae: *JWK* 102:1685–86; Shen Bang 19:195, 197, 198; Field Museum #940; *JWK* 95:1597–98; *BJTB* 52:92; *DJ* 1:37–39.

125. *BJTB* 51:106–7, 58:176–77, 60:113–14 (quotation); *DMB* 176; *Jinshi suoyin* 1:505. In 1618 a monk from the Lower Yangtze came here, lectured on the precepts, and took several hundred disciples: *DJ* 3:118–19.

126. T. Li & Naquin; “Zongpai” stele (at site in 1987).

127. See Chapter 2 n.107.

to renounce their place in the multigenerational Chinese family for a celibate religious vocation. These were theoretically self-contained communities, whether located in the heart of the city or isolated mountains. In addition to halls for worship, a monastery typically included a library, meditation hall, clerics' quarters, refectory, kitchen, bathhouse, storerooms, and cemetery. Life revolved around meditation, rituals, and prayers, with occasional forays into society for the performance of specific rites—penitential rituals (*chan*) by Buddhists, community rituals (*jiao*) by daoists, and funeral services by both. Monasteries were replenished through the recruitment of new clerics and the visits of pilgrim monks or daoists. Those temples authorized to perform ordinations drew would-be clerics from all over the empire.

I know of four temples that ordained monks in Ming Peking. The most famous was the eponymous Jietan (Ordination Altar) in the mountains thirty kilometers from Peking, built in the 1430s. Its three-tiered white stone ordination platform, at which both monks and nuns could receive the precepts, still stands today.¹²⁸ In 1546 a censor, predictably censorious, complained that during ordination rites at the Tianningsi, "A great many monks and disciples have come together and hastily established an altar area where precepts are received and the dharma discussed; they throng everywhere, making noise with drums and horns. Robed monks from all over, perhaps ten thousand of them, bowing reverently and prostrating themselves to listen, gathering by day and dispersing by night, men and women mixing together. . . ." Despite such official nervousness, these activities extended over a period of days, often in the spring, and attracted many bystanders.¹²⁹

In addition to the masses and penances that could be offered on demand, there were several times a year when Buddhist clergy performed rites within their monasteries for the benefit of society as a whole (not excluding the dynasty, of course). On the eighth day of the fourth month, accepted as the birthday of Shakyamuni Buddha, the images were to be washed by the monks, and lay people came to pay their respects. Ordination ceremonies were also scheduled for that day, and at some suburban temples, it became a holiday for less pious pleasure seekers.¹³⁰ On 7/15, monks in a great many temples held lotus-flower assemblies for the benefit of hungry ghosts.¹³¹ The simultaneous annual performance of these monastic rituals reenacted a religious community, both living and dead, imagined but real, that extended not merely across Peking but to the distant reaches of the Buddhist world.

128. Tianningsi: *JWK* 91:1542–47. Tanzhesi: *JWK* 105:1748–49. Fayuansi: *BJTB* 60:70. Jietan: Field Museum #927; *DJ* 7:310–14; *JWK* 105:1741. I have no Ming references to the ordination of daoists in any Peking temple.

129. *JWK* 91:1544 (quotation); *STFZ* 1593:1:15; *DJ* 7:310–14.

130. Jiang Yikui 3:45–46; Kwön Hyöp 117; *DJ* 2:68; Shen Bang 17:168.

131. *JWK* 53:849–52; *DJ* 1:18–19, 2:69; Liu Ruoyu 20:6.

Although imperial patronage was clearly important, large monasteries benefitted even more from a diversified clientele. In the case of the Tanzhesi, these supporters included other monks from the capital (who chose its stupa yard for their cremated remains), eunuchs and members of the imperial family who gave land and money, pilgrimage associations, and sojourning and local elites who visited it as a well-known scenic spot.¹³² In a similar manner, Peking's other long-lived monasteries were nourished by widely dispersed supporters rather than a single patron or the residents of a single neighborhood. It was because Buddhist and Daoist clergy and their temples were so much a part of the culture that this range of relationships was possible, some casual, some serious, some short-term, some long. This pattern was not possible for newer religions, and the establishments of Peking's Tibetan Buddhists, Catholics, and Muslims were, in consequence, more precariously dependent on fewer strands of support.

Tibetan Buddhism, too often associated only with the Qing dynasty, was established in Peking in the Ming. As noted in Chapter 5, the throne built temples and provided support for visiting delegations and for permanent communities in Peking. I know of nine Tibetan Buddhist temples that stood at one time or another in the Ming city; two were halls inside the palace.

These clerics were commonly called "foreign monks" (*fanseng*) because they came from the "western regions," but they may not have been as clearly segregated as they would be after the system of incarnate lamas ("spiritual masters") was developed in the mid-sixteenth century.¹³³ The number of these Tibetan Buddhist monks seems to have fluctuated with imperial favor and the size of the missions, but early in the dynasty there were certainly hundreds of them in Peking.

Because these monasteries were primarily, if generously, supported by the throne, they were also vulnerable to official measures to reduce their size or close them down. Ming bureaucrats treated these monks with the same suspicion they did other clerical scoundrels and charlatans (as they saw it). When the Zhengde emperor wanted to invite a Tibetan "living buddha" to the capital, his grand secretaries objected, calling this religion "wildly heterodox and unorthodox" (*xiewang bu jing*) and arguing that such people should be allowed to visit only within the framework of tribute missions. The remonstrances were ignored.¹³⁴

132. Naquin 1998.

133. See the various names used in 1436: *JWK* 53:844. Several Ming temples housed both Chinese and foreign monks together (Qingshousi, Nengrensi, and Huguosi).

134. For the high living of some monks in the 1460s: Ryūchi 1941:72, and *passim*. The Zhengde mission sent in 1515 to deliver the invitation was unsuccessful: *MS* 28:331:8574.

These temples were open to the public and despite (or because of?) their strange gods, many were enjoyed by literati. The Wutasi in the north suburbs, for example, was popular with late Ming elites for the view it afforded from the second-story roof on which the five stupas that gave it its name were located.¹³⁵ (See Figure 6.1.)

Tibetan Buddhism began spreading to Central Asian Mongols in the thirteenth century, when its clerics were honored by the Yuan court; during a second wave in the sixteenth century, the celibate monasticism of Tsongkhapa's Geluk sect gained many Mongol converts, and the authority of its Dalai Lamas began to be established. Delegations from Central Asia—trafficking in tea, silk, religious images, and horses—may have sought out the imperially patronized temples in the capital (as they did under the Qing). Although we can probably assume that this faith spread to Mongols residing in Peking, there are no obvious signs that Tibetan Buddhist monks were extensively supported by a community of local believers.¹³⁶ Certainly not by a Chinese lay community (except the throne). In fact, by law, no Chinese (*Hanren*) was permitted to become a Tibetan Buddhist monk.¹³⁷

The founding of the earliest “temples” of European Christianity in Ming Peking should be understood in the context of imperial patronage of foreign religions in general. The Jesuit strategy of seeking support at the highest levels resulted, although they may not have realized it, in making their position in the empire not unlike that of Central Asian monks—that is, at the mercy of the throne and in plain sight of suspicious bureaucrats.

The first Christian church in Peking began functioning in the summer of 1605. The Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci had been attempting to establish a presence in the northern capital since 1598. He and his fellow clerics were finally able to find sponsors at court, and in 1605 moved into their own house, adjacent to which was a chapel big enough to hold the more than one hundred converts they had attracted by this time.¹³⁸

The religious dimensions of the Jesuit enterprise were muted in public, and Ricci had already abandoned the garb of the Buddhist monk in favor of that of the more socially prestigious Confucian literati. Moreover, by obtaining a residence separate from the foreign emissaries and Central Asian

135. *DJ* 5:200–202. The Grape Society met in the Huguosi.

136. Rockhill 2–6; *DMB* 377. A deeper probing of the materials on the Huguosi might be fruitful.

137. Ryūchi 1941:66, 75; *Da Ming Lu* Rites:2.

138. This chapel would become the Nantang. Dunne 54, 77, 80, 83, 101, 104. It is not clear to me where Ricci lived between the time he left the lodge for foreign emissaries in 1601 and the time they had formal permission for this residence.



Figure 6.1. Linqing's Visit to Wutasi in 1843

When Linqing stopped at the Five Stupa Temple as part of an excursion in the suburbs in 1843, he climbed up onto the platform to inspect the five stupas and listened to the distinctive sound of lamas practicing on their Tibetan horns.

SOURCE: Linqing 1886:3:51-52.

Muslims and by calling their chapel a *tang* (hall), the Jesuits hoped to make their residence seem like a place where serious intellectual and moral questions were discussed.¹³⁹

Dependence on imperial favor meant much uncertainty during the political crises of the 1610s and 1620s, but, despite wild swings in their fortunes, a small number of Jesuits managed to remain in the quarters given to Ricci outside the Xuanwu Gate. They even weathered charges that their beliefs were of a piece with “heterodox” religions like the White Lotus teachings.¹⁴⁰

Gifts from a Chinese convert enabled them to repair these buildings in 1623. For a few years (1622–1624) an academy of the literati anti-eunuch Donglin party flourished next door; when it closed, that building was given to the Jesuits for their Astronomy Bureau. By the 1630s this church complex, the Hall of the Heavenly Lord (Tianzhutang), was well known enough to be discussed—with accompanying poetry—in a guide to the scenic sights of the capital. There, given its own substantial entry alongside the city’s famous temples, the church’s strange shape and unusual religious paintings were described at length, as were the basic ideas of Christianity.¹⁴¹

By the end of the Ming, the Jesuits had sixteen communities in the vicinity of the capital, at least several hundred converts for whom they said mass, a small chapel inside the Forbidden City where more than a dozen Christian court women met to pray (they communicated with the missionaries through eunuch intermediaries and correspondence), and an imperially bestowed graveyard outside the city where Matteo Ricci (and then others) were buried. In 1638, the Chongzhen emperor presented them not only with a four-character plaque, but also with a regular stipend and two thousand ounces of silver with which they could purchase income-generating property.¹⁴² Among their converts were eunuchs, court ladies, and local nobility—the same kinds of people who were active patrons of many religions popular at the time and who had (as we shall see in Chapter 7) provided protection for sectarians in this same period.

And yet Catholicism was not yet deeply rooted. The roller-coaster of late Ming court politics made it extremely difficult for the Europeans to secure their hard-earned niche or to achieve the widespread conversions to which they aspired. Nevertheless, their toe-holds in the Astronomy Bureau and their church were enough to allow the Jesuits to remain a presence in Peking—

139. Peterson 1994; Verbiest 169 n.5; Dunne 80.

140. ter Haar 1992:219–20.

141. *DJ* 4:152–54; Dunne 187; Bernard 9; *JWK* 49:774–78. Four poems about the Jesuits were also included. For the academy, see Chapter 7.

142. Dunne 309–12; Bernard; A. Chan 1982:123.

one whose contemporary impact has yet to be fully appreciated—until the late eighteenth century.

Peking's Muslim clerics and believers in Islam held a different place in the city than the Catholics and Buddhists, although they too were followers of a foreign religion. Mosques were the cores of identifiable, long-established, and substantial neighborhoods; they did not house large numbers of clerics, but their mullahs were men of considerable influence.

In Ming Peking, Muslims were both exotic and local. Their linkages with Central Asia through religion, travel, and trade made them part of a wider world, yet many had been natives of the Peking area for hundreds of years. In eastern Asia since the eighth century, Central Asian Muslims had been employed by the court of the pan-Asian Mongol empire, when there may have been more than ten thousand of them in Peking. Many seem to have stayed on after the Ming victory. They found employment as eunuchs, served in the Imperial Bodyguard, or worked as translators and interpreters in the metropolitan bureaucracy or as officials in the Astronomy Bureau (until they were unseated by Jesuits). A few were exotic singers and dancers in the households of the city's imperial elites. Ordinary Muslims were engaged in characteristic trades, particularly those to do with the buying, selling, and butchering of sheep and horses.¹⁴³

The capital's Chinese (that is, Han) Muslim community maintained contact with western Asia through the caravans that travelled between Peking and Islamic cities and states to the west. Mongol and Uighur Muslims were loosely incorporated within the "tributary" structure, and missions from oasis towns periodically brought hundreds (or even thousands) of people to the capital, though seemingly with decreasing frequency toward the end of the dynasty. Such missions generated predictable complaints among locals about the difficulties of controlling and the expense of lodging them, but they also brought horses, jade, exotic animals, and precious metals from places such as Hami, Turfan, and Samarkand.¹⁴⁴

It was the commitment of believers, a system for training religious leaders (mullahs), and a long tradition of community mosque-building that shaped the formation of Peking's Muslim neighborhoods and structures of religious life.

Their religion and their occupations made Muslims identifiably different from their neighbors, and since at least the thirteenth century there had been

143. Peng Nian 31; Serruys 1961; Geiss 1987:15–16; Rossabi 1979:178, 180; W. Watson 1963:91; J. Liu 156–58; *DMB* 194–95. And most recently Lipman 24–57.

144. *CH*-7:260–61, 363–94, 452–53; Rossabi 1975:28–39, 1979:174–77.

a name for them and their religion: Huihui.¹⁴⁵ Their distinctive customs (e.g., not eating pork) and particular rituals (a religious service every seventh day, fasting for one month a year) were well known to their neighbors. Mosques, usually called by the generic name “Temple of the Pure and True” (Qingzhensi, a reference to both moral and ritual purity), were not for nonbelievers.¹⁴⁶

In the 1420s, there were at least three mosques in the redesigned Ming capital. The oldest was in the dusty southwestern suburbs, on Ox Street, and was said to date back to the tenth century. Muslim butchers who moved to Peking early in the Ming congregated further to the east in the same suburbs, near what would become the Flower Mart (Huashi). (It is this mosque that is shown in Figure 2.5.) The third mosque was centrally placed just east of the Imperial City.¹⁴⁷ I know of three others that were built thereafter. Two were in the Northern City, one seemingly intended for men on the missions from Central Asia, and another in the western suburbs near the principal Muslim graveyard.¹⁴⁸ The Ox Street mosque enjoyed extensive support. Its restoration in 1496 was financed by (Muslim) court eunuchs; (Muslim) Imperial Bodyguards and officials in the capital bureaucracy helped finance the repairs of 1613.¹⁴⁹ Similarly, the new mosque in the suburbs was built by Muslim eunuchs—and its stele done by a Muslim student in the prefectural school and a recent Muslim *jinshi* from nearby.¹⁵⁰ (Some of these mosques are shown on Map 15.1.)

Imperial patronage of Islam was infrequent. During his Leopard Quarter phase, the Zhengde emperor took up with Central Asian Muslims as well as Tibetan Buddhists. A Muslim leader from Hami named Sayyid Hussein (sent to Peking in chains) had used eunuch connections to transform himself into an imperial intimate. He may have helped a fellow Muslim among the Imperial Bodyguard whet the emperor’s appetite for female entertainers from Central Asia, maidens whose skin was thought as lustrous as the jade for which the region was famous.¹⁵¹

The size of Peking’s Muslim community is hard to estimate. Because there

145. *Hanyu da cidian* 3:610. One reads of *huihui ren* (people), *si* (temples), and *fa* (law). “Huihui religion” (*jiao*) seems to be a Ming or Qing term.

146. Libaisi (Temple for Worship) can be attested at least as early as 1496 and eventually became a common appellation in the capital. *BJTB* 53:47, 57:89–90, 59:152–53; Tan Qian 1656:357–59; Gladney 12–13.

147. Mosques 1938a:35–38, 1938d:41; *BJTB* 59:59–60; Yan Chongnian 57; Li Fuliang 335; *Comprehensive Gazetteer* 1505:1:25; Gladney 11–12.

148. *BJTB* 57:89–90; Zhang Jue 12. This mosque was said to have been “imperiallly founded,” but I have no date; the first textual reference is from 1560. There were also graves within the suburban mosque complexes: Mosques 1938a:35, 1938b:60, 1938c:43–44, 48, 1938d:44.

149. Field Museum #974–76; *BJTB* 59:59–60; also A. Chan 1982:119.

150. *BJTB* 59:152–53; *Jinshi suoyin* 1:372.

151. Imperial porcelains were also produced with Arabic inscriptions. *DMB* 1152–53; Geiss 1987:15; Rossabi 1979:180–81.

is no reason to assume that there were more Muslims in the city in the Ming than in the Qing, a loose upward estimate might be fifty thousand to one hundred thousand in the earlier dynasty.¹⁵² Whether natives of Central Asia or of north China, Muslim converts did not suffer the same religious strictures as Tibetan Buddhists or European Catholics. They could—and did—practice their religion as they pleased and live at large as ordinary members of Peking society. Although resident in the countryside nearby as well as in other cities, Muslims were nonetheless a notable ingredient in Peking life.¹⁵³ Socially marginal, ignored by those who commanded the Chinese written record, they achieved a certain organizational and intellectual independence from outside interference of which other religious minorities must have been envious.

This chapter has examined actors across the social spectrum of Ming Peking and the many collectivities that they were able to form. Residents of the city identified themselves in different, sometimes competing and sometimes overlapping ways: with their families, their professions, fellow believers, the metropolitan bureaucracy, literati high society, Wanping or Daxing or another home county, the imperial domain, and the empire. The uneasy early Ming juxtaposition of locals, newcomers, and sojourners changed gradually into a better-blended, more fluid mixture. Other loyalties did not preclude the energetic creation of locally grounded urban identities.¹⁵⁴

Within the limits permitted by the state and accepted within the culture, different kinds of people created a range of organizations. Temples, ritual spaces, elite villas, guildhalls, and government offices all provided space for people to form groups, but religious institutions were particularly accessible and accommodating. The evidence presented in this chapter has emphasized the use of religious institutions to demarcate and reinforce exclusive communities, but we have also seen examples of copying, cooperation, and connecting. Moreover, although the level of formal organization was low and some groups were more imagined than actual, we can still see a trend, increasingly visible in the late Ming, toward associations of greater power and permanency. In the next two chapters, we will look at these processes and their potential for collective action and at more diffuse forms of social integration.

152. This estimate assumes that there were 170,000–200,000 Muslims in 1938 when the city population was about 1.5 million and that the Ming city was perhaps half or two-thirds as large. See Chapter 15 n.31.

153. There may have also been Jews in Peking. Eighteenth-century Jesuits went in search of a rumored Bible and found hints of a Jewish community in the late Ming capital that had since “become Mahometans.” Gaubil 1970:423–24, 665–67, 723; Pollak 65, 192, 264.

154. As F. W. Mote, with his emphasis on a spatial and social rural-urban continuum, argued for Suzhou (1973 esp. 54–58).

CHAPTER 7

Late Ming Associations

The organizations and social groups so far described made up only a portion of the associational life of late Ming Peking. Even more activity took place in the halls and courtyards of the city's temples. We will begin in this chapter with the mounting activism of scholars and officials, then look at the contemporaneous mobilization led by clerical and lay preachers, and finally undertake a close examination of the temple associations that are a lesser-known feature of life in the Ming capital.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Ming empire was experiencing a range of accelerated changes that have led many scholars to see a significant break with the preceding era. These developments have been analyzed at length in the scholarly literature. An increasingly commercialized economy more closely tied to new international markets. A loosening of social categories and economic relationships. An ever larger population and a shrinking resource base for government. An expanding publishing industry. Articulate and persuasive critiques of the Confucian orthodoxy. A burst of creativity in art and literature. Incipient exposure to European culture. By the early seventeenth century, social instability, peasant unrest, mounting challenges on the frontiers, and unusual viciousness in national politics further enfeebled state power.

The political crises in Peking are likewise well known. From the 1580s, weak leadership at the center and decades of intensifying factionalism. After 1600, organized opposition by scholar-officials of the Donglin party. In the 1620s, eunuch ascendancy and repression of their enemies. The indecision of the subsequent Chongzhen reign. All accompanied by a mounting

sense of panic caused by the insistent internal and external threats to dynastic authority.¹

Other less-frequently noted developments characterized this period, so famous for both social and cultural vitality and political and economic uncertainty, and this chapter will bring some of them to the fore. Scholars who have usefully called our attention to a heightened and eclectic religiosity and an upsurge in organizational activity of many kinds have concentrated on central China.² We will focus our attention on this trend within the narrower sphere of the northern capital and so bring Peking into this picture.

In particular, this chapter examines in some detail the increase in religious associations. Such associations ranged from the temporary and tentative to the purposeful and long-lived. While lay religious and pilgrimage organizations flourished alongside lodges and monasteries, Peking's political centrality was attracting politicians in search of a wider following, preachers from new homegrown sects, and proselytizers of foreign religions. Political and social instability encouraged religious ferment even as they promoted the opposition and repression that kept more radical change in check. Let us look at the particulars. Politics first.

POLITICS

The capital was "the focal point of partisan warfare" (as Charles Hucker has called it) because crucial political actors were concentrated there: emperor, powerful eunuchs, imperial relatives, metropolitan bureaucrats, Hanlin academicians, and *jinshi* candidates.³ We shall begin with political protest generally, and then follow the intertwined threads of religion and politics in the period from the 1550s through the 1630s by examining assemblies and organizations created by scholar-officials, monks, and lay preachers.

Although much has been written about political power and decision making in China's imperial era, rather little attention has been given to the physical spaces used. Peking was dense with legitimate political spaces: the Grand Secretariat, central government offices, the Hanlin and Guozijian, and the prefectural and county yamen. And we can say that in principle political activity was supposed to be confined as much as possible to these buildings and power to be limited to those qualified to work there.

Those who encroached on state power were often physically as well as formally marginal: influential palace women and eunuchs, unsuccessful

1. See *CH-7* and *CH-8*.

2. One may find attention to these matters in Shek 1980a; Fuma; J. Smith 1987; Brook 1993; Liang Qize 1997; and other related work by these scholars.

3. Hucker 1966:183. Of necessity I ignore important but well-known developments outside Peking.

examination candidates, concerned citizens, low-level bureaucrats, armed peasants, bold foreign armies. Ad hoc private alliances and spur-of-the-moment outbursts were difficult to prevent, but the state was unrelentingly vigilant against extrastate organizations and politics out of place.

Informal networks among bureaucrats (created outside the work space and reflective of particularistic claims) were treated as suspect by the throne. Such networks were difficult to create and sustain without regular communication or face-to-face meetings, and a shortage of safe and respectable places to meet and organize impeded the fashioning of a strong and articulate national elite and made organized opposition even riskier. For these reasons, late Ming politics and the problems of groups, communications, and space can be better understood by examining the use of temple courtyards for such purposes.

Political discussion was further constrained by the limited availability of information about imperial decisions. In the late Ming, documents were published in the "Capital Gazette" (*Dibao*), whence they circulated to people not in regular government service. A hunger for news was reflected in the increasing role of anonymous pamphlets and rumors concerned with the court, even though such information could not help but circulate unreliably and unsystematically.⁴

Although the Ming empire as a whole experienced escalating violence after 1600, large-scale social, political, or economic protests appear to have been noticeably lacking in Peking.⁵ Low-grade violence and the small-scale deprivations of the desperate were endemic to the city, as everywhere, but were rarely translated into anything serious. In the winter of 1476 a panic swept across Peking as mysterious apparitions supposedly began attacking people at night, but like an allegedly rebellious plot involving eunuchs two months later, these merely encouraged the formation of new institutions for control.⁶ The unemployed were capable of gatherings for loud protests, and merchants initiated the occasional brief boycott, but no major civil unrest ensued.⁷ There were occasional protests directed by citizens toward officials (staged outside

4. Struve 1998:9–10. For some scattered examples on an understudied topic: Huang 1981:25, 86–88; *DMB* 210; S. Hsu 83; Zurndorfer 154.

5. My conclusions about Peking are not based, as a thorough consideration would dictate, on a close reading of the "Veritable Records." I have relied instead on the secondary literature, hoping that, because so many scholars have been interested in events in the capital, most major disruptions would have been noticed. Qiu Zhonglin (91–103) saw a deterioration in public order in the late Ming.

6. De Groot 1910:5:780–81; Tan Qian 1653:4:2367–79; Lu Rong 10:5.

7. See Xu Daling 59 for the 1508 protests in the east suburbs by workers ejected from the city by the eunuch Liu Jin in a cleanup attempt; *MSL-ZD* 41:960. (I have followed the *Ming shili*

the gates to the palace complex that opened off Chang'an Street near the ministries).⁸ Court intrigues sometimes spilled out beyond the circle of legitimate actors and turned brutal.

Many factors might explain this general order—perhaps most importantly a secure food supply, but also dense garrisoning and attentive surveillance.⁹ Even when capital soldiers were away on campaigns or seconded to other duties, the throne still had substantial forces at its immediate disposal (especially relative to other cities). The walls discouraged disruptions from outside the city. And the creation of the Eastern and Western Depots in the fifteenth century provided powerful eunuchs with special agencies for investigating whatever they deemed a threat to local security.¹⁰

In such an environment, organized opposition to imperial or eunuch policies by unarmed bureaucrats or citizens was a risky business, and it is not surprising that academic and religious venues might be used as cover. For scholars and officials, intellectual developments and political action had genuinely close connections. The powerful ideas of the philosopher Wang Yangming (1472–1528) had suggested new directions for Confucian thought. His assertion that the Way was not the property of the educated few and that every person had the potential for sagehood implied a populism and an activism that were inspirational to his many followers.¹¹ Such ideas destabilized the educational, examination, and imperial systems, and further provoked political debate and action.

The sixteenth-century increase in private academies (*shuyuan*), also as-

for the correct date.) See J. Tong 146 and 154 for a 1529 boycott by Huizhou merchants and a protest by merchants in 1600; von Glahn 1996:99 for more on 1529; and A. Chan 1982:119 for protests by Muslim merchants in 1588—all in reaction to perceived government-imposed constraint on trade.

8. See J. Tong 154 and Shen Bang 11:81 for a protest by those receiving official charity; also see Jiang Yikui 1:11–12.

9. See the discussion of the Qing food supply in Chapter 11.

10. In the autumn of 1550, a Mongol army under Altan Khan came through the passes and burned and looted the countryside as far as the walls of Peking. Waldron 160; *CH*-7:475; J. Tong 121. In the winter of 1629–1630, Manchu-led armies initiated the first of a series of similar raids that extended over the next decade; they descended on Peking from the east, attacked and seized smaller cities, engaged Ming armies in the suburbs, showed their strength, and then pulled back outside the Great Wall. There were raids in 1636, 1638, 1639, and 1642. *CH*-7:616, 629; *ECCP* 2; *QSL-TC* 5:38–52 *passim*. In 1644, capital garrisons were incapable of resisting the attacks of either the rebel armies under Li Zicheng or the invading ones of the Manchus. For the depots, see Chapter 4 n.58.

11. The literature on Wang Yangming is vast, but the narrower perspective found in Shek 1980a:46–61 is especially relevant here. Reflecting an associated openness toward Buddhist and Daoist thought characteristic of this era, one follower, Lin Zhao'en, founded a successful religious movement in Fujian in the late sixteenth century based on the premise that “the three teachings are one.” Dean 1998:64–136.

sociated with Wang Yangming, provided locations for scholars and officials to congregate, read, talk, and organize. Although the more heavily monitored capital remained outside the mainstream of these activities, which began largely in central and southern China, it felt their ripples.¹² In 1553 and 1554, Grand Secretary Xu Jie, a Jiangsu man associated with Wang and active in the academy-founding movement, instituted a series of lectures (*jiang xue*) in Peking. To do so, he and his friends chose the grounds of the Lingjigong, an old, spacious, and well-endowed Northern City temple. Over the course of two years, and occasionally thereafter, Xu and like-minded scholar-officials (Ouyang De, Nie Bao, Cheng Wende, Luo Rufang) drew audiences of thousands for their talks.¹³

With such developments came intermittent attempts to shut down the academies. The prohibition of 1537 seems to have had no effect. The 1579 one was carried out primarily in the Lower Yangtze, but sent a chill throughout the system. When Luo Rufang returned to Peking and lectured in the Buddhist Guanghui, he was quickly impeached.¹⁴

Many of these intellectuals were also personally involved with organized Buddhism. Indeed, lectures by monks for monks—whether to examine a sutra or preach about the Law—were commonplace in large monasteries, and lay visitors sometimes attended. Such activities had become more important, especially in central China, during the sixteenth-century religious revival led by Zhuhong.¹⁵ Although some bureaucrats disapproved of these crowds, in the Wanli period when literati lectures were curtailed, monastic lectures flourished. From the 1570s through the 1620s, famous and popular monks, many of them visitors to Peking, made their reputations in part by their public lecturing (*jiang*) in the capital. In the 1580s, the lectures by Cizhou, abbot of the Yanshousi, inspired “eunuchs and nobles” to become his disciples. In 1592, Hanshan Deqing, already renowned for expounding on the sutras at Mount Wutai a decade earlier and the recipient of many gifts from Empress Dowager Li, came to Peking and resided in the Cishou temple (which she had founded). There he too preached to monks and palace audiences.¹⁶

But Peking was dangerous, and even clerics could not escape injury on

12. Meskill 1982:116–24.

13. Meskill 1969:162; *JWK* 44:691–95; *DMB* 570–76, 976, 1013, 1096–98, 1102–3. Luo lectured here in the mid-1560s. The Lingjigong was a curious choice. Perhaps it was just a large empty space that no one was very interested in.

14. Meskill 1969:153–54, 160–61, 163–64, 171–72; 1982:139–40. Luo’s lectures seem to have taken place in the 1570s. The temple had been restored in the 1550s by eunuchs and Imperial Bodyguards: *BJTB* 56:104. For Luo: *DMB* 976.

15. See Chapter 2; Welch 1967:506; Yü 1981:chap. 4. Zhuhong visited Peking sometime before 1571 (Yü 16). For foreign monks preaching in the 1420s: *JWK* 100:1666–67.

16. Cizhou: *BJTB* 57:143. Deqing: S. Hsu 79; *DMB* 1272–75. Other examples: *DJ* 3:118–19; *Guangji zhi* 112; *JWK* 91:1548–49; *BJTB* 57:1–2.

the treacherous playing field of court politics. Deqing's lavishly funded prayer services for the good health and long life of the prince favored by Madame Li embroiled him (as it did the monk Zhenke) in the factional infighting generated by competing heirs to the throne, and he was arrested in 1595, tried, and banished to the south. Although Deqing won literati admirers for the perceived injustice, the more unfortunate Zhenke died in prison.¹⁷

In this context, the literary gathering of the Yuan brothers (Yuan Zongdao, Hongdao, and Zhongdao) and their friends in a temple grape arbor in the late 1590s and the formation of an association they called the Grape Society (Putaoshe) seem both more natural and less innocent.¹⁸ Nor should it be surprising, given the blurred line between politics and religion, that the Shideng'an in the Northern City, which had been used after 1606 by sojourning degree-holders of the highest level for ceremonies of "releasing sentient beings," became the site for rituals of public mourning when the city of Liaoyang in the Northeast was lost to the Manchus in 1621.¹⁹

After the founding of the Donglin Academy in 1604 in Wuxi (Jiangsu) and with the escalating political opposition in central China, some scholars reasserted the claim that academy grounds—not temples—were the most appropriate places for concerned and educated men to gather and to talk about serious issues. In 1620, after the death of the Wanli emperor, a number of men associated with the Donglin cause returned to Peking in hope of serving under a more appreciative ruler. And for a few years they enjoyed another interval when they could flex their political muscles. Through these attempts we can appreciate the potential for action within the Ming system.

Zou Yuanbiao and Feng Congwu, two former capital censors associated with the Donglin cause, had spent several decades out of favor in their home counties, lecturing at academies there. Once back in Peking, eschewing a Buddhist setting but looking for a place to continue their teaching—there being no academies here yet—the two men first held lectures in the City-god temple in the Northern City. In the autumn of 1622, when conditions seemed favorable, they established the Premier (Shoushan) Academy by pur-

17. P. Wu 1990:153–54; *DMB* 141, 1272–75; S. Hsu 79.

18. As discussed in Chapter 6. Yuan Zhongdao 2:72; *DJ* 1:35–36; *JWK* 53:847; *DMB* 1635–36; Yuan Hung-tao 1978:105–6. The fact that poetry clubs were banned repeatedly during the first century of Qing rule (Kwan 225) suggests that Chen Hongshou's immediately post-1644 painting of this group had both emotional and political weight.

19. It is unclear to me who sponsored these rites. See *DJ* 4:155, editors' comment on poem by Tan Zhenmo.

chasing a private home inside the Xuanwu Gate, immediately adjacent to the Jesuit residence and church. There Zou, a follower of Wang Yangming, lectured to interested scholars. The academy survived for twenty months. It was then closed by the eunuch Wei Zhongxian, who by 1624 had moved into full ascendancy and was fiercely routing his Donglin critics and rivals. The academy's tablets and books were burned and the founding stele in the hand of Dong Qichang was smashed.²⁰

Although some calm was restored in the 1630s, the lone individual was emblematic of the unorganized, heroic, and impotent political action of that decade: Yang Guangxian before the walls of the Forbidden City, carrying his coffin as he hand-delivered a written attack on corruption near the throne, well-wishers throwing poems of support into it as he walked.²¹

During these years, other less well known shoots of politico-religious activism were sprouting, adding their sharp shafts to the dangerous terrain of the capital. The Peking region figured importantly in the emergence of the new Ming-Qing style of lay Buddhism that the state eventually called by the generic term "White Lotus teachings" (Bailianjiao).²² The sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century preachers of these new religions were active in northern China, and many found patrons and followers in Peking.²³ Indeed, these religions reflected and helped strengthen the cultural ties between the capital and the surrounding region. At the same time, legal prohibitions increasingly defined them as heterodox, and believers had more and more difficulty installing their deities openly in temples. Their serious commitment made sectarians willing to defy social convention and political proscription,

20. *DJ*4:149–152; *JWK* 49:774–78. Feng Congwu was a *jinshi* of 1589; as one of the donors for the 1591 Guandimiao stele written by Dong Qichang, he may have been the one to invite Dong to write out the text for the academy's founding inscription (composed by the then grand secretary and sympathizer, Ye Xianggao). The building and site were turned into a calendrical bureau in 1629 where the Jesuit Adam Schall and his associates worked until and beyond the end of the dynasty. *JWK* 49:774–78; *DJ*4:149–152; Dunne 202.

21. Though seized and exiled, Yang survived to have a second career during the Qing as the enemy of Jesuit astronomers. Zurndorfer; *ECCP* 889–90.

22. See ter Haar 1992; his discussion (196–238) stressed the commonalities with rather than the differences from popular lay Buddhism. Despite the stigma attached to the name "White Lotus," so well spelled out by ter Haar, I have found no more useful appellation for distinguishing a religious tradition that I see as different (by its cluster of patriarchs, books, beliefs, and organization) from both preceding and contemporaneous popular religions. Even ter Haar has suggested that the term "new style White Lotus teachings" might be acceptable (114–15).

23. Although our knowledge of particular individuals is still skimpy, there is now a substantial literature on the early history of this religious tradition. The reader should consult in particular the works of Daniel Overmyer, Sawada Mizuhō, and Barend ter Haar.

and, in the extremes to which they were willing to go, these believers show us other possibilities for action normally latent or suppressed.

Patriarch Luo Qing, who appears to have been the earliest of this wave of preachers, came from Shandong and was active up and down the Grand Canal; after his death in 1527 he was buried in Miyun county, only 80 kilometers northeast of Peking, and the grave was maintained thereafter by his descendants.²⁴ In the 1550s, Li Bin preached the Way of Yellow Heaven beyond the Great Wall more than 150 kilometers northwest of Peking, and his disciples and descendants continued that sect.²⁵ In the 1570s and 1580s, Guiyuan, the Baoming temple nun from the near suburbs of Peking, produced a set of scriptures reminiscent of Luo Qing's "Five Books in Six Volumes" and enjoyed the patronage of the court elite.²⁶

As these preachers became more successful, the state took notice and moved against them. In 1579, Wang Duo, a charismatic religious teacher from Wuqing county (60 kilometers southeast of Peking), led his followers to the mountains and built a lavish belvedere at the Shijing temple at Fangshan. When one of his followers, fearing discovery, informed on him to the eunuch-run Eastern Depot, Wang Duo was arrested and his "wizardly" (*yao*) writings were denounced.²⁷ In the 1580s, followers of Patriarch Luo from Shandong used connections to try to present a copy of their scripture to the emperor—hoping for protection from the top—but they were arrested instead.²⁸

Many sectarians sought connections with the court, even though it was a source of danger as well as security. The man later known as Patriarch Han Piaogao of the Hongyang sect came to Peking in 1594 and, through contacts in the imperial household, boldly cultivated eunuch and other highly placed patrons there. One of them, the Dingguo duke Xu Wenbi, supported both Han (in 1594) and Guiyuan (in 1584 and 1604).²⁹

Wang Sen, another disciple of Guiyuan, was perhaps the most successful lay preacher of his time, with large networks of followers in the capital region, especially in the counties east of Peking near his home. And he too had pupils among the eunuchs who were part of his social world. Arrested

24. Overmyer 92–102; YFD 276–80, QL 11/7/16. The grave was still being visited two centuries later: GZD-MM 451:11.

25. Shek 1982; also Stulova; Naquin 1985:256 n.2.

26. T. Li & Naquin 152–56, 162. Guiyuan had come to Peking from a county town about 150 kilometers to the east.

27. Qu Jiusi 1:31–32. In 1596, the temple would be patronized by the empress dowager: Peking Library #3887.

28. Qu Jiusi 1:29–30. The date of this event may have been 1582.

29. Shek 1980a:276–87; Sawada 1975:366–408. Han was from southern Beizhili. Xu was a descendant of Xu Da, and held positions in the capital's Five Military Commissions. See 1572 bell (in the Dazhongsi in 1981); MS 125:3732; DMB 606–7; Sawada 1975:74 wrongly identified him.

in 1595 and then released, he sought needed protection among the relatives of the empress. An imbroglio among his pupils in 1614 led to Wang's second arrest, and, despite the intervention of a highly placed patron, he eventually died in prison in 1619.³⁰ One of Wang's Peking pupils, a woman named Zhang, introduced to the master a recent convert who would later, as Patriarch Gongzhang, spread the teachings even further into central and western China.³¹

Imperial patronage of temples and clerics was running at high tide between the 1570s and 1610s, and the court elite threw itself enthusiastically into a range of religious activities among which "sectarian" ones were not always clearly distinguished. Peking had long been a center for the publication of religious books, and it should not be surprising that the same establishments were used for the printing of scriptures (called *baojuan*) from these new religions.³²

The "precious scrolls" written by late Ming preachers and their pupils were—like other palace editions—handsome affairs: substantial in size (often about thirty-five centimeters high and a third that width), crisply printed on good paper, and bound between brocade covers adorned with gold-leaf characters. Although the contents often promised a new world without hunger or disease where it would be springtime all the year long, the woodblock illustrations characteristically included a picture of an elaborately carved stele inscribed with the formulaic wish for imperial longevity, "Ten Thousand Years for His Majesty, Ten Thousand Ten Thousand Years."³³ Just as Empress Dowager Li supported a host of clerics in addition to Guiyuan, so other scriptures, not discernibly sectarian, were also being produced in the palace.³⁴ Madame Li's conviction that she was the Nine Lotus Bodhisattva undoubtedly came from a blend of influences to which distinctions of "heterodox" and "orthodox" were irrelevant.

And yet. Parallel developments encouraged polarization as well as religiosity. Repression of the new sects not only took place in the context of eunuch-official violence but was part of a growing state fear of the organized masses.

30. Yue Hesheng 650, 921, and 1015–63, esp. 1018, 1022, 1026–32. See also Asai 1978a (where Yue's work was brought to my attention). Asai 1978b:4 identified Sen's noble patron as one of the Yongnian earls, whose surname (Wang) Sen had adopted; the first earl (enfeoffed in 1577), Wang Wei, was the father of the current, childless empress (*MS* 107:3296–97, 114:3536); ter Haar 1992:227–33.

31. Yue Hesheng 1018; *Gu Fo Tianzhen kaozheng Longhua baojing* chaps. 16 and 24; Shek 1980a:287–96. Gongzhang, whose appellation was a simple code for the surname "Zhang," came from the area south of Peking but may have been a relative.

32. Sawada 1975:70–80; Shek 1980a:226; and note 29 above.

33. Stulova 5–8, 79–82, 126; Sawada 1975:70–71, 74, 369; T. Li & Naquin.

34. For five scriptures printed between 1579 and 1616: Zhou Shaoliang 1985, 1987.

The spread of these new religions, based on a belief in a deity called the Eternal and Venerable Mother (Wusheng Laomu) and her promises of salvation, stimulated both criticism by Buddhist clerics and prohibitions by the government. Millenarianism, long interwoven with lay piety and popular belief, was encouraged by explicit scriptural predictions of the calamities that would inaugurate the new kalpa era—"A black wind will fill the world, no moon to the east or west, no heaven to the south or north"—and of the savior who would protect believers and return them to their "original home."³⁵ These kinds of belief had the demonstrated potential—as did few ideologies current in this society—to call forth genuinely revolutionary behavior.

The Ming founder, famous for turning against the religious world that had partially spawned him and ever draconian, had outlawed "deviant paths" (*zuo dao*) as early as 1370 and established precedents for prosecuting religious teachers of all sorts.³⁶ In the early sixteenth century, as incidents mounted involving "magicians" and "wizards" who did not confine themselves to prayer and ritual but preached about disaster and great good fortune and drew large crowds of eager followers, alarmed officials posted notices reminding people of the law on deviant paths and made arrests when possible.

Many such teachers were active in the wider vicinity of Peking, and one had even brought his "White Lotus teachings" into the city in 1538.³⁷ These kinds of religious activities grew in scope and intensity at the end of the century, and their millenarian tendencies were increasingly manifest. Barend ter Haar has documented late Ming literati and clerical concern with the popularity of what they saw as dubious practices.³⁸

In 1615, after the security of the Forbidden City had been breached by a man with eunuch allies and alleged sectarian connections,³⁹ a new law against these religions was promulgated. Nine sect (*jiao*) names were listed as examples of deviant paths, and a characteristic devotion to sect teachers was singled out for especial condemnation ("They treat their own kin only lightly but attach great importance to their fellow sectarians. They would rather be executed than disobey the orders of their sect masters"). Officials in the Ministry of Rites also noted that "these sects flourish everywhere in the empire but are particularly active around the capital."⁴⁰

35. These predictions were commonplace in White Lotus scriptures, but I am quoting here from j. 11 of the 1523 *Huangji jindan jiuilian zhengxin guizhen huanxiang baojuan*.

36. *Da Ming Lu*: 11:34, *Rites*:27; ter Haar 1992:124.

37. I refer to the case of Tianyuan. Sakai 1960:457-60; ter Haar 1992:139-47; *MSL-JJ* 218:4466.

38. ter Haar 1992:chap. 6.

39. Sakai 1961; ter Haar 1992:221; *JWK* 35:542; *CH*-7:554-55. This incident was also connected with court intrigue surrounding the heir apparent.

40. This law has been often quoted; I have here followed Shek 1982:231. The original, which I have consulted, may be found at *MSL-WL* 533:18-19.

Government fears were amply realized in the summer of 1622, when the followers of one son of Wang Sen and his disciple, Xu Hongru, rose up in western Shandong and central Beizhili. Their rising took half a year to suppress and demonstrated clearly the threat to the state that this religion could pose.⁴¹ One could even argue that this uprising decisively tipped the balance toward court hostility. Even though the Ming throne was preoccupied with more serious challenges in the 1620s and 1630s, it put the legal precedents for formal prohibitions firmly in place. Thereafter, both sectarian religions and the laws against them remained an enduring part of the society of Peking, the surrounding region, and (as such beliefs spread) much of the empire.

The increasingly stringent prohibitions of sectarianism, like the simultaneous repression of Confucian political activism, should be understood in the context of unsettling intellectual and religious innovation and diversification. Increasingly lively impulses to organize thus met with state hostility on many fronts. In the capital, prestigious leadership made some new kinds of organizing permissible, but rivalry among elites undermined the development of sturdy institutions for assembly. Bureaucrats moved against sectarians protected by the court elite, while eunuchs lashed out at scholar-officials; none held power long enough to make repression thoroughgoing or a reform of the system possible. (In the eighteenth century, Qianlong was more effective against both kinds of challenges to imperial authority.)

One term linked all of these activities: *hui*. Its central meaning was “assembly” but it could be used both as a verb (“to assemble”) and a noun (“an assembly”). When an assembly was regular and organized, *hui* could mean “an association.”⁴² In the eyes of the government, all assemblies were dangerous—as indeed they still are viewed today. The early Ming code had prohibited shamans along with proponents of the White Lotus sect “and such *hui*,” people who “burned incense and drew together a group [*ji zhong*], gathering [*ju*] by night and dispersing by day.” Even ordinary religious processions to welcome the gods were punishable on the same principle. The 1615 prohibition on sects tightened up on religious organizing in general, targeting roaming monks who “assembled a group” (*ju zhong*) and “held rotating meetings” (*lun hui*), and people who delighted in private meetings (*si hui*).⁴³ Al-

41. Asai Motoi 1978a; *DMB* 588–89. There was another short-lived sectarian rising in the mountains 220 kilometers east of Peking in 1630. Naquin 1986:229.

42. Early on, *hui* had had implications of face-to-face meetings (sometimes including dining), of strong ties, of alliances, and of discussions. Other words of assembly (such as *ji*) lacked this implication of staying together after coming together. *Hanyu da cidian* 5:782–83.

43. *Huidian* 1587:165:848; *Da Ming Lu*: 11:34; *MSL-WL* 533:10094–95.

though these laws were difficult to enforce, they clearly stigmatized *hui*. As we shall see, those who organized therefore attempted to make it clear that their assemblies were good by prefixing words such as *yi* (charitable), *shan* (philanthropic), and *sheng* (sagely, holy), or by adding a legitimizing suffix such as *guan* (lodge).

Neither elite leadership nor pious religious motives offered assemblies and associations full protection against court or bureaucratic hostility. Yet one type actually flourished in late Ming Peking. I refer to temple associations, whose inclusive nature and orientation around cults and festivals allowed them to knit people together in relative safety. We will concentrate on these organizations in the rest of this chapter.

Religious associations created for the purpose of lay donations to temples were hardly new in the Ming. Such groups—first termed *she*—had been an important expression of popular piety since at least the medieval period.⁴⁴ In the absence of enough information to trace the pre-Ming development of this phenomenon in north China, however, it seems best simply to think of the religious associations of the Ming-Qing period as a later manifestation of earlier impulses toward lay participation in the merit-making clerical life, differently named and (some of them) differently organized. The most salient development may have been the greatly reduced role of the clergy. In late Ming Peking, many associations were not led by or intended to benefit monks or nuns but created by devotees themselves and directed toward gods and temples.

Let us begin with the sixteenth-century phase of this process by looking first at the unstructured collectivities of pious donors, then at named groups and their activities.

COLLECTIVE PIETY

Throughout the Ming, Peking residents pooled their resources in order to contribute to temples. During the two centuries after 1420, there were (at least) 109 stone stelae that recorded the names of numerous patrons.⁴⁵ Of the temples to which the stelae were given, about half were within the walls, half were in the suburbs. These acts of patronage took place fairly regularly between 1440 and 1640 but were concentrated in the middle of the fifteenth century (when many new temples were built) and again in the Wanli reign

44. E.g., Gernet 259–77; ter Haar 1992:28–43; Ch'en 1973:210–12, 281–94. But also Yü 1981:75.

45. I counted the inscriptions that listed more than twenty names and excluded the (few) without names. As with other numbers in this book, these totals have a spurious precision. Many inscriptions were in poor condition; it was much easier to count the names than to read them, and some estimates had to be approximate. I tried to err on the conservative side.

(50 percent after 1550). Most of these stelae were set up by eunuchs, sometimes in combination with (palace) women or monks. In all, the names of some 31,840 donors were listed, of which 3,440 were women.⁴⁶

It is not clear that we can call any of these collectivities “groups.”⁴⁷ The language of the inscriptions did not usually suggest formal connections, and information about the principal donors eclipsed that about the others. In consequence, only a few answers are possible to the question of what, precisely, the relationships were among those whose names filled the back of these great stones.

Many stelae commemorated the collective action of people who came from the same workplace but jointly donated money to a temple somewhere else.⁴⁸ The Shoumingsi was in northern Peking near the outer workshops of the Directorate of Imperial Regalia. In 1513 two eunuchs organized a restoration. They gathered contributions first from their superiors (6 men in their own directorate, and 2 others), then from their peers in their office (136 men), and then from their subordinates. In all, some 700 men contributed. Although the highest-ranking eunuchs often claimed credit for these acts of philanthropy, and although donations from subordinates may have been more expected than volunteered, such stelae suggest that the initiative came from the middle ranks.⁴⁹

In many cases, the relationships among patrons are frustratingly unclear. Were some “groups” of donors made up of highly-placed eunuchs (linked by friendship?) and their subordinates? A rebuilding of the Shanguosi in the southern suburbs was begun in 1464 by eunuchs from the Directorate of Palace Delicacies, and two stelae recorded the ongoing construction in 1483. One listed 113 eunuchs from that directorate who, together with 84 of their attendants, gave money; the other stele named 139 eunuchs who came from three different offices, another 192 more lowly eunuchs whose workplace was not specified, 19 members of the Imperial Bodyguard, 96 monks from two clerical generations, 157 women (probably palace employees), and 33 miscellaneous others. Altogether 833 people.⁵⁰ Might this be an assemblage that resulted from a fund drive among people very loosely connected? Dif-

46. Of the 109 stelae, 80 percent recorded temple foundings, and 90 (also 80 percent) were set up by eunuchs. The average number of eunuchs per stele was 289; the average number of women was 118.

47. The word “group,” often used casually in English, implies tighter connections and more permanence than the facts warrant in the Peking case. I have tried to use it carefully.

48. *BJTB* 51:174–75, 51:197, 54:4–5, 55:122–23, 56:109–10. For temples inside the workplace, see Chapter 6.

49. *BJTB* 54:4–5.

50. *BJTB* 52:57–58; Field Museum #955, #960, #961, #963. Similarly, the twenty-six eunuchs who contributed to the rebuilding of one hall at the suburban Jietan monastery in 1564 came from five different eunuch-run directorates: *BJTB* 56:114.

ferent surnames were represented and, as with most stelae, residential or familial ties were not obvious.⁵¹

Another kind of “group” captured on stela inscriptions consisted of devout lay people. Their seriousness and some measure of connection among them were reflected in the use of what Barend ter Haar termed “religious affiliation characters” in their names; the donor lists (like the good works themselves) thus testified to piety as well as generosity.⁵² Examples from Peking date from the early and middle Ming; I have seen eleven instances between 1444 and 1520.⁵³

Most of these donors were women, virtually all of whom took the character *miao* (marvelous) in their names, a practice of some antiquity based on the associations between female piety, Guanyin, and the story of Princess Miaoshan.⁵⁴ Each instance usually involved substantial numbers of women (up to about 150), always in combination with an equal or larger number of eunuchs. In a few cases we can associate these women with the palace, and because it is difficult to imagine who else would be so closely associated with eunuchs, I hypothesize that these all were maidservants and wetnurses.

An inscription commemorating the addition of new halls to the Baiyunguan in the 1420s–1440s likewise listed heterogeneous but pious donors: a few eunuchs (listed first), several members of the nobility including the brother and nephew of the current empress dowager, two dozen capital military officials, seventy-some “ordinary gentlemen” (*shu shi*), eighty-eight daoists from the monastery itself, and twenty-two women who used *miao* in their names.⁵⁵ In at least two other cases, men also had names that shared the character *fu* (blessing).⁵⁶ We should thus probably take such names as no more than indicators of a generalized lay piety. Were these “groups”? Only

51. For an exception, see *BJTB* 56:60, where many of the contributors as well as the chief donor (a eunuch) were surnamed Li.

52. ter Haar 1992:35, 39–40. This phenomenon was common in the lay Buddhism of the late Ming in central China: Yü 1981:92.

53. *BJTB* 51:10, 51:121–22, 51:128, 51:159–60, 52:16–17, 52:153–54, 53:86, 54:64; Peking Library #7725; Field Museum #963; *JWK* 99:1649. The only examples of the use of *miao* that I noticed after this date were by the court women who patronized the Baomingsi nuns in the 1570s. T. Li & Naquin 174.

54. ter Haar 1992:40; Yü forthcoming; chap. 8.

55. In 1448 when the throne donated a set of the Daoist Canon to the temple, another 75 women (with *miao* in their names), 105 men, and a dozen or so others who were physicians from counties in north China subscribed. *BJTB* 51:121–22, 51:159–60; *JWK* 94:1582.

56. The renovation of the Yonglongsi in 1459, initiated by monks, had the assistance of nine hundred lay people, half of them men (with names like Wu Fushan), and half of them women (like Wei Miaochang). Similar names and numbers characterized the patrons of the

if we understand the term to mean a temporary association such as might result from a money-raising initiative.

Some “groups” provided services for a larger community and may actually have assembled. The Zhengjuesi had been founded in 1468 by a devout layman, and the building was donated by a eunuch. In 1514, some fifty eunuchs and seventy women who used pious names contributed money so that the temple monks could perform a grand round of sutra chanting.⁵⁷ In 1570, a monk organized lay people to distribute tea to pilgrims twice a month in the Dongyuemiao and led four groups (*zhong*) in reciting the Buddha’s name on two other days.⁵⁸ Venerable Buddhist practices provided even more formal models. In 1589, a substantial monastery near the lakes began hosting an Amitabha Assembly (Mituohui) at which several hundred eunuchs, a hundred monks, and a few women from the palace gathered, circumambulated the altar, recited Amitabha’s name three thousand times (in order to ensure rebirth in his Western Paradise), and bowed before his image.⁵⁹

Other patrons used instead the term *yihui* (charitable association), implying a greater coherence as well as a right-minded concern with the welfare of a larger community. In some cases, the name seems to have meant rather little. For example, eighty-some eunuchs funded an *yihui* for a Medicine-king temple in 1596, but their action seems to have been no more than an ordinary attempt to express thanks for cures and to create an endowment for the temple; no signs of permanent organization were present.⁶⁰ Other “charitable associations,” especially those used to fund cemeteries, reflected more enduring eunuch-managed projects. In 1594, typically, one eunuch and “his colleagues and family members and friends” formed an *yihui* and donated money for mutual assistance and the purchase of a common graveyard.⁶¹ These kinds of *hui* were relatively rare, however, and different from the temple association, to which we now turn.

Baomingsi. *BJTB* 52:16–17; “Zongpai” stele (at site in 1987); T. Li & Naquin 174. For another example where people with the *fu* and *miao* characters were mixed in with others without them (mostly eunuchs): *BJTB* 52:153–56.

57. *BJTB* 60:135–36; *JWK* 53:847–48. The reign name for this Ming stele is unreadable, but from other references to the man who wrote it, I have dated it as 1514, possibly 1522.

58. *BJTB* 57:188–89, 57:196, 59:124. Their 1590 stele had some two thousand subscribers (eunuchs, monks, and women). They gave out tea on the first and the fifteenth, and recited on the second and the sixteenth.

59. *BJTB* 58:91–92. These *hui* had a long history.

60. *BJTB* 58:66–67. For another example: *BJTB* 55:180–81, 59:51–52.

61. Xu Daoling 1:145; *BJTB* 57:64, 58:53. For other *yihui* for eunuch cemeteries: *BJTB* 57:103–4; 1548 (JJ *wushen*) Guanghuasi stele (in the Wutasi). *Yizhong* became the standard term for community-run charity graveyards. The eunuch cemetery that grew up around the grave of Gang Tie—from no later than 1551—was funded by a group called the Black Hill Association (Heishanhui). Eunuchs from the Silijian (where Gang had served) tended his grave, restored the temple, and were buried there themselves. *BJTB* 55:157, 58:25.

TEMPLE ASSOCIATIONS

During the last century of Ming rule, a more formal kind of collectivity emerged in the historical record and came to play a role of considerable importance in the life of Peking. These were the *shenghui*—holy or religious associations.

This term appeared in Peking in 1578, was in regular use by the 1590s, and endured for the next three and a half centuries.⁶² In general, the *shenghui* was a lay group organized around regular visits to a specific temple for the purpose of worship and support. Groups had names that reflected their particular gift or temple service and they were managed by designated officers; their primary purpose was not to support the performance of rituals by clergy.

These groups were obviously part of the upsurge in heightened religiosity and social activism taking place in Peking and elsewhere in the late Ming.⁶³ But were they actually new? My earliest evidence of their existence dates from the 1550s. How to evaluate the preceding silence? As I will argue, documentation from the mid-sixteenth century suggests that high-status eunuchs recorded during this period certain associational practices previously established (although perhaps not widespread) among people who did not leave records. And yet, because the names used for these known groups were initially varied and only later became more standardized, it is possible (even likely) that they did not long antedate the 1550s.

Once established as a prestigious activity, the *shenghui*—like the *huiguan* but unlike the more vulnerable academies—grew thereafter in scope and importance, experiencing an upward trajectory straight through to the nineteenth century. For the moment, let us track the seeming emergence of the temple association out of the other less-structured forms of religious action. By doing so, it should be possible to illustrate another way in which religion provided a venue for legitimate social assembly and contributed to the particular flavor of Peking culture.

Even before the name *shenghui* appeared, the older term *yihui* had begun to be used differently. In 1552 at the official temple to Guan Yu, there was an organized group who called themselves the “Guanwang Temple Charity As-

62. I know little about the early history of this term; the *Hanyu da cidian* did not include it. See Yü 1981:45 for a Lotus Flower Shenghui organized in 1089 in Jiangsu by a monk, *Xijin* 217 for a vague use of the term in late Yuan Peking, and *BJTB* 60:135–36 for a Huayan Shenghui formed in Peking in 1514 to support the recitation of sutras by monks. See ter Haar 1995:17–23 for other kinds of Song, Yuan, and Ming gatherings.

63. For associations elsewhere: Yü 1981:chap. 4; ter Haar 1992:198–200; Brook 1993:103–7.

sociation” (*yihui*). They already had association leaders (*huishou*) who presented the god with a hat, clothing, incense, and candles, invited philanthropic gentlemen (*shanshi*) from different urban wards to participate, collected the donations, and every year on the god’s birthday “with shared sentiments, happily assisted” with the celebrations. This group continued such activities for another fourteen years and had two other stones carved in 1559 and 1566. Eunuchs were the principal members of this association, and the 1566 stele was composed by the Shuntian prefect.⁶⁴

Although not called *shenghui*, these Guanwang associations emerged into the historical record well developed, an indication that an established practice was being recorded for the first time. It may be that eunuchs—long involved in religion, as we have seen—began to imitate the organizational practices of other social strata and then commemorated them in the expensive stone medium with which they (and not others) had been accustomed to show off their piety.

In 1578 at a temple in the mountains west of Peking, an iron bell was donated by 221 people who identified themselves as the Elegant Mountain Shenghui. These people had “organized” (*tuanjie*) in order to “present incense” (come on pilgrimage) to this temple in the fourth month. Made up in part of family groups, they had some forty association leaders and ninety association followers (*huimo*).⁶⁵ We will examine later the cult to Our Lady of Mount Tai with which this pilgrimage was associated, but we must first turn to Peking’s Temple to the Eastern Peak. There the *shenghui* next appeared, were established, and flourished.

Rising prominently from the north China plain, Mount Tai had been treated as a sacred site since ancient times. The cult of the God of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue), Emperor of Humane Sageliness Equal to Heaven, as he came

64. *BJTB* 56:40, 56:121. There was also a stele from the fifth month of 1538 (shortly after the god’s elevation to the rank of king) with a list of names on the back; it unfortunately does not survive but might testify to similar activities as early as that year: Zhang Jiangcai & Xu Dao-ling 57. By 1596, a group was organized to come to a suburban Guanwang temple on 5/15: *BJTB* 58:64–65. The prefect may have been involved with the association because the temple received some modest state support, but a similar 1560 inscription by an earlier prefectural official suggests instead that the donors sought a token of government approval. I know of only three stelae set up by Shuntian prefects in Ming Peking (unconnected with the state religion), all in the previous century and quite different from this one: *BJTB* 51:106–7; *JWK* 103:1705; Shen Bang 19:197.

65. Shoudu Library #873. The bell was in the Jinxian’an, a mountain temple. Fengkuan (40–41) identified the group as the “Taishan Incense Presenting Holy Association” but those precise words did not appear on the bell. “Elegant Mountain” (*Xiushan*), a name used twice on the bell, may have referred to Miaofengshan, a developing pilgrimage mountain close by.

to be called, and his temple at the foot of the mountain developed in the medieval period. Dongyue temples were found throughout the empire. They were usually urban and limited in their distribution; by no later than the early fourteenth century, the god's birthday was vigorously celebrated.⁶⁶ There was a single temple in Ming Peking: a large complex outside the Chaoyang Gate on the road to the eastern suburbs.

This temple had been built in the 1320s for the Daoist Celestial Masters of Jiangxi, and the god rather quickly earned a reputation for efficacy. An account of local customs from about 1350 described how during the third month the streets were full of pilgrims coming to worship and peddlers selling incense, culminating in the celebrations on the god's birthday on the twenty-eighth day.⁶⁷ There was a substantial renovation at imperial initiative in 1447, but other information is scant until the mid-sixteenth century.⁶⁸ (See Figure 7.1.)

In 1560, the record shows not only activity but organization, not just assemblies but associations. A large stele of that year commemorated "more than ten years" of attendance at the god's birthday celebrations by what was known as a "philanthropic organization" (*shanhui*) made up of some 46 eunuchs and 212 women. All were designated "association leaders." They presented the temple with new clothing for the images. The deputy prefect had been invited to compose the inscription. A 1607 stele claimed even earlier organizational activity: this group had been, they asserted, making their gifts and funding a *jiao* on the god's birthday for more than eighty years—that would be since the 1520s.⁶⁹

In 1570, a group of 350 eunuchs and women (not the same people as had earlier been active) raised and donated money to renovate the Dongyuemiao halls; they look rather like the sort of nongroup collectivity discussed earlier except for the names of six association leaders (*huishou*), a title that here indicated organization.⁷⁰ In 1585, a group calling itself the "Charity Association for Offering Incense" (Gongfeng Xianghuo Yihui) set up a stele. On it, they noted their five-year-old practice of raising money on a monthly basis to be used for clothing and other necessities for the god on his birthday. Again, eunuchs' names were listed (no women), several of whom had titles.⁷¹

66. Chinese emperors had exercised their powers of enfeoffment and made the god a king (Tianqi Wang) in 745, and an emperor (Tianqi Rensheng Di) in 1013. *JWK* 88:1484–91. For the classic study: Chavannes. For popular celebrations in the Yuan: Idema.

67. *Xijin* 54–55; *JWK* 88:1489–90. No mention was made of organized groups.

68. *JWK* 88:1490–91. Excepting three Yuan and one Ming imperial stelae, the only stele before 1560 was dated 1524 and appears to concern a pilgrimage association.

69. *BJTB* 56:44–45, 58:192. A now badly eroded 1524 stele (which listed no donors) may have contained evidence about these actions. *BJTB* 54:108.

70. *BJTB* 56:168–69.

71. *BJTB* 57:134–35.

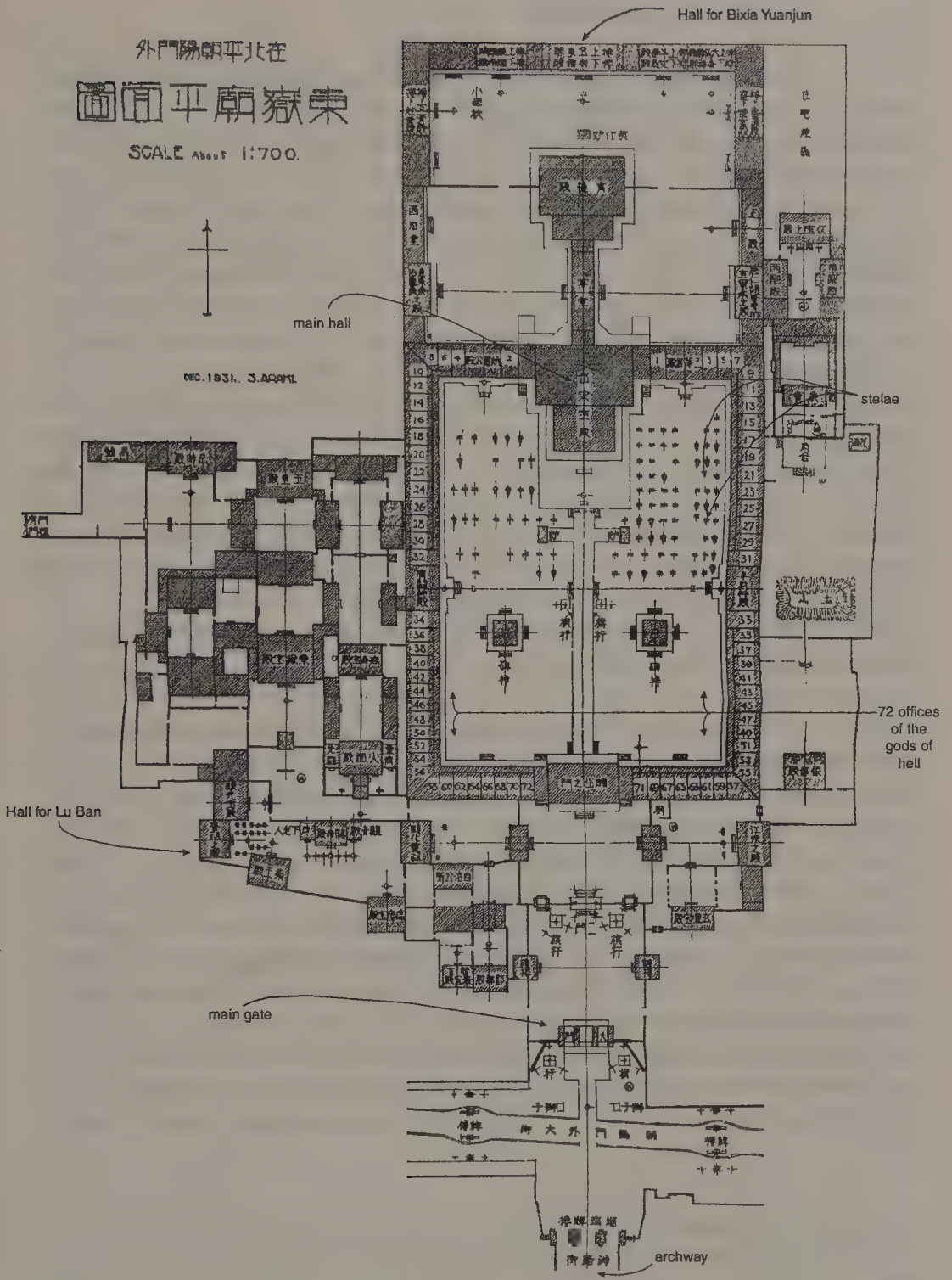


Figure 7.1. Dongyuemiao in 1931

The Temple of the Eastern Peak did not achieve the size and shape shown here until after the fire of 1698 and Qianlong's 1761 restoration.

SOURCE: Oyanagi.

The first use of the term *shenghui* at this temple appeared on a 1587 stele set up by the “Religious Association of the Temple of the Eastern Peak” to commemorate three years of gifts for the god’s birthday. Created by eunuchs, this group used no organizational titles.⁷²

During the 1560s–1570s, the activities of the religious associations at the Dongyuemiao were contemporaneous with but did not supersede less-organized involvement in the temple by other court personnel.⁷³ After 1585, however—and the change was quite abrupt—almost all the Dongyuemiao stelae were set up by religious associations (the exceptions commemorated imperial gifts).⁷⁴ And there were lots of stelae. Between 1585 and 1640, twenty-six such inscribed stones were placed in the temple courtyard, an average of one every two years, more in number and far more in frequency than in any other Ming building in Peking. Indeed, this kind of religious association appears to have been quite particular to this temple and its Tai-shan cults. Moreover, the inscriptions indicate that during the latter sixteenth century these organizations were evolving and becoming specialized, perhaps under the influence of their eunuch sponsors.

We see, for example, a shift from an initial variety of types of names—a kind of instability in self-characterization—to a preference for the single term *shenghui*. Between 1548 and 1596, seven different kinds of *yihui* (charity associations) were recorded. Thereafter, the term *yihui* disappeared in this context. *Shanhui* was used in 1570 and 1629, and then it virtually vanished (in this context) until the nineteenth century;⁷⁵ instead, the prefix *shan*, indicating philanthropic virtue, became commonplace in terms for devotees and patrons of associations: *shanshi* (gentry), *shanren* (people), *shanzhong* (group), *shanxin* (believers), *shanzhe* (ones), and *shannan xinnü* (virtuous men and devoted women). After 1578, the single term *shenghui* dominated and had a consistent meaning—a structured, ongoing religious group organized around a temple festival. (By at least 1624, *sheng* [holy] was being used interchangeably with *sheng* [victorious, splendid].⁷⁶) As such it continued thereafter with consistency and frequency into the twentieth century.

The term *zhong* (group), which normally meant monastic communities, was frequently extended to lay people in this seventeenth-century context.

72. Peking Library #1102.

73. E.g., the 1560 donations by the eunuch Ji Zhuo, and those from the Empress Dowager Li in 1576: *BJTB* 56:50, 57:40–41.

74. *BJTB* 58:34, 58:186–87, and an incense burner donated in 1587 by eunuchs not in an association.

75. It was used for two groups associated with the Dongyuemiao. *BJTB* 56:44–45, 60:21–22.

76. This *shenghui* might be translated as “festive” or “celebratory association.” P. Y. Wu 1992:68 translated *sheng* as “unexcelled,” which may also be appropriate here. For both characters for *sheng* in one inscription, see *BJTB* 59:154–55 (from 1624).

In Peking in the early and middle Ming the phrase *zhongshan* (group of philanthropists) had occasionally been used to refer to eunuch donors, but it did not imply that an organization linked them.⁷⁷ In time, carrying the legitimacy of Buddhist and Daoist communities, this phrase would become the standard generic term for lay members of religious associations.

Within these groups (and we can use the term with some confidence here), the designations *huishou* (association leader), *huizhong* (association members), and *zhongshan* (group of philanthropic ones) appeared with little precision but great frequency, coexisting with the older language of “pious officials” and “pious women.” Some groups had only a few *huishou*, half a dozen or a dozen people who might actually have shouldered responsibility or may just have been the most prominent donors. One even had the more task-specific *huitou* (association heads), *guanshi* (managers), and *xiangtou* (pilgrimage heads), but in this period complexity was rare. Many groups simply employed the term *huishou* to refer to all participants (as in the 290 “*huishou* who presented offerings” in one group, or the “*huishou* pious women” of another). One association designated twenty-five men as “*huishou* who distribute tea.”⁷⁸ (These terms appear to have been current in other parts of the empire, although the undeveloped state of our knowledge does not permit serious comparisons.⁷⁹)

After 1600, the names of the groups that were involved with the temple of the Emperor of the Eastern Peak became increasingly specific, usually deriving their appellations from the temple itself or their gifts to it: Long Sticks of Incense Shenghui or White Paper Shenghui. These groups were formed not for one act of philanthropy but for gifts that were to be made annually over a period of years, eventually decades, and then generations.

More than 15,000 people contributed to the twenty-one instances of donations recorded to the Dongyuemiao after 1560; one-third were women, and the average stele had some 760 patrons. Unfortunately, no information was given about the amounts donated. The contributors were largely the same constellation of eunuchs, women, and members of the Imperial Bodyguard that were so active in founding other temples at this same time and in previous centuries (in those cases, collectively but not using group names).⁸⁰

77. *BJTB* 51:99, 54:4–5, 55:71–72.

78. *BJTB* 56:168–69, 57:134–35, 57:177–78, 57:187, 59:124, 60:17–18.

79. Four of the Ming stelae at Wudangshan transcribed and studied by John Lagerwey seem to be from pilgrimage groups and used the terms *xiangzhang* (incense chief) (1581, 1612), *huishou* (1583), and *xiangshou* (1597). Information about these stelae is contained in the appendix to the conference paper version of Lagerwey 1992.

80. Liu Houzi; *BJTB* 56:168–69, 57:40–41, 57:134–35, 57:177–78, 57:187, 57:196, 58:2–3, 58:5, 58:34, 58:21–22, 58:23–24, 58:36–37, 58:186–87, 58:192, 59:124, 59:117–18, 60:21–22, 60:24–25, 60:38–39, 60:41–42, 60:56; Shoudu Library #297; 1587 Dongyuemiao incense burner located in Baiyunguan in 1988; Peking Library #1102.

Women seem to have been particularly eager participants in *shenghui*. Scholars and officials with *jinshi* degrees were enlisted to compose or write the inscriptions, but most were less eminent than their counterparts on imperial stelae.

Through one group, responsible for seven stelae, we can get a better feel for these activities. Mr. Niu, from an Imperial Bodyguard family, had been in charge of the *shenghui* since the 1580s. In 1624 Niu turned its management over to his son and his wife. Their practice was to collect money from the participants and go to the Dongyuemiao every spring on 3/28 to celebrate the birthday of the Emperor of the Eastern Peak. They presented the temple with hats and robes for the images, a large (paper?) horse, a year-round supply of white paper-money, and other items for use in the shrines of the seventy-two officers of hell. They called their group the “Holy Association for Presenting White Paper for [Use during] the Four Seasons” (Si Ji Jingong Baizhi Shenghui). Unlike most groups that concentrated on the god’s birthday, this association provided assistance all year. (Perhaps a new development?) The donors included 42 eunuchs and some 600 women. In 1629 under the younger Mr. Niu, the same group set up a fancier stele, subscribed to by some 730 people, still mostly women but also including eunuchs. Three years later, the White Paper Association marked their ongoing vitality with another similar stele. The group was now close to 1,000 people, nearly all of them women. Moreover, additional titles (“assistant association head”) and a slightly more elaborate structure of responsibilities had been introduced.⁸¹

It is clear from the language of the Guanwang and Dongyue temple inscriptions that these religious associations took pride in the regularity and continuity of their devotions. Surviving for as little as three years or six years was considered an accomplishment, and erecting a stele was publicly justified as a way of perpetuating the collective activities.⁸² Both facts suggest something of the inherent fragility of these associations.

What exactly were the relationships among association participants? The sources do not yield a straightforward answer, but these groups appear to have been based on voluntary rather than ascriptional ties.

We should probably presume that family members acted together, but lists of donors did not highlight kinship ties. Men and women were listed separately, and Chinese surnames are insufficiently distinctive to allow even contemporary readers to match up husbands and wives. Occasionally, two brothers or a husband and wife were mentioned in the text, and sometimes large

81. *BJTB* 59:154–55, 60:17–18, 60:41–42. The association name was revived in the Qing (Chapter 14). Another group with a variant name but a different home location (but also in the eastern part of the Southern City) set up a stele in 1633: Shoudu Library #302.

82. For example: Peking Library #1102; *BJTB* 58:5, 58:21–22, 58:23–24.

numbers of people with one surname can be spotted among the donors.⁸³ But usually not. Information about women was minimal (usually only her own and her husband's surname), but we know little more about the men. As with the instances of collective piety on the part of eunuchs and palace women discussed earlier in this chapter, the pattern—when a pattern can be discerned—was one of diverse participants connected by no obvious ties.

In his “Miscellaneous Notes about My Office at Wanping,” Shen Bang, who was magistrate in Peking between 1590 and 1593, wrote explicitly about the recruiting methods at the Dongyuemiao and singled out residence as the common bond: “Every year the people, according to where they are living, gather their neighbors beforehand into an incense association [*ge sui qi di yu ji jinlin wei xianghui*] and give some money every month, which is then managed by the association head [*huitou*].”⁸⁴ Neighborhoods were surely an important basis for forming a *hui*, but not the only one.

Fortunately, the White Paper Association can tell us a bit more. In the first place, the female participants vastly outnumbered the men—not what one would expect from a neighborhood.⁸⁵ Moreover, participants came from different parts of the city. The first group leader known to us was in the Imperial Bodyguard, and the 1624 stele noted that donors came from “the Mingshi and other wards” (Mingshi was just inside and northeast of the Chongwen Gate in the Northern City). In 1632, the group was instead said to come from “the wards outside and southeast of the Chongwen Gate [in the Southern City].” Another White Paper group (an offshoot, perhaps?) also identified itself as from the Chongnan ward of the Southern City.⁸⁶ These new members were therefore not palace women or eunuchs, and not neighbors of other members, but people from other parts of town.

One inscription suggested a word-of-mouth dynamic that may have helped these groups grow and diversify: “We have already been doing this for five years,” the authors wrote, “and during that time the number of philanthropic gentlemen who have heard [*fengwen*] of our activities and joined us has risen steadily.” By 1640 a stele for another group could describe its members as “outer and inner nobles and officers [i.e., eunuchs], ordinary elites and ordinary people; from as near as the capital's market places, and as far away as remote villages.”⁸⁷ Clearly these were disparate individuals who chose to participate. Developments during the Qing confirm that a broadly based membership had become (if it had not always been) characteristic.

83. Some examples: *BJTB* 55:115, 56:44–45; Shoudu Library #742.

84. Shen Bang 17:167.

85. Shen Bang 17:167 mentioned exclusively women's associations (*furen hui*).

86. *BJTB* 59:154–55, 60:41–42; Shoudu Library #302. There were 500 women and 40 men in 1624.

87. *BJTB* 57:134–35; 61:19–20.

Like other lay organizations, *shenghui* were more expansive and open than clerical communities. A single donation was adequate for one-time membership. They were open to a broader public than the native-place or occupationally based guilds or lodges. They required much less commitment than the new sects or scholarly academies, although all were based on voluntary participation. These temple associations were, perhaps in consequence of the ease and legitimacy of membership, larger in size than anything else we have so far discussed, and they had more women members.

Nevertheless, it may have been because *shenghui* were not explicitly protected by the court or the government that they were only found at a few temples and did not become a widespread phenomenon during the Ming (or indeed during the Qing). Moreover, although these associations were capable of—and increasingly dedicated to—continuing action over many generations, they lacked sturdy mechanisms of continuity. By making temples their exclusive focus, *shenghui* also built on the fragile legitimacy of these religious institutions. And, unlike lodges (and lineages and temples themselves), they did not (as far as I can tell) own common property or have a corporate existence.

Like most of the organizations we have discussed, *shenghui* had highly placed sponsorship in the latter sixteenth century, but they seem to have been sufficiently and increasingly distant from the centers of power to have been spared involvement in the internecine struggles of the Wanli and Tianqi reigns. The literati elite found these organizations colorful but, preoccupied elsewhere, do not appear to have been deeply involved in them. The statutes in the Code forbidding processions—which could be applied to the *shenghui*—seem to have been ignored, even in Peking. Because these associations appeared (and surely were) quite distinct from the more dangerous millenarian groups of the time, they escaped comparably intense scrutiny.

Temple associations thus provided reasonably stable scaffolding for the creation of urban leaders and communities in late Ming Peking, on a par, perhaps, with the *huiguan*. Both—the one a vehicle for local men and women, the other for sojourning men—were dynamic parts of the burgeoning religious and associational activity of this era.

Temple associations were also fun, intended to turn holy days into holidays. They helped create and sustain expressions of piety and pleasure, and they focused such sentiments on particular places and particular times. The Dongyuemiao had been an important part of Peking life for many centuries, but through the efforts of these associations, it became more deeply embedded in the wider cultural and religious life of the capital. The birthday of its god had become a high point of an annual calendar of celebrations

that were essential to the city's public identity, and many sources attested to the festivities in the period from 1590 to 1640.⁸⁸

Dongyue's "stroll" (*you*) through city streets on the twenty-eighth day of the third month brought town and temple together. Along the (now unknown) processional route, celebrants welcomed (*ying*) the god: "Women fill the storied buildings, gentry and merchants [*shi shang*] fill the shops, while pilgrims and pedestrians fill the streets, all trying to watch." Visitors and pilgrims also packed the courtyards of the temple, pushing forward to petition the officers of hell in their small shrines and to pray to Dongyue himself in the great hall.

The smoke from incense, some burning in great coils hanging from the ceilings, filled the temple. By the main hall, there was a large suspended facsimile of a coin, round with a square hole in the middle: petitioners whose aim was good enough to toss real coins through the hole would, they believed, be granted their prayers for sons; the temple daoists stood by to shovel up the shower of money. Two very large basins held water that was said to cure blindness and other eye ailments, and many came to rinse their eyes there. Who could fail to notice the tall white stone stelae, planted in rows in the courtyard, at least thirty-four of them by the end of the Ming—finely carved and elaborately decorated, ranging from the humble (a meter or so in height) to the huge (up to three meters)? Most had been set up by *shenghui*.

The dozens of religious associations with their hundreds and hundreds of members were everywhere present. They had seen to it that the temple was suitably outfitted for the grand occasion: caps and robes, sashes and shoes, carriages, umbrellas, gold and silver vessels, tea cups, record books, brushes, ink, inkstones, rope for punishment, tallies, lanterns, incense, paper-money, and food offerings. "Whatever the gods needed, it was there." The groups also participated in the procession, and provided tea for the pilgrims.

The *shenghui* thus secured their place in Peking life by becoming one of the many layers of patronage of this great temple and, by their many services, an essential one. Simultaneously, their type of religious organization had been spreading laterally into other parts of the capital. It did so through a related cult to a deity who was both part of the Dongyuemiao and separately worshipped: Bixia Yuanjun.

PILGRIMAGE

One of the surprising aspects of the religious activity around the Dongyuemiao is that so little was seen elsewhere. The worship of Guandi, which

88. For the account that follows, I have drawn from the dozens of Ming inscriptions at this temple, not all of which have been cited here, as well as *Huidian* 1587:93:530; Shen Bang 17:167; Jiang Yikui 4:79; *DJ* 2:64–68; Liu Houzi 116–21; *STFZ* 1593:1:14–15; *DJ* 2:64.

in fact gave us our first glimpse of *shenghui* in the mid-sixteenth century, continued but did not (demonstrably) expand.⁸⁹ Under the eaves of the Dongyuemiao, however, the cult of another deity from Mount Tai had been growing increasingly independent. This female deity was the Heavenly Immortal and Holy Mother, Sovereign of the Clouds of Dawn, Tianxian Shengmu Bixia Yuanjun. Let us begin here with a few words about the god herself, and then turn to the religious associations formed to honor her.

In late Ming Peking, different stories were told about Bixia Yuanjun's identity.⁹⁰ A 1635 guidebook favored (and perpetuated) the story that stone figures of a "Golden Boy" and "Jade Woman" had stood before the god of Mount Tai in Han times, a millennium and a half earlier. Neglected over the centuries, the male figure had disintegrated and the female one had toppled into a pond. When Emperor Zhenzong of the Song had come to Mount Tai in 1008, he rested by the pond, saw the statue through the water, and had it removed, cleaned, and worshipped. She became known as the daughter of the mountain god.⁹¹

Discussions of this cult in Ming books and inscriptions made frequent mention of Mount Tai and the Emperor of the Eastern Peak, noting how Mount Tai was "revered the most among the five peaks" of the empire and emphasizing the orthodoxy of that worship ("not vulgar, not a deviationist or obscene cult").⁹² Given the lack of support for female deities in the state religion and the volatility of the White Lotus cult of the Eternal Mother in this period, the devotees of Bixia were probably wise to emphasize this connection.

Bixia Yuanjun was often called Heavenly Immortal and Holy Mother of the Summit of Mount Tai (Taishan Dingshang Tianxian Shengmu), Holy Mother of Mount Tai for short; her simpler and most colloquial appellation was Niangniang, "Our Lady."⁹³ Her temples often (always?) had a hall for an im-

89. The only example not so far cited was the use of the vague language of association ("those in the *hui*") in a 1592 stele for a suburban temple, set up by eunuchs and the empress dowager. *BJTB* 58:32-33.

90. For other versions contemporaneous to the Ming but not necessarily known in Peking: *Taishan zhi* 2:55-59; *Bixia Yuanjun huguo bimin puji baosheng miao jing*; Tan Qian 1656:6:2-3. For some twentieth-century guesswork: Gu Jiegang 1928:120-23.

91. *DJ* 3:132-33; Chavannes 30. This story was echoed in the Ming scripture cited in note 90. Emperor Song Zhenzong was also responsible for the empirewide promotion of Dongyue: Hymes 192.

92. *BJTB* 58:38, 58:89.

93. *DJ* 3:132-34; *BJTB* 59:166-67. I follow Glen Dudbridge with "Our Lady."

age of Dongyue and often were called *xinggong* (travel-palaces). In Peking, her temple incense was seen as “distantly separated from [that] of Mount Tai’s heights.”⁹⁴

The cult of Our Lady of Mount Tai was both historically later than and conceptually derived from the cult of the God of the Eastern Peak. Moreover, her cult, unlike his, was limited geographically to Shandong and its adjacent provinces. Initially, the male god may have enhanced the popularity of the female one; later, it was the other way around. Although Dongyue was still thought very efficacious in the latter part of the Ming, Bixia’s fame had increased to match his, and in the early Qing, she would virtually eclipse him within the north China region.

The two cults were, in their content, rather different. Dongyue, the Emperor of Humane Holiness Equal to Heaven, was imperial in his awesomeness, with power that was both ancient and pervasive (*weiweiran*).⁹⁵ His mountain was in the east, “the chief of the five peaks,” long patronized by emperors. The subordinate deities in his seventy-two offices of hell were stern judges, underworldly yin to his palpable yang, who kept track of and “evaluated one’s good or evil deeds,” deciding who would be punished in the afterworld.⁹⁶

Bixia, the Heavenly Mother, was thought to have a concern with children and capacity for *ci* (benevolence, mercy) because of her association with the east “where all births issue forth” and “where the ten thousand things are born.” A stele at one of her temples proclaimed: “The five peaks are all revered, but the Eastern Peak is revered the most in our age. Of the various Eastern Peak gods, the Heavenly Immortal Holy Mother is most revered by our age. How could this not be, when the east gives birth to everything and the ten thousand things are born from a mother?”⁹⁷

Images of the Holy Mother resembled both the Great Emperor of the Eastern Peak and the Jade Emperor. She sat in the same pose of authority, in formal robes, knees apart, feet showing, holding a tablet in her clasped hands; three or more birds decorated her hair. She was accompanied by companion deities who matched her in pose and headdress: (on her left hand) Yanguang Niangniang (Goddess of Eyesight), who held an eye, and (on her right) Zisun Niangniang (Goddess of Children), who held a small baby. They were sometimes accompanied by six others who were in charge of the stages of child-

94. *BJTB* 58:199–200; *DJ* 3:132–34. Some Bixia temples had the offices of hell particular to the Dongyue cult.

95. One 1590 stele likened Dongyue’s responsiveness to a “benevolent mother listening to her child,” a comment so out of keeping with the general tone of worship for this god that I suspect that Bixia Yuanjun was meant. *BJTB* 57:187.

96. *BJTB* 56:44–45, 57:196, 59:154–55.

97. *BJTB* 58:89; Shen Bang 17:168.



Figure 7.2. Bixia Yuanjun and Her Eight Companion Deities

Woodblock print, 57.8 by 60 centimeters.

SOURCE: Collection Zgainski, Museum of Far Eastern Art, Cologne, Germany. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Köln.

bearing—the initiation of pregnancy, nourishing the embryo, hastening birth, giving birth, nursing, avoiding smallpox, and so forth.⁹⁸ (See Figure 7.2.)

A separate study is needed to investigate the history of pilgrimage to Mount Tai and relate it to the popularity of the Holy Mother elsewhere in the em-

98. See A. Goodrich 1964:53–64, 257–58, plates XII, XIIIb. One early image of Bixia from Shandong was illustrated in Chavannes 34 and in Maspero, fig. 71. Using different materials,

pire.⁹⁹ For our purposes, it is enough to note that Taishan attracted so many pilgrims that in 1516 the Ming government started collecting a head tax at the foot of the mountain. Zhang Dai's account of his 1628 visit gave ample evidence of what P. Y. Wu has called "package tours" to the summit for pilgrims.¹⁰⁰ The growth of pilgrimage associations around temples to Dongyue and to Bixia in Peking, on the northern edge of the catchment area, was unquestionably part of this more general phenomenon, so much so that we may speak of them as Taishan-style religious organizations.

And when did the cult of Our Lady of Mount Tai spread to the capital? The inscription commemorating the 1447 rebuilding of the Peking Dongyuemiao does not mention a hall to her. The earliest-dated temple to her that I know of in Peking was built during the Tianshun reign (1457–1465). A 1524 stele in the Dongyuemiao, unfortunately in very poor condition, recorded an "account of ritual gifts [for] Taishan Bixia Yuanjun" on her birthday. So we may be confident that she was worshipped here by this date.¹⁰¹

Other temples were founded in the sixteenth century (especially in the suburbs), and by 1640 there were forty-eight temples to Bixia in the immediate Peking area (and many more in the countryside), as well as others where she was a secondary deity. Information on the history of these temples is skimpy, but about their festivals we know rather more, and from them we can see how well established this cult had become.

Already by the 1560s, there was a temple to Our Lady a few kilometers outside the northwestern gate of Peking near the Gaoliang Bridge and a scenic stream already popular with capital residents. Here the god had shown a special willingness to grant sons. Celebrations of the Shakyamuni Buddha's birthday on the eighth day of the fourth month initiated a ten-day period, through Bixia's birthday on the eighteenth, when the temple was jammed with pilgrims. Acrobatic troupes and other performers came to play for the god and the visitors. Women in particular, of all ages and classes, came to pray and to celebrate.¹⁰²

Bixia Yuanjun's links with Mount Tai were invoked by the practice of calling her temples "summits" (*ding*). (Both she and Dongyue had temples at

not from Peking, Kenneth Pomeranz has argued that a dangerous sexuality was a prominent aspect of Bixia's persona.

99. But see Idema; Dudbridge 1991; Dott; Pomeranz. I am undertaking further research on this cult.

100. P. Wu 1992:79; also Dudbridge 1992.

101. For the dating of this stele as 1524 as opposed to 1523 (cf. Niida 4:759–60), I have followed *BJTB* 54:108.

102. Shen Bang 17:168; *BJTB* 58:38; Jiang Yikui 3:45–46; Yuan Zhongdao passim; *JWK* 147:2353.

the foot of Taishan, but it was Bixia who dominated the top.) By 1614 a temple to Our Lady in the northwest suburbs of Peking had construed itself as part of a pair (*dui*) with Mount Tai and had been nicknamed the “Western Summit” (*Xiding*).¹⁰³ Its popularity in the first decades of the seventeenth century may have encouraged the multiplication of “summits” around Peking. By the time of an important 1635 book about Peking, its authors could speak of the Western, Central, Eastern, Northern, and Southern Summits, five temples whose location could loosely justify these nicknames. (They are shown on Map 14.1.) As I have argued elsewhere, this replication in the capital area of the system of sacred peaks that anchored the empire implied an underlying local structure of divine protection.¹⁰⁴ The territory so defined encompassed both walled city and countryside.

Although these temples were only fictive mountains (none was even on a hill), the nicknames reminded believers of Bixia’s home on Mount Tai and invoked the wider area within which her power was recognized. In the world of this cult, Mount Tai was the center, north China was the universe, Peking was the periphery, and the connective tissue was the pilgrimage to Taishan.

Unlike Dongyue, Bixia was known to manifest herself in this world. The early history of the Western Summit gives us a wonderful example of spirit possession galvanizing belief and of the volatility of this apolitical religious sphere. This temple had begun as a shrine to Zhenwu near the suburban eunuch-managed dyeworks. In 1590, a local man was possessed and declared that Zhenwu had been promoted; accordingly, people began to rebuild the temple, using the occasion to add new halls to King Guan and to Our Lady.

In 1608, Bixia in her turn possessed a man called Mao; through him she announced that the large pit located on the west side of the temple was a great inconvenience to her and asked her followers to fill it in. There was an immediate response as frenzied devotees, concerned that the god was unhappy, hurried to the temple carrying sacks of earth to put in the pit. “Men and women, rich and poor, some in carts, some on horseback, including beautiful wives and unmarried maidens who also rode in small two-person carriages, they all followed along, clutching sacks of earth, incense, and paper money, entered the temple, and presented [them].” The Wanli emperor and his mother, hearing of the incident, both gave money. The temple was enlarged once more, and this time was dedicated entirely to Bixia.¹⁰⁵

Probably the most popular temple to Our Lady in the Peking area in the

103. Tao Yunjia. I cannot attest an older usage of “*Xiding*.” The worship of Bixia at this temple began no earlier than 1590; “*Xiding*” probably came into use during the early heyday of that temple ca. 1608.

104. Naquin 1992: 337–38.

105. The quotation is from Shen Defu 746; this anxious author found another episode of “presenting earth” in the Song capital just before the loss of north China to the Jurchens and

early seventeenth century was farther beyond the city walls, some twenty kilometers to the southeast. By a bridge over a river, this temple (established in the Chenghua reign, 1465–1487, and popularly called the Southern Summit, Nanding) drew crowds from the first to the eighteenth day of the fourth month. Many came as individuals, the wealthy and aristocratic in carriages, others by mule or horse carts or on foot; penitents alternated walking with full prostrations on the dusty road. Some pilgrims were organized groups mobilized in advance by their leaders, each carrying in a sedan chair an image of Bixia Yuanjun dressed in gold and silver finery, covered with a canopy, announced by gigantic streamers embroidered with her name, and accompanied by men banging drums and gongs. Some pilgrim groups travelled even further south, to the Niangniang temple at the north gate of Zhuozhou city, sixty kilometers away.¹⁰⁶

By contrast with the birthday procession of the Emperor of the Eastern Peak in which the temple statue made a circuit, these believers brought their own images to these temples of Our Lady of Mount Tai.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, whereas pilgrims and associations for Dongyue converged on one temple, for Bixia they travelled to a set of temples.

Systems of “summits” created layers of loose connections among temples to this deity. In 1640, members of the Religious Association for Presenting White Paper to the Six Summits described how, for the last thirty years, they had been making gifts of white paper-money to the Great Emperor of the Eastern Peak and to Our Lady’s Golden Image (*jin shen*). In doing so, they made pilgrimages to the Southern, Western, Northern, and Central Summits.¹⁰⁸ A late Ming scripture, “The Precious Scroll of Our Efficacious and Responsive Lady of Mount Tai,” told the story of a pious woman who went to burn incense before images of Our Lady at Zhuozhou, at the Eastern Summit (possibly meaning the Dongyuemiao), at Majuqiao (the Southern Summit), and at Yajishan (east of Peking). Pious pilgrims were urged to do likewise.¹⁰⁹

Although descriptions of these pilgrimages made clear that there were *shenghui* for Bixia, rather few Ming stelae recorded them.¹¹⁰ Although the al-

(prophetically) drew a parallel with the dangerous situation on the northern frontier in his own time. *BJTB* 59:166–67; Peking Library #2781.

106. *DJ* 3:133; Liu Ruoyu 20:1, 24:4–5; *JWK* 147:2353.

107. I have not seen a reference to a temple image of Our Lady being taken out in procession through a neighborhood.

108. Shoudu Library #306. The Eastern Summit, which may never have been a very active temple but was designated for symmetry, was replaced by a temple to the god of medicine.

109. *Lingying Taishan Niangniang baojuan*.

110. I know of twenty inscriptions (on stelae or bells) that were set up for Ming Bixia temples; the texts of twelve survive, but only two were put up by religious associations.

most-unreadable 1524 stele mentioned her name, no associations before 1636 do so. The group that set up the 1636 inscription called itself a *xianghui*—literally an “incense association,” but meaning a group that made a pilgrimage to offer incense. At this date, with several generations of Dongyuemiao associations before them, this group was already well developed. The account of their Western Summit Pilgrimage Association mentioned a number of positions within the group, all held by men: two overall leaders (*zongguan huishou*), seventeen principal association leaders (*zheng huishou*), twenty-five deputy leaders (*fu huishou*), fourteen managers (*guanshi*), and two hundred members (*suihui*). These numbers included the leaders who served in sequence for three years.¹¹¹ A Peking guidebook stated that at one of Bixia’s temples, members of these groups would follow their leaders (*shouren*) or pilgrimage leaders (*xiangshou*), who carried small flags marked “commander” (*ling*), “as they would their teachers, elders, fathers, or older brothers.”¹¹²

The patrons of Bixia temples whom we know by name were all eunuchs or members of the inner court, including Empress Dowager Li and the Wanli emperor, and their actions were of a familiar but nonassociational sort.¹¹³ Wei Zhongxian supported the rebuilding of the Guangrengong (Western Summit) between 1622 and 1624, and it seems to have been his and the empress dowager’s energetic patronage that made the Zhuozhou temple so well known.¹¹⁴ Of more ordinary patrons of other Yuanjun temples, we know next to nothing.

The ability to possess shamans, do cures, send sons, and work miracles seems to have made Our Lady more accessible and appealing than the Emperor of the Eastern Peak and to have contributed to her immense later success in Peking (and north China). Descriptions of her religious festivals on stelae and in more accessible media surely played a role in disseminating the cult. The Southern Summit was one of the few temples shown on the 1609 “Map of the Capital at Shuntian,” a publication with a national circulation.

111. Peking Library #2761. The two chiefs characterized themselves in a separate inscription on the side of the stele as “overall incense heads” (*xiangtou* of the *shenghui*), an indication that *xiang* and *sheng* were being used interchangeably.

112. *DJ* 3:133.

113. Of the forty-seven known Ming Bixia temples, we have information on the founders of only thirteen; they are a familiar constellation of emperors, empress dowagers, palace women, eunuchs, and members of the Imperial Bodyguard. For examples: *BJTB* 58:38, 60:31–32, 60:81–82, 71:141. Since Madame Li thought of herself as a reincarnation of Guanyin, it is not surprising that a 1611 scripture commissioned by her daughter, Princess Rui’an, explained that the Holy Mother of Mount Tai was also an incarnation that bodhisattva. See Chapter 5; T. Li & Naquin 160–62; Yü 1992:210–11; Zhou Shaoliang 1987. Also Chavannes 102–4.

114. Western Summit: *BJTB* 59:166–67. It appears that many of the “shrines for a living exemplar” that Wei built for himself were part of Bixia Yuanjun temples. Deng Zhicheng 1:2; Liu Ruoyu 24:1–5. Zhuozhou: Liu Ruoyu 20:175–76, 24:209; *MS* 221:5824; *JWK* 129:2077.

Illustrations in her scriptures and the god images in bronze and on paper, placed in temples and on household altars, were likewise effective in making her iconography common knowledge.¹¹⁵

Although Bixia's temples lacked the educated monks, great antiquity, and historical artifacts that attracted literati, by the early seventeenth century devotions to her had become too remarkable a sight to be overlooked. In fact, for Peking natives of all classes, her cult had become a point of local pride. Yu Yizheng, one of the two authors of the 1635 "Survey of the Scenery of the Capital" and the man who collected much of the local material for the book, was a Peking native, and his personal experiences probably formed the basis of his sympathetic account of the Bixia cult. Even the magistrate Shen Bang could not ignore the crowds of springtime pilgrims.¹¹⁶ Together with a more substantial literature on Mount Tai, such writings brought this cult to the attention of a reading public.¹¹⁷

It was the combined celebrations for the two Mount Tai gods that excited particular notice. As their holidays became attractive to an even wider public—in a process that we will examine in the next chapter—the two cults, their temples, and their associations became tightly woven into Peking's social fabric.

As we have seen, in Ming Peking there were many possibilities for the formation of communities outside the palace, outside the bureaucracy, and outside the homes of the residents. An imperial family with interests in local life, a broadly based local elite that derived its authority from the court, scholar-officials from Peking and from elsewhere in the empire, artisans and sojourning merchants, monks and daoists, sectarians and the general public—all were actively involved (to different degrees) in creating and maintaining spaces and organizations that allowed some measure of broader assembly and collective action. And they did so despite formally hostile government institutions and policies. Moreover, although they occupied only part of a spectrum that ranged from parties in private villas to lectures in schools to official-led ceremonies, the associations formed in and around temples enjoyed no small success in carving out room for organized action. The developing institutions of the *huiguan* and the *shenghui* supplemented the guild, the clerically oriented lay society, and the poetry club as foundations for the sturdier and more activist institutions of later times.

115. Map: *San cai tuhui* 6:248. I do not know of any Ming pictures of Bixia temples or celebrations. Dated images of Bixia from the late Ming are known (e.g., Sotheby's 1982:Item 128), as are illustrated scriptures (e.g., the 1576 *Tianxian Yunü Bixia Yuanjun jing*).

116. Yu: *DMB* 969; *DJ* preface:5–8; Shen Bang 17:168.

117. E.g., *Taishan zhi*; Xie Zhaozhi 4:277–83; P. Wu 1992.

The formal precariousness of these organizations, the participation of people who were part of the state structure, and the absence of language of independence or opposition make teleological comparisons with a later and ostensibly autonomous European “public sphere” dangerous and probably inappropriate.¹¹⁸ The question even seems somewhat backwards. The kinds of organizations and spaces discussed in this chapter were by definition “public.” It was because they did not exist within some secure separate *private* sphere—as the family and lineage did—that their activities and premises were so vulnerable to state intervention.

118. For debates about a “public sphere” in the late Ming: Brook 1993:23–29, 106–7; Rankin 1990.

CHAPTER 8

Seeing the Sights

After two centuries of Ming rule, the northern capital was acknowledged as one of the great cities of the empire, its political centrality and cultural respectability secure. In 1600 Peking not only had become integral to the national elite, it also had its own local population, many of whose families had lived there for at least ten generations. From disparate ingredients and a constant influx of outsiders, a city with an identity of its own—one that was more than just the capital—had been created. But imperial Peking was still omnipresent, expressed through the urban layout, monumental architecture, and imperial rhetoric and reinforced by the regular dispensation of money and power. Having colonized Peking for its imperial purposes, the throne still tended to overwhelm competing expressions of other kinds of identity.

As we have seen, the identity that might have been expressed by local officials was instead dispersed and fragmented by the structures of government. The court elite dominated public life—certainly the life we see through temples—outdoing others in the creation and display of status and culture. And for those associated with the court, as for the sojourning elites of the empire, national and palace politics were still more absorbing than local affairs. The literati elite from Peking itself, the most logical champions of a more local identity, had not achieved sufficient distinction of their own and seem to have assimilated into more prestigious social circles.

It may not seem obvious, but tourism was one arena in which powerful alternative visions of Peking were created. Out of the preconceptions and experiences of both travellers and hosts, certain images of Peking came into being and circulated widely. Temples—because they served as attractions for visitors, goals for pilgrims, and sites for festivals—provided both points of local pride and regular destinations for visitors. They can thus serve to illustrate the general processes of Peking tourism.

In a world where leisured travel was possible—and Ming China was such a world—a body of expectations developed about which places were interesting, famous, different, distinctive, and worth seeing. The people whose ideas about such matters can be probed in depth by the historian were the educated, precisely those able to be tourists. They produced and consumed the writings and pictures concerned with such matters and appear to have set standards that were influential with their social inferiors. Of the expectations and activities of ordinary travellers, we have little information.

Tourism, it seems to me, involved a dialectical relationship between visitors and local people: the one asked, “What is there to see and do?” and the other replied, “Go here, see this.” Continuously negotiated, famous sites provided a common cultural ground between visitors and locals. In the course of the Ming period, a constellation of “famous sights of Peking” had developed. Created by the actions of countless visitors, these sights were recorded in books written for the traveller, in poems and prose accounts, and in locally produced pictures and maps.

As defined by the male members of the educated elite, the tourist’s Peking proved long-lived, prestigious, and influential, on a par perhaps with that of imperial Peking. Both were partial visions, but both greatly influenced later generations.

GUIDES

The tourist literature about Peking that developed in the late Ming was founded on layers of earlier works. One stratum was provided by a genre of backward-looking and nostalgic writings about vanished capitals in general.¹ Prose poems (*fu*) of the first through third centuries had set the precedents for verbal descriptions of the splendors of an imperial city (*jingdu*) where “The palaces were glittering and bright; / The hall courtyards divinely beautiful.”² The two Han dynasty capitals at Chang’an and Luoyang had thus been preserved for posterity in words and idealized as the quintessential sites of imperial majesty and power.

The sixth-century “Account of the Buddhist Temples of Luoyang,” also about the remembered greatness of a ruined capital city, set an enduring precedent of associating such greatness with religious institutions. The book examined that city section by section, describing its temples and the famous events connected with them.³ The “Record of the Dreamlike Splendors of the Eastern Capital” of 1147 recalled the Song capital at Kaifeng, lost two

1. Of the works here discussed, only the *Mengliang lu* may not have been in print. *DJ* pref-ace:8; Du Xinfu 6:16, 4:36, 6:36; Balazs & Hervouet 151.

2. T. Xiao 157; the most famous of these “rhapsodies” were translated here, pp. 93–477.

3. H. Yang xi–xiii, 6–7, and his translation of the *Luoyang qielan ji*.

decades earlier to the invading Jin. It provided a more well-rounded picture of urban life in which the court and temples continued to be important. The late thirteenth-century “Record of the Dreamlike Past” and “Former Affairs of Hangzhou” both performed a similar function for the Southern Song capital on the eve of its seizure by the Mongols.⁴ Paintings that invoked Han dynasty palaces in their titles, recalled the dragon-boat regattas of Kaifeng, or created an idealized and distinctly nonurban vision of richly decorated and architecturally elaborate halls also provided visual equivalents of these written genres.⁵

Another type of tourist knowledge came from scholarly works on pre-Ming Peking.⁶ In local gazetteers (*difang zhi*) officials and elites studied administrative units in systematic fashion, describing the history, government affairs, geography, customs, and local notables, and doing so with a pose of scholarly detachment and comprehensive attention to detail. In this genre, sections entitled “famous sights” and “ancient traces” were used to catalogue places and things to see. In the late Ming, *mingsheng* meant “famous sights” of the sort one would want to visit, mountains or rivers, bridges or halls.⁷ *Guji*, “ancient traces,” referred to abandoned human structures (terraces, buildings) as well as natural features (rocks, trees, caves, pools).

Peking’s complicated administrative status and relatively weak local elite may account for its lack of gazetteers both before or during the Ming.⁸ The

4. The *Dongjing menghua lu* is described in Balazs & Hervouet 151. For the *Mengliang lu* and *Wulin jiu shi*: Balazs & Hervouet 154–55.

5. For two of the many “Han palace” paintings: Fong & Watt, plates 83, 148.

6. See Wang Canchi 1–67 for descriptions of the twenty-eight accounts dealing with the cities on this site that he was able to identify. Most were short and many were not extant even in the Ming. An account of the Yuan palaces just before they were destroyed in the 1360s partook of the lost-capital genre, but—nostalgia for the Yuan not being openly encouraged—it was not put into print until 1616: Xiao Xun 72.

7. The phrase was originally used for famous people: *Hanyu da cidian* 3:170, 3:174. The earliest books (known to me) claiming to have a systematic description of such sights were written by Cao Xuequan (1574–1647), probably in the 1630s—namely, the *Da Ming yitong mingsheng zhi* and the *Shu zhong mingsheng ji* (about Sichuan) (among others), and the very brief draft *Yandu mingsheng zhigao* about the Peking area. Cf. *DMB* 1299–1301. The Japanese sense of *meishō* as explained by Henry Smith captured the artificial quality of the Chinese concept as well: “an essentially literary place with conventionalized poetic attributes” (10).

8. Short county-level histories may have been written prior to 1403, but few if any works of this genre circulated during the Ming even in manuscript. Wang Canchi 79–82 argued that the Wanping and Daxing “gazetteers” of the Hongwu reign, now known only by title, did exist; I wonder. See also *STFZ* 1885:122:6327–28, 6332. The “Study of Beiping” (*Beiping kao*) (ca. 1400) had excerpts about the pre-Ming city and focused on the city gates, altars, palace halls and villas, temples, and nearby mountains and rivers. Zhang Jue’s 1560 “List of the Wards and Alleys of the Five Districts of the Capital,” another fragment that was not generally available until the 1920s, simply listed the wards and streets of the capital. And yet in its inception, with its inclusion of the Eight Vistas, old sites, and a map, it may have been intended to be useful to

capital was included in the 1376 “Gazetteer of the Eight Prefectures Headquartered at Beiping” that was provincial in scope and the 1461 “Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Ming Empire.”⁹ Not until the late Ming was this type of historical and geographical knowledge significantly expanded. The “Miscellaneous Notes about My Office at Wanping” (*Wanshu za ji*) published in 1593 by Shen Bang, the Hunanese magistrate of that county, was a kind of gazetteer, the first in two centuries.¹⁰ In the same year, Shuntian prefecture also produced a short study that included two maps of Peking typical of this quasi-official genre. These maps emphasized walls and gates, revealed little about the Imperial City, and identified only the government offices and several intersections.¹¹ All in all, these scholarly representations of Ming Peking were not as numerous or detailed as those of other important cities in the empire.¹² And they certainly emphasized its identities as imperial capital and as administrative center.

A third, more extensive genre, travel writing, built on this foundation by adding records of personal experiences. Educated elites—natives and especially sojourners—produced not only short accounts about travel and sights, but also a more lengthy guidebook literature for Peking that paid concentrated attention to the scenic. The latter literature flourished in the late Ming, enhanced by the increased circulation of printed books and the general commodification of information. As Timothy Brook has suggested, this

visitors. Zhang Jue 3. The “Gazetteer of Xijin” (*Xijin zhi*), written in the mid-fourteenth century by a sojourner from Jiangxi, was known but rare in the Ming. The text we have now was reconstructed from the pieces that survived in other texts (e.g., the *Yongle dadian*). See *Xijin*: preface; Wang Canchi 61–66. The eighteenth-century editors of the *Rixia jiuwen kao* quoted extensively from the surviving fragments and put this material in the public domain for the first time. “Xijin” was a Liao name for the prefecture headquartered in Peking. The overall structure of the original work is not known; the editors of the 1983 edition reassembled the pieces according to their own invented categories. Material on temples was scattered throughout this version. See *Xijin* 54–55, 117–19; for festivals, 202–5, 211–24.

9. 1376 gazetteer: Wang Canchi 76–79; *STFZ* 1885:122:6326; Bretschneider 1876b:10–11. The 1461 work is the *Da Ming yitong zhi*. The late thirteenth-century Yuan dynasty comprehensive gazetteer of the empire and the early Ming “Great Compendium of the Yongle Reign” (*Yongle dadian*) also contained information on the capital area, but neither were readily available. Chen Gaohua & Chen Zhichao 334; *STFZ* 1407.

10. Shen Bang thought that he was the first to write about the administration of the county. Shen Bang preface 4. For Shen himself, see the preface to Peking edition; *DMB* 1185–87; Wake-land 16–20; Sun Chengze 1761:preface.

11. *STFZ* 1593j. 1. This text is rare today, but was cited by the *Rixia jiuwen kao*.

12. Compare, for example, the Ming entries for Nanking, Suzhou, and Canton in the *Zhongguo difangzhi lianhe mulu* 1, 310–11, 314–17, 673–74.

period was characterized by an attention to a “particularity of place” that was manifested in both visual and written forms.¹³

In late Ming travel writing about Peking, temples were overwhelmingly the most common tourist sight. More than the occasional bridge, grave, mountain peak, or famous villa, religious establishments inside and beyond the city walls were the most common goal of elite excursions. Although Ming literati rather rarely contributed money to the building or maintenance of temples in the capital, they turned temples into famous sights merely by coming and writing about their visits. Through poems and short travel accounts, literati remembered these places for themselves and shared their memories with distant contemporaries.¹⁴

For literati (including officials and merchants who adopted a literati persona), travelling for pleasure was characterized as *you* (strolling). *You* were leisured, diverting, and unhurried excursions.¹⁵ Whether for an afternoon or a period of days or weeks, these were occasions to commune with like-minded men from the past by repeating their experiences. Elite travelers therefore sought out places that had previously been described and already designated as scenic (*sheng*), or old (*gu*), or famous (*ming*). The “travel account” (*you ji*) was a chronological narrative in first person that described and commented on the places visited.¹⁶

Classically trained Chinese wrote poems often and readily and were accustomed to using them as verbal snapshots of memorable moments. Such poems rarely had the specificity of a photograph, but the titles and attached notes were usually quite precise. A poem referring allusively and vaguely to distant mountains, chanting monks, or the scent of autumn might be entitled “Climbing the Pilu Belvedere on the Ninth Day of the Ninth Month with So-and-So.” Such a poem is a poor source for the historian who wishes to know what that belvedere looked like, but it helps us understand the sentiments one might be expected to feel when taking in the view, and it offers excellent information about the times and places where poems were written. Poems were often public matters and sometimes written directly on paintings. Because travellers were drawn to write poems in places where famous

13. Brook 1988:60. For a good bibliography of available travel literature (mostly Ming and since), see *Zhongguo luyou wenxian shumu xuanbian*. Clunas 1991:56–57 noted a late Ming attention to distinguishing (and ranking) objects by where they came from.

14. I have surveyed the writings of some of these travellers and consulted the late Ming books that reprinted them.

15. This Chinese word might also be translated as “travelling,” “visiting [a place],” or even “vacationing”; it had some of the “simple, sensuous, confident relish of pleasure” that Henry James associated with the Parisian *flâneur* (as quoted in Prendergast 4).

16. For more on the early history of this genre: Strassberg 1994:1–56; also P. Wu 1992.

men of the past had done likewise, a loose community of well-connected and widely read people—dispersed in time and space—was thus formed. By looking at the accumulation of such poems, we can see how certain sights and sites gathered a poetic history and acquired cultural meaning.

The 1635 “Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital,” whose editors recognized the importance for literati of verse as markers of local sights, was a major milestone in writings about Peking.¹⁷ It quoted from more than 1,100 poems about one hundred different places, listing the poems for each sight in chronological order and giving the author’s name and native place. A handful of authors antedated the Ming, but most of the 378 poets quoted (my count) were from the middle and late Ming. It is a reflection of the prestigious influence of outsiders that all but three poets were sojourners.

Over time, Ming elites had thus created for their community of readers a cluster of sights in and around Peking. In the first decades of the seventeenth century, a recognizable tourist literature for the capital eventually emerged in print. I distinguish guidebooks from travel accounts (which were written *by* visitors), and define them as books written *for* visitors about the sights of Peking.

In antecedent genres, such tourist information had been buried in longer works.¹⁸ The books of Cao Xuequan, a Fujian man and 1595 *jinshi*, seem to have helped establish the term *mingsheng* (famous sights) in common parlance.¹⁹ In the four *juan* about Shuntian prefecture in his “Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Sights of the Great Ming Empire” (*Da Ming yitong mingsheng zhi*), he recast the “mountains and waterways” section common to local histories in terms of famous visitors and scenic vistas (*jing*). Most of the sights noted were outside the walled city, and Cao’s comment that the scenery at the Tanzhe monastery had the power to move one’s heart no less than the scenery of Jiangnan (the Lower Yangtze) suggested the audience he was writing for.

Jiang Yikui’s “A Visitor’s Remarks on the Capital” (*Chang’an ke hua*), written after 1602, was based on the author’s experiences and organized for the visitor.²⁰ Sun Guomi’s “Records of a Sightseeing Excursion to the Capital”

17. The slightly earlier *Chang’an ke hua* had included some poems (Jiang Yikui). The *Di-jing* editors had access to a far larger selection of sources than is available to us today.

18. Shen Bang’s 1593 “Miscellaneous Notes about My Office” included a few pages with forty-nine entries defined as “ancient traces” (all within the county but none in Peking proper), an account of local customs and annual calendar, and a list of vistas to be seen. Shen Bang 4:31–32, 17:166–69, 20:261–64. The prefectural gazetteer of that same year also included a short section on “ancient traces.” *STFZ* 1593:j. 1.

19. I do not know of earlier books using this term in this way. Cao published at least four other works describing the “famous sights” of other parts of the empire.

20. It dedicated four of eight *juan* to the city and its suburbs and the rest to the capital region.

(*Yandu youlan zhi*), probably composed between 1626 and 1636, described sights with the pseudo-objectivity of an anonymous observer.²¹

The eight-juan 1635 “Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital” (*Dijing jingwu lue*), a collaboration between Liu Tong, a Hubei sojourner, and Yu Yizheng, a man from Peking, was the most substantial and important of the guides-cum-travel-accounts that survive. Organized geographically, it designated one hundred twenty-eight sights and presented a short prose description of each, followed by poems by previous visitors; all but one *juan* dealt with Peking and its immediate suburbs. Information on the annual calendar of holidays was appended to one of the entries.

A work that merits a closer inspection, the “Description” was a refined guide for leisured literati visitors. Although the book itself was too large to be handy, any of the sixteen individual softbound fascicles could have been easily removed and carried about during an excursion.²² Yet the “Description” gave its readers almost no practical guidance: no maps, no directions, and nothing about places to stay or dine. It had no advice for businessmen and commented on market fairs and entertainments only in passing. It merely identified, isolated, and described those sights deemed by the authors worthy of visiting. Although the work consolidated and organized this information, it was still quite close to the poems and travel accounts from which it was drawn.

The “Description” offered a relatively shallow sense of Peking’s history. It mentioned events of the Ming and preceding Yuan dynasties, referred less frequently to events of the Liao, Jin, or Song, and rarely spoke of any earlier period. And, like most guidebooks, it collapsed this past into the present, bringing it all forward onto one accessible plane, blurring distinctions that were in any case poorly registered by the Chinese ways of dating events. Nor did the “Description” survey the entire city. Much was left out.²³

The “Peking” put in focus by this late Ming travel literature—guidebooks, poetry, and prose accounts—was a good deal more fuzzy than our use of that single English name suggests. In writing, the city was readily called by a variety of names, and the geographical area included varied with the format.²⁴

21. This forty-juan work is no longer extant, but judging from the surviving excerpts, it had considerable information on Peking temples and sights (including the texts of stelae). *JWK* passim; Wang Canchi 140–56. Song Qiming’s *Chang’an keyou ji*, “An Account of Possible Excursions at the Capital,” also no longer extant, was written later than 1635 and seems to have concentrated on detailed descriptions of trips to the northwest suburbs. Wang Canchi 171–75.

22. It measured 26 x 15 centimeters.

23. Only 127 religious buildings were mentioned, for example, and of these, only 64 were the subject of individual entries.

24. These names included Chang’an (by now meaning any great capital), Yandu (the capital of Yan), Huangdu (imperial capital), and Dijing (the imperial capital). Beijing (the

Drawings and maps were urban in focus but not a systematic part of this literature.²⁵ The city plan in the 1560 “List of the Wards and Alleys of the Five Districts of the Capital” concentrated on an exaggerated Northern City and included suburban sites at the very periphery in a stylized and distorted fashion. (It is shown in Figure 5.1.) The representation of Peking in the 1593 edition of the history of Shuntian prefecture had a similar focus, left out the lakes, and showed no suburbs at all.²⁶

Most visitor-oriented materials included the suburbs and located the city in the wider geographic and cultural area of greater Peking, but this larger territory was very loosely defined. In Liu Tong and Yu Yizheng’s “Description,” the city was constructed for the reader through chapters titled “Inside the Walls,” “Outside the Walls,” and “The Western Hills” (meaning the northwest suburbs). In the “Visitor’s Remarks on the Capital,” the component categories were “The Imperial Capital,” its “Suburbs” (*jiaoxiang*), and the “Capital Area” (*jifu*) that lay beyond.²⁷

The Shuntian gazetteer provided a rough layout of the entire prefecture, situating Peking with all its gates on a plain crisscrossed with rivers, ringed by a crescent of mountains, and with the bleak word for “desert” written against the northern horizon.²⁸ A 1609 “Encyclopedia” provided a comparable map of “Shuntian’s Capital City” that defined the prefecture by the Great Wall on the north and the Bohai Gulf on the east.²⁹ Half of the eight chapters in the “Visitor’s Remarks” covered the sights of a wider capital area that extended as far as the Great Wall and to Tianjin in the southeast. The “Description,” by contrast, had only one chapter on an area that covered about fifty kilometers in any direction (to Tongzhou in the east, Fangshan in the southwest, and the mountains in the north and west).

In counterpoint to this administratively or geographically defined Peking, these materials simultaneously struck a more poetic note, using the Eight Vistas both to evoke the particularity of Peking and to delineate its larger region. The early Ming “Eight Vistas of Yanshan” had survived, and two, the

northern capital) appeared infrequently, usually paired with Nanking; cf. Yu Yizheng’s preface at *DJ* 5.

25. The *Hongwu Beiping tujing*, presumably a kind of gazetteer with maps written before the city was renamed in 1403, does not survive, nor do any alleged early Ming local histories. See Wang Canchi 76–107 passim, and *STFZ* 1885:122:6326. Shen Bang’s 1593 *Wanshu za ji* had no maps or illustrations.

26. As one might expect from an administratively-oriented text, the city map (poetically titled “Jin men,” Golden Gates) showed the three local government offices, East and West Arches, and Drum Tower. *STFZ* 1593:j. 1.

27. *DJj.* 8; Jiang Yikui.

28. *STFZ* 1593:map of the capital area.

29. “Shuntian Jingcheng” in *San cai tuihui* 6:248. In the 1613 *Tu shu bian*, a map of “The Mountains of Yan” was similar. Zhang Huang 17:7021.

Western Hills and the Jade Spring, had taken root and become part of the living sights of the capital. Two others, Lugou Bridge and Juyong Pass, were still active gateways to the capital and demarcation points for the Peking area. The pass attracted rather few literati visitors. The bridge was on the route of those who came to the capital by land; its marble lions and graceful arches were a sight to see, and many paused while crossing to record the moment.³⁰ (The bridge is shown in Figure 1.1.)

More systematic visual treatment was to be found in the set of woodblock prints published in the 1609 “Comprehensive Illustrated Encyclopedia.” Emulating literati painting, these pictures did not attempt to describe Peking’s sights accurately or even recognizably, and, like the early Ming handscroll, they were not the least bit urban. Instead, they presented generic landscapes identifiable only through the labels and accompanying text.³¹ Nevertheless, and especially for those who had not visited Peking, the book established these Eight Vistas as certifiably famous sights and presented the city through rural landmarks. This was an old and scenic Peking indisputably different from the walled, monumental administrative capital city.

For tourists, Peking extended well beyond its walls. The greater Peking created by tourism, defined as including any place visited by residents of the walled city on a casual excursion, extended into the suburban countryside (*jiaoxiang*), but not in a blanket fashion. The places beyond the walls singled out for note formed an irregular patchwork, and the stuff of daily life for the inhabitants of rural areas—homes, crops, and work—were invisible in most tourist representations.³² Although it might be seen as a colonizing act (with good reason), tourism linked places together and thus helped create the network that constituted greater Peking. Those who laid down tracks in the Ming made enduring cultural grooves—geographically in space and historically in time—along which others followed. As part of this same process, as we shall see, another set of linkages was created through the seasonal holidays.

In order to enhance our picture of this other, tourist Peking, the following two sections try to recreate the city as it was seen by visitors in the first

30. Two others were in the lake area of the Imperial City and not generally accessible. The Gate of Ji had vanished (Jiang Yikui 1:3; there was no entry in the *DJ*), as had the Golden Terrace, but Ming literati had preserved the Jintai name by attaching it to an earthen mound outside the southeast corner of the city and conflating with it unrelated stories from the history of the region. See Li Dongyang 3:1145–47; Jiang Yikui 1:4; *DJ* 2:88–93. Pass: Jiang Yikui 7:141–42; *San cai tuhui* 6:254. Bridge: Jiang Yikui 4:76–77; *DJ* 3:143–46.

31. The *San cai tuhui* entry on the Xishan (6:252–53) was an exception. See also the discussion in J. White. For a recent attempt to reconstruct the wider context of literati painting: Clunas 1997.

32. Villages, markets, and taxes were, by contrast, matters of concern to county officials and therefore considered in local gazetteers.

four decades of the seventeenth century. We will begin with the suburbs and then move on to the intramural area itself, identifying the places that literati visited and giving special attention to the most popular spots.

SUBURBAN VISTAS

The landscape of the northwestern suburbs extended from decorous flowers by pavilions and walkways within villas, to green banks along streams, canals, and moats, to bare and gentle hills, and, eventually, to rocky roads through narrow defiles amid substantial peaks, far from the villages and towns that defined civilization. For people at leisure, the nodes in this landscape were temples. As time went by, the religious infrastructure that had been laid down by emperors, empresses, and eunuchs was actively appropriated by examination candidates, officials, scholars, poets, and painters who came to, or resided in, Peking.

In the course of the Ming, the Western Hills (Xishan) had become the best-known tourist area and the favored locale for strolling. "Clearing Snow in the Western Hills" was one of the Eight Vistas, and these mountains were extolled in compendia about the empire and in almost every late Ming "account of an excursion" that I have seen for Peking.³³ Although villages and encampments dotted the countryside, the Western Hills were still quite uninhabited. There were villas of the wealthy immediately outside of the walls, but few people lived in the low hills themselves, and the higher mountains behind were truly wild. The undulating terrain was ideal for graves, and there were pathways wide enough for a person on horseback to pass easily.

The primary work of reclaiming these mountains for civilization was done by temples and their resident monks. And there were no small number of them.³⁴ Land was apparently available for the taking, and the building of temples preceded and encouraged visitors. Records of elite excursions chart the progressive incorporation of this area into the zone of greater Peking.³⁵

33. For compendia: *San cai tuhui* 6:252-53; Zhang Huang 17:7021-26; He Tang j. 1; Cao Xuequan. The "Visitor's Remarks on the Capital" devoted half of its space to this area. Two of the seven *juan* on Peking in the "Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital" were dedicated to the Xishan, and another to the nearby suburban area. The three sites for which it listed the most poems were all here: for these 3 (of the 101 items listed), 257 (out of a total of 1,121) poems were given.

34. I know of some 330 temples in the northwest suburbs in the late Ming, half of them (172) in the hills, and the others on the plain. I have records of 106 temples here that Ming literati liked to visit.

35. Nice examples include the accounts by Li Dongyang (1470) 3:1145-47; Li Liufang (ca. 1606); Tao Yunjia (1614); Yang Erzeng (before 1610); Yuan Zhongdao (before 1624) 1:99-105; and Song Yan (n.d.). There are, of course, many others.

What these travellers usually prized and commented upon included the greenery and shade, the vistas across a lake or from a peak or of a temple in the distance, pools and springs and the taste of the water, the evening or nighttime sounds, dark caves, and the trees, especially the old or flowering ones. Temples were essential landmarks for the traveller; they served as hostels where one could eat, drink, and spend the night, and as sites where traces of the past could be found, discussed, read about, and then recommemorated. And there were more with each passing year. By my calculations, in 1470 there were only 97 temples in the northwest suburbs; a century later the number more than doubled to 240, and by 1640 there were 330. At any given time, about half were in the mountains.³⁶

Combining information from travel accounts, poetry, and guidebooks, we can reconstruct the specific attractions of these northwest suburbs in the late Ming. Three hills (“mountains”) were the primary foci of most excursions. Wengshan, the urn-shaped hill on the north side of the great western lake, and Yuquanshan, whose eponymous jade-pure spring fed both lake and city, rose distinctively from the surrounding plain. Xiangshan (Incense Hill) banked onto the mountains further to the west. Yang Erzeng provided a woodblock picture of this terrain to complement his written account.³⁷ (It is shown in Figure 8.1.)

Visitors who did not ascend Urn Hill itself or visit its broken-down temples often stopped at the Azure Dragon Bridge (Qinglongqiao), but the main attraction was the sprawling Western Lake (Xihu) with the long embankment that lay south of the hill.³⁸ The marshy expanse of water, a sea of lotuses that made the wind fragrant, the light shining across the surrounding paddy land (rare in the north), the sight and sounds of the birds, and the pleasure of walking along the dike and viewing this scene in different seasons—all these not only pleased local people but reminded others of their homes among the canals and rice lands of central China.³⁹

The embankment led past the rice fields to Jade Spring Hill, one of the original Eight Vistas of the Jin period, whose delicate appearance and pure spring water had ensured its fame with visitors. On the hill there were caves,

36. I include the entire suburban quadrant from due west to due north of the northwest corner of Peking. Please remember the misleading precision of these numbers.

37. This picture also appeared in the 1609 *San cai tuhui* (6:252–53), with added labels for the temples.

38. Several sources say that the lake was ten *li* around, but land-hungry peasants encroached on it and the nearby marshes. If it had not been made into an imperial preserve in the Qing, the lake might not have survived; the shape was changed by these later water control projects. It is today a major attraction of the Yiheyuan. See *DJ* 7:307–10.

39. Jiang Yikui 4:73; *San cai tuhui* 6:248; Yuan Zhongdao 1:99–100; *DJ* 7:287–90, 7:291, 7:307–10.



Figure 8.1. Peking and the Western Hills

Yang Erzeng wrote a short account of his excursions in the Western Hills (ca. 1610) and provided this woodblock illustration. On one side was Peking, indicated by its walls and palace roofs; on the other side were the marshy suburbs and the Western Hills. The Jade Spring, Urn Mountain, and the river spanned by Lugou Bridge were all labeled. The temples shown in the mountains were named and described in the text.

SOURCE: Yang Erzeng.

several small temples, and a Lake-View Pavilion where much wine was drunk and many poems were written.⁴⁰

Incense Hill was wilder, and only the east side (nearest Peking) had been developed. It had forests, its own springs, large rocks like incense burners (hence its name), and delicate flowering apricots. The 1635 “Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital” called its ancient mountain temple the finest place in the capital for an excursion and praised its many vistas, pond of giant goldfish that “peep up their heads to greet visitors,” and Azure-

40. Also Jiang Yikui 3:47–48; *San cai tuhui* 6:253; *DJ* 7:296–307.

Arriving Balcony (named by the Wanli emperor). The more than one hundred recorded poems about the area testified to its popularity with visitors from other parts of the empire, including the philosopher Wang Yangming, the painter Wen Zhengming, the artist and writer Xu Wei, and the poet Yuan Hongdao.⁴¹

Anyone who visited Xiangshan was sure to stop at Biyun and Wofu temples, two impressive complexes nearby. The Temple of the Reclining Buddha had been built in a peaceful valley; its five-meter bronze Buddha had been donated by the Chenghua emperor. Ming visitors could also inspect the strange old *poluo* trees, supposedly grown from seeds brought from India. In the late spring, the scent of the peonies planted by eunuch benefactors filled the courtyards and perfumed the wine.⁴² Up the next valley was the Temple of the Azure Clouds, founded on a Yuan site and ideal for poetizing. It too had a fine spring (“Sitting at Night by the Monk’s-Staff Spring”), pond (“Song about Feeding the Goldfish at Biyuni”), and accommodations for visitors (“Looking at the Moon from Biyuni”).⁴³

To the south, along the foothills, a separate cluster of temples had been built in the middle of the fifteenth century (with imperial money) on sites that had been religious establishments since Tang, Jin, or Yuan times (and would become known in the twentieth century as the Eight Great Sites). Li Dongyang had made an excursion there in the autumn of 1503: despite the pouring rain, he and his party finally arrived at the Pingposi, restored in 1425, and were disappointed to miss the view of the capital that the monks said could be had on a clear morning. They became lost several times trying to find Xiangshan, before reaching another temple where they spent the night. In the course of the next century, this area was neglected, and the “Description” said wistfully of the Pingposi: “It was large and beautiful, modeled on the palace, but is now in ruins. The monks say how spacious and beautiful it was; they point to the objects and speak of renewal, point to old steps and talk of vermilion and azure. The guest sighs, wishing to have seen it then.”⁴⁴

The hill opposite that monastery was named after Master Lu, a monk from central China who had supposedly come here in the seventh century and retreated into a cave to meditate. It gained its fame from stories that attached to a temple built there. Two young disciples of a resident monk had revealed themselves as the sons of the Dragon-king and, transforming themselves into snakes, one large and one small, brought an end to a drought. They attracted

41. Li Dongyang 3:1145-47; Shen Bang 19:198; Jiang Yikui 3:53-55; Yang Erzeng; *DJ* 6:229-45.

42. Jiang Yikui 3:57; Yuan Zhongdao 1:101-2, 236, 253; *DJ* 6:260-63; Xu Huili.

43. Jiang Yikui 3:55-56; Yuan Zhongdao 1:101, 235, 253; *DJ* 6:245-57.

44. Li Dongyang 6:2579-84; *DJ* 6:274.

imperial attention, were bestowed titles, and by no later than Jin times (and continuing into Ming), officials came here to pray for rain. Parallel to this official recognition, other visitors set up an image of Master Lu and the boys in a nearby cave. Visitors came to hear about the legend, see the cave and a pine supposedly planted by Master Lu, and walk through the dangerous defile called Mimoya not far from the temple.⁴⁵

Two other monasteries regularly attracted late Ming visitors: the genuinely old religious establishments of Tanzhe and Jietan that lay due west of Peking, considerably farther up into the mountains. Tanzhesi (Monastery of the Pool and the Mulberry) was a substantial establishment of undoubted antiquity set on a mountainside forty kilometers from the city; it had been restored twice by eunuchs in the fifteenth century. Visitors hardy enough to undertake a journey of several days along narrow twisting tracks would finally be rewarded, the “Description” told us, by the cinnabar and blue-green colors of the monastery buildings. The historically minded could try to read the seven stelae (ranging from 1173 to 1511), many of them recording imperial patronage, and note the numerous earlier names of the temple. Perhaps because of its pool, it had borrowed the legend of the rain-producing snake-dragons claimed at Lushishan. It did so by producing two real snakes, more than five feet long, known by the same names; they returned from the woods at the sound of the temple bell, slept inside a red box, and curled up on the altar whenever they pleased.⁴⁶

Jietan, the Ordination Altar, was not far from Tanzhe.⁴⁷ (See Figure 8.2.) This monastery claimed to have served for centuries as a place where monks were ordained; stelae with Jin and Liao dates were still standing. From the Thousand-Buddha Belvedere, the Muddy River could be seen, winding around “like a bracelet”; the energetic could climb farther up the hill and creep cautiously into caves—some inhabited by monk ascetics, others full of stalactites. Perhaps because of its role as a place where monks and nuns were ordained, Jietan also had a reputation for decadence. The springtime sights seem to have occasioned temporary stalls not only for wine and tea but prostitutes as well—allegedly a last chance for the monks-to-be but very convenient for dalliance by visitors.⁴⁸

Poems about all these temples tell us about the literati experience: “An Excursion to Incense Hill,” “Once More Spending the Night at the Temple of the Azure Clouds,” “Climbing to the Temple of Vast Brightness in the Western Hills with So-and-So,” “Listening to the Spring at the Temple of the Reclining Buddha,” “Looking at the Torrent at the Central-Peak Retreat after

45. *DJ*6:272–74; *JWK* 103:1713, 104:1716–20.

46. *DJ*7:314–18; *JWK* 105:1743–48.

47. Its proper Ming name was “Wanshoui.” Field Museum #927.

48. Jiang Yikui 4:77–78; *DJ*2:68, 7:310–14; *STFZ* 1593:115.



Figure 8.2. Pine at the Ordination Altar

This large, shapely, white-barked pine at the Jietan temple in the mountains west of Peking was drawn in 1922 by Georges Bouillard, railroad engineer, mapmaker, and enthusiastic student of Peking's sights.

SOURCE: Bouillard 1922b.

the Rain,” “The Dragon Pool at the Temple of Cool Refreshment,” “A Song on the Pines at Mimo Precipice,” “A View from the Tower at the Temple of Great Felicity,” “Encountering a Rainstorm at Western Lake while on the Way Back from the Mountains,” “Passing by the Abandoned Temple of Benefactions,” “Climbing up to the Lake-View Pavilion,” “Passing by Jade Spring Mountain at Night and Seeing the Moon,” “The Temple of Perfect Stillness on Urn Hill.” In the course of the Ming, new sets of poetic vistas had also been created: Ten Views of the Western Lake, of Incense Hill, and of the Biyun and Baozang Temples.⁴⁹

Peking’s vistas and scenic sights were far better represented in poetry and in prose than in Ming literati (*wenren*) painting. An exception tests the rule. In 1596 Dong Qichang, a newly minted *jinshi*, echoed the now familiar Eight Vistas theme in an album entitled “Eight Vistas of Yan and Wu [that is, of Peking and Suzhou]” intended as a present for a friend who was leaving the capital for the south. The artist’s inscriptions made it clear that the first five scenes represented Peking. Dong mentioned his “thatched hut” somewhere in the city and discussed the capital’s Western Lake area; three of his scenes referred to sights that he and his friends had enjoyed: “Evening Mist on the Western Hills,” “Autumn Colors over the Western Hills,” and “Clear Weather after a Snow in the Western Hills.” But because the album was intended to be evocative not representational, a demonstration of talent and a statement about shared values, the scenes themselves were generic and not specific to Peking.⁵⁰

By the late Ming, through personal or vicarious experiences, the educated elites of the capital, natives and sojourners alike, had developed the nearby hills as destinations for short or long sightseeing excursions. Although distance and poor communications made travel a difficult matter even for those who could hire horses and servants, the reader should not assume that literati had these temples and vistas to themselves.

Scholars and officials shared these sights (in time and space) with the

49. Poems: *DJjj*. 6–7:passim. Vistas: Shen Bang 20:261–62; *JWK* 100:1666–67.

50. Only the titles made the link. W. Ho 1:plate 2, 2:6. Two other paintings done in Peking in 1624 and recording Dong’s visit to the imperial tombs similarly made no reference to specific or identifiable local landmarks: Riely 2:50, 54, 56, 432. The early Ming painter Dai Jin’s “Listening to the Rain” was similar: although done at his Peking residence, nothing suggested the capital. Cahill 1978:49.

Foreign visitors, we might note, were not important in shaping Chinese ideas about Peking’s suburbs, and I know of no foreign images of the Ming city. On European maps, Peking was usually indicated but often mislabeled. See, for example, H. Goodman 257 for Ortelius’s 1567 map, or Lutz 24 for Hondius’s 1623 map.

members of the imperial court. The Zhengde emperor had come to Xiangshansi and Wofosi, as did Jiajing (commenting on how green the mountain was) and Wanli on several occasions. Returning one time from an obligatory visit to the tombs of his ancestors north of Peking, Wanli stopped at the Western Lake and was rowed about in a specially prepared “dragon boat.”⁵¹ Eunuchs “strolled” to see the sights with much greater frequency. And when this court elite travelled, they were probably accompanied by large entourages. How could their excursions compare with the solitary wanderings of men like Li Dongyang or Yang Erzeng?

We may, on the one hand, imagine our literati tourists staying clear of the imperial presence, preferring to enjoy their quiet excursions. On the other hand, some of them, as officials, may have been part of the imperial entourage. In either case, as we shall see later in this chapter, emperors and elites both preferred to avoid the common Peking residents who were also visiting these sights.

As the area nearest the city was developed, the Western Hills became a place to build. Fine vistas were snatched up for villas and tombs and temples, and on the spring-filled plain east of the Western Lake known as Haidian, farmland was turned into summer estates for imperial relatives and prominent local elite families.⁵² Adventurous travellers were thus encouraged to go ever farther afield.

The Western Hills area was not the only destination of Ming literati excursions. In the nearer suburbs, east and south as well as northwest of the walled city, there were places (again, mostly temples) that people wanted to see. These sights also helped define the city’s geographic reach and, as their popularity became framed in terms of attractive seasons and dates, shaped the annual calendar.

One of the most visible landmarks of the capital was the thirteen-story Tianningsi pagoda that stood on the west side of the city. Because of its considerable height and the ringing of its hundreds of little bells, the pagoda was seen and heard over a wide area. Stories about mysterious lights and a strange inverted image testified to the power of the relics stored within. Visitors wrote poems about “Spending the Night and Seeing the Pagoda’s Light” or “Passing the Temple of Heaven’s Tranquillity on a Spring Day.”⁵³

51. I have not attempted to make a complete list. Shen Bang 19:197, 198; Jiang Yikui 3:53–55; *DJ* 7:287–90.

52. See Chapter 6. Others are discussed in Tan Qian 1656:78–80; *JWK* 98:1627.

53. Jiang Yikui 3:66; Yang Erzeng; *DJ* 3:139–42. Claiming to hold relics of Shakyamuni and to date from the Sui, the complex had supposedly been destroyed at the end of the Yuan and rebuilt by Zhu Di (Yongle) when he was the Prince of Yan. Sadly surrounded by factories and high-rises, it was still standing in 1999.

A number of temples in the near suburbs had become even more popular with local and sojourning elites. The Mohe'an (Queen Maya's Retreat), a rather ordinary-sized complex a few *li* outside the west gate of the city, founded by a eunuch in the mid-sixteenth century to be attached to his grave, had become a quintessential literati favorite. "In front and back of the hall were many old pines, old huai trees, and old cypresses, and on the walls were written the poems of many famous men. At each of the four corners were tall stone towers. If you climbed these towers for the view, the rivers and plain were laid out like a tapestry, and the Western Hills seemed to come so close." (The fields and crops that would have been in plain sight in all directions were, to this particular gaze, invisible.) The panorama, the trees, and the quiet were made more attractive by cultured monks with whom a guest, staying for days at a time, could compose poems or play the zither.⁵⁴

The western and northern suburbs also had temples that attracted literati for the hubbub of eating, drinking, and having a good time that accompanied religious festivals. On these occasions, educated readers of the guidebook literature bumped up against haughty nobles and the rowdy masses.

Two traditions appear to have merged to shape (and justify?) springtime outings. One stemmed from the practice of celebrating the birthdays of powerful deities with prayers, gifts, and festivities. Peking residents of all kinds flocked to temples in the suburbs on the birthdays of the Shakyamuni Buddha and of the increasingly popular Bixia Yuanjun, both in the fourth month (usually May). It was acceptable for women to participate (even if criticized in socially conservative quarters). Also in the spring (variously during the third, fourth, or fifth months), Peking people continued (or adapted?) an older and more secular custom known as "tramping about amid greenery and collecting grasses" (*ta qing dou cao*). Armed with wine and a light repast, well-to-do men brought female companions and sought out relaxing settings: the more distant Biyun and Wofu temples, the Daoist Baiyunguan near the city, and particularly the area of Gaoliang Bridge.⁵⁵ These became times and places associated explicitly with dalliance and sensual pleasures.

Gaoliang Bridge, only a short walk from the Xizhi Gate at the northwest

54. Jiang Yikui 3:61; *DJ* 5:210-13; *JWK* 97:1614-16; Arlington & Lewisohn 307. Wei Zhongxian brought this halcyon era to a close when, passing by and noticing the western tower, he pointed and said, "Eliminate it!" For a time, fearful monks and scholar-officials avoided the temple. Had it been a place for politics as well as recreation? It was still there in 1988.

55. The fourteenth-century *Xijin zhi* described this custom for the Yuan period: *JWK* 147:2353. For Ming practice there are only a few references: *DJ* 2:67; Shen Bang 17:168, 19:206-8; *JWK* 99:1632. The passage quoted in Zhang Jiangcai 1936b:2:6 appears to describe practices of the early seventeenth century.

corner of the city, straddled the stream that ran from the Western Lake into the moat; the water, “swift and clean,” was said to be full of fish and lined with shady willows whose delicate pale green leaves signalled the beginning of spring. Here, on the grave-sweeping holiday of *qingming*, elite men and women (*shi nü*) could picnic and watch the sunset over the Western Hills. Wineshops and pavilions lined the banks; there was music, entertainment, and horseracing, and crowds of people strolled by the water. Between 4/8 and 4/18, piety was intermixed with pleasure as people converged on the temple to Our Lady of Mount Tai.⁵⁶

Although far less developed than the higher and drier northwest suburbs, the countryside south of the city—beyond the outer walls added after 1553—was drawn more closely into the cultural orbit of the capital in the last century of Ming rule. The natural springs of the area had encouraged peasants to raise flowers for sale to wealthy city residents. In the winter, in hollowed-out earthen cellars heated with fires, flowering plants and shrubs could be raised for sale and enjoyed out of season. In the spring, in the area between Grass Bridge (Caoqiao) and Abundance Terrace (Fengtai), the seasonal flowers bloomed acre after acre: plum and crab-apple trees, ponds of lotuses, lilacs and peonies, fields of fragrance. The construction of another temple to Bixia Yuanjun here in 1627 added the lure of a fourth-month pilgrimage to attract female and literati visitors.⁵⁷

The eastern suburbs were less scenic. The Shrine to the Three Loyal Ones (Sanzhongci) was on the canal route east of the city, just outside the walls, and its waterside pavilion, shaded by huai and cypress trees, made it a convenient and relatively elegant place to say farewell to travellers departing the capital.⁵⁸

As late Ming Peking literati went into the countryside on excursions to enjoy the spring weather and fall foliage, or to make pilgrimages, or to dally with courtesans, they made their destinations part of the social world of the city and eased the conversion of countryside into suburbs. Understanding this process, we can begin to appreciate the disruptions caused by the Qing conquest in 1644. The villas of the aristocracy were appropriated at that time, and within a century the most popular sites (and sights) in the Western Hills had been cordoned off for imperial use. As immigrant Banner communi-

56. *BJTB* 58:38; Shen Bang 17:168; Jiang Yikui 3:45–46; Yuan Hongdao 9:502–4; Yuan Zhongdao 1:99, 1:232, 2:68, 2:70; *DJ* 5:191–95; Liu Ruoyu 20:4–5; *STFZ* 1593:1:15.

57. *DJ* 3:119–21; *JWK* 90:1531. The Bixia cult also spurred the more modest development of Shijingshan (Stone Path Mountain) due west of Peking; *DJ* 6:280–83.

58. Jiang Yikui 4:80–81; *DJ* 2:80–82; *JWK* 89:1515. The three were Zhuge Liang, Yue Fei, and Wen Tianxiang.

ties settled in the suburbs, development intensified, and the links to a Ming past that had accumulated over centuries were severed. Interested Qing scholars would struggle to determine the location of vanished sights and, eventually, infused these sights with pangs of nostalgia.

URBAN SIGHTS

The texture of life within Peking's imposing city walls ranged unevenly from the open, dusty, and rural to the noisy, densely crowded, and unmistakably urban. Here fewer sites had the water or view that might make them conventionally "scenic." The core of the city containing the lovely lake complex of the Western Park (Xiyuan) was effectively off limits to ordinary people, though publicized by officials invited in as guests.

The three smaller public lakes that lay north of the Imperial City were correspondingly important. Here the bridges, together with the temples and villas that lined the banks, provided access points for people to enjoy the open waters known variously as the Lotus Pond (Lianhuachi), Pool of Gathered Waters (Jishuitan), Lake of Pure Vocations (Jingyehu), Sea of a Dozen Temples (Shishahai), or the Seas (Haizi). One could banquet beside fragrant lotus blossoms, shoot off elaborate fireworks, watch eunuchs wash the imperial horses, see water chestnuts being harvested, drink warm wine in the snow, and ride wooden sleds across the ice. The "Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital" listed fifty-seven poems about this lake area, each testimony to active literati pleasure in and access to it.⁵⁹ "There was no such scenic view anywhere else north of the Yangtze."⁶⁰

Not nearly so extensive or handsome, the Bubbling Stream (Paozihe) was another riverine area in the southeast corner of the Northern City. Although hardly bubbling and increasingly reclaimed for urban settlement, the embankments still had trees and reeds and wildlife, and the villas and temples provided escape from the noise and dust of commercial traffic.⁶¹

Several city temples had reputations as suitable spots for cozy winter gatherings—much more convenient than suburban locations, especially in the cold. Although the Lingjigong, west of the Imperial City, had been built by the Yongle emperor, enjoyed regular offerings provided by the Ministry of Rites, and was used for Confucian lectures in the 1550s, late Ming literati took it up as a place to drink with friends on chilly evenings.⁶² And of the

59. Jiang Yikui 1:12–15; *DJ* 1:19–32.

60. *JWK* 53:849–50.

61. *DJ* 2:52–54; *FXZ* 4:5.

62. *DJ* 4:172–76.

Xianlinggong's tall belvedere (also built by Yongle) it was said: "For viewing the moon, nowhere is better than this."⁶³

Another obligatory sight for educated men and aspiring officials was the Confucius temple complex, located since Yuan times near the northeast corner of the city. The First Teacher and those deemed his most important followers were enshrined in these halls, and in the courtyard stood stelae listing the names of those successful at the triennial examinations for the metropolitan degree since 1404. Among the other attractions here were pine trees planted by Yuan Confucians and the ten "stone drums" (*shi gu*) that had been discovered in Shanxi in the Tang, prized in the Song, removed from Kaifeng to Peking by the Jin, and then become the objects of poetic inspiration as well as scholarly interest in the Ming.⁶⁴

Far fewer scenic spots (by literati standards) were to be found in the Southern City, which had been open farmland before the 1550s. The areas around the gates were crowded and commercialized, and the smells and noise of agriculture and manufacturing were pervasive. Nonetheless, elites found a few pseudo-rural sites here. The Monastery of the Dharma Treasury (Fazangsi) in the southeastern part of the Southern City, for example, had a tall pagoda that one could ascend. Climbing a cramped winding staircase with small windows at each level, one could finally see from the top "the autumn colors from afar."⁶⁵

The spacious Temple for Serving the Dynasty (Baoguosi), rebuilt in 1466 by an empress for her brother, was also in time used by a wider public. Proximity to the roads south may have helped give it the reputation of an excellent place to bid farewell to friends who were leaving the capital. Its huge, sprawling, ancient, and bent-over pines, its belvedere with a view of the imperial altars, and its unusual image of Guanyin all seem to have generated a great number of poems: "In Summer Reclining beneath the Pines at Baoguosi," "Climbing the Vairocana Belvedere Together with So-and-So and Then Saying Goodbye," and "An Autumn View at the Baoguosi."⁶⁶

Just north of the Altar to Heaven was a cluster of ponds in which goldfish were raised. In the heat of the summer, when the best fish had been sold or moved, visitors came to stroll. Because these Jinyuchi were not lined with temples and no one famous had a villa here, the area was thought somewhat vulgar by snobs and was popular with a lower class of visitors.⁶⁷

63. Jiang Yikui 2:23-24; *DJ* 4:176-79.

64. Jiang Yikui 1:26-27; *DJ* 1:3-14; *JWK* 67:1107-8; see Mattos chap. 2.

65. *DJ* 2:69, 3:105-6.

66. *DJ* 3:107-16. Forty poems were listed. See also Xie Zhaozhi 10:808.

67. *DJ* 3:102-3.

As befitted a great city, Peking was a place for shopping, and some marketplaces achieved a reputation as urban sights. Qipan Street crossed the area outside the southernmost gate to the Imperial City: the ministries lay to the north, the Front Gate just to the south. Government employees, scholars, artisans, and workers poured into this open space, and its daily market attracted merchants and customers. Although not conventionally scenic, the “Visitor’s Remarks” called it a “prospect” (*jing*) for viewing the abundance credited (naturally) to the ruling house.⁶⁸ A periodic market was held just inside the Forbidden City “on the fours” (the fourth, fourteenth, and twenty-fourth of each month); at this Interior Market (Neishi) one could buy palace surplus and luxury goods controlled by the imperial household.⁶⁹

A flourishing market for new year’s lanterns (Dengshi) was held outside the Donghua Gate of the Forbidden City between 1/8 and 1/18. In response to the concentration of customers, including government employees on holiday and foreign tributaries paying their annual respects, a vast array of goods was available here. A cacophony of popular entertainers greeted the visitor, covered areas were set aside for eating and drinking, and decorated lanterns swayed and flickered all night. By the late Ming, this time and this place had become quite famous, and few literati missed a chance to see and write about it.⁷⁰

Temple fairs would later become common, but in the Ming only one temple housed a regular multipurpose market rather than an annual celebration.⁷¹ The official City-god temple for Peking had been established in the Yuan, restored under Yongle, and repeatedly rebuilt with imperial funds, but its fair was not connected with state-sponsored worship. By the late Ming, it took place three days a month (on the first, fifteenth, and twenty-fifth) and had become a must for acquisitive visitors. Old books and calligraphy, paintings and antiques (both real and fake), and lacquerware and ceramics could be purchased by discerning buyers. Pearls, gems, ivory, and silk were imported from all over the empire, along with Tibetan buddhas, images of Jesus, nomad carpets, and Japanese fans. The incense burners and porcelain of the fifteenth-century Xuande and Chenghua reigns had become so fashionable among cognoscenti that prices mounted precipitously. Sojourners

68. Jiang Yikui 1:11; *DJ* 4:25; Tan Qian 1656:334; Wang Shizhen 1704:1:7–8; *JWK* 43:674; Geiss 1979:76–77.

69. Between 1621 and 1627, it was shifted to another location. Shen Defu 612–13; *FXZ Draft* 1:34.

70. *DJ* 2:57–63, 4:25; *JWK* 45:707–9; Liu Ruoyu 20:1–2; Xie Zhaozhi 3:260–61; Shen Bang 17:167.

71. Wholesale markets—not of tourist interest—were held outside the gates and in the streets: *DJ* 4:25; *JWK* 43:675; *FXZ* 7:11. There is more on the economic life of Peking in Xu Daling, Geiss 1979, and Wakeland.

wrote with exhilaration of items they had astutely spotted and purchased here, further stimulating the appetites of their readers.⁷²

Visual records of early seventeenth-century Peking captured—and advertised—some of these sites of commerce and consumption. In the tradition of the Song painting “Going up the River on Qingming,” the “Accumulated Sights of the Imperial Capital” handscroll (“Huangdu ji sheng”) attempted to capture the larger city by portraying it as a lively commercial center. With a colophon dated 1609, this substantial six-meter scroll unrolled to take the viewer on a winding path to and through the late Ming city. The viewer began in the south, in the countryside, and took the route across Lugou Bridge, into the city by the Yongding Gate, up the central axis and through the Front Gate and the Qipan Market, moving into the Northern City and then, eventually, ending up at the Juyong Pass on the Great Wall—a journey from one of the Eight Vistas to another. The rural-urban contrast illustrated strikingly the city’s dense vitality. Especially in the congested area south of the Forbidden City, gaily decorated shops, eager buyers, peddlers, performers, and people on foot, on horseback, in carts and sedan chairs were shown in considerable and lively detail. Whatever its purpose, the scroll certainly captured the urbanness of Peking life in a way that the travel literature only hinted at.⁷³

Maps, seen by a wider public than such an unusual handscroll, also foregrounded features of the city that were only implicit in literati writings. The map in the 1560 “List of the Alleys and Wards of the Five Districts of the Capital”—as shown in Figure 5.1—indicated the Drum and Bell Towers and Dongyuemiao as well as the Eight Vistas, lakes, and great altars.⁷⁴ Drawn but not labeled were the West Four-Arches, East Four-Arches, West Single-Arch, and East Single-Arch, major intersections on either side of the Forbidden City that were well-known points of orientation and symbols of the city’s urban trade and congestion—and, in the case of the execution ground at the West Four-Arches intersection, state power.⁷⁵

In books, pictures, poems, and essays of sojourners and (a few) local men,

72. Shen Bang 18:189; *DJ* 4:161–70; *JWK* 50:792–99; Shen Defu 613. These famous descriptions have been translated in Clunas 1991:136–37 and elsewhere.

73. See Wang Hongjun. No information was provided here about the possible purposes for which this painting was executed or the content of the colophon by Weng Zhengchun, then vice-minister of rites. *DMB* 212, 1331. It is now in the History Museum in Peking.

74. The only other places shown were the Great Exercise Yard in the north suburbs and Zhengcunba, a town northeast of the city where imperial horses were bred.

75. Lei Dashou. These arches were one of the few landmarks on the 1593 Shuntian prefectural gazetteer map. They were also shown on one of the paintings marking palace hall restorations: see Painting #1 in Chapter 5 n.46.

late Ming Peking was presented as a consumable array of desirable sights. Lists of things to see helped constitute this version of Peking and to pinpoint it geographically. The city so described had a variety of impressive and memorable places and objects, a wealth of famous visitors, and unusual opportunities to acquire high-status goods. Value was defined by the standards of the educated scholar-official elite, and the throne and central government played minor roles. Established elites and socially ambitious readers learned about a Peking that was different from, but complementary to, that of the imperial capital.⁷⁶ The tone of the Ming literati tourist was nearly always positive, and we encounter surprisingly few criticisms.⁷⁷ These we must imagine for ourselves. Selective and partial though they were, the Peking sights defined in the Ming survived to become part of the later city's distinctive and treasured features.

In the city's annual calendar of holidays we can see another, overlapping but still different, version of Peking—the city as understood by natives rather than sojourners. Just as a list of famous sights encapsulated Peking in space, so holidays articulated the city's identity in time. Although sights enjoyed by visitors might be treated with indifference by local people, holidays were necessarily sustained by the residents of Peking. Visitors sometimes joined in these celebrations, but it was not in their power to create them. Through an analysis of this calendar we can therefore see a more broadly based version of the capital's identity.

ANNUAL FESTIVALS

In Peking, certain shared practices were associated with certain times of the year. Where these annual observances were similar to those in other parts of the empire, they manifested the city's participation in a larger Chinese culture. By the late Ming, Peking's yearly cycle had become predictable and distinctive, an important feature of the city's identity, and part of the foundation of its urban community.⁷⁸

Adherence to a calendar marked by the progression of lunar months, solstices, equinoxes, and four seasons was one way that “civilized” Chinese were

76. Every aspiring degree candidate knew of the Hanlin Secretariat, appointment to which was reserved for only the cream of those who won the *jinshi* degree and would usually guarantee a successful career. Surely aspirants wanted to see this place, if only from the outside, but it is rarely mentioned in the literature. Similarly, the ministry offices were not, it seems, considered appropriate as objects of a tourist gaze. But see Wang Canchi 105 for a twenty-*juan* “Account of the Hanlin” by Huang Zuo (1490–1566); *DMB* 670–71.

77. Perhaps I was not looking in the right places; perhaps they didn't survive.

78. Some of the material in this section was published in an earlier form in Naquin 1994.

demarcated from “barbarian” others. On this calendar, a number of dates had long since come to be widely acknowledged as Chinese holidays, the most important of which was the early spring new year itself. These shared dates linked the present to a venerable past and stood as markers of common culture (even when practice changed or varied). The combination of shared and particular observances made up the distinctive fabric of local society. Familiar enough to be recognizable, holidays also allowed Chinese travellers to feel both at home and abroad.

Chinese had a long tradition of writing about “annual occurrences” (*suishì*).⁷⁹ Some were described in the “customs” (*fengsu*) section of local histories, but for Peking little has survived before Shen Bang’s 1593 “Miscellaneous Notes,” which included a short section on local customs, one part of which was on the annual calendar.⁸⁰ In the 1635 “Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital,” calendrical celebrations were buried under the entry for the Spring Clearing, the location of the first of these observances.⁸¹ It was undoubtedly the contribution of Peking native Yu Yizheng that gave this work its knowledgeable detail.

Neither the “Visitor’s Remarks on the Capital” nor the 1619 “Unofficial Gleanings from the Wanli Reign,” both by men from central China who lived and worked in Peking, provided a local calendar, although each discussed such festivities in passing. The “Records of a Sightseeing Excursion to the Capital” by Sun Guomi seems to have been similarly haphazard, mentioning annual festivities only in connection with other topics.⁸²

Alas, the fullest expression of this tradition—the “Account of the Annual Seasons in the Northern Capital” (*Beijing suihua ji*) by Lu Qihong—another sojourner—is no longer extant. It was written in the early seventeenth century (the 1630s?) and, judging from the title and the citations that survive, described the annual calendar in a systematic fashion.⁸³ The timing of pub-

79. Such accounts had focused on both cities and regions, including imperial capitals. See Bodde 1–21. A section on the calendar had long been included in the institutional encyclopedias (*huiyao*) for earlier dynasties and appeared sporadically in local histories and accounts of capital cities: Balazs & Hervouet 132–52, 175–78 passim. Information on Peking’s particular calendar is to be found in many of the works discussed earlier in this chapter.

80. Shen Bang 17:167–69. The short calendar in the 1593 Shuntian prefectural gazetteer (1:14–17) appears to have been drawn from Shen. The fourteenth-century “Gazetteer of Peking” included information about annual festivals but was largely concerned with the court (*Xijin* 202–5, 211–24). Sections on “local customs” were, by contrast, plentiful in the Qing and Republican local histories. See Ding Shiliang & Zhao Fang.

81. *DJ* 2:65–80; the basic calendar was set out on pp. 66–71.

82. Jiang Yikui; Shen Defu. Sun’s work is quoted in *JWK* passim.

83. This text was quoted in *JWK* 147–48:2344–69 passim, and Zhang Jiangcai 1936b. It can be dated by internal evidence to sometime after 1592, probably the Chongzhen reign. Wang Canchi 179–82 set out many of the surviving fragments. For Lu: Chen Tian 4:3343.

lication suggests, moreover, a connection with the other examples of heightened local self-consciousness found in this period.

Peking residents claimed to observe certain holidays that were long and widely established as traditional and Chinese: *yuandan* (new year's day) and *yuanyao* (the lantern festival), *qingming* (clear and bright, the day for visiting family graves), *duanwu* (5/5), *yulanhui* (the mid-summer ghost festival), *zhongqiu* (the moon festival), *dongzhi* (winter solstice), *laba* (12/8), and seeing off the Stove-god (12/24).⁸⁴ Visual displays of generic seasonal symbols used by all classes also signalled participation in the domain of Chinese culture: a magpie bridge illustrated the legend associated with 7/7, chrysanthemums symbolized autumn, the lotus represented summer, poisonous creatures were linked with the fifth month, and lanterns with the new year.⁸⁵ When a local custom had older counterparts or used a well-established name, educated authors cited classical texts for it. Peking's late Ming practices were thus imbued with the weight of antiquity and the sheen of (Chinese) universalism.⁸⁶

The widely shared calendar was inflected and amplified with the particularities of the northern capital's climate and geography.⁸⁷ The fourth and fifth months (usually May and June), when the Peking weather was ideal for outings, were filled with formal occasions for visiting suburban temples and eating and drinking beneath the trees and beside the streams. This season was associated locally with the smells and colors of local plants: pale green willows, sweet-smelling peonies, pink peach, white apricot, and yellow persimmon blossoms. Indeed, Peking's entire year could be experienced as a succession of seasonal entertainments suitable to the weather and of available foods: glutinous rice cakes and fireworks at the new year, cricket fighting in the summer, moon-cakes in the autumn, and sledding and *laba* porridge in the winter.⁸⁸ Because Peking was a city of lakes and streams, it did not have the dragon-boat racing that was supposed to be typical of the fifth

84. See, for example, Bodde for Han festivals, or the table of contents for the Song *Suishu guangji* in Balazs & Hervouet 127–28.

85. Stuart 1993:48–50.

86. The mixing of old and new names obscured the differences between living and dead practices. When invoking the past, late Ming calendrical accounts most often mentioned Han, Tang, or Song customs rather than those of the more recent northern dynasties, a reflection perhaps of an unease with Peking's northern past.

87. This section relies on Shen Bang 17:167–69, 19:203, 206–8; *STFZ* 1593:1:14–15; *DJ* 2:65–80 and shorter entries at 1:18–28, 3:102–3, 3:122–25, 5:191–95, 5:217–22, 7:78; the fragmentary *Beijing suihua ji* (see note 83); Liu Ruoyu 20:1–10; *JFTZ* 1683:1:9–10; *JWK* 147:2354. Other material was found in Jiang Yikui 1:10, 1:32, 1:35, 3:45–46; Shen Defu 67–68, 619, 898–99, 901; Kwōn Hyōp 117; Kim Yuk 221; and other Ming sources quoted in *JFTZ* 1683:1:8–11, *JWK* 53:849–52, and Zhang Jiangcai 1936b:passim. For festivals celebrated in temples, more detailed and specific citations are given as appropriate.

88. Many of the special dishes and games had names that resist translation and were entirely particular to their respective holidays. Even the wealthy, who could afford to resist this

TABLE 8.1 Annual Calendar, 1635

According to the "Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital"

<i>Date</i>	<i>Activity</i>
<i>lichun</i>	Prefect and elites "welcome spring" in the eastern suburbs.
1/1-15	Lunar new year. Families celebrate the new year at home and call on relatives and friends over the next weeks. Visit certain temples.
1/8-18	Lantern market. Buy, display, and view lanterns on city streets.
1/15	Lantern festival. Everyone can stroll the streets and stay out all night.
1/19	Celebrate <i>yanjiu</i> at the White Cloud Daoist monastery.
1/25	Cook and eat a huge meal of special cakes, called "filling up the granaries."
2/2	Clear out insects and eat special foods associated with the "dragon raising his head."
<i>qingming</i>	Commemorate deceased ancestors by visiting family graveyards.
3/28	Birthday of the God of the Eastern Peak, celebrated in his temple.
4/8	Birthday of Shakyamuni, celebrated in Buddhist monasteries.
4/18	Birthday of Bixia Yuanjun, celebrated in various temples.
5/5	Visit scenic spots. Take prophylactic measures to "avoid poisons" thought to be in the air.
5/13	Birthday of Guan Yu, celebrated at his temples.
6/6	Air books and clothing, at homes and in temples.
<i>san fu</i>	During the hottest days, bathe the imperial elephants in the moat.
7/7	Girls forecast their domestic skills by floating needles in a bowl in their home courtyards.
7/15	Religious professionals perform rites in temples to appease the spirits of the untended dead, culminating in the floating of lantern boats on city lakes.
8/15	Make offerings to the full moon. Families eat moon-cakes together.
9/9	Visit high places to enjoy the view.
10/1	Send spirit-clothing to deceased relatives in anticipation of winter.
<i>dongzhi</i>	Winter solstice. Officials celebrate; others begin counting out the coming days of winter.
12/8	Eat special porridge.
12/24	Each household fetes its Stove-god.
12/25	Make offerings in the home to the Jade Emperor.
12/30	Hold rites in the home; family gathers and stays up to see in the new year.

day of the fifth month; picnics, suburban horse races, and archery competitions provided a local equivalent.⁸⁹ Visitors and long-term residents could thus connect capital holidays with the ones they knew at home. (See Table 8.1 for details.)⁹⁰

The annual calendar also wove specific places in and around Peking into this fabric. Many holidays took place outside the home, occasionally in streets and markets, sometimes on riverbanks and lakesides, but most often within or beside temples. Few such celebrations lacked a connection to a religious or ritual space; holy days were holidays and combined secular entertainments with pious actions. Often accompanied by rites performed by clerics, these celebrations were open to all and were attended by individuals and groups of relatives or friends.

The first great public festivity of the first month, the lantern festival, drew people into all the city streets but had its geographic focus at the Lantern Market, just east of the Imperial City. (See Map 8.1.) It was the custom that during the second week of the new year, as the holiday came to a close—and particularly on the fifteenth day, when the moon was full—everyone, women and children as well as men, were free to walk the streets all night long. Even the great gates between the Northern and Southern Cities were kept open by special dispensation. Decorated lanterns were strung outside the gates of most buildings, visible signs of the wealth of their donors, illuminating the streets and attracting the strolling crowds. Firecrackers were set off continuously, everywhere, and the whole city became a shared public space.

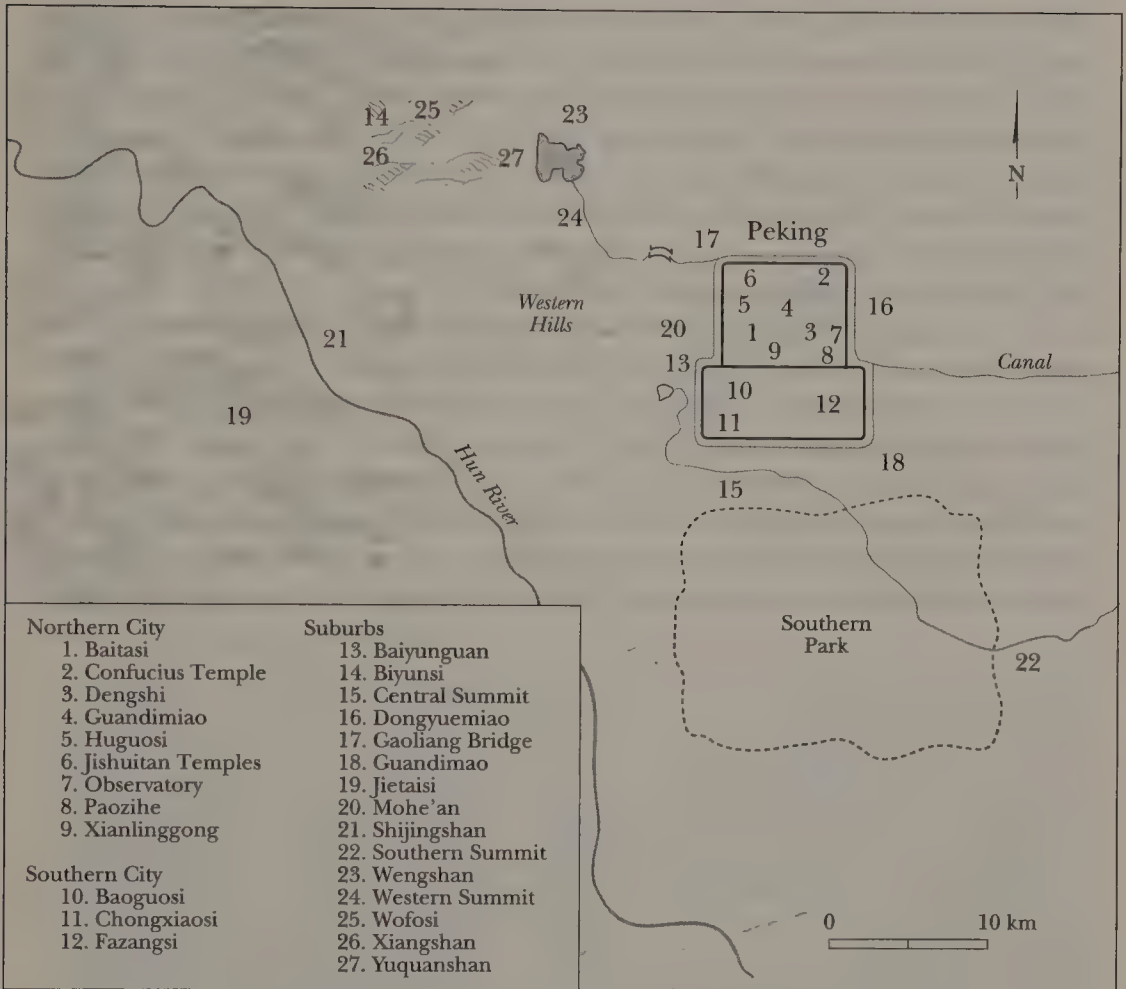
There were several places that people expected to visit during the new year's season. On the first day of the year, many went to the big Dongyue temple east of the city, and for several days early in the new year some also circumambulated the Mongol-style stupa of the Baitasi. Monks at the Fazangsi in the southeastern part of the Southern City attracted visitors by putting lanterns in the niches of the fifty-eight Buddhas that decorated the sides of their pagoda, circumambulating it and "making music to please the Buddha."

By the eighteenth day, lanterns had been taken down, and the next day another large celebration occurred, one exclusive to Peking. The White Cloud Monastery just outside the city to the west had been made famous by the presence (and later grave) of the Jin dynasty Quanzhen daoist Qiu Chuji. In popular lore, it was expected that Qiu would return to earth in a disguised form on 1/19 (variously described as the anniversary of his birth and his

cycle—buying the early flowering branches, earliest spring tea, first fruits, hothouse flowers out of season—were still constrained by it.

89. Only on palace lakes were there actually dragon boats. Liu Ruoyu 20:6.

90. For Table 8.1 and the related discussion, I have relied primarily on *DJ* 2:65–80 (esp. 66–71), as well as shorter entries at 1:18–28, 3:102–3, 3:122–25, 5:191–95, 5:217–22, 7:78. I have read and compared the other contemporaneous accounts discussed in note 87.



Map 8.1. Sights of Ming Peking

death). Daoist clerics therefore came from far away in hope of encountering the immortal (disguised as a scholar, as a courtesan, as a beggar, who knew?), and by the late Ming, thousands of others—men and women, respectable and not so respectable—did the same. People called the day *yan-jiu* (a term written and understood variously). Adjacent open land provided space for riding and archery and football contests, popular entertainers and picnicking. Rich eunuchs used the day to give money and food to the poor, attracting even more people.

Other holidays meant visits to other temples. The eighth day of the fourth month was the day for “bathing the Buddha” (*yu fo*), a symbolic cleansing of temple images. In some places, these private clerical rites were a public affair in which donors participated. On the eighteenth day of that month, people went to the suburbs to pray at one of the many temples to Bixia Yuan-

jun on her birthday. During the mid-summer period of Buddhist sutra recitation that culminated in the sending forth of lotus-lantern boats on 7/15, people picnicked along the lakes in the Northern City, watched the flickering lights drifting amid the real lotuses, and enjoyed the fireworks exploding into the shapes of ducks, geese, turtles, and fish. Rather few other public festivals marked the rest of the year.⁹¹ On 9/9 it was expected that one would climb to a high place to sit and enjoy the view; within the flat city, literati preferred the belvederes attached to temples.⁹²

The two dozen temples used for these holidays were located in equal measure inside the Northern City, in the Southern City, and in the suburbs. Most were within such easy reach that in the course of the year, an energetic celebrant would have crisscrossed the capital many times, visiting different sites inside and outside the walls. These habits must have tied the city together, familiarizing visitors and residents with new neighborhoods and creating shared experiences across social classes. In some ways, it was the complex city itself that was embodied, acted out, and dramatized through the annual calendar.

Of course, holidays were also occasions for the continual creation and re-assertion of difference.

The actual calendars experienced by Peking's heterogeneous inhabitants were poorly captured by literati accounts. Although a few festivals officiated by Buddhist or Daoist clerics had become part of more general celebrations, monasteries had their own calendars. The holidays of Peking's Muslims, Mongols, and Christians existed in even more separate spheres. The official rituals performed by the emperor and his substitutes at the suburban altars and other government-funded temples likewise constituted a sequence that only occasionally coincided with the "annual occurrences" experienced by most of the population.⁹³ (In their private capacities, however, residents of the palace were very much a part of Peking life, even as they used such occasions to display their special status.)⁹⁴

Many holidays were clearly gendered. Juggling five balls, rubbing the metal locks of the city gates, or performing similar actions during the first month of the year were believed to increase a woman's fertility. Women and girls were permitted to stroll about the city at night during the lantern festival,

91. The moon festival on 8/15 was usually celebrated at home.

92. Guidebooks mentioned, among others, the seven-story pagoda at the Fazangsi, the two towers of the Xianlinggong in the Northern City, and the belvedere of the Baoguosi.

93. The only official-cum-community rite mentioned in guidebooks was the "welcoming of spring," a ritual that brought together local officials and scholars attached to the prefectural school.

94. Liu Ruoyu 20:1-10; *DMB* 952. Liu devoted much attention to what Fang Chaoying has characterized as the palace "gastronomical calendar." Eunuchs and palace women changed their

ostensibly looking at the lanterns and actually enjoying an unusual freedom to see and be seen.⁹⁵

Although many sources described excursions by *shi nü*—gentry men and women—some holidays were specifically associated with extrafamilial male pleasures. The custom of “tramping amid greenery” and the various visits to suburban scenic areas in the fourth and fifth months were occasions for men to take along courtesans or prostitutes and—even on days like the Buddha’s birthday—enjoy the pleasures of drink, music, and sexual dalliance.

Nonetheless, holidays were occasions for the temporary creation of communities. Many were family affairs, intended to be enjoyed within the privacy of the home; attendant rituals were performed inside the house, in courtyards, or at the front gate: the ceremonies of the new year, filling up one’s “granaries” on 1/25, eating a certain kind of cake and fumigating the household on 2/2, wearing special prophylactic charms and having special food on 5/5, floating needles on 7/7, making offerings to the moon on 8/15, consuming twelfth-month porridge, and giving gifts to the Stove-god on 12/24.

For most people in Peking, of whatever social strata, holidays were times when relatives were expected to be together and express their solidarity. Often it was the sharing a meal of special foods that marked the occasion.⁹⁶ Certain children’s toys and games and rhymes, also associated with particular times of the year, were impressed in the minds of the young and so remembered and passed on with nostalgic pleasure by adults. Other activities emphasized the patrilineal axis across generations: new year’s prostrations before ancestral tablets, of course, and sweeping the graves on *qingming* and in the seventh month.

Visits made during the two weeks at the new year were the quintessential occasion for reinforcing and reconfirming social networks among friends and relatives. Other (fewer) occasions strengthened affinal ties by legitimating visits by married women to their natal families. The first five days of the fifth month, known as the daughters’ holiday (*nü’er jie*), were a time for such a visit, as was 9/9.

In these ways, the Peking that was both created and symbolized by the annual calendar belonged to the wider populace, not just the literati tourist.

clothing seasonally, each with appropriate symbolic decorations, and they sought out favorite spots within the palace grounds (especially the Western Park) to enjoy the cycle of flowers and flowering trees. The court paintings of the new year and lantern festival within the palace described in Chapter 5 are the only surviving illustrations of calendrical celebrations known to me.

95. The seventh day of the seventh month was a time for private rites by and about women.

96. Especially foods distinguished by the addition of expensive and memorable fillings (nuts, dried fruits, sweets, and meat).

Although there were many sets of holidays rather than one single sequence, taken together, they added up to the kaleidoscopic and distinctive annual calendar of the northern capital. To those who lived their lives in Peking, these layered rhythms would have been unconscious but essential, binding them to this city. And the regular, predictable visits to different places in the city at different times of the year created for those who experienced them a special sense of what Peking was. By the late Ming, this temporal and spatial fabric was well woven.

MING PEKING

By the early seventeenth century, the Yuan dynasty capital of Dadu had been entirely transformed into a Ming city known throughout the empire, one that few would have dared call anything but great. Tens of thousands visited or sojourned here, and perhaps a million people called it home. It was the seat of the current dynasty, pinnacle of the administrative hierarchy, a scenic bustling city, and a legitimate rival to Suzhou and Nanking.

Of course, for much of the Ming the prestigious cultural standards of old scholar-elite families were still being set in the Lower Yangtze, and especially in Suzhou. By the mid-fifteenth century, that city on the Grand Canal had recovered from the destruction of the dynastic founding and was once again the preeminent city of the region, probably of the empire.⁹⁷ Suzhou's confident sense of self was manifested in—among other things—unusually specific pictorial representations portrayed by local literati artists: Shen Zhou (who seems to have established the genre in the fifteenth century), Wen Zhengming, Lu Zhi, and Zhang Hong, among others.⁹⁸ By the late Ming, the city's landmarks and villas had been defined and advertised for a national literati audience. Such pictures were only one manifestation of the sense of cultural superiority that permitted Wen Zhenheng to contrast (in the early seventeenth century) the genuine connoisseur with “some northern dolt.”⁹⁹

The differences between Peking and Nanking were of another order. The Ming founder had made his capital in a city whose older names of Jiankang and Jinling had powerful cultural resonances, but Yongle had demoted it to the “Southern Capital.” After the 1440s, duplicate offices and ceremonial functions remained, emptied of substantive power, and Nanking languished. Imperial symbolism continued to be important to the city's self-definition,

97. Marmé 1987, 1993; Mote 1973.

98. E.g., Cahill 1978: esp. chaps. 2 and 6; Cahill 1982a:39–59; *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, plate 152, pp. 181–84, plate 155, pp. 187–89; Shan Guoqiang 3–15; J. M. Ma 159–62.

99. Clunas 1997:116. Also Clunas 1996:chap. 4. Less-sanguine views of Suzhou, which might well have found Tiger Hill inaccessible or elite domination oppressive, are harder for us to see but must have existed. They did later. See Marmé 1993:39–44.

and by the late Ming, its economic life had become lively, even contentious.¹⁰⁰ By the 1620s, scroll paintings described the streets and shops, a visual and textual tourist literature was developing, and many literati found the city relaxed and attractive in a way that Peking could not be.¹⁰¹

By 1600 Peking had nevertheless matured into a powerful city that could compete successfully in cultural reputation with rivals elsewhere in the empire. Even without the organized corporate identity known in cities elsewhere in the world, or the distinguished local elites of central China, the Ming capital had certainly developed its own personality. In fact, Peking had become a city with several intertwined personalities and, accommodative of such differences, was the stronger for them.

The idea of Imperial Peking, home of the reigning dynasty, was embedded in the city's layout, embodied in the court elite, located within the imperial domain, enacted in the temples and rituals of the state religion, and preserved in the physical and textual monuments created by the court elite. Walled off from the rest of the city and open only to certain people, imperial Peking was both invisible and omnipresent. For the court community inside the imperial domain, the rest of the city was a separate sphere in which they could intervene often and easily. Peking's imperial identity, like the imperial presence, may have threatened to overpower or stifle other life, and yet it ensured the steady infusion of money and visitors into the local scene and brought Peking a unique grandeur and cosmopolitanism.

Peking was simultaneously the Jingshi, administrative capital of the Ming empire, an identity that was embodied in its government buildings and examination hall, symbolized in its great walls and gates, and reflected in the steady stream of men who held degrees or office (or aspired to do so). Public rituals in the city allowed these men to represent the state, and politics was the lifeblood of their private and public gatherings. Next to the imperial household, government was the city's biggest employer, and its activities overflowed into most aspects of local life. The immense political, economic, scholarly, and cultural resources commandeered by the state connected the city indissolubly to the empire.

100. Von Glahn 1991; Mote 1977; Marmé 1987:436; Peterson 1979:passim. It was usually in contrast to Nanking that Peking was occasionally termed "Beijing."

101. Pictures of Nanking were, like those for Peking, late in coming as compared with Suzhou, but see Wang Hongjun & Liu Ruzhong. For vistas: *SHTM* 3:Hu-1-1028, 7:Su 24-0163. For a 1623 book with forty pictures of the city showing its urban character and specific sights, accompanied by verse, see Zhu Zhifan's *Jinling tuyong* mentioned in Hummel 170-72. In the 1620s and 1630s, guidebooks for elite visitors like those written for Peking were also being produced (Hummel 170-72). Liu Tong and Yu Yizheng, authors of the *Dijing jingwu lue*, had planned a similar book on Nanking. The fin de siècle appeal of very late Ming Nanking may have been exaggerated by the nostalgia that followed the Qing conquest. See Struve 1980; Bryant. For late Ming representations of Hangzhou: Clunas 1997:84.

By the early seventeenth century, the sights of Peking had also identified the city as a tourist destination for educated men and as a place where empirewide holidays were experienced in distinctively local ways. Visitors came to Peking because it was the seat of the dynasty, capital of the empire, and the biggest city in the region. As an object of tourist interest, the capital was defined by its sights, recorded in scattered poems, prose, and paintings, and experienced in holiday celebrations. A composite of individual scenic moments inflected with the passage of the seasons, this Peking was not concentrated in the walled city but extended loosely outward and had its center of gravity in the northwest suburbs. By the early seventeenth century, some of this personality was crystallized in works written to guide visitors.

For those born and bred here, these imperial, administrative, and scenic versions of the capital coexisted with the city that was their hometown. Associated with local foods, a distinctive annual cycle of holidays, its own dialect, and a fluid boundary between walled city and suburb, this Peking was weakly expressed in public (or private?) written or visual media. Unsure of itself and fragmented administratively, even the local elite identified with either the court or the literati of central China and did not emerge as strong leaders in their own right. Nevertheless, although large sections of the town were occupied by the throne or the government and many of its nicest open spaces were beloved by visitors, local residents were still able to express their Peking in cross-class religious festivals and organizations and in a vigorous economy of buyers and sellers, shops and services.

That these different versions of Peking could coexist was a sign of the accommodative strength of all great cities. Variety, competition, and cosmopolitanism flourished, even in the domineering presence of the throne. Temples played an important role in each of Peking's identities, in part because they shared the city's accommodativeness. Open to a range of uses and patrons, simultaneously and over time, they provided a venue for diverse social groups to constitute and express themselves. And yet, the strong imperial and government presence was never far away, and Peking's temples, like the local population, had always to live in its shadow.

But *caveat lector*. These visions of Peking's identity have presented too pretty a picture: an imperial court intent on good deeds not extraction, rites that unfolded flawlessly, a government unchallenged by the poor, dishonest, or rebellious citizen, and the unblemished tourist site in fine weather. Influenced by the sources and the constraints of my own focus, I have (albeit knowingly) replicated these misrepresentations.

In reality, emperors neglected their responsibilities, the palace went unweeded, sewers stank, beggars pleaded, bureaucrats schemed, the powerful abused their power, the rich became richer, and the poor stayed poor. There were abusive officials and pretentious scholars, lecherous monks who broke their vows, greedy abbots who squandered temple property, and self-

righteous pilgrims who flaunted their piety. Peking was no paradise, and the ugly underside is missing here.

It seems a sad irony that by 1600, as Peking secured its place within the empire, the Ming ruling house lost its grip on power. In the middle of the seventeenth century, a new ruling family founded a new dynasty and imported hundreds of thousands of followers, people who forcibly displaced the entire population of the Northern City. In consequence, the social body of Peking underwent major surgery of the most drastic sort, and after 1644 the inhabitants of the city had to begin—again—the difficult process of rebuilding their communities and their sense of themselves.

PART THREE

Qing Peking

CHAPTER 9

1644:

Partition and Transition

OCCUPATION

In the middle of the seventeenth century the Ming dynasty was unseated. Two generations earlier, a man called Nurgaci had put together the coalition of frontier peoples from northeast of the Great Wall that would eventually seize power. Calling themselves “Manchus” and invoking the Jurchen rulers who had governed northern China in the twelfth century under the name of Jin (from whom they claimed to be descended), during the 1610s–1630s Nurgaci and his sons attacked or allied with the peoples to their north, progressively seized the towns of the Liao River area, and periodically raided Ming territory inside the wall. They combined fighting skills with bureaucratic organization, agricultural surplus with monopolies on valuable trade items, and, by allocating followers to different “banners,” created a society-in-arms that expanded with each victory. In 1644 they seized Peking and the empire. They called their dynasty “Qing” (pure).

The government structures and ideology of the Ming state were continued after the conquest. Because the Qing rulers of the next two centuries were a hard-working and efficient lot (especially when compared to their Ming predecessors), in time they tightened and strengthened these organs of state, secured and then extended the frontiers, and presided over a large and heterogeneous empire. Although society in general became more fluid, Banner people (*qiren*)—the pre-1644 followers of the Manchus and their descendants—remained a distinct and privileged caste, resident in the Northeast, in and around Peking, and in a few strategically deployed garrisons. Bannermen participated in government together with (and as a check on) Chinese, but Banner armies remained a separate military institution under the throne’s control. The Qing system functioned well enough, perhaps even too well, until the nineteenth century, and even then the rulers were able

to stave off devastating domestic rebellions and foreign imperialist pressures until finally being overthrown in 1911 by revolutionaries driven by modern nationalist ideas.¹

In the spring of 1644, few could have anticipated that Qing rule would work so well or last so long. For residents of Peking, the consequences of the change of dynasty were particularly dramatic and enduring in their effect. No place in the empire felt the presence of the conquerors so intensely.

Although the new Qing state had been several generations in the making, and although it would be months before substantial Ming resistance was eliminated and decades before full control over the empire was established, Qing seizure of the capital in the fifth lunar month of 1644 can be rightly seen as the beginning of their 268-year rule. A great interest in this transition has prompted historians to examine closely the now well-known events of this year.²

Peasant rebels under Li Zicheng approach the capital from the west while the successors of Nurgaci gather just beyond the Great Wall in the east. The reigning Chongzhen emperor commits suicide. Li's forces occupy Peking. The Ming general Wu Sangui, whose units are poised between the Manchu invaders and the capital, chooses to side with the Qing. Banner armies enter China proper, join Wu, and defeat the rebels. Li and his followers abandon Peking, and Qing troops march into the capital, announcing their intention to restore order to the city and the realm.

We know in some detail how the drama of these national events was played out in Peking in the third, fourth, and fifth lunar months (April, May, and June) of 1644: the mounting concern of metropolitan officials, the last days and hours of the Chongzhen emperor, Li Zicheng's forty-two-day occupation of the city, his humiliation of Ming officials, Wu Sangui's dilemma, and the hesitant welcome for the Qing regent Dorgon. We also know about the consequences of the rebel occupation on the city: the accumulated private damages resulting from the "scouring" of homes and palaces by the rough and ready peasant rebels; the initial suicides of Ming officials and the slaughter of city residents at the last; and the burning of parts of the Forbidden City just prior to the rebels' departure.³ In this narrative, Peking was the stage for a national drama. In most accounts, the entry of Qing armies into the city, like the last scene in a Shakespearean play, brought the action to a triumphant close. But for Peking itself, the drama was far from over.

1. These events are extensively covered in the secondary literature. Wakeman 1985:chap. 14 argued that Qing successes may have obviated the need for more revolutionary changes.

2. E.g., Wakeman 1979, 1985:chap. 4.

3. Wakeman 1979:70-71, 1985:314-15; *Wanping xian zhi* 2:3; Zhu Xie 1947.

Qing soldiers and their households were ordered to move into the capital. In order to accommodate them, Chinese residents were moved out of their homes; the entire Northern City was given over to the Banners, and the Southern City became the residence for relocated Chinese. This event, momentous as it was to the history of Peking, has remained unstudied. In this chapter I reconstruct in a preliminary fashion what happened and then consider why we know so much about Peking just before the Qing conquest and so little about the city just after.⁴

The Banner armies under Dorgon, the thirty-three-year-old son of Nurgaci and regent for the young Shunzhi emperor, reached Peking in the morning of the second day of the fifth lunar month, but few city residents seem to have known what this “Great Qing Dynasty” (*Da Qing Guo*) was. They wondered about these approaching forces: were they led by people from the Northeast, or by General Wu Sangui, or perhaps by one of the Ming princes? The strangers had distinctive martial attire and paraphernalia and wore their hair in a bizarre fashion; some spoke Manchu, some Mongol, and some Chinese. When Dorgon himself first addressed the crowd, one person, struggling to make sense of him, explained ingeniously that he must be a descendant of the Ming emperor Yingzong who had been captured in battle by Mongols in 1449, and was now coming to reclaim the throne.⁵

The transition to Qing rule in Peking was remarkably smooth. The rebels had departed, and there was no organized resistance. Disciplined Banner soldiers were assigned guard duties and forbidden to loot.⁶ But where were they to stay? No sooner was order restored than the disruptive occupation of the homes of city residents began. On 6/10 Dorgon issued tax remissions in order to soften the blow: one year for Chinese who were sharing their buildings with the occupying forces, three years for those whose property was being taken over entirely.⁷ The following day, to further clarify Qing intentions, he announced that Peking (which he was calling “Yanjing”) would be the new dynastic capital.⁸

4. Because it is not based on extensive research in the Chinese and Manchu archives of the period, the following account is only a partial answer to the question of what happened in Peking in the first decade of Qing rule.

5. QSL-SZ 5:1–2. That emperor had returned in 1450 and resumed the throne in 1457. Wakeman 1979:74, 1985:314–15; *DMB* 289–90.

6. QSL-SZ 5:8.

7. What taxes did Dorgon mean? Did he understand that urban residents were not liable for annual taxes? See discussion in Chapter 11.

8. QSL-SZ 5:15–16. “Yanjing” was an appellation used in the Liao period. The Qing employed it frequently during 1644 and occasionally thereafter when referring to this time (QSL-SZ *passim*). The Qing capital had hitherto been Shenyang.

But rumors still flew. Many residents couldn't or wouldn't believe that the newcomers were here to stay, and optimists misinterpreted the return of Banner soldiers to the Northeast to fetch their families as an indication that all would soon be leaving.⁹ Pessimists repeated the chilling predictions that there would be a general massacre in the eighth month, just preceding the arrival of the new emperor. Dorgon's pronouncements did not quell the all-too-natural unease, and a solar eclipse on 8/1 could not have helped.¹⁰ To persuade Ming officialdom that the Qing were not uncivilized interlopers, the tablet of the Chongzhen emperor was placed in the Temple to Past Emperors and money was allocated for ritual care of the Ming tombs north of Peking.¹¹

On 9/19, when the Manchu leaders judged the situation under adequate control, the Shunzhi emperor, seven-year-old Fulin (Dorgon's nephew and the grandson of Nurgaci), was escorted into the Imperial City. He soon made offerings to Heaven and Earth at the suburban Altar to Heaven and issued a formal announcement that clarified Qing intentions toward Peking.¹² Their followers, organized in eight Banners, would definitely move in. The Northern City—which I hereafter call, following Qing usage, the Inner City (Neicheng)—was to become a Banner preserve. Residence was to be by quadrant: the Plain and Bordered Yellow Banner units in the north, the two White Banners in the east, the two Red Banners in the west, and the Blue in the south.¹³ (These divisions are shown on Map 11.1.)

As one can well imagine, the separating of civilian (*min*) from Banner (*qi*) population proceeded slowly and painfully. Many Qing followers did not arrive or take up residence at once. A memorial five months later showed that the transfer of property was neither quick nor smooth: "As for the people whose houses are to be given to those in the Banners, we should be generous with a time limit. Wait until after they have moved out before telling those in the Banners to take over their property."¹⁴ Ming forces in central and southern China were still in arms against the new dynasty, and the dangers of organized resistance argued for caution. But the conquerors needed houses

9. QSL-SZ 5:18; Wakeman 1985:450–51.

10. QSL-SZ 8:2–3, 8:7–8; Wakeman 1985:451–52.

11. QSL-SZ 5:25; MQDA A1–118.

12. QSL-SZ 8:13, 8:14, 9:1–5.

13. Neither the proclamation of SZ 1/10/1 found in QSL-SZ 9:10–23, nor the original text in MQDA A2–12, described the precise disposition of the Banners. The detailed information in the Eight Banner gazetteer of 1739 (*BQTZ* 1:17) claimed to be based on a 10/1 text but may have been retrospectively tidy. The settlement of the Inner City might have been haphazard for the first few months, but by 1654, residence seems to have been by these quadrants. See QSL-SZ 79:9–11.

14. QSL-SZ 14:9. Official reports to the throne are customarily termed "memorials" in English.

and had been told to take them: how effective could exhortations against force and intimidation have been?

The following summer (1645), the throne reissued the infamous order requiring that all Han (Chinese) men change their hairstyle in order to show their acceptance of Manchu rule—and this time, the order was enforced. Each male subject was now to shave his forehead and braid his hair into a queue. Failure to do so was punishable by death.¹⁵

In the second month of 1646 both older residents and new arrivals were still living together in the Inner City, and the Ministry of Works was ordered to hurry up and complete the building of new residences in the Outer City for the uprooted Chinese. In fact, a major construction program had been undertaken in both cities in order to enlarge the housing stock available for allocation and thus ease the transition.¹⁶

Not all Bannermen were assigned to the walled city; some were settled amid the Chinese in garrisons that formed a defensive cordon around Peking. Agricultural land in the greater capital area was expropriated (*quan*) on a vast scale. Although some of the newcomers moved to these properties, in time confiscated lands were used to produce income for Bannermen, most of whom became absentee landlords rather than farmers.¹⁷ (The Chinese owners were turned into tenants, liable for rent rather than taxes.) Marking off these properties and regularizing their allocation to the Banners, and the accompanying uncertainty for the previous owners, caused several decades of disruption and hardship.¹⁸

By the summer of 1648, the fifth year of the Shunzhi reign, the separation of the two populations inside the walls of Peking was still incomplete. Although the Qing had tried to encourage intermarriage and good relations, cases of robbery and murder revealed a volatile animosity very near the surface and the readiness of each group to blame the other.¹⁹ More confident now, Dorgon (still ruling for young Fulin) decided to push energetically for the “enduring benefits” of full partition. Before the end of the coming year (1649), he announced, *all* Han Chinese officials, merchants, and ordinary citizens residing in the Inner City were hereby commanded to move (really move) to the Outer City. Their homes were to be torn down or sold to Ban-

15. Change of hairstyle for new followers had been standard policy in the campaigns in the Northeast but was suspended upon the arrival of the Qing armies in Peking: Wakeman 1985:47, 60, 217; QSL-SZ 5:10, 17:7–8.

16. QSL-SZ 24:4; BQTZ 23:435–36.

17. See Oxnam 170–75 or Kessler 46–52 for summaries of a larger literature in Chinese and Japanese, some of which implied incorrectly that most Bannermen moved to the countryside.

18. In 1666, struggles within the imperial family resulted in a massive exchange of authority over land between the Plain White and Bordered Yellow Banners: Oxnam 170–75.

19. In 1655 Manchus would be forbidden to marry outside the Banners: Rawski 1998:130.

nermen with appropriate compensation. But even this order permitted exceptions (clerics; clerks and runners of the Six Ministries and other government offices), and three months later the government was still worrying about how to mitigate the hardship being caused by “giving up one’s old residence and looking elsewhere for a place to stay.”²⁰

Indeed, it appears that, despite his stated goals, in 1649 Dorgon was instead contemplating—actively—the creation of a completely new and entirely separate capital on another site to the east of Peking.²¹ The reasons were surely reflective of a powerful Qing separatist urge and only in part related to the swampy terrain of greater Peking, brackish drinking water, and humid climate invoked by the regent as reasons for a move. The imperial uncle had been gradually concentrating power in his own hands and might well have followed through, but his death late in the following year (1650) put an end to these ambitious plans, and the impulse to abandon Peking faded.²² The creation of the Banner enclave within the capital now became irresistible.²³ By the mid-1650s, after a decade, the forced relocation and partition of the city was apparently complete.

So little is known about this reorganization that our assessment can only be tentative. To begin with, we cannot appreciate the scale of this reorganization of urban life without some sense of the numbers involved. How many Chinese civilians were relocated? How many Banner people moved in? Alas, reliable answers are difficult.

A great many problems make the Ming population of Peking a matter of guesswork. In the most detailed recent study, Han Guanghui estimated that there were some 600,000 people in the four districts of the Northern City in 1621.²⁴ This population included many sojourners and soldiers, and it seems reasonable to assume that in the years and months just prior to the Ming collapse, most of the former had prudently returned home, while some of the latter had been dispatched elsewhere. The Northern City population might thus have been reduced by as much as one-fourth. Those who remained were apparently devastated by an epidemic in the spring of 1643,

20. *BQTZ* 23:434–35.

21. *QSL-SZ* 44:2.

22. *QSL-SZ* 49:11–13, 53:17; *ECCP* 215–19; also Oxnam chap. 3.

23. Similar enclaves were also created in the cities where Banner garrisons were stationed. Elliott 1993 (and a forthcoming book).

24. Han Guanghui 1996:107 and table 3–14. Joanna Wakeland estimated that in the Wanli reign there were between 800,000 and 1,100,000 people in the city and its immediate suburbs. Of these, she thinks that perhaps half lived in the Northern City (350,000–550,000). Wakeland 83–101.

although the report that it “left nine out of ten houses empty” was more formulaic than precise. Another “blood-spitting” pestilence arrived the following spring, and more people surely fled when Li Zicheng’s armies marched in.²⁵ And not all returned after the arrival of Qing armies—certainly not members of the Ming imperial family, and perhaps not powerful eunuchs and their households. There must have been many abandoned houses. Might we guess that 300,000 people (perhaps fewer) were still in place and would thus have had to relinquish their homes to the Banners?²⁶

And how many Banner people moved in? The figures that we have, although of a different sort than those for the Ming population, present equal difficulties. Han Guanghui has estimated that 400,000 Banner people settled in Peking and the suburbs after 1644; Pamela Crossley contrasted the Bannermen who entered the pass (120,000–150,000) with their swollen numbers only a few years afterward.²⁷ My own guesswork suggests an initial group of at least 300,000 people who were looking for residences in the Inner City.²⁸

25. *MQDA* A1–162. Tan Qian 1653:99:5985 said that “those who died were too many to count.” Liu Shangyou (in Struve 1993:8) said that “40 to 50 percent of the capital residents suffered from it.”

26. Han Guanghui 1996:128 estimated the population of the Outer City in the Shunzhi reign at about 150,000.

27. Han Guanghui 1996:123–24 and table 3–20; Crossley 1989:76. Close inspection of Qing archives in Peking might provide better evidence.

28. One mode of estimation is to work from figures on the number of Banner companies. Chaoying Fang’s careful calculation proposed that there were some 550 Banner companies in 1643. The number of men in a company apparently was shifting from the “standard” 300 men down to 100–200 (but may have been highly uneven). See Im 68; QSL-YZ 60:26–29; Fang 204ff. Crossley 1989:76 cited work by Zhou Yuanlian that argued for the larger size of Hanjun companies. One might estimate as follows: 550 companies with 150 men each equaled about 80,000 soldiers. But many of these men were on campaign in the 1640s and 1650s, with their households left behind in the Northeast. Others were dispatched to Banner garrisons within the empire. (15,000 soldiers in the Shunzhi reign. Elliott 1993:97.) And of those stationed at the capital, not all set up residence in the city; some were to be garrisoned around it. (The figures in Elliott 1993:60–61 indicated some 2,000 soldiers.) It is thus possible to imagine that fewer than 60,000 Banner soldiers were searching for new housing in 1644. We then have to add a factor for the household members (if any) of each soldier. If four people to a household, then perhaps some 250,000 people? Elliott 1993:143 used five people per household and asserted that some had as many as nine people. Lower numbers seem more likely (to me) early in the dynasty. Han Guanghui used a similar logic but different guesses for his figures.

An Shuangcheng drew information from Manchu secret memorials of 1723–1724 for the figure of 347,000 Banner soldiers in 1648 and 686,758 in 1720. I find these numbers impossible if they truly referred to *ding*, because giving each *ding* a household of four additional people would yield incredible Banner populations of 1.3 and 2.7 million. If the numbers in the memorials referred instead to the total Banner population, they become quite plausible and in keeping with other figures for Bannermen and for the total Peking population. If we could assume that there were 347,000 Banner people in 1648, and remove from this figure

These precarious speculations suggest that about the same number moved into the Inner City as moved out—perhaps some sixty to eighty thousand households in each case.

The evacuation of the Inner City and the sharp division of Peking into two parts affected people differently. There were a great many—sojourners perhaps—who, out of loyalty to the Ming or fear for the future, simply left the capital altogether. Some may have returned, acquiescing to the move and seeing opportunities beckon. The Qing regime was wealthy and unaccustomed to the luxuries of city life. Those who were part of Peking's vast service sector depended for their livelihood on reestablishing old niches or scrambling for new ones, providing for the new elites as they had the old. Merchants coldly calculated their chances of finding favor with the new rulers even as they followed orders and secured new buildings and warehouses in the Outer City. Clerical communities were exempted from the order to move, and their temples were small islands of stability.²⁹

For most, however, the partition of the city could only have been a great calamity. The poor, as always, had less to lose but stood so much closer to the edge that it took only a little push to send them over. The rich had to abandon their spacious homes in convenient and familiar neighborhoods and relocate to the packed commercial districts or dusty alleyways of the Outer City—a move that must have been quite unpleasant. Token reimbursements could not possibly have been enough. Maintaining one's status through such a crisis would have been difficult; some Ming elites survived the transition and others did not. For everyone, the economic geography of the city was radically realigned, making the simplest transactions uncertain and time-consuming.

And we cannot jump to the conclusion that all Bannermen were eager to live in Peking. Some of them were already urbanites—residents of the towns in the Liao River valley and already part of or familiar with Chinese culture. For them, Peking was probably attractive, and these were doubtless the ones who adjusted quickly. But for the others, especially rustic soldiers from the more remote rugged regions of the Northeast—the Mongol and Manchu speakers—the Ming capital was surely very foreign and more than a little intimidating. The wives of these soldiers were uprooted from all they knew to move hundreds of kilometers away to a different style of housing in an enor-

the 16,000 soldiers and their households who were stationed outside the capital, we would be left with 279,000 Banner people who might have been looking for places to live. Working backward from the better-documented population of later centuries is much too tricky to undertake because of the later mixture of Banner and civilian residents in the Inner City and because Chinese Bannermen were being sloughed off the registration system.

29. QSL-SZ 40:9–10. In 1644, there were 1,069 temples in the Inner City and 494 in the Outer City. (See Appendix 1 on these numbers.)

mous walled city, full of wary people speaking Chinese, where female beauty meant a strange hairstyle and bound feet—they must have obeyed with fearful reluctance the order to pack up their goods and move south. Rumors of smallpox epidemics terrified everyone. Dorgon himself found Peking hot and pestilential, Shunzhi escaped frequently to the Southern Park, and his son, the second Qing emperor, insisted on building a summer palace complex outside the Great Wall where he could enjoy a cooler mountainous climate and terrain.

As we shall discuss in Chapter 11, the geographic encapsulation of the Banner population allowed the throne to continue its highly bureaucratized and collectivized governance and to strengthen the distinction between the conquerors and conquered. Both groups in the divided city thus faced parallel tasks of creating new communities for themselves: the new arrivals in the Inner City, the old residents in the Outer City.

ADJUSTMENT

After Dorgon's death in 1650, the process of adjustment continued under the nominal direction of the Shunzhi emperor, twelve years old in that year, a young man for whom Peking was coming to feel like home. The rebuilding of the palace complex took thirteen years, slowed by lack of funds. Imperial princes were meanwhile constructing huge mansions that would become major landmarks of the Inner City.³⁰ In this period, Fulin travelled rather freely about Peking, visiting the homes of relatives, and hunting, fishing, and presiding over military maneuvers in the great park south of the city.³¹ The authorities continued to be concerned about building more houses, and local officials still worried about those people who had lost their livelihoods.³²

The impact of the relocation was as dramatic for the Outer City as the Inner. It had been less than a century since the Ming Southern City had come into existence, carved from the suburbs by the new outer wall and encompassing the settlements clustered outside the three southern gates, the great suburban altars, and much countryside. The area outside the Xuanwu, Zhengyang, and Chongwen Gates was already commercial, the focus for traders coming from the south, but now it would become even more so, as Chinese businessmen moved their shops and warehouses there.

30. QSL-SZ 77:2-4, 91:8, 102:23-26, 137:23; Qu Xuanying 198. For the ugly politics of this period: Oxnam 47-49; *ECCP* 255-59.

31. QSL-SZ 65:3. His visits to Nanyuan were very frequent: QSL-SZ *passim*. In the last years of his life, 1659-1660, Fulin began to make expeditions into the suburbs: QSL-SZ 130:3-13, 141:4.

32. *BQTZ* 23:436; QSL-SZ 125:11.

Soon the Banner newcomers were making themselves rather too much at home. Complaints surfaced about their abusive behavior: Bannermen on horseback charged recklessly down the streets waving their whips; they bribed local officials to settle their lawsuits favorably; high-ranking Qing men seized control of the profits from city markets or sent their servants to the suburbs to intercept arriving merchants and force them to sell their goods at reduced prices; and others dared to appropriate for themselves the excellent water from the Jade Spring in the Western Hills.³³ Rules for adjudicating legal cases between Banner people and civilians were spelled out with greater specificity, but conflict continued, and in 1653 the court set up an elaborate system for emergency mobilization of the Banner armies in Peking.³⁴

Recreating some kind of normal life was made more difficult by the dangers that endemic smallpox presented to unexposed Banner populations. (Adults from more distant areas of the Northeast were presumably at far greater risk than the Banner people who had already been exposed to the disease in the settlements of the central and western Liao River valley.)³⁵

During the first decade, when the two populations were still intermixed, the Qing decreed that Chinese of the Inner City who came down with smallpox must be removed to the countryside at a distance of about twenty kilometers. In the second month of 1645, a compassionate Chinese censor remonstrated, urging that only those who showed symptoms of the pox itself should be moved, not those merely in a feverish state; moreover, he pleaded that small children with the disease not be abandoned by the roadside by their parents. His proposal that hospices be constructed in the northern, eastern, southern, and western suburbs was approved. Wealthy Chinese merchants (probably grain merchants) donated three hundred thousand ounces of silver to assist those evacuated.³⁶ The great ceremonies of congratulation at the new year and on the imperial birthday were singled out as especially dangerous congregations for the Bannermen, and those with smallpox were not to attend. As soon as Fulin was old enough to perform these ritual duties (in 1649), he routinely absented himself.³⁷

After Dorgon's death in 1650, less draconian measures against the disease were substituted, and infected households merely had a rope cordon placed around their residences. But smallpox reappeared inside the palace in the winter of the following year, and Fulin retreated to the Nanyuan. All adults who lived within four hundred meters of government offices and

33. QSL-SZ 125:11, 137:19–23, 138:23–24; *Tongkao* 32:5143.

34. *Huidian shili* 1899:1031:17394. QSL-SZ 79:9–11.

35. See ECCP 898 for evidence of Manchu familiarity with the dangers of smallpox in 1633.

36. QSL-SZ 14:13–14; Tan Qian 1656:354.

37. QSL-SZ 21:12, 23:12, 42:1, 62:1, etc.

whose clear complexions marked them as unexposed were again forced to move.³⁸ Even if only sporadically enforced (which was probably the case), these panicky quarantine measures encouraged the separatist impulse that would inform Manchu consciousness throughout their rule.

The first decades of Qing rule in Peking were not marked only by force, friction, and fear. Soothing measures were enacted, similar to those for the empire as a whole, and in good time the government began to function again, settling disputes and providing employment for thousands of clerks and functionaries. The city economy was stimulated by the local minting of copper coins in great volume.³⁹

From the very first summer, Dorgon (and later Fulin and his mother, the dowager empress) extended toward the capital's indigents, orphans, and refugees the same paternalism that characterized imperial treatment of the Banners. A poorhouse was established for those with no one to care for them, and relief stations were set up first in the Outer City and then in the suburbs.⁴⁰ Flooding in and around the city in the summer of 1653 necessitated more extensive measures for both Banners and civilians, including a donation of funds (eighty thousand ounces of silver) from the emperor's mother. Such generosity was also naturally extended to indigent Banner soldiers. This extensive provision of food, money, clothing, and shelter may have made manifest the repeated imperial assertions that "the people are the foundation of the dynasty [*guo*]," but it also reflected an attentive concern with the security of the capital.⁴¹

The last claimant to the Ming throne was not executed until 1662 (in distant Yunnan), and conditions around the capital remained unsettled for many years.⁴² Although Peking was relatively quiet during these decades, there was a disturbing incident in 1673 when a Chinese servant of a Chinese

38. Tan Qian 1656:413, 354. The disease eventually caught up with Fulin, and he died swiftly of smallpox at the age of twenty-four in 1661. No wonder that the son selected to succeed him was one who had already survived the disease. That prince and future emperor, Xuanye, had previously been isolated in a small temple outside the Forbidden City. *ECCP* 258, 328; *STFZ* 1885:16:477.

39. Von Glahn 1996:208–9.

40. *QSL-SZ* 5:17, 9:14; *STFZ* 1885:12:315–17.

41. The crisis continued through that winter and the following summer. *QSL-SZ* 76:24–25 and *DHL* 4:32; *QSL-SZ* 77:6 and other records later this year, 96:5; Tan Qian 1656:65. Extremely detailed records were made of this relief effort, some of which survive: *HC-Ce* 2405. Also see Chapter 16. Bannermen: *QSL-SZ* 8:2–3, 111:13.

42. E.g., the problem of the bondservants in Banner households who abandoned their masters, for which there are many documents in *Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian* 10:64–130 and the "Veritable Records" for this reign.

Bannerman claimed to be the Ming third crown prince (Zhu Santaizi) and organized several hundred others inside the Inner City, seemingly with the intention of overthrowing the Qing.⁴³ Organized Ming resistance was not eliminated until the suppression of the rebellion of the Three Feudatories in 1681 and the defeat of the Zheng rebels on Taiwan in 1683. During an entire generation, in other words, the Qing hold on the throne was at some level precarious. By 1691, however, the Kangxi emperor (Fulin's son) had been on the throne for thirty years, the empire was secure, and such uncertainty had faded. Peking's political centrality was unrivaled, and its identity as the imperial capital, the Jingshi, was firmly established.

REMEMBERING

The history of the Ming-Qing transition was an instantly sensitive subject but not a forbidden one. The new dynasty was concerned that unpleasant incidents be forgotten and memorable events be remembered—and confident of the right of the throne to distinguish the one from the other.⁴⁴ The change of dynasty presented ordinary people and historians alike with basic problems of language; emotional distress was compounded by fear, and from the beginning a variety of circumlocutions were used to speak about what we now call in English (also variously) the “rise of the Manchus,” “fall of the Ming,” “Ming-Qing transition,” and “Qing conquest.”

The shift was fundamental and calendrical, and the language of time-keeping provided one way to speak of the change. Since 1616, the Qing and the Ming had been keeping separate but parallel calendars (each demarcated by the reign periods of their respective rulers).⁴⁵ In 1644, the two were merged. The pre-1644 Qing calendar was thereafter used to refer only to events connected with the early history of Nurgaci and his successor Hongtaiji. The Ming calendar was retained for events through 1643. 1644, Chongzhen's seventeenth year, was retroactively renamed the “first year of the Shunzhi reign” (the rulership had changed hands in the fifth month). Ming was thus made to flow seamlessly into Qing, from Chongzhen 16/12/30 (our January 27, 1644) to Shunzhi 1/1/1 (January 28, 1644).⁴⁶

43. QSL-KX 44:15–16. For a better-known later invocation of this prince: *ECCP* 192; Spence 1966:236.

44. Struve 1998:28–41. Qing attempts to reshape and rewrite their own early history are well known. See Crossley 1987, 1989, 1999; L. Goodrich.

45. The year designations were different, but the Qing calendar appears to have followed the Ming in its days and months, a subtle reflection of shared standards.

46. In ordinary usage, it seems to have been acceptable to use “Chongzhen 17” to refer to that part of the year prior to his death in the third month. See *JWK* 42:665–66, 45:713–18. I have seen no Peking stele dated 1644 in either calendar.

Continuing to use Ming years was thus a political act, but one that lost its force as active loyalist resistance faded.⁴⁷

But how to speak of the year 1644? Ming partisans and many others used a politically neutral calendrical system instead of reign names.⁴⁸ The first year of Shunzhi—that is, the abolished seventeenth year of Chongzhen—was also the *jiashen* year, and use of the latter expression obviated the need to choose. Indeed, *jiashen* became a general code word for the events of 1644. “The *jiashen* difficulties,” “*jiashen* disturbances,” “*jiashen* bandit disasters,” “*jiashen* transition”—these phrases became evocative of the real dangers and difficult choices that people faced.⁴⁹ Other more rarely encountered ways of referring to the transition included “dynastic shift” (*guo bian*, *guo yun*) or “change of government” (*gai ge*).⁵⁰

The rise and fall of dynasties over several millennia had given Chinese other euphemisms, the most common of which were expressions referring to bronze cauldrons (*ding*) that were symbolic of legitimate rule. From the winning point of view, the transition could thus be referred to as “When our dynasty established the cauldrons [*ding ding*] in the capital.” Or, in parallel fashion, it might be said, “At the time when the Ming cauldrons were cut off [*ge ding*].” Invoking their own particular past, the Qing rulers also liked to speak of the periods before or after they had “entered the passes” (*ru guan*), meaning 1644.⁵¹ More pompous language referred to the time “since our dynasty revived the dragon” (*xing long*), and Banner people spoke of “following the dragon and entering through the passes” (*shun long ru guan*).⁵²

These various evasions expanded the ways in which the national transition of 1644 was encoded and remembered. For the occupation and partition of Peking, however, no acceptable vocabulary was ever developed.⁵³ The subject seems to have been so sensitive that writing about it at all was dan-

47. But see Struve 1998:30.

48. Chinese have habitually numbered the years not only with reference to a retrospectively continuous line of emperors, but also according to sexagenary cycles, formed from revolving combinations of two tables of symbols (the ten stems and twelve branches).

49. *JWK* 90:1524; *FXZ* 4:20 and passim; *BJTB* 61:17 (from 1645). Koreans also used this way of referring to 1644: Kim Ch’ang’öp 240. Many accounts of the dynastic transition used this term in their titles. See Wakeman 1985:1190, 1211, 1227.

50. Tan Qian 1656:415–16; Ji Liuqi 24:686; Shi Runzhang prose: 11:23.

51. *Ding ding*: *JFTZ* 1735, editors’ preface. *Ge ding*: *Qingdai di qidi* 1, quoting a 1747 text; or *Yanjing za ji* 117 for *ding ge*. *Ru guan*: *QSL-YZ* 99:6–7. An official wrote about how the Chongzhen emperor had “lost the empire” (*shi tianxia*): *QSL-SZ* 124:7–11.

52. Gao Shiqi, preface 1. *QSL-YZ* 99:6–7; *Ba qi wenjing* 27:3–4. In the late eighteenth century, when the early years of the dynasty were being reexamined, it would become common to speak of the period prior to 1644 as “when the dynasty was first founded” (*kai guo*).

53. A painstaking search of Qing private writings might change this picture, but eighteenth-century Qing censorship—not known to have concentrated on this topic—may have eliminated many. L. Goodrich 51–52.

gerous. Even so, it is somewhat surprising how completely the topic of Peking's population reallocation was avoided. Except for the official edicts quoted previously, I have seen scarcely a single direct reference to it. The innocuous statement in the 1704 Guangji temple gazetteer that "the places [used] for the Eight Bannermen who had followed His Majesty had all previously been Ming residences" must be considered rare and rather daring.⁵⁴ Instead, people approached the topic indirectly: "Previously we had a lodge in the Inner City, then . . . we rebuilt it [in the Outer City]," "The Lantern Market used to be at [a place in the Inner City is named], but now it is at [a place in the Outer City is named]," "The Ming location of such-and-such a place in the Inner City cannot now be determined," and so forth.⁵⁵

Such a silence on such an event encourages us to conclude that it was not just initially disturbing, but profoundly troubling to Peking's residents and sojourners. Chinese anger and resentment had to be swallowed, and bitter-sweet memories of Ming Peking had to be carefully expressed. As Bannermen came to appreciate what had been lost, even they must have thought uneasily of the price paid for their new home.

Ming Peking lived on nevertheless. With the passage of time, nostalgia became safer, and famous people and places and events were preserved in the writings and memory of Chinese residents and visitors. For Qing rulers, the Ming was a powerful symbol—in its proper place—and they were happy to emphasize continuity with their predecessors.

The very real partition (however hazy to us now) forced a thoroughgoing redefinition of "residents of the capital" and a rethinking of Peking identity. The structures of local power had been overturned, and this was now a formally bifurcated society. The city was newly compartmentalized and more like occupied territory than the lively capital it had been. Late Ming Peking culture, once identified with pride by locals and admired by visitors, was now disrupted and muddled by that of frontier immigrants who seemed barbarian foreigners to many. Of these psychological traumas, we have few records. In the chapters that follow, we will look at the decades after 1644 to see something of how people responded, if not how they felt.

An examination of the involvement of these Qing conquerors in local religion, one of the better-documented aspects of Peking society, makes the adjustment process more visible. We turn first in Chapter 10 to the redefined imperial domain, examining the role of the new dynasty in the life of the

54. *Guangji zhi* 105.

55. Respectively: Zhao Jishi 1:47; *FXZ* 10:16; *FXZ* 7:4.

capital. In Chapter 11, we return to the question of how the Banner population and the Chinese adapted to their new homes. This history should make clearer the similarities—and particularly the differences—between Ming and Qing Peking. It may therefore be surprising that by the end of the dynasty, the immigrant frontier outsiders had become not only thoroughly urban people, but authentic natives of Peking.

CHAPTER 10

The Imperial World

As soon as the Qing rulers took Peking in 1644, they began investing in it. The capital laid out by Yongle two and a half centuries before had become an impressive bustling city, and the new emperors understood the need to promote the security and satisfaction of its residents. Nor did they hesitate to use their now considerable resources to enhance their prestige and legitimacy by energetically maintaining the city's symbolically potent sites.

The Manchu rulers immediately claimed the Ming imperial domain in Peking for their own. The Forbidden City and Western Park would continue to be the residence for the household of the emperor, the suburban altars and the great halls of the palace were used for state ceremonies, and vermilion walls still enclosed the offices and workshops of the Imperial City. The center of the capital thus remained, as it had been since the thirteenth century, administratively and physically separate.

The Southern Park was again sequestered, and after a generation or two, land was annexed near the Western Hills for new imperial summer residences. There, marshes were drained and lakes dug, halls and pavilions built, wild animals imported, and paths designed; walls shut off the gardens from the rough world outside. Roads, canals, and waterways were rebuilt and rearranged to facilitate frequent travel over the dozen kilometers to the city. In the eighteenth century, paralleling this process, Banner garrisons were moved into these suburbs, where walled, barracks-like villages were built for them.¹ (These settlements are shown in Figure 12.5.) Most of the summer palaces were burned in 1860 by European armies, but a new com-

1. Malone 55-56; *JWK* 101:1677, 102:1689-90.

plex in the same vicinity was constructed in the 1890s. The Qing imperial domain was thus larger, more extensive, and more interconnected than that of the Ming.

Ming emperors were isolated within their imperial domain, and religious devotions there were comparably private, conducted outside the view of the bureaucracy and the public. Eunuchs and imperial women, leaders of a locally active court elite, were the principal conduits for the resources that built a temple infrastructure that in turn served the wider city. An examination of imperial religious institutions in the Qing can likewise bring into focus the relationship between the throne, the imperial domain, and the city. As we shall see, the active involvement of Manchu rulers in their larger domain, an expanded state religion, and greatly systematized imperial household patronage reflected the increased role of the throne in urban life and a strengthening of Peking's imperial institutions.

We begin with a panoramic look at the palace, Forbidden City, Western Park, and suburban villas, especially their temples and public places, and then turn to the wider world of Qing patronage. As we shall see, the new emperors were ready devotees of local gods, not merely as heirs to the state rites but in their private lives. For emperors and Bannermen alike, religion proved an important channel for Qing adjustment to Peking.

FORBIDDEN CITY

The Qing Forbidden City (*Zijincheng*) followed the Ming layout, although most halls were rebuilt repeatedly and used differently.² As under the Ming, the imperial private quarters encompassed both the palace and the adjacent Western Park. Eunuchs continued to be used as attendants to imperial women but were replaced as managers and staff of the imperial household. Qing emperors lavished money on this space, used it more freely, opened it up to the Banner community, and countenanced no interference from Chinese bureaucrats.

The rear (northernmost) section of the Forbidden City remained the private quarters of the emperor and his women, and this Great Interior continued to be a place where religious worship was located in halls not named temples. Eunuchs, permitted to become monks or daoists, performed rites here; on other occasions, clergy were invited in from temples in the Imperial City.³

The rest of the palace was somewhat more open. Quite a number of halls

2. "Zijincheng" was in common Qing use, but Wu Changyuan (j. 2) used "Da Nei" to refer to the entire Forbidden City complex.

3. *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:34.

hosted an eclectic variety of religious rituals, especially the worship of the gods of Tibetan Buddhism.⁴ Some shrines were for use by the emperor, some by empresses, princesses, and palace women. Some were for individuals, others for the family, and still others for community rites and celebrations. The Imperial Household Agency saw to it that incense was kept burning and that offerings were made to the holy images.

The Qin'andian, the northernmost hall on the central axis of the Forbidden City, was dedicated to Zhenwu, the God of the North. Here, the emperor came on new year's day; here, ten daoists were brought in for nine days to celebrate the royal birthday; and here, eunuchs performed the regular rituals.⁵ Qing rulers readily converted Ming buildings to new purposes. They used the Kunninggong for Manchu shamanistic rites, and in the Yuhuage, a palace hall previously used for the worship of the Daoist Three Pure Ones, the eighteenth-century Qianlong emperor installed Tibetan deities and eunuch-lamas.⁶ The one temple in the Forbidden City, a small early eighteenth-century building squeezed into the northwest corner, was for the worship of the City-god.⁷

Qing bureaucrats did not protest the staging of Daoist, Buddhist, Tibetan Buddhist, or shamanistic Manchu rites inside the palace. Sensitive to the vigor and power of these emperors, officials were, it seems, both less distressed by imperial involvement in religion and more reluctant to voice their objections than their Ming predecessors had been.⁸

Imperial interest in religion was allowed to play itself out freely both inside and outside the palace. In 1655, when Fulin (the Shunzhi emperor) was seventeen years old, he became acquainted with the talented and imposing German Jesuit Adam Schall, then sixty-five and appointed by Dorgon to head the Astronomy Bureau. Fulin relieved Schall of the obligation to go down on his knees and kowtow in the imperial presence, and for several years the older man and the young emperor were rather close. During 1656 and 1657, Fulin made twenty-four visits to the South Church complex where

4. I can identify twenty-two halls, not including the countless niches where images were placed. Nine (of mine) were Tibetan Buddhist, but a recent, more thorough work listed fifteen: *Cultural Relics* 132.

5. After 1839, in keeping with a general trend to reduce ritual expenses, eunuchs were relieved of such duties. *JWK* 14:193; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:31, 2:34; *Zijin Cheng di hou sheng huo* 113.

6. *Guochao gong shi* 6:94–95, 2:214; Arlington & Lewisohn 47–49; Johnston 1934:171; Meng Sen 2:314–15. Yuhuage: Wu Changyuan 2:38; Chen Zongfan 1:74; Arlington & Lewisohn 57.

7. Daoists were brought in as needed. *JWK* 19:259; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:25–33 *passim*.

8. Although there were no cries of alarm when Yongzheng installed Lou Jinyuan, an unconventional Celestial Master daoist who had cured him in 1730, as chief cleric in the Qin'andian inside the Forbidden City, still, within three years, the emperor had restored the Daguangmingdian (outside the palace but within the Imperial City) and reassigned Lou there. *BJTB* 69:64; Chen Guofu 181; Zhaolian 1986a:9:274.

the Jesuits lived and, it appears, constantly asked questions. The two discussed marriage and celibacy, immortality, and of course Catholicism.⁹

In this same period, the emperor began to learn more about Buddhism. He was said to have come to the Guangji monastery just west of the palace in 1656 and puzzled over how to talk with the elderly abbot. On a hunt at the Southern Park the following year, he stopped en route at a temple where an eminent Chan monk from Zhejiang had recently become abbot. Fulin asked to meet this Xingcong (then forty-seven years old), and so discovered and became fascinated by Chan. Over the next two years, Xingcong was invited into the palace at least twice to discuss the principles of Buddhism and answer the emperor's questions about the monks and monasteries of central China. In 1658 Shunzhi appointed him abbot of one of the oldest and biggest monasteries in the Outer City.¹⁰ Shunzhi also sent for several other well-known monks from Zhejiang monasteries. With one, Daomin (then sixty-two), the emperor talked intently and at length, discussing as with Schall a wide range of issues not limited to religion. When these masters returned south, Shunzhi installed two of their disciples in Peking temples.¹¹

During these years, Shunzhi shared his interest in Buddhism with a favorite consort to whom he had become devoted. They agonized over the death of an infant son in 1658, and she also became a patron of local temples. They both visited the Shanguosi, for example, where a disciple of Daomin resided, and bestowed on him a copy of an imperial poem written to the older monk. The empress died in the summer of 1660, and the grief-stricken emperor, himself of a weak constitution, caught the smallpox from which he had been assiduously protected as a child; less than five months later, he was dead himself at the age of twenty-three. Chan masters presided over both funerals.¹²

9. *ECCP* 255–59, 890; Dunne 347–54.

10. *Guangji zhi* 119–26. Xingcong: *BJTB* 61:153–54; *JWK* 90:1526–27.

11. It was undoubtedly this interest in the Linji school that led Shunzhi to extend imperial protection to the suburban Fahaisi in the form of stelae that listed forty-two generations of Chan masters, spelled out its landholdings, and forbade encroachment. *BJTB* 61:144–45, 61:150–51; *JWK* 103:1695.

12. Shunzhi's religious concerns—and perhaps his early death—also transformed him into a figure in local folklore. As early as 1656, the historian and visitor to the capital, Tan Qian, heard it said that “his majesty was probably the reincarnation of a monk.” A much later story described how Shunzhi had not died but given up the throne for a monastic career in a Southern Park temple. An early eighteenth-century mummified monk in the suburban Tiantaisi later came to be identified with Shunzhi. Tan Qian 1656:359; Dun Lichen 34–35; Bouillard 1924a. See also Backhouse & Bland 235–37; the frontispiece photo showed the mummy (now gone, although the temple remains). For the funerals: *ECCP* 301–2; *BJTB* 64:34; Wang Shizhen 1691:3:68.

These relations between the young emperor and various religious specialists were not so very different from what one found in the Ming, whether one characterizes them as consultations with Buddhist monks and Catholic priests or as consorting with dubious magicians and wizards, although Qing rulers did favor clergy who were part of established monasteries.¹³ Shunzhi's inquiring curiosity was also to be found in his son, the Kangxi emperor, and a strong interest in the overlapping zones of what we call religion and government could be seen as characteristically (although certainly not uniquely) Qing. Indeed, later emperors enhanced the authority of the imperial institution—and encouraged Peking's cosmopolitanism—by simultaneously performing their assigned rituals in the state religion, studying the Confucian classics, patronizing Buddhist and Daoist clergy, seeking instruction from Tibetan lamas, and benignly tolerating Muslims and Christians.¹⁴

Moreover, these Manchu emperors were attentive administrators who worked long hours, read their voluminous correspondence, conferred regularly with officials, and were deeply involved in the worlds of the Banner aristocracy and state bureaucracy (at least until the middle of the nineteenth century). The physical placement (ca. 1730) of the office of the Grand Council, the emperor's new and more intimate advisory group of Manchus and Chinese, adjacent to the Great Interior signalled the different and much more enhanced communication between emperors and officialdom.¹⁵

Many parts of the palace were open to the outside under the Qing, including the Interior and so-called Inner Court.¹⁶ Foreign emissaries were treated to performances on the stage just west of the rear garden, deep within the palace complex, and elderly princes, Bannermen, and Mongols were permitted to ride horseback inside the Forbidden City.¹⁷ Princes, Manchu nobles, high-ranking officials, and sometimes even ordinary citizens were permitted to enter the rear ceremonial halls for imperial birthdays and other ritual occasions. In 1722, Kangxi invited men who were his age or older to a sixtieth-birthday banquet in the Qianqing hall; in 1783, Qianlong feted

13. Because Shunzhi had reinstated eunuch management of the Imperial Household, some have judged his interest in religion a revival of the unbecoming Ming preference for eunuchs, women, and charlatans.

14. Crossley 1999; Rawski 1998.

15. Bartlett 132, map, p. 14.

16. Bartlett used "Inner Court" (*nei ting*) and "Outer Court" (*wai chao*) to refer both to people and to places (map, pp. 14–15); I find her distinctions too sharply drawn. See *JWK* 12:156 for *nei chao*; also Naquin 1993.

17. Uitzinger 57. *QSL-YZ* 87:18.

more than thirteen hundred members of the imperial lineage there, and his mother's birthday was regularly celebrated in her quarters in the Cininggong.¹⁸

In the front parts of the Forbidden City, many halls were in even more regular use for a variety of rituals that were open to and helped constitute larger communities: offerings to imperial ancestors, calendrical celebrations (especially the new year), the emperor's birthday, visits by incarnate lamas, and funeral observances. The three great front halls were used for the rituals of marriages and funerals, enthronements, audiences and receptions, celebratory banquets, and the palace examination. Hundreds of people would routinely be in attendance, including tributaries from within and beyond the empire.¹⁹ These experiences were opened to a more permanent and wider view when described by participants or commemorated in imperial paintings and in pictures created by and about foreign tributaries.²⁰ As in the Ming, these rituals also helped create and reinforce, variously, the solidarity of the extended imperial family and of the political community of the empire.

Guarded by some six hundred soldiers,²¹ the Forbidden City remained nearly inviolate against intruders, but day-to-day control over access seems to have become more casual by the nineteenth century. The Meridian Gate (Wumen) continued to be where ambassadors and bureaucrats entered the palace, where the calendar was formally promulgated, and where candidates awaited the results of the court examination. The humbling space beneath the imposing vermilion gate was used for presenting defeated enemies to the throne—the rebellious Mongol Davatsi in 1755, for example.²²

The inviolability of the palace weakened over time. In the ninth month of 1813, eunuchs helped religious rebels to enter and attack the Interior, a battle that lasted several hours before imperial defenders rallied and gained the upper hand. The invulnerability of the palace was irrevocably punctured in 1900 during the year-long occupation of Peking by European and Japanese armies, when the no-longer-forbidden Forbidden City was forcibly

18. Jiaofei 6:1–2; QSL-JQ 276:13. Kangxi: Wu Changyuan 2:31, *De Verboden Stad* 30. Qianlong invited 5,000 people to celebrate his abdication in 1796. For his mother: D. Wei 19; Dai Yi 8. For Empress Dowager Xiaohu: *Guochao gong shi* 5:passim; Qijuzhu DG 1.

19. Uitzinger 44, 57; *Guochao gong shi* j. 5.

20. E.g., paintings of Kazaks presenting tribute by Guiseppe Castiglione (Beurdeley 103) and Europeans presenting horses (NPM 132:2); cloisonné plaques showing tribute bearers (*Qingdai jiaju shenghuo* #2); a screen depicting Korean emissaries (M. Tao 88). Woodblock illustrations of palace celebrations in an 1805 Japanese book were apparently based on Chinese originals: Okada Gyokuzan j. 1.

21. QSL-JQ 276:20–21.

22. *JWK* 10:142–46; *Guochao gong shi* 11:187–90; Christie's London, April 1986:#274; *ECCP* 9–11.

opened to repeated foreign penetration and exposed humiliatingly to casual foreign view.²³

The lakes and halls of the Western Park (Xiyuan) continued to form a walled enclave within the Imperial City, as did the hill behind, but under the Qing they became much less private and much more important parts of the imperial domain.²⁴ Emperors and empresses were very active here, and after 1644 many temples, halls, and pavilions were successively built, enlarged, and used constantly for family, ceremonial, and entertainment purposes. Where the Ming seem to have had only one temple in this park, the Qing built at least eleven. By the eighteenth century, the buildings and vistas of this open, scenic Xiyuan had become both the community center of the palace and a well-known symbol of the capital.

Some religious buildings, such as the Imperial Ancestral Temple (Taimiao) and Altar to Soil and Grain (Shejitan), were sites for the predictable round of formal Grand Sacrifices. Like Emperor Jiajing of the Ming, Qianlong wanted to have nearer the palace a Sericulture Altar where, following ancient precedent, the empress and her ladies could conveniently perform rites to the first sericulturalist. A more distant location beyond the walls having proved logistically too difficult in the early Qing, Qianlong ordered a new complex built on an earlier site in the northeast corner of the Western Park, a place where women could come in modesty and safety.²⁵

The other eight temples in the Western Park were mostly for the worship of Buddhist deities (Shakyamuni, Manjusri, and Guanyin); four were staffed by lamas. Although some Ming emperors had been patrons of Central Asian clerics and serious about Tibetan Buddhism, Qing rulers' adherence to the religion that now had widespread acceptance among the Tibetan and Mongol peoples of Central Asia was both more intense and more complicated. Initiated by the Manchus before the conquest, this relationship continued through the dynasty.

Qing emperors were personally involved with Tibetan Buddhist beliefs, practices, temples, and clerics and intent on defining themselves as both Chakravartian rulers and incarnations of Manjusri. Playing the role of both patron and student of the religion allowed them leverage over the highest lamas and provided them with personal religious advisers. Moreover, active Qing patronage enlarged the Tibetan Buddhist world and both created and

23. Naquin 1976; Hevia 1990.

24. A close look at the great map of 1750 makes their enclosed character clear. See *JWK* jj. 21–28 and Wu Changyuan 4:59–71 for the Xiyuan.

25. These rites were performed only in 1744, 1749, and a few times in the late nineteenth century (by Empress Dowager Cixi). *JWK* 28:391–92; 36:562–64; and note 151 below.

expressed a particularly Manchu solidarity with believers within and beyond their empire.²⁶

Temples exclusively devoted to the gods of Tibetan Buddhism, staffed by clerics from Central Asia, were built on imperial property in significant numbers. In 1651, in connection with the impending visit of the fifth Dalai Lama to the new capital (at imperial invitation), Shunzhi ordered three Tibetan Buddhist temples built, two in the Imperial City. One was the bell-shaped White Stupa (Baita), a landmark of the Western Park (it still stands by the North Lake).²⁷ While still a prince, Yongzheng helped restore an older temple in the Imperial City to serve as a residence for another incarnate lama.²⁸ A single example of Qianlong's enthusiastic patronage will have to suffice. In 1758, in celebration of his birthday, he had constructed a massive, square Wanfolou, covered with tiles and strikingly different from most Chinese temples; Manchu princes and high officials were allowed to present the ten thousand buddhas for which the building was named.²⁹

In time there came to be six Tibetan Buddhist halls in the palace, five in the Western Park, six in the Imperial City, and at least seven in the suburban villas. (There were also several dozen in the city at large.) With lamas in residence, they were intended for Bannermen and visitors from Central Asia.

It is characteristic of Qing rulers that the particular attention they gave to Tibetan Buddhism did not preclude personal involvement in and patronage of ordinary Buddhist institutions. Shunzhi transformed a Ming hall on a small promontory by the lake in the Western Park into a temple where eunuch-monks resided and visiting Chan monks were received; Yongzheng bestowed on it a set of the Tripitaka. Qing emperors also used this Wan-shandian (Hall of Ten Thousand Good Deeds) area for celebrating the 7/15 festival.³⁰ Like their Ming counterparts, Qing rulers saw to it that the gods who governed the waters that flowed into the imperial lakes were properly propitiated, but they built rather few institutions for Daoist clerics within this part of their domain.³¹

The hill north of the Forbidden City, a geomantic stabilizer of dangerous forces from the north, was renamed Jingshan (Prospect Mountain) in the

26. Farquhar; Hevia 1993; Crossley 1997:112–22, 1999:chap. 5. Qing stelaie inscriptions in Tibetan script exposed Chinese to this language (they sometimes mistook it for Sanskrit). Chen Zongfan 2:339; Zhang Jiangcai & Xu Daoling 59–61.

27. *Guochao gong shi* 16:351–54; *JWK* 26:363–70; *LSJN* 190. The third was the Huangsi.

28. This was the Fayuansi, restored and renamed Songzhushi in 1711 or 1712 for the current Jangjia Qutugtu, and moved by Qianlong. X. Wang 70; Xu Daoling 1:94. “Jangjia” is the Mongolian pronunciation; “Zhangjia” the Chinese, and “lCangskya” the Tibetan. X. Wang 26.

29. *JWK* 28:401; Prip-Møller 63–65, plates 83, 84, 85. The temple was destroyed by fire between 1922 and 1935. Johnston 1934:337.

30. *NWF Kuaijisi* 4:78; *JWK* 25:356; Wu Changyuan 4:63; Fashishan 1:19–20; Lowe 1:238.

31. *JWK* 25:354, 36:570–71. Only the Dragon-god temples had daoists in residence.

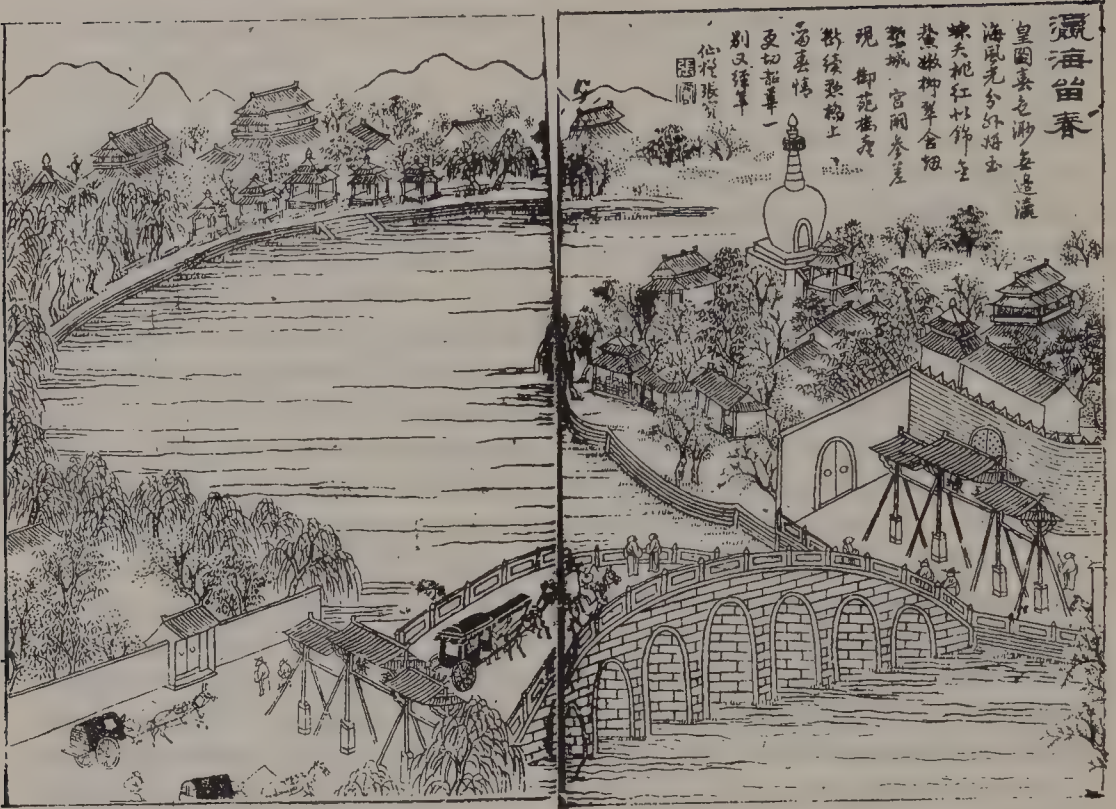


Figure 10.1. White Stupa

This woodblock illustration (ca. 1831) shows the White Stupa that the Shunzhi emperor had built on Qionghua Island in the Western Park. Rainbow Bridge was open to public traffic and offered a glimpse of the Imperial City lakes.

SOURCE: Zhang Bao 3: 36–37.

Qing. The last Ming emperor had hanged himself here (so the old name of Long-Life Mountain was more than a little inappropriate), and this ill-omened deed undoubtedly encouraged the new rulers to keep the hill closed to all but a few, lest it become a focus for Ming loyalists. Shunzhi initially used the area for military exercises; Qianlong built five pavilions on its summit and—more appropriate to its ghostly past—renovated a building on the north side (the *Shouhuangdian*) where deceased emperors and empresses were to lie in state and where their ancestral portraits could be displayed. Easily visible in a city that was entirely flat, Jingshan was already a familiar Peking landmark, and it remained well known—but at a distance.³²

Just as Qing rulers used parts of the Forbidden City for public functions,

32. Tan Qian 1656:51–52, 229–30; *Wanping xian zhi*. 1. QSL-SZ 116:6; *JWK* 19:259–61; Johnston 1934:178; Arlington & Lewisohn 126; Kim Ch'ang'öp 169; Wu Changyuan, map; Varin 262. In one of the buildings to the east of the hill was a small Guandi temple. Wu Changyuan 3:52.

so did they open up the lake area of the Western Park to large receptions and fetes. On the stretch of land on the western side of what we today call the Middle Lake, the Belvedere of Purple Brightness (Ziguangge) was built and used for celebrations of great military victories. As illustrations of these ceremonies reveal, large numbers of civil and military officials participated. The space was also used to feast tributaries at the new year, for Banner archery practice, and for the military *jinshi* examinations in riding and archery. In this area, Qianlong viewed the drills of Banner ice-skating teams in the winter, another frequent subject of imperial paintings: the emperor and an assemblage of officials stand watching on the edge of the ice, while in the center of the frozen lake Bannermen on skates perform complicated routines.³³

The Western Park was open to foreign emissaries, and they, like Qing officials, wrote about their memorable visits.³⁴ From the Rainbow Bridge that crossed over the lakes, those on official business in the palace could glimpse the sights, of which the White Stupa was the most prominent.³⁵ (This view is shown in Figure 10.1.) Being visible from the outside, Jingshan, the lakes, and the Western Park were mentioned in Chinese guidebooks even though they were closed to the general public.

SUBURBAN ESTATES

The confined spaces of the Forbidden City and the Western Park were too small to contain the restless Manchu emperors. After the Nanyuan hunting park south of the city was revived, they began to invade the northwest suburbs favored by Ming aristocrats. Eighteenth-century rulers, like their counterparts in France, Russia, and elsewhere, commandeered attractive sites for their summer estates. The investment of imperial funds and the stationing of Banner soldiers colonized this area for the throne, integrating it into the Banner world and making it less accessible to the general populace. (See Figure 10.2 for these properties.)

Initially, the Qing restored the Southern Park as a place for hunting; new halls were built under Shunzhi, and later emperors usually stopped here on their way to the Qing imperial tombs. Shunzhi received the fifth Dalai Lama at the Nanyuan in 1652, and Qianlong, loving self-aggrandizing symmetry, arranged to host the sixth Panchen Lama there in 1780. Although Qianlong

33. Dai Yi 9; Pak Saho 849; Dun Lichen 9; Wu Changyuan 4:62. Ice-skating: NPM 63:3; *De Verboden Stad* 150–51; Guignes 1:379. It was used in 1760 (the conquest of Xinjiang), in 1776 (the victory over Jinchuan tribes of western China), and in 1828 (the capture of the Central Asian Muslim rebel Jehangir). Gao Shiqi 1:28–30; *Guochao gong shi* 6:135; *JWK* 24:326–27; *ECCP* 68.

34. E.g., Hong Taeyong 277–78, 312; Kim Kyöngsön 1072; Wang Hongxu 1:511; Yuan Jing; Shi Runzhang, biography.

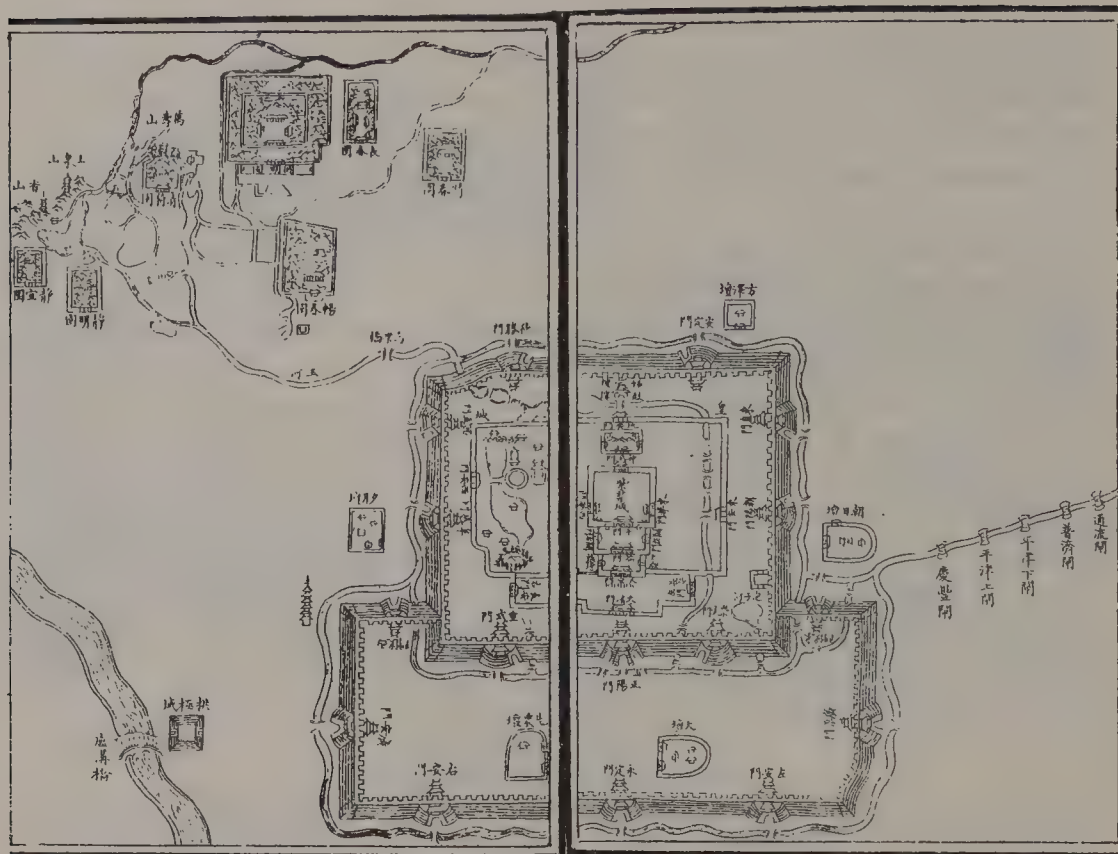


Figure 10.2. Qing Imperial Domain in 1820

This maplike drawing from an imperially commissioned gazetteer shows Peking and the summer villas in the northwest suburbs. The Southern Park (Nanyuan) was not included.

SOURCE: Comprehensive Gazetteer 1820:1:1-2.

also rebuilt parts of this park and Jiaqing used it for hunting and military drills each spring en route to the mausoleums, the cooler Western Hills increasingly became the preferred suburban retreat.³⁶

The imperial parks and villas constructed northwest of the city (now conventionally called “summer palaces” in English) are well known.³⁷ Kangxi began building here in the 1680s, taking over the once-famous villa of Li Wei

36. *JWK* 74:1231-51; *Dai Yi* 30; *QSLJQ* 280:1-2.

37. *Yuan*, the word used for these various estates, does not have a single English counterpart. “Garden” suggests a misleading emphasis on vegetation, while “summer palace” overemphasizes buildings and incorrectly implies monumentality. Faute de mieux, I have used “park” for those places that emperors visited for short excursions that often involved hunting and “villas” for those where they resided for months at a time. I have here relied on Carroll Malone’s fine 1934 study.

(father of Empress Dowager Li) for his Villa of Joyful Springtime (Changchunyuan). The sources are silent on the terms of this appropriation.

After Yongzheng ascended the throne in 1723, he expanded a nearby villa that his father had built for him, leaving the Changchunyuan for his mother and erecting a small shrine in which Kangxi's image was placed. The progressive allocation of Banner soldiers to newly built barracks began about this time. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the Qianlong emperor undertook the major construction projects that created the Villa of Perfect Brightness (Yuanmingyuan), 346 hectares of lakes, pavilions, residences, walkways, and temples, surrounded by a wall and connected to the palace by improved road and canal routes. It was within the Yuanmingyuan that, in the 1770s with the help of European Jesuits, an unusual complex of Western-style buildings was built and filled with European furniture and objects.³⁸

It was also Qianlong who took over two of the most attractive nearby hills and turned them into imperial parks. The Villa of Tranquil Brightness (Jingmingyuan) had been begun by Kangxi in 1680 but was rebuilt by his grandson in the 1740s. It enclosed for imperial pleasure all of Jade Spring Hill, a favorite sight for Ming elites who had once strolled and poeticized by the pavilion that overlooked a lake.³⁹

Kangxi's small lodge on the eastern slopes of Fragrant Hill (Xiangshan), further to the west and long an imperial hunting ground, was enclosed as a park by Qianlong. In the 1740s, he began acquiring land here and gradually took over a large tract on the east-facing part of the mountain; he stocked it with deer and walled it in to make the Villa of Peace and Harmony (Jingyiyuan), protecting the trees and animals from the encroachment of peasants and curiosity of tourists.⁴⁰

Qianlong also took over the hump-shaped Urn Hill and parts of the adjacent lake that had likewise been well known for their scenic qualities under the previous dynasty. Inspired by the vistas of central China, he used his ample resources to drain and dike the marshy land, enlarging the lake and redirecting the water. The lake was renamed Kunming (after one in the Han dynasty capital at Chang'an) and used for naval maneuvers and recreation. The Villa of Clear Ripples (Qingyiyuan), created in 1750, encompassed the hill as well as the lake, the former now given the more dignified name of Longevity Mountain in honor of Qianlong's mother, whose sixtieth birthday was celebrated there in 1751. Banner garrisons were relocated to this vicinity as well.⁴¹

38. *JWK* 76:1277; Yan Chongnian 167; Malone; Danby 1950:113 (for an unusual painting).

39. *DJ* 7:296-307; *JWK* 85:1412-36; Bouillard 1925; Malone 122.

40. *JWK* 86-87:1437-59; Dai Yi 17; Malone 110, 124-31.

41. *JWK* 84:1391-1411; Wu Changyuan 14:290; Malone 109, 133; Hong Taeyong 321; *Hanyu da cidian* 5:587; *Huidian shili* 1899:546:12265-66.

Maintained austerely in the more troubled reigns of the early nineteenth century, most of the suburban villas were abruptly looted and burned by British and French armies in 1860. In this now infamous “punishment,” the Yuanmingyuan was almost completely destroyed (although the marble European-style buildings survived as ruins) and many of the buildings near Kunming Lake were gravely damaged. Rebuilding was difficult, for imperial resources were depleted and the dynasty faced demanding and expensive challenges to its survival. These neglected parts of the imperial domain became, for an interval, informally open to the public.⁴²

Another burst of construction directed by Empress Dowager Cixi (understood by many as wasteful extravagance) led to the creation of a new park and villa complex, one that survives today. Over the decades of the 1870s–1890s, Cixi encircled the Wanshoushan area again, rebuilding on the burned-out ruins and reusing rocks and other material from the earlier parks. A huge area was walled, including the entire adjacent Kunming Lake, and access was restricted once more. This was her Villa of Smiling Harmony (Yiheyuan), what we now call the new Summer Palace.⁴³

Another concentrated zone of imperial patronage colonized earlier at a much greater remove from Peking (some eighty kilometers to the northeast) was Coiled Mountain (Panshan). Temples had been built on this rocky and wooded site since at least the Tang, and the area had been occasionally visited by hardy travellers during the Ming. Kangxi began stopping there toward the end of his reign, probably en route to the Eastern Mausoleums. He wrote poems about the mountain site, had a gazetteer compiled, and restored a few temples. Qianlong lavished much more attention and came often for short visits (twenty-eight times in fifty-eight years). He restored at least ten temples between 1743 and 1754, designated eight and then sixteen vistas, and built a substantial travel-palace in 1754. He designated one large section of the mountain as his Peaceful Abode Mountain Retreat (Jingji Shanzhuang) and (as he had at Xiangshan) walled this area and its many temples off from the general public.⁴⁴

At an even greater remove—beyond our proper consideration here—was the dynasty’s Summer Mountain Retreat (Bishu Shanzhuang) at Warm River (a.k.a. Jehol or Rehe), a two-week journey to the northeast, beyond

42. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Westerners used “Yuanmingyuan” in a confused fashion to refer to all of the suburban villas. They were open to foreigners, and presumably Chinese. Freeman-Mitford 111–12, 209–10; Child; *DMJL* 1878.

43. Malone 109–17, 196–212; *Beijing luxing zhinan* 151ff.; Johnston 1934:368–72; Arlington & Lewisohn 283–92.

44. Jiang Yikui 5:103–5; *JWK* 115:1894–1908, 116:1909–26.

the Great Wall. Beyond Rehe, at an even greater distance, lay the Mulan hunting park.⁴⁵

Funded and maintained by the Imperial Household, these villas and parks were places where the ruling family stayed for extended periods. The building and support of temples within this domain followed as a natural consequence of the more intense Qing involvement in this wider Peking. Religious buildings provided the imperial family and their servants with a range of places to pray in, and their rituals emphasized, variously, individual preferences, the welfare of the imperial household, and the perpetuation of the imperial line.

Qing imperial temple-building impulses were unleashed in this imperial domain. Of the seventy-some temples that existed in the suburban parks of Nanyuan and Yuanmingyuan and at Kunminghu, Xiangshan, and Yuquanshan at one time or another during the dynasty, only seven antedated 1644. Ninety percent were built between 1680 and 1800, most by Qianlong, who ruled from 1736 to 1799. The greatest number (thirty temples) were in the Yuanmingyuan area (subsuming the Kangxi-era villa), and nearly as many (twenty-one) at Yuquanshan and Kunming Lake. Because Nanyuan and the Jingyiyuan on Xiangshan were primarily hunting lodges, the number of religious buildings was comparably fewer (eight to twelve each).⁴⁶ The gods worshipped were various.

As befitted areas with complex water systems, which the Wanshoushan and Yuanmingyuan estates most certainly were, temples to Dragon-god were common. Propitiating the deities who could ensure enough but not too much water for the lakes and canals was an important responsibility, and several shrines were formally maintained by either the Ministry of Rites or the Imperial Household. The best known was probably the Dragon-king temple located on a small island on the east side of Kunming Lake, renovated and expanded by Qianlong in 1750 and added to the state religion in 1812, but there were similar shrines at Yuquanshan, Xiangshan, and Nanyuan.⁴⁷

In the 1740s, the military commander Fuheng had used a ruined hillside temple site on Xiangshan to train a new Banner army unit in the art of scaling mountain fortresses—as preparation for the Jinchuan campaigns on the western frontiers. When those campaigns were concluded, in gratitude the stones of those mock-fortresses were reused to build the Shishengsi (Temple of True Victory) in 1749.⁴⁸

45. This complex seems to have been abandoned after Xianfeng's death there in 1861. Hedin 273.

46. Total 71. The buildings constructed at the very end of the dynasty at the Yiheyuan may be underrepresented in my figures.

47. *JWK* 75:1263, 84:1406, 85:1413–14; *JFTZ* 1884:13:461; *NWF Zhangyisi* passim.

48. *BJTB* 70:96–97; *JWK* 102:1690–94; Malone 130–31.

In the 1750s, Qianlong began to build Tibetan Buddhist temples at Xiangshan, influenced by his visits to the complex of religious sites of Mount Wutai in nearby Shanxi province, the empirewide center of the cult of the Bodhisattva Manjusri. Qing emperors had been identified as incarnations of Manjusri (Wenshu in Chinese) since before 1644, self-declared heirs to a tradition that extended back to Ming and Yuan rulers. Wutaishan, associated with that bodhisattva since early medieval times, had become more emphatically part of the Tibetan Buddhist world in the early fifteenth century.⁴⁹

After his 1761 visit to Wutai, Qianlong forcefully invoked a series of imagined parallels between those mountains, the new temples at Xiangshan, those at the summer residence at Rehe that he was simultaneously building, and their sources of inspiration in Tibetan lands. An image of Manjusri from Wutai was copied and put in the Baoxiang temple and later in one at Rehe, and in 1780, to commemorate the Panchen Lama's visit, Qianlong built Tibetan-style buildings at Rehe and Xiangshan.⁵⁰ Peking was thus made part of the Qing rulers' vision of a web of holy sites made sacred by physical similarity, related images of the deity, the presence of holy lamas, and the selective visits of believers.

Within the suburban villas, Buddhist deities (Guanyin, Manjusri, and Shakyamuni) and other popular gods (Guandi, Dongyue, Zhenwu, Yuhuang, Wenchang, and the Earth-god) were also worshipped, often within the same structure. These temples had resident lamas or Buddhist monks or eunuch-monks. Some were on a grand scale, others quite intimate. The Anyougong was a large ancestral shrine in the Yuanmingyuan that looked like the Taimiao; the Ruiyinggong was a modest one-story residential hall that served as a Dragon-king temple, within which were also halls for the worship of Guandi, the Jade Emperor, and various buddha images.⁵¹

Qing patronage of religion within its domain was, overall, much more generous than Ming patronage. The number of temples on imperial property grew fourfold, as did recorded imperial gifts.⁵² Such involvement in religion paralleled the expansion of these properties and their impact on Peking as a whole.

The suburban land enclosed for imperial parks and villas was both substantial and choice. The area that became the Yuanmingyuan had been favored

49. In 1746, 1750, 1761, 1781 and two other times. Farquhar 24.

50. *JWK* 87:1458–59, 103:1699–1703; Forêt 59; Wu Changyuan 15:213. Qianlong had begun copying one Wutai temple in 1751. The Ritian Linyu at the Yuanmingyuan was in its turn modeled on the Yonghegong inside Peking. *JWK* 81:1355.

51. Anyougong: Malone 83–88; he called it the “most honored building in the whole palace grounds.” *Yuanmingyuan sishi jing tu yong* 38–39; *JWK* 81:1351. Ruiyinggong: *JWK* 81:1355; *Yuanmingyuan sishi jing tu song* 42–43.

52. In the Ming: 64 and 28; in the Qing: 223 and 127.

for elite villas, and the lakes and hills to the west continued to be enjoyed for strolling and excursions until they were taken over in the mid-eighteenth century.⁵³ These seizures must also be understood in the context of the land encirclements of the early Qing that already put much of the area around the capital in the hands of the Banners, the rededication of roads and canals in this area to imperial use, and the multiplication of suburban garrisons. The place of the suburbs in the leisure life of Peking residents was thus radically upset after 1644.

Although these suburban estates were closed to the public, they were, like the Forbidden City and Western Park, used to celebrate holidays and receive select guests. The deer park at Xiangshan was probably the most rarely visited, whereas parts of the Yuanmingyuan were the most open. In their prime, all of these areas housed the ample support staff necessary to imperial life and were guarded by soldiers stationed nearby. Qing emperors often took their work with them to the suburbs, and so their villas became familiar to high court officials. They were written about in imperial poems, painted by court painters, and came to be known to people who were part of the imperial family, to high officials, and to members of the Banner elite.

Even foreigners had access. Tributaries came occasionally to meet the emperor and be banqueted and entertained, and the early and mid-Qing Jesuits employed at court had a residence near the Yuanmingyuan. As we shall see in Chapter 13, in the books and letters published by such foreigners and circulated at home, these summer palaces were opened up to a reading public and became widely famous. Between 1640 and 1860 they were described in dozens of publications in Korean, Dutch, English, Portuguese, French, and German.

The fate of the imperial domain beyond the city walls was closely tied to the strength of the throne, and as dynastic resources became limited and dynastic power was challenged in the nineteenth century, control over the suburban parks diminished. The Nanyuan had continued to be used for hunts-cum-military drills, but by the 1880s the government had lost its ability to control access, and, as tenants were brought in to work the land, the park was gradually transformed from pasturage to farmland. The flood of 1890 destroyed the wall.⁵⁴ The destructions of 1860 (a deed that increased the fame of the “summer palaces” in the West) permitted Chinese and foreigners to rediscover the northwest suburbs. Even the empress dowager’s Yiheyuan was soon opened to the public and to foreigners (and became one of the most photographed sights of the city). After the foreign occupation

53. Parts of Kunming Lake were accessible to ordinary literati until the late nineteenth century. Chen Wenshu 5:20; Linqing 1:23; *Yanjing za ji* 127.

54. *NWF Nanyuan* n.p.; *LSJN* 245–64 passim; *ZNQT*; *Beijing luxing zhinan* 218–19.

of Peking in 1990 and the end of the dynasty, little remained of the privileged enclaves for the Qing ruling family.

Between 1644 and 1860, however, imperial parks were new and important elements in Peking life. Although created for the use of a few and the exclusion of many, these properties helped develop greater Peking by promoting settlement in the suburbs and tying these areas more closely to the city. Moreover, these villas became some of the best-known symbols of the capital. Their harsh beginnings forgotten, by the twentieth century, Qing summer palaces could even be invested with affection and remembered with nostalgia.

REPRESENTATIONS

The deeper involvement of the Qing ruling house in the imperial domain was accompanied by an increased self-reflectiveness. In Ming Peking, the palace was not a major focus of the written record and was only modestly preserved in (surviving) paintings. In the Qing, by contrast, life within the imperial domain became much more extensively documented, privately and publicly, in words and pictures; such representations help us understand how Peking's imperial community was constituted.⁵⁵

There were few early Qing maps of Peking as a whole. Maps printed in the gazetteers of the 1680s showed only the most accessible part of the palace complex. (There is an example in Figure 12.4.) Fifty years later, the much longer edition of the "Gazetteer of the Capital Region" (*Jifu tongzhi*) exposed more. (See Figure 10.3.) The central halls and gates were marked and sites in the Western Park were shown, but copies of this compilation do not appear to have circulated widely. Considering the close relationship between the throne and the Banner community, it is not surprising that the massive 1739 "Gazetteer of the Eight Banners" (*Baqi tongzhi*), intended for this audience of quasi-insiders, began to publicize the imperial core of Peking with even greater accuracy and completeness, showing its correct dimensions, the shape of the lakes, and the names of the outer gates.⁵⁶

The imperial world was similarly underdescribed in early Qing texts, many of which concentrated on the Ming city. "Ordinary people [*shimin*] cannot go here," said one 1684 local history about Jingshan, "hence [we give] no details."⁵⁷ By the eighteenth century, more information was provided. The 1746 edition of a gazetteer for the empire listed (but did not illustrate) the

55. The enormous volume of Qing materials does not seem to me merely the result of better survival.

56. *BQTZ* 2:1-2.

57. *Wanping xian zhi* 1:23.

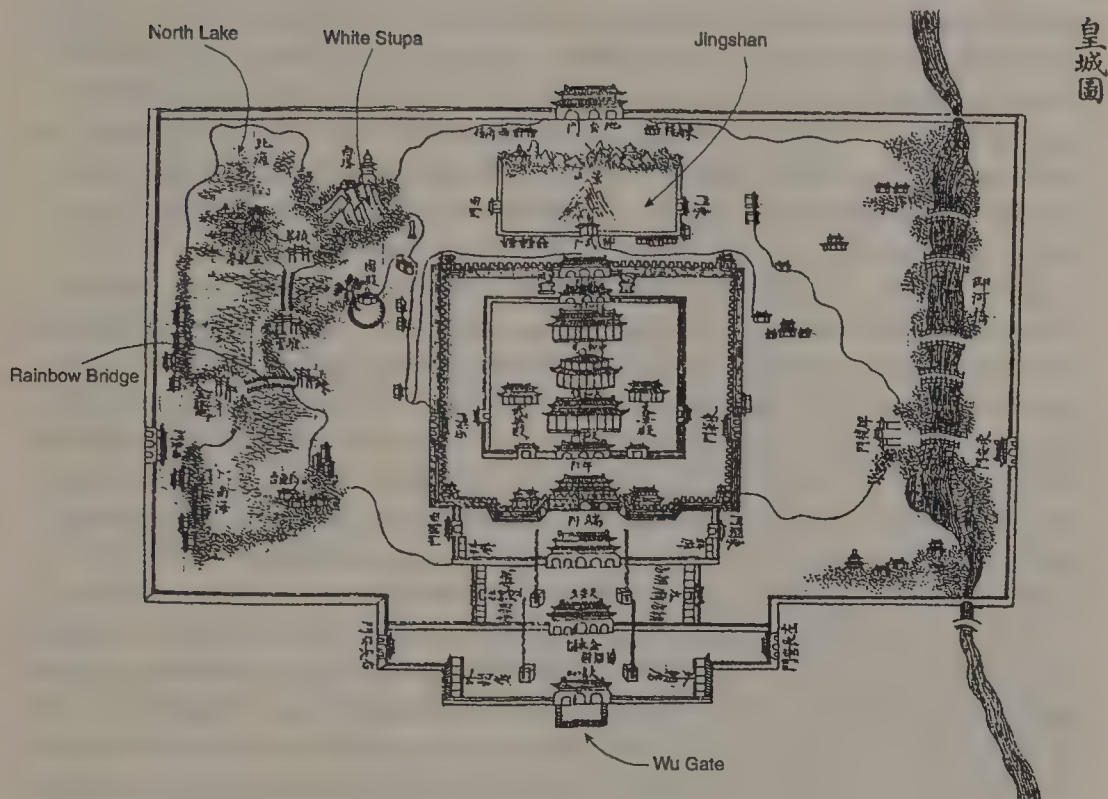


Figure 10.3. Imperial City

The Imperial City as shown in the 1735 “Gazetteer of the Capital Region.” The overall proportions were distorted in order to make the city symmetrical east and west.

SOURCE: *JFTZ* 1735:504:28.

halls of the Forbidden City and included short, detailed entries on the suburban villas.⁵⁸ It was in the 1785 imperial compendium “Study of ‘The Ancient Accounts Heard in the Precincts of the Throne’” that the buildings of the imperial domain were given an exhaustive treatment for the first time. Twenty *juan* were devoted to the Forbidden City, eight more to the palace under previous dynasties, and four to the Imperial City.⁵⁹

In 1788 the “Sketches of the Imperial Enclosure” condensed this information for a wider audience of readers. It devoted a full chapter each to the Great Interior and the Imperial City, including detailed maps. (One of these maps is shown in Figure 13.1.) The Forbidden City was now shown in considerable

58. *Comprehensive Gazetteer* 1746: j. 1.

59. *JWK* jj. 9–28, 29–36, and 39–42. For more on all these books, see Chapter 13.

detail—fifty-five places were labeled (most of them halls and gates)—information that was surely interesting to the many people who had not been there.⁶⁰

Books and maps were not the only way that outsiders learned about the palace world. The porous boundary between imperial family, their eunuchs and bondservants, and the wider Banner community guaranteed a steady supply of the personal and political gossip common to capitals and royalty alike. A few glimpses have been preserved in respectable genres.

The intimate working relationship between Qing emperors and their ministers (both Chinese and Bannermen) brought these men into the palace on a regular basis. We can see this world publicized for a literati public in the works of Gao Shiqi (1645–1703), a Zhejiang man who served for twenty years as a kind of private secretary to Kangxi. He was bestowed a residence inside the Imperial City, was on daily duty within the Forbidden City, and accompanied the emperor on many excursions and expeditions. Gao published accounts of these trips, to Rehe (in 1681 and 1683), to Shenyang (1682), to Wutaishan (1683), and to Ningxia (1697). Like his published verse, much of which alluded to life at court, these works brought a limited reading public into the private imperial world.⁶¹ Gao traded on his access in a more commercial venture with his 1684 “Leisure Notes from the Golden Tortoise Bridge” (*Jin’ao tuishi biji*). In this book, he described the famous sites of the Western Park: the Taiye Pond and Qionghua Island vistas, and the pavilions, halls, and temples. For each, he gave the location, a description, and information on its history in the Ming. Personal details were occasionally presented as engaging tidbits.⁶²

Insiders’ views were also provided in paintings. In a 1726 inscription on the hanging scroll “A View of Yuanmingyuan,” Zhang Tingyu (a powerful official and imperial intimate) recalled that “On 9/9 of Yongzheng *bingwu* year, His Majesty climbed up to the highest point in the Yuanmingyuan with a party of more than a dozen courtiers; I was a member of the group.” The Chinese Bannerman Gao Qipei executed the painting the next day.⁶³ Imperial poems, written on many of these occasions, were printed in palace editions for a select audience.⁶⁴

Although some knowledge of the palace world was disseminated more readily than before, a genuine explosion took place in the recording of that world

60. The Imperial City map was less informative and marked little that had not been on earlier maps. Wu Changyuan j. 1 for maps, and jj. 2–3 for text.

61. *ECCP* 413–14.

62. Gao Shiqi *passim*.

63. Ruitenbeek 1992:150–51, 256–58; *ECCP* 54–56, 259. Although the precipitous peaks exaggerated the geography of the Western Hills, this was not the more famous Yuanmingyuan of Qianlong.

64. For example, *Yu zhi shi yu ji* *passim*.

by and for the court. The trajectory of this visual documentation paralleled imperial involvement in the imperial domain: increasing from the middle of the Kangxi reign and through Yongzheng, escalating to a peak in the latter eighteenth century under Qianlong, slowly declining in the Daoguang reign, and experiencing a brief revival at the end of the nineteenth century under Empress Dowager Cixi. We will concentrate here on the early and middle Qing and pick up the story again in Chapter 13.

Because of their success as astronomers, Jesuits began to be used by the Kangxi emperor in the 1680s for a wider range of services, and for the next century the throne employed missionaries knowledgeable in military, medical, mapping, painting, architectural, horological, and artisanal techniques.⁶⁵ Of these technologies, mapmaking and painting are of particular interest to us here.

Jesuit and Chinese painters were attached to the imperial workshops of the Imperial Household Agency, with offices inside the Forbidden City and (under Qianlong) in the Yuanmingyuan. A polished, three-dimensional “European” style was adapted to eighteenth-century court painting and produced effects quite unlike that of literati painting (which eschewed representation and prized brushwork). One task of these court painters was to document (and celebrate) events in the imperial domain, and they did so with a new intensity and thoroughness. (Documenting did not preclude pictures that were staged and prettified.) As Kangxi and Qianlong expanded their domain, paintings and prints and maps recorded the new estates at distant Mulan and Rehe, on Panshan, and in the suburbs of the capital. The Yuanmingyuan was extensively represented: Qianlong commissioned sets of color paintings and prints—usually accompanied by (his) verse. The artists divided the villa complex into vistas (*jing*), each of which concentrated on a cluster of buildings, many of which were temples, nestled (misleadingly) in low hills. Such pseudo-rustic isolation recalled the literati garden genre.⁶⁶ The primary audience for these paintings was a private one—the imperial family and household, and perhaps their visitors—but the palace printing establishment published impressive tomes with woodblock illustrations of some of the same views.

Other Qing court paintings recorded grand imperial rituals in a (pseudo) documentary fashion. Yongzheng’s rites at the Altar to Agriculture and those

65. Lach & Van Kley 3:1:253ff.

66. *De Verboden Stad* 93–102. Qing paintings of the imperial domain are very numerous; I cite only token examples. Mulan: Beurdeley 172. Panshan: NPM 75:17. Bishu Shanzhuang: *De Verboden Stad* 146–49; *Zhongguo meishu quan ji* 10:#114. Yuanmingyuan: *Yuanmingyuan sishi jing tu yong*; Danby 1950; Pelliot 239. Mote 1988:26–27 is, in my opinion, too harsh in calling this rusticity “an extravagant sham.” The location was rural, and the genre permitted the world outside the garden villa to be ignored.

of the Xiaoxian empress at the Altar to Sericulture were both painted in several versions. The 1760 celebrations at the Ziguangge in the Western Park in honor of the conquest of Xinjiang—an accomplishment of which Qianlong was exceedingly but perhaps deservedly proud—were even more extensively painted. Inside that hall were full-sized portraits of the responsible civil and military officials, stelae announcing the victory, a map of the new dominions, and pictures of the campaigns themselves. The ceremony was painted in various versions. Most showed the hall itself, the assembled officials and Bannermen, and in the background the lake, bridge, and island with the White Stupa. The large copper-plate etchings produced for Qianlong in Paris inspired the production of more engravings done locally of the European-style buildings at the Yuanmingyuan, and then of various other imperial campaigns in the 1780s and 1790s.⁶⁷

In 1713, 1751, and 1790, handscrolls and woodblock albums were produced to illustrate the birthday processions of Kangxi (his sixtieth), Qianlong's mother (her sixtieth), and Qianlong (his eightieth). For Empress Dowager Xiaosheng's seventieth birthday in 1761, a series of paintings depicted celebrations inside the palace and en route to the suburban villas, including a stop at the Five Stupa Temple (restored by Qianlong for this occasion).⁶⁸ The handscrolls of Kangxi and Qianlong's tours of central China in 1689 and 1765 each began and ended with representations of Peking. The illustrated book versions made these scenes available to a select reading public.

Court painters also documented less glamorous events within the imperial domain. One handscroll focused on the Observatory and showed the auspicious conjunction of the sun, moon, and five planets on new year's day of 1761, with the nearby palace covered in mist. A hanging scroll commemorated two snowfalls in the Forbidden City on the first day of winter in 1773.⁶⁹ Other paintings presented even more prosaic, immediate, and everyday scenes. Qianlong kept artists in attendance in order to record places, events, people, or objects—all suitably posed, of course—and he was quick to compose poems to be inscribed on such paintings.

Other pictures showed the Imperial City both in its diversity and in detail. A hanging scroll presented a winter scene (the new year?): with the Altar to Heaven in the foreground and the line of palace ceremonial halls as its main axis, it gave most of its attention to the imperial home. We can see ice-skaters on the lake, figures in the courtyards, the Shejitan and Taimiao

67. Altars: Nie Chongzheng; D. Wei; *JWK* 24:326–27. Ziguangge: These pictures are widely reproduced: Pelliot; Beurdeley 185, 189; *De Verboden Stad* 148–49; Pelliot 239–44; Pirazzoli-T'Serstevens. Two more campaign sets were produced in the Jiajing reign, and one under Daoguang.

68. *Zijin Cheng* 58 (1990) 21; *JWK* 77:1288–91. Also D. Wei.

69. *NPM* 75:35, 109:3; *Gugong zhoukan* 424; D. Wei 19.

flanking the southern entrance to the palace, and, in the distance, the White Stupa and Jingshan. Here, the Imperial City was more than mists and clouds; it had become embodied in real places.⁷⁰ Perhaps because it was now the social center of the court community, the Western Park was a favored subject, with its eight-arched bridge, the curved contours of the North Lake, and the island with the White Stupa upon it. (See Figures 10.1 and 10.3.)

Many Qing court paintings showed family members in the pavilions and halls of the palace: Qianlong in an open room with tree-filled courtyards; Jiaqing and a son in close-up, seated on a veranda, with servants bringing musical instruments; or Daoguang and two sons practicing their calligraphy while several daughters watched three smaller sons flying a kite. Others were portraits of favorite horses, dogs, birds, flowers, and trees.⁷¹ Such works, however sanitized, recorded a more intimate, humanized imperial family and a real palace setting. Moreover, they were set unmistakably in the present. Qing hairstyles and Qing clothing distinguished these from other court paintings in which a generic traditionalism and imaginary imperial past was invoked.⁷²

Paintings like these, intended for use within the palace rather than for consumption beyond it, thus seem to have mirrored the emergence of court community, one for whom the imperial domain had become home. Calendrical celebrations and rites of passage drew imperial family members together with some regularity, along with officials, guards, and servants; the temples, halls, and courtyards, the lakes and gardens of the imperial domain—both scenic and accommodative of assembly—provided the setting for these events. The palace and villas were put to active use, and one might argue that these rituals and the sites where they took place gave shape to this community. Pictures of this domain reflect a vision of Peking not as a transcendent Northern Capital, the latest incarnation of Chang'an, but a very specific Qing dynasty place, the home of the Aisin Gioro rulers.⁷³

At the same time, it should not be surprising that the Qing welcomed an equation between their imperial city and past capitals, one that placed them

70. The painting is said to be from the Qianlong era and is presumably in the Palace Museum in Peking. Yan Chongnian 90; *Zijin Cheng* 60 (1990) 20. Such pictures were paralleled by the ambitious mapping of Peking discussed in Chapter 13.

71. *Zijin Cheng di hou shenghuo*; *Zhongguo meishu quan ji* 10: #163; *Gugong zhoukan* 334; *De Verboden Stad* 156–57; Beurdeley; Chuang; H. Yu.

72. Compare, for example, the often reproduced and very generic “Pictures of the Twelve Months” (“Yueling tu”) with another set of twelve paintings that presented a contemporary Qing setting. See (in order) NPM 64:37; 71:22; 55:37; 63:5; 127:45; 71:20; 63:8; 65:36; 55:36; 71:21; 63:1; 55:38. (These have not usually been presented as a set but are one according to Department Head Lin Po-ting.) The first-month scene was used for the cover of Naquin & Rawski; both sets are held by the National Palace Museum in Taipei. Jan Stuart 1998:55–58 has emphasized the symbolic functions of such paintings.

73. As we shall see in Chapter 11, a parallel process was binding the Banners to Peking as well.

in a line of legitimate dynasties and collapsed the centuries between them. Like invoking the dragon as a symbol of generic and timeless unified rule or calling Peking “Chang’an,” using palace-roofs-amid-clouds to stand for the city encouraged the idea of an eternal and changeless capital.⁷⁴ Moreover, all these representations—concrete and general—strengthened Peking’s imperial reputation, and the rich gleaming world of palace spectacle played an important role in the image of China that was exported abroad.

STATE RELIGION

Ever since their entry into Peking, the Qing had eased their overlordship by performing the rites of the Ming state religion. Offerings were made to Heaven in the autumn of 1644, and a regular round of formal rituals was soon in place. The great altars in the capital were thereafter maintained, and in time state rituals doubled. Of the fifty temples supported by the Ministry of Rites in Qing times, thirty-one were new.

Within a generation or so, the initially fragile relationship between the throne and the bureaucracy had solidified. Unmediated by eunuchs, it was at once more collegial (the public humiliation of officials almost ceased) and more autocratic (the channels for imperial action were smoothed).⁷⁵ Qing emperors single-mindedly made alterations in the state religion and, whether from fear or acceptance or an increasing sense that such affairs mattered less, officials did not protest vigorously. The lack of ritual controversies so characteristic of Ming is striking.

The Grand and Secondary Sacrifices continued under the Qing largely as before.⁷⁶ Elaborately staged rituals continued to take place at carefully specified intervals throughout the year: on the open, circular Altar to Heaven at the winter solstice and in its blue-domed hall at the advent of spring; on the Altar to the Sun in the spring and to the Moon in the fall; at the Altar to Earth at the summer solstice; at the Altar to Agriculture for the spring plowing; at the Altar to Soil and Grain in the summer and winter; and

74. Images of emperors were not intended to circulate outside the palace, and coins bore only the reign name of the current ruler. The contemporaneous engravings of Qing emperors published in Europe seem to have had few counterparts. Cf. Lach and Van Kley 3:4:plates 311, 312.

75. The considerable literature on this issue can scarcely be touched on here. For a sampling: Guy; Kuhn; Bartlett.

76. Under Qianlong, the ritual sites were restored and altered, some in major ways. Worship at the westernmost of the two altars in the Outer City, long heterogeneous, was consolidated. It had been called by many names but was commonly now known as the Xiannongtan (Altar to the First Husbandman); I have termed it the Altar to Agriculture.

in the Imperial Ancestral Temple at each of the four seasons and at the new year. And on other occasions as well, notably on the emperor's birthday or during droughts.⁷⁷ Both altars and rituals were funded by the Ministry of Rites, with supplementary corvée labor provided by the counties in the capital area.⁷⁸

As under the Ming, the rites of the state religion in the capital were performed by the emperor or his deputies on behalf of the larger political community of all those under the authority of the ministries, provinces, prefectures, and counties (a structure inherited from the Ming but now extended over a larger area and population) as well as on behalf of Inner Asian peoples enrolled in the Banners. Two horizontal handscrolls painted for the court showed, for example, the rites performed at the Altar to Agriculture in the early eighteenth century, when at least five hundred civil and military officials appear to have been in attendance.⁷⁹

These great altars were frequently featured on maps of Peking in the Qing, a reflection not merely of their role as symbols of the imperial capital but also of their importance to the city itself.⁸⁰ As the Outer City grew more populous and expanded to the edges of the vermilion walls around the altars to Heaven and to Agriculture, those grounds became more closely woven into city life.

Like each new dynasty, the Qing was careful to place itself in the direct line of legitimate predecessors, but it promptly added to the Temple to Past Emperors the tablets of the founders of the Liao, Jin, and Yuan dynasties, rulers of north China whose heirs the Qing also claimed to be.⁸¹ Furthermore, they saw to it that the imperial Jin tombs, located more than one hundred kilometers southwest of Peking and neglected by the Ming, were restored and that regular Secondary Rites were performed there. These were serious matters but—whatever the officials in the Ministry of Rites might have thought—there was no open debate about them.⁸²

The Qing were scrupulous about rituals at the Ming imperial tombs. They

77. I looked at the following samples of imperial ritual activity: QSL-SZ 106–13; Qijuzhu QL 17, JQ 21, DG 1; *DMJL* 1886; also Zito. For the *JWK* entries on these six altars: 9:129–35; 10:136–41; 55:892–905; 57:922–32; 88:1492–95; 96:1600–1602.

78. *Huidian shili* 1899:1090:17965. Twenty-seven counties from Zhili province supplied 170 laborers each year; each was paid a stipend.

79. Nie Chongzheng; *Palastmuseum Peking*, plates 32, 37. Some rites included tributaries and representatives of the outer dependencies.

80. Wu Changyuan, map; Kim Kyöngsön 1017 map; *DMJL* 1845.

81. QSL-SZ 5:25; *JWK* 51:806–22; Crossley 1999:chap. 6.

82. QSL-SZ 106:11–12. A careful search of Chinese and Manchu archives might reveal more contention.

periodically repaired them, allocated land to provide income, and had regular offerings made. The road from Peking became well travelled in consequence.⁸³ Although a wall protected the mausoleums from peasant encroachment, entrance seems to have been initially possible. Early Qing literati travelled in the vicinity, and even Gu Yanwu, a Ming loyalist, was able to visit and “pay his respects” no less than six times prior to 1677 and make a detailed study of the complex.⁸⁴ Such access seems to have been later prohibited, and the tombs did not again become an attraction to sightseers until after 1860.

Secondary Rites were performed at the tombs of Jin and Ming emperors, and Grand Sacrifices were offered for deceased Qing rulers. For the graves of their ancestors who died “inside the Pass”—Shunzhi was the first—Qing rulers used two sites, erratically alternating generations. The Eastern Mausoleums (Dongling), where Shunzhi, Kangxi, Qianlong, Xianfeng, and Tongzhi (and a host of empresses and concubines, a total of one hundred and fifty-seven people) were buried, were opened in 1661 about a hundred kilometers east of Peking. The Western Mausoleums (Xiling) were initiated by Yongzheng in 1730 (when he decided not to be buried with his father and grandfather) at almost the same distance in precisely the opposite direction. Here Jiaqing, Daoguang, and Guangxu would eventually be laid to rest, together with seventy-three others.⁸⁵ These interred ancestors each required formal offerings on the anniversaries of their death, and, as their numbers multiplied, activities at the mausoleums became more intense and expensive.

These attractive and geomantically auspicious settings were walled and garrisoned. The throne was engaged in a continual struggle to collect the rents necessary for maintenance and to keep peasants from penetrating the enclosures in search of wood and game.⁸⁶ The rural zones between the two mausoleums and Peking were opened up and developed by the regular journeys of emperors and their deputies, for neither was on a route frequented by ordinary travellers; only in the early twentieth century did tourists begin to visit.

Under the Qing, the temple to Confucius in the northeast part of Peking continued to enjoy the level of Secondary Sacrifice, but unlike the ritual arenas just described, worship was shared with a wider public. The temple itself, usually called the Wenmiao (Temple of Culture), Kongzিমiao (Temple

83. *MQDA* A1-118; *JWK* 136:2184-95, 137:2196-2220; also Liu Zhenwei, maps 23, 76.

84. Gu Yanwu 1982a:1:3-13; *ECCP* 422. For other visitors: Tan Qian 1656:67ff.; Tan Qixiang 5:679, 6:759, 7:225.

85. Yu Shanpu 1; *Qing Xiling lansheng*.

86. Liang Fangzhong 268; *Qingdai di qidi* 344.

to Confucius), or the Xianshimiao (Temple to the First Teacher), was restored in 1657 and many times thereafter at government expense, and it often received imperial visits. Biannual rites were echoed in schools in each administrative center of the empire, as were the annual rituals on the sage's birthday on the twenty-seventh day of the eighth month.⁸⁷

Immediately adjacent to the Confucius temple were the ancient trees and buildings of the Guozijian, where emperors came to lecture on the Classics. The official line of designated sages was manifested through the tablets selected for worship here (and in other government schools); Qing emperors reshaped this assemblage, especially by elevating the position of Zhu Xi, the Song philosopher whose works were now examination orthodoxy.⁸⁸ An ever-denser forest of stelae in the courtyard proclaimed the names of those successful in the Ming and Qing metropolitan exam and preserved authoritative texts of the Thirteen Classics, the Sacred Edict, and the announcements of successful mid-Qing military campaigns. The antique stone drums on view here (and Qianlong's replicas) proclaimed the antiquity of the Chinese written language itself. The entire complex—apparently open to the scholarly public—thus gave space for the expression of the common interests of a community of classically educated men that included the emperor and extended throughout the territories under Qing control and, judging from respectful Korean visitors, beyond.⁸⁹

Whereas Confucius had been the only figure to warrant secondary-level offerings in the Ming, Qing rulers bestowed this status on two others for whose protection they were grateful: Guan Yu and Wenchang.⁹⁰ The decisions to do so were accompanied by a chorus of (orchestrated?) official enthusiasm.

Guan Yu had received formal imperial support in the Ming, and his cult was taken up with enthusiasm by the Qing. The same temple just outside the Imperial City was used for official worship beginning in 1644 and was repeatedly restored at government expense. (See Figure 10.4.) As early as 1652, Emperor Guan (Guandi) was given the first of many additional titles signifying his virtues: "Loyal and Righteous, Divinely Martial." Thereafter, with each instance of the god's perceived military assistance to the dynasty, new titles were bestowed: "Efficaciously Protective" (in 1768), "Humane and

87. *JWK* 66:1097–1106. The man we call "Confucius" was commonly referred to as "Xianshi Kongzi," "Xianshi," or "Kongzi" in my materials. See Jensen.

88. T. Wilson 62–64.

89. *JWK* 66:1088–97; Kim Ch'ang'öp 242 and virtually every Korean visitor; *Huidian shili* 1899:435:10849–66; Bredon 168–77; A. Cormack 1926. Qianlong had new drums manufactured inscribed with new texts using the characters of the old: Mattos 73; *JWK* 66:1088–1106 and jj. 68–70. Rubbings of the examination lists are in *BjTB* passim.

90. *Huidian* 1899:36:369.

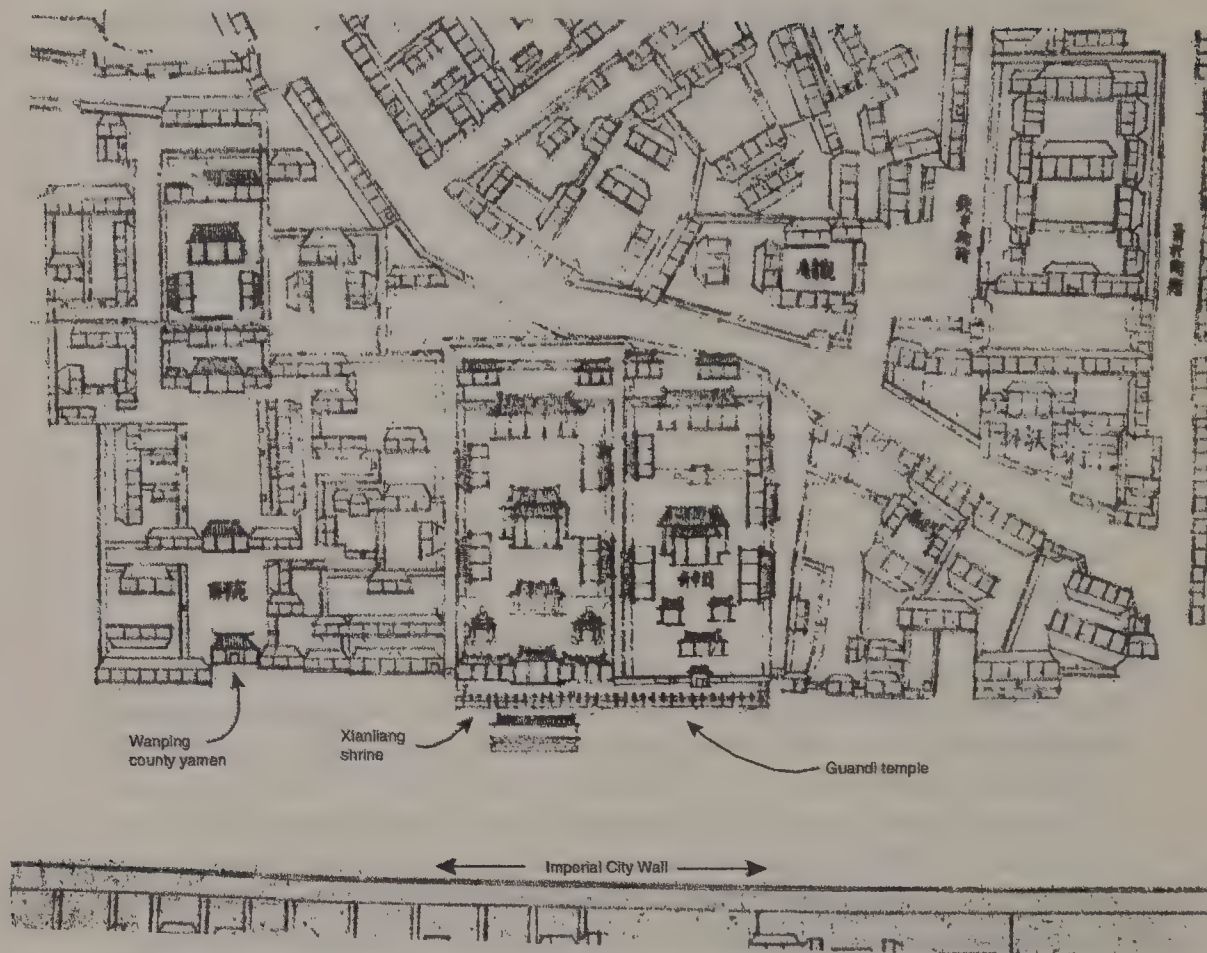


Figure 10.4. Official Guandi Temple Complex

The Guandimiao where rites were performed as part of the state religion was just north of the Imperial City. Immediately adjacent on the west was the Shrine to the Worthy and Good. Further west were the offices of the Wanping county yamen.

SOURCE: Map 1750:IV:7.

Brave" (in 1814, after the suppression of the Eight Trigram rebels), "Majesty Manifested" (in 1828, for campaigns against the Muslim Jehangir), and many more during the protracted midcentury rebellions. In 1853 his offerings were elevated to the Secondary Sacrifices.⁹¹

Wenchang, a Sichuanese deity who under the Yuan had already been given the title of "Great Emperor" (Da Di) and empirewide state funding as a patron of examination candidates, had receded in importance under the

91. *JWK* 44:696-700; *Taichangsi zeli* 71; *STFZ* 1885:6:148-50; *Huidian shili* 1899:438:10887-91. See also Naquin 1976: 338-39, 358-59; Gamble 1954:420; *QSL-DG* 132:20. The first formal worship of Guan Yu in Peking took place on the god's birthday in 1645. *QSL-SZ* 16:11.

Ming.⁹² In the early nineteenth century, the god became part of the state religion again. In 1800 Wenchang manifested himself as a dynastic protector against White Lotus rebels in Sichuan, and so the Jiaqing emperor awarded him statutory offerings at the same rank as Guandi. In 1801 the military officials involved in those campaigns—Chinese and Bannermen—personally oversaw and contributed lavishly to the rebuilding of a long-ruined Wenchang temple in Peking.⁹³ In 1856, while the Taiping rebellion was still raging in central China, offerings in this temple were promoted one level following Guandi's comparable elevation. Both temples were conveniently located just outside the rear gate of the Imperial City, and nineteenth-century emperors came in person to perform the rites.

The Ministry of Rites concentrated its money and energy on the Grand and Secondary Rites. As we saw in Chapter 3, at the third and lowest level, temples were provided only with funds for offerings at specific intervals—usually no more frequent than a few times a year. There was no other general support for the temple or for the god. The core of the Tertiary Sacrifices was a continuation from the Ming: rituals for the deified doctors of past ages in their shrine within the Taiyiyuan (the office that provided medical care for the emperor and imperial family), for example, or the biannual offerings to Zhenwu at the Palace of Manifested Assistance (Xianyougong).⁹⁴ At these and other temples with a similar status (the Dongyuemiao and the Capital City-god temple), special offerings were also made on the birthday of the reigning emperor. The Fire-god temple just north of the palace also received regular offerings, once a year, on the god's birthday.⁹⁵ All of these third-level rites were intended loosely for the benefit of the empire and the dynasty, were managed by the Ministry of Rites, and were located in temples in the Inner City where ordinary citizens might go.

Seven new Dragon-god temples were added to the rites—a consequence of the intensified management of the waterway system around Peking and the construction of the suburban villas: at Black-Dragon Pool (Heilongtan, added in 1738), Jade Spring Hill (1751), Kunming Lake (1812), White-

92. He received Ministry of Rites support for only a decade in the late fifteenth century: Kleiman 77–80; *MS* 50:1306–10.

93. Qianlong had died in JQ 4/1 (1799), and Jiaqing had been in charge of the government for less than a year. *BJTB* 77:94–95, 77:96, 77:97–98. Later rites: Qijuzhu GX 12; *Huidian shili* 1899:438:10887–93.

94. Taiyiyuan: *STFZ* 1885:6:152–53. Zhenwu: *JWK* 54:864–65; *Huidian shili* 1899:444:10959.

95. Birthdays: *Huidian shili* 1899:1064:17708–9. After 1884, Empress Dowager Cixi also had such prayers made on her behalf on her birthday. *Huidian shili* 1899:444:10961–62. Fire-god: *Taichangsi zeli* j. 73; this ruined temple was still standing in 1999.

Dragon Pool (1813), and two others within the villas (1817). These became important sites for prayers for rain.⁹⁶

The dynasty also arranged offerings for certain deities not normally worshipped in temples: the god of cannons (at Banner military exercise grounds), the god who oversaw construction projects (especially at the imperial tombs), and the gods who looked after government granaries, kilns, and city gates. These kinds of worship (many on imperial property) seem to have been managed, variously, by the Imperial Household, Banners, and the Ministry of Works.⁹⁷

Tertiary Sacrifices became a much larger category in the Qing than in the Ming, but the great majority of those added for worship in Peking (twenty-one out of thirty-one) were meritorious individuals not gods and did not represent deepened state involvement in popular religion. The Qing throne was especially energetic in setting up new shrines (*ci*) where regular offerings could be made to the spirits of heroic Bannermen who had died displaying loyalty, filiality, ideal right behavior, and other such virtues. Yongzheng built six such shrines, following the example of his grandfather. Other shrines were for those who had died in the postconquest campaigns in Taiwan, Inner Asia, and southern China. The Shrine to the Two Loyal Ones (Shuangzhongci), for example, was set up by Qianlong in 1751 in memory of Manchu commanders who had been killed on the Tibetan campaign. (A shrine was also built for them in Lhasa.) Only one was dedicated to a Han Chinese official: the shrine to the eminent late Qing official Li Hongzhang, created at popular initiative but with imperial sponsorship in 1901.⁹⁸

These shrines were particular to Peking's Inner City, and their intended constituency was the Bannermen and officials who served the dynasty. In fact, although the rituals were the responsibility of the Ministry of Rites, they were turned over to the Imperial Household instead. The state religion was thus made to serve the Banner community. Additions were made continuously within the shrines. The Xianliangci was founded by Yongzheng in memory of his brother and close companion, Yinxiang, Prince Yi, in 1730, adjacent to the Guandimiao. (It is shown in Figure 10.4.) Under Qianlong, tablets

96. *Huidian shili* 1899:444:10962–65. Qing emperors also prayed privately in the Daogxuan, a hall just north of the palace whose Daoist rituals were thought powerful rain-makers and that replaced the Heilongtan for this purpose in the nineteenth century. Gao Shiqi 2:61; Qijuzhu DG 1; Fu Gongyue et al. 37. Other temples and gods were sometimes enlisted during drought. NPM 118:21–30 (the Great Bell temple). For a different view of prayers for rain: Rawski 1998:220–30.

97. *Huidian* 1764:48:2–3, 6–8; *Huidian shili* 1899:415:10544–45, 444:10960–61, 444:10966.

98. *STFZ* 1885:6:176; *JFTZ* 1884:13:458–63; *Beijing lüxing zhinan* 123; *BQTZ* 55:1049–50; *JWK* 48:759–61; *ECCP* 250. Li's shrine was in the Inner City. *Jiu du wenwu lue* 7:4; Arlington & Lewisohn 150; *ECCP* 471.

were added for other Chinese and Manchus who had served the Qing; by 1785 ninety-nine were enshrined, and by the end of the dynasty, one hundred ten.⁹⁹

Under both the Ming and Qing, only a modest percentage of imperial patronage of temples was carried out as part of the state religion.¹⁰⁰ As in other matters, the throne had other resources and institutions at its disposal, and Peking felt their influence deeply. Intensely involved in its own world, when the ruling family reached beyond that domain, it did so in a much more systematic manner than had the Ming. We can see these differences in Qing management of the Imperial Household and the Banner community, as well as in their formal and informal funding of religion. Less chaotic and more organized, Qing imperial patronage further expanded and developed Peking's religious infrastructure while at the same time making it more resistant to use by others in this society. Through such efforts, Peking's imperial identity became ever stronger. To see some of these patterns, we will begin by looking at the patronage activities orchestrated by the Imperial Household Agency and then turn to the more various and unsystematic acts of individual emperors and members of their households.

IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD

First, the big picture. Qing emperors were much more active outside the imperial domain than their Ming predecessors. This difference was reflected in their attention to religion and can be variously summarized. Manchu rulers made gifts to 317 religious establishments, compared with 196 under the Ming. Imperially patronized temples in the Qing constituted 28 percent of all temples, versus 17 percent in the Ming. Under the new dynasty, 75 percent of the temples outside the imperial domain that were imperial beneficiaries had not been favored by the Ming throne. There was a slightly greater Qing involvement in developing the suburbs, especially to the northwest.¹⁰¹ In addition, Qing emperors travelled much more than their predecessors

99. *JWK* 44:701–2; *Beijing lüxing zhinan* 135. There were three other shrines exclusively dedicated to Prince Yi, all created within a few years of his death. One was converted from his mansion in the city (*JWK* 45:3) and one from his summer villa (*BJTB* 68:110); another Shrine to the Worthy and Good (Xianliang) was built afresh in the Inner City by the Ministry of Revenue (*JWK* 49:772, and shown on Figure 15.3). For Yinxiang's important relationship with his brother and with that ministry: Bartlett 82–83, 68–79.

100. Some 18 percent in the Ming, or 35 out of 196 (this sum excludes an additional 308 temples that were given plaques); 17 percent in the Qing, or 53 out of 317.

101. The two dynasties were nearly the same length. The number of temples receiving private imperial patronage but not on imperial property was not so different (in Ming, 168; in Qing, 190), but the recipients were. Geographic distribution: 40 percent of imperially patronized Qing temples were in the Inner City, 6 percent in the Outer City, and 56 percent in the

and made many gifts to temples in the greater Peking area and well beyond. By whatever measure, Qing religious activism is clear, and was echoed in other spheres not considered here.

If we look just at the new temples that Qing emperors constructed, their dates show a trajectory in keeping with what we know about imperial resources and energies in general. Of the 37 established *de novo* outside the imperial domain, 90 percent were built by Kangxi, Yongzheng, or Qianlong; only two were founded before 1680, and only two after 1806. These temples were also more closely associated with the throne than with the population at large. Of all 57 imperially founded temples, twenty-five were Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, 20 others were shrines to exemplary individuals associated with the dynasty, and nearly all of the rest were to impersonal gods of the state religion; 20 were within the imperial domain, and none were built in the Outer City.¹⁰² Moved by a vision of themselves as rulers of a multiethnic empire, Qing emperors had a free hand to support whatever religions and clerics they wished, and they indulged many interests in a variety of ways.

It is difficult to document precisely how much was invested in temples by the throne. Individual gifts could be modest (the 300 ounces of silver Kangxi gave the Yajishan temple when he visited in 1716), and they could be lavish (the 8,600 ounces presented to the Baiyunguan by Qianlong in 1788). But when a major reconstruction project was called for, huge amounts were expended, especially during the first half of the dynasty: 30,000 ounces of silver for rebuilding the Confucius temple in 1657, for example, or 10,000 for restoring the Tanzhesi in 1692. The Imperial Household probably spent at least 15,000 ounces of silver every year on regular religious expenses.¹⁰³

The Qing relied on a new agency to manage their private affairs. They singled out palace eunuchs as a cause of the Ming collapse, stripped them of their vast powers, and reduced them to caring for the women, children, and person of the emperor (and imperial princes).¹⁰⁴ Gone were the privileges that allowed eunuchs to be active in the capital and throughout the empire.

suburbs (n=317). The comparable ratio of percentages in the Ming was 41:10:49 (n=196). The overall ratio for all Qing temples was 47:21:32.

102. Compare 57 with 44 in the Ming. Both figures include buildings incorporated into the state religion.

103. *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:25–30, my calculations. And who knows how much more. *STFZ* 1885:24:761; *BJTB* 75:93–94; *JWK* 66:1088–106; *Tanzhe zhi* 81–88. It was rare for Qing stelae of the Qianlong reign to state the amount of imperial gifts. Although I did not begin to exhaust the archives of the Imperial Household in Peking, I did not find the account books where *ad hoc* expenditures were listed.

104. There was a short-lived attempt to reinstitute something like the Ming system between 1653 and 1661 under the Shunzhi emperor. Torbert 23–25.

The thirteen directorates were abolished and replaced by an Imperial Household Agency (*Neiwufu*). Firmly in place after 1661 and controlled by the throne, this new institution was staffed by a special class of Bannermen, bondservants (*baoyi*) attached to the imperial family, who in turn managed the eunuchs.

The *Neiwufu* was independent of the regular bureaucracy and exercised in a different form many of the same considerable powers as the Ming eunuch establishment: provisioning and serving the imperial family, managing the workshops and storehouses of the Imperial City, directing empirewide monopolies controlled by the throne, acting as imperial agents, and receiving and dispensing the funds of the privy purse. The new institution was better managed (or appears to have been), and, although it was surely rife with quasi-corrupt practices, for most of the dynasty neither individual eunuchs nor bondservants were able to use it to encroach on imperial power.

Eunuchs remained important within the palace, but the Imperial City was transformed into the domain of Banner bondservants, and these bondservants became a new segment of Peking society. We will examine them in that capacity in more detail in Chapter 12. Our concern here is with the responsibilities of the agency that they staffed.

The Imperial Household had considerable riches at its disposal. Rents from estates provided an essential foundation (foodstuffs as well as money), but it was from manufacturing and commerce that the real revenues flowed. The Imperial Household was involved in the management of the great Qing monopolies in salt and precious metals; it was the recipient of tribute items from within and beyond the empire; its staff superintended the imperial manufactories of fine porcelain and silk textiles; it took a cut from the customs revenues of domestic and foreign trade; and its accumulated resources provided a basis for a sizable business in pawnshops and moneylending.¹⁰⁵ The throne thus had—until at least the nineteenth century—a steady flow of wealth at its personal disposal. It was to this Imperial Household Agency and these resources that emperors (and members of their immediate family) turned when they wished, in their private capacities, to patronize religious activities within and beyond the imperial domain that were not included in the state religion.

The Imperial Household was an effective agency for the expression of the imperial will. It was managed by close imperial kinsmen, and with its staff and funds, emperors could construct whatever kind of religious buildings they wanted and worship whomever they pleased; the approval of Chinese bureaucrats was unnecessary. No temples were on both the Ministry of Rites

105. T. Chang.

and the Imperial Household payroll, and it was rare to be shifted from one to the other.¹⁰⁶

Religious institutions within the imperial domain were built and entirely supported by the Imperial Household; its Office of Palace Ceremonies (*Zhangyisi*) oversaw and systematized this complicated task.¹⁰⁷ Throughout these parks and palaces, bondservants and eunuchs saw to it that incense was kept burning daily before all religious images, and they supplied candles and offerings of the appropriate grade. Residents of the palace could make private use of these halls and temples and be assured that the buildings would be regularly maintained, the god feted as necessary, and clerics available to perform needed rites. Like other family temples, support came from the household (in this case a very rich household); individual and community patronage were not required.

Temples supported by the *Neiwufu* included those larger structures discussed in the first two sections of this chapter, places such as the *Qin'an* Hall in the palace, White Stupa in the Western Park, Dragon-king temple on Kunming Lake, or *Anyougong* in the *Yuanmingyuan*. But the Imperial Household also maintained small shrines intended for private offerings by emperors to deceased close relatives: the *Yongmusi* in the Southern Park built by Kangxi in memory of his grandmother, the *Enyousi* built by Yongzheng for his father in what became one of the summer palaces, or the *Enmusi* built nearby by Qianlong for his mother.¹⁰⁸ These were private places of worship with a very narrow purpose and audience.

For the slightly larger but still limited community of imperial family and highest Banner nobility, the *Neiwufu* orchestrated the Manchu shamanistic rites performed in two ritual areas closed to Chinese: one, the *Kunninggong* inside the Forbidden City, was convenient for the imperial family; the other, the *Tangzi*, was built in 1644 just off the southeast corner of the Imperial

106. But it did happen. The Black-Dragon Pool was moved to the Imperial Household: *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:25; *Huidian shili* 1899:444:10962. In the illustrations in the 1899 edition of the "Collected Statutes," the *Tangzi*, *Fengxiandian*, and *Shouhuangdian*—all halls for worship by the imperial family and paid for by the *Neiwufu*—were placed among the sites of the Grand Sacrifices. *Huidian tu* 1899:2:1047–91.

107. My major sources for this section are the regulations for the *Neiwufu*, especially this office (*NWF Zhangyisi*). These regulations were printed in 1937, but judging from the contents, contain material only up to 1841. I first saw a copy of this material in the library of the First Historical Archives in Peking and am most grateful to Evelyn Rawski for bringing it to my attention.

108. The general term for these kinds of prayers seems to be *zhuli* or sometimes *jianfu*. Images of Shakyamuni or other conventional buddhas were installed on the main altar. See *STFZ* 1885:16:467; *JWK* 74:1246–47, 76:1277–78; Wu Changyuan 12:255; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:25.

City, so that both the ruling family and the princes could attend.¹⁰⁹ (There is a diagram of the Tangzi in Figure 11.3.)

It was natural for religious establishments within the imperial domain to be managed and funded by the Imperial Household, but it is in keeping with Qing interventionism that of the more than one hundred temples known to me as recipients of their funds, more than half (fifty-nine) were not on imperial property.¹¹⁰ Of them, thirty-six were in the suburbs (mostly the northwest), nineteen in the Inner City, and four in the Outer City. These locations reflected not only the intensifying imperial involvement in the Western Hills and the frequent visits to temples there, of which this form of support was only one manifestation, but also a standoffishness from the non-Banner Outer City. Eleven of the fifty-nine temples had been originally built by the throne; these tended to be lamaseries or suburban temples used as imperial rest-stops, for both of which imperial support was essential.

Some temples outside the imperial domain enjoyed an independent income of money and labor permanently allocated to them by the Imperial Household. Like the major halls within the palace, these establishments were assigned rents from land that was part of the Neiwufu's vast holdings. The Yonghegong, for example, was converted into a lamasery in 1744 from property in the Inner City belonging to the throne; its rental income was collected by Imperial Household staff from land in more than two dozen counties. Other temples, like the great altars, were assigned stipended caretaker households (*miaohu*) drawn from the Banner population as corvée labor.¹¹¹

Most support to temples outside the imperial domain came in the form of money. The Neiwufu advanced silver so that rites could be performed; it made donations so that sutras could be chanted and plays presented; it supplied incense, candles, and offerings on a regular basis year in and year out; and it issued stipends for resident clerics. A complex and finely graded schedule governed this funding.¹¹²

Money supplied for incense ranged from fifty-nine ounces of silver per

109. QSL-SZ 8:11–12; Map 1750:X:4; *Guochao gong shi* 6:94–95; Wu Changyuan 5:88; Zhaolian 1986a 8:231–2; Meng Sen. For shamanism, Manchu identity, and politics: Rawski 1998:231–44.

110. My sums do not include a dozen poorly documented others.

111. I know of twenty-five temples with *miao hu*, all funded by the throne, eight of which were outside the imperial domain. *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:25, 2:30; *Taichangsi zeli* 72; *BJTB* 72:33–35; *Huidian shili* 1899:1090:17965. For the Yonghegong, see Chapter 3 n.30.

112. *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:25–33.

month down to less than one ounce paid every three months. Some temples also received funds for vegetarian offerings on each new and full moon: 245 bowls offered in the suburban Wutasi, 5 bowls to be presented once a year in the palace City-god temple. At some, the resident clerics, daoists, monks, lamas, or caretaker households received special monthly stipends ranging from two ounces of silver (for “high” lamas) down to half an ounce; a few received rice or money for clothing.¹¹³

Large monasteries needed income on a grand scale, especially those with no local constituency. At least a dozen lamaseries outside the imperial domain were on the Neiwufu payroll in one way or another.¹¹⁴ The forty-five lamas resident in the Gongdesi (a suburban monastery restored by Qianlong in 1770 for his sixtieth birthday) received 358.08 ounces of silver (exactly) per year to pay for their food.¹¹⁵

Imperial Household support was also given to temples dedicated to gods popular among Peking’s ordinary residents—Guanyin, Guandi, Bixia Yuanjun, Zhenwu, Dongyue, Fire-gods, Dragon-gods, and a variety of buddhas. The imperial domain was made a part of the nested network of local territorial gods when City-god temples were built in the Forbidden City in 1726 and on the west side of the Imperial City in 1731. The throne also maintained four altars dedicated to the all-important matter of rain, one at each compass point around the Forbidden City.¹¹⁶ By explicitly and publicly supporting gods whose worship they shared with their subjects—something they did much more energetically than the Han-Chinese Ming emperors had—Qing rulers could be said to have asserted in each case a common purpose with other devotees of these deities. (Of this, more later.)

Nonetheless, Imperial Household patronage—like that of the Ministry of Rites—rarely extended into the non-Banner Chinese Outer City. The Dragon-king temple at the Black Tile Workshop (Heiyaochang), important to the throne for its perceived power over the city’s water supply, and the Buddhist Chongxiaosi were given small sums a few times a year. At the large Fayuan Monastery, the only rites paid for by the Neiwufu were performed once a year on the emperor’s birthday. The Guandimiao at the Front Gate, which we discussed for its popularity in the late Ming, was first given a mod-

113. In the Daoguang reign (the 1820s) this support began to be reduced. *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:30–34, 36.

114. I know of 20. Other Neiwufu-funded monasteries outside the imperial domain housed Buddhist monks (29 temples) or daoists (17); I know of no nuns.

115. *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:29. The temple did not seem to attract Central Asian visitors, and the lamas kept to themselves; more than a dozen lingered on in the ruined temple in the twentieth century. *JWK* 100:1659–64; Bredon 283–84; *Huabei zongjiao nianjian* 197–98.

116. City-gods: *Huidian* 1764:88:23–24; *JWK* 19:259, 42:665. The altars were to the powers of the Clouds, Winds, Thunder, and Four Seas. *Huidian* 1764:88:21–22.

est allowance in 1828.¹¹⁷ Compared to the expenditures for temples in the imperial domain or elsewhere in the city, these allotments were small and infrequent and reflected the diffident and sporadic reach of the throne into that section of Peking. Except for the two temples inside the encircling wall of the Front Gate, which they necessarily passed on their way to the great altars, emperors did not visit temples in the Outer City.¹¹⁸ Such an oversight can hardly have been accidental.

Once a temple had been added to the Imperial Household budget, support would continue for generations. The bureaucratic structures of the *Neiwufu* ensured both systematic patronage and independence of Han Chinese officialdom. In consequence, the recipients did not need to rely on other kinds of donations, and temples so aided were among Peking's largest and most long-lived. At the same time, as we shall see, establishments funded entirely by imperial entitlements with little community support could become quite estranged from the world around them.

EMPERORS

Not all imperial patronage was so systematic. Some was one-time-only and ranged from money for construction (without maintenance) to smaller gifts of many sorts. Such expenditures depended on the man on the throne and waxed and waned accordingly. Qing emperors were not, furthermore, in need of or easily manipulated by surrogates and intermediaries.

Most of the temples patronized on an ad hoc basis by Qing emperors were places that they had visited in person. On the whole, these men travelled much more than Ming rulers had, to the enlarged imperial domain and beyond. They regularly visited the suburban villas and parks a few hours away, and annual sojourns at the retreats outside the Great Wall were common for much of the dynasty. Kangxi and Qianlong were the most active, but except for Xianfeng and Tongzhi (who reigned in succession 1851–1874), all Qing rulers visited temples in and around Peking. Those emperors who succeeded to the throne as adults had the additional experience of local life gained as princes.¹¹⁹

By my doubtless incomplete count, Ming emperors had travelled to only

117. *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:27, 29, 31–32, 34. Chongxiao: *BJTB* 68:1; *STFZ* 1885:12:321, 16:519. Fayuan: *BJTB* 68:150; Prip-Møller 294–95; *FXZ* 9:10. The Guandi temple was apparently added to the list because of the god's assistance during campaigns in Xinjiang. *QSL-DG* 132:20.

118. The only exception I know of was the 1657 visit by Shunzhi to a temple that performed Daoist ordinations. *BJTB* 61:161. There were, of course, stories about imperial visits that may well—especially when they involved Kangxi—have been true. Arlington & Lewisohn 229–30.

119. Jiaqing took charge of the government at 39, Yongzheng took the throne at 45, Daoguang at 39, Qianlong at 25, and Xianfeng at 20; the other four were boys.

fifteen temples outside the imperial domain (and fourteen within in it). Qing rulers, in contrast, visited at least fifty-six temples beyond their private property and forty-four others within it. Of these one hundred temples, only twenty had been so honored in the Ming.¹²⁰ Thus, although the relationship of the throne to these religious institutions was not always an intimate one, more frequent excursions made the imperial presence more widely felt.

Some visits were mandated by the state religion and familial responsibilities, and these were built into the imperial schedule. Except when they were too young, Qing emperors usually fulfilled in person the ritual expectations that repeatedly took them to the great altars and to the dynastic tomb complexes. In 1657 (the fourteenth year of his reign), Shunzhi travelled a dozen times to perform the Grand Sacrifices or to pray for rain. A century later, in the year 1752, there were at least thirty-nine days when Qianlong visited a temple or altar to burn incense or perform more elaborate rites, including two visits to the Eastern Mausoleums and one to the Western ones. Qianlong also visited temples in connection with imperial construction projects—the dredging of rivers or rebuilding of bridges. And, of course, he stopped to inspect temple restorations for which he had donated the funds.¹²¹

“Travel-palaces” (*xinggong*) were built by the Imperial Household at appropriate intervals along the most heavily frequented routes leading to and from the capital so that a proper abode could be kept waiting for the imperial party. Some of these buildings were adjacent to temples that, in turn, became regular recipients of imperial largess.¹²²

The annual recreational calendar also exposed Qing emperors to the greater Peking region and encouraged them to become involved in its development. Qianlong had passed the lovely Wanshousi, on the banks of the canal that led to the Yuanmingyuan, three times in 1748, disembarking and strolling to admire the trees, the shade, and the birds, and he later decided to renovate it for his mother’s sixtieth birthday. He had apartments for her built here and gave it money on her seventieth birthday as well (in 1761); sutras were specially recited here in her honor on such occasions.¹²³

While enjoying their summer villas, emperors could easily tour the nearby sites in the Western Hills. Half the temples they visited outside their domain were in this area, and most of the large famous ones were graced with imperial calligraphy. The venerable Temple of the Reclining Buddha, which had received visits from at least three Ming emperors, was also popular in the Qing. Kangxi wrote poems about its old trees; Yongzheng came to com-

120. I have not tabulated multiple visits.

121. Shunzhi: *QSL-SZ* 106–13. Qianlong: *Qijuzhu QL* 17 (I did not count the two summer months he spent at Rehe); *JWK* 104:1729–33, 20:263–69; *BJTB* 73:124–26.

122. *JFTZ* 1884:15:471–83.

123. *JWK* 77:1291–97.

memorate his deceased brother Yinxiang's (and his sons') generous gifts to it; Qianlong visited several times, and so did Jiaqing.¹²⁴

In the summer of 1747, Qianlong made an excursion from Xiangshan to the "Eight Great Temples" that were situated at progressively higher altitudes along a mountain valley not far away. (He was simultaneously overseeing a major reconstruction of the nearby Dajuesi.) He visited three of the temples and returned the following winter, when the leaves were bare and only a few chrysanthemums remained, and ascended all the way to the Cave of the Precious Jewel (Baozhudong) at the summit.¹²⁵

Kangxi made three visits to Tanzhesi in the more distant hills, and his extensive donations reveal this sort of patronage in more detail. He came first in the autumn of 1686 at the age of twenty-seven, probably in connection with repairs he was sponsoring at the nearby Ordination Altar. He donated (after his return?) a copy of the *Diamond Sutra* that he had penned himself, a large incense burner, an image of Guanyin carved in stone, and eighteen Lohan images. Six years later he sent the temple ten thousand ounces of silver to help restore the main hall (where there had been a fire). He visited again in 1697 and as a result gave six name-plaques for its various halls, a large satin banner decorated with a yellow dragon, and more than three hundred cloth and bamboo screens. In 1698 and 1699, Kangxi donated hangings for the main hall and had flowers and bamboo planted adjacent to two rooms being prepared for him. Special medicines were sent for Tanzhe's ailing abbot, and his spiritually impressive successor was invited to the imperial villa to help tame the captive tigers there. (They had become uncontrollable, and he soothed them with talk about the Buddha.) In 1702 Kangxi came again and found his new quarters ready. More plaques were bestowed, as well as imperially written couplets for the temple halls, three hundred ounces of silver for the monks, and a poem to commemorate the occasion. Although the emperor did not come to Tanzhe again, he sent other gifts over the next dozen years: scriptures, images, ritual vessels, an incense burner, tea, pennants, and so forth.¹²⁶

An ongoing personal relationship with the sovereign could bring honor, glory, and income to a temple. But there were disadvantages as well. When His Majesty visited, the premises (and the clerics) had to be cleaned up, normal routines were disrupted, and ordinary visitors were pushed aside. Even if the Imperial Household was prepared to pay for readying suitable quarters (they were supposed to, but did they always?), the privileged bondservants were probably (at best) imperious in manner and accustomed to the

124. Shen Bang 19:197; *JWK* 101:1677-83; Qijuzhu JQ 24; *JFTZ* 1884:8:28-59.

125. *JWK* 103:1709-14, 106:1766-67.

126. *Tanzhe zhi* 44, 73, 75-76, 81-86, 99-102, 104-5; *JFTZ* 1735:51:10.

many small amenities that smooth the path of the powerful. For the monks, such demands might have been rendered merely inconvenient by substantial presents, but would they have been worth it for a single imperial visit that was accompanied by only minor gifts?

And yet, such visits may also have helped establish common ground, literally, for the religious beliefs and practices shared by the ruler and his many different kinds of subjects. It was because of Yongzheng's personal interest that two Outer City monasteries were added to the Imperial Household payroll, but his involvement does not seem to have impeded them from attracting other visitors and patrons. The Baiyun Daoist monastery received gifts and visits from Kangxi and Qianlong but could probably have survived nicely without them. As at the Tanzhesi, the emperor was only one patron among many.¹²⁷ (In Chapter 14, we will take a close look at imperial participation in the popular cults of the God of the Eastern Peak and Our Lady of Mount Tai.)

Qing patronage of religion was decidedly ecumenical. With varying degrees of enthusiasm, the throne extended its support not just to local and national cults, but to foreign clergy. Muslims, European Catholics, and Mongol and Tibetan Buddhists received imperial funds, accompanied by corresponding imperial control. Tibetan Buddhism was treated with considerable respect. By contrast, emperors did not pray in churches and mosques, nor were their gods turned into supernatural protectors of the dynasty.

The first Christian church in Peking had been built in the late Ming. The Jesuits, Adam Schall in particular, had won the patronage of the Manchus and the friendship of Shunzhi, who assisted with its restoration in 1657. Interested in the Europeans' technical skills, Kangxi employed these priests at court, visited the church in 1675, gave it wooden plaques and couplets, and generously helped restore it in 1712.¹²⁸

The Portuguese Jesuits Magalhães and Buglio were given a separate residence by Shunzhi in 1655 to the east of the palace where, a few years later, they built their own church. But such imperial favor was not renewed, and the residence was made into a house of detention during the 1664–1669 anti-Jesuit movement of the Oboi regency, and the church was destroyed. (It was rebuilt in the 1670s, privately.)¹²⁹

127. *JWK* 94:1575–85; *BJTB* 66:87; Naquin 1998.

128. *BJTB* 61:95; *JWK* 49:772, 778–79; Verbiest 170–71. Originally known as the Xitang (West Church), this complex became better known after 1700 by its present designation of Nantang (South Church). Kangxi sent eunuchs here at Christmas to pray on his behalf. J. Bell 154.

129. This church became known as the Dongtang (East Church). Verbiest 169–71; Crossley 1999:116–17; Oxnam 146–51.

In 1693 Kangxi bestowed property on the French Jesuits who had used quinine to cure him of malaria, and by 1703 this North Church (Beitang) had been built. The emperor's support was clearly manifest: the substantial site was within the Imperial City, and it boasted a name-plaque reading "Imperially Established Hall of the Heavenly Lord."¹³⁰

Although never supplied with regular income by the throne, these churches survived through the eighteenth century, even after 1724 when Catholicism was banned in the empire as a whole, because missionaries were serving as artists and technicians in the Imperial Household. Bannermen and Chinese were forbidden to convert to Catholicism, and increasing government hostility forced converts out of sight. When imperial support for Catholicism was fully withdrawn in 1811, the churches were closed down or destroyed; only after the treaty settlements of 1860, when the Qing was forced to permit it, were they rebuilt.

The imperial attitude toward Islam was also ambivalent. Only one mosque was built with imperial patronage. It was in the Imperial City and intended for the Uighur Muslims conquered in the middle of the eighteenth century—a community tied to the throne much as the Tibetan Buddhist and Catholic clerics were.¹³¹ Although little other court patronage was extended to this religion, belief in Islam was permitted, other mosques existed, and many Peking residents were Muslims.

The status of Tibetan Buddhists was in some ways similar to that of the Catholics. Both kinds of foreign clerics were given temples in the capital by the throne, allowed to bring in co-religionists from abroad, forbidden to proselytize among the Chinese population, expected to provide services to the Imperial Household, and used to bolster the authority of the throne. But there were also many differences.

Tibetan Buddhism was not judged a threat to social stability or imperial power, and its temples were a dozen times as numerous as European churches and the number of their lamas proportionally even greater. Qing patronage of these clerics and monasteries was an important matter of state, designed to center the Qing spiritually and politically within the world of Inner Asia. And it was also a matter of personal belief on the part of the emperors. Qianlong's involvement was thus complexly manifested in his close relationship with his religious teacher Rolpay Dorje, in his representation of himself as an incarnation of Manjusri, in the Tibetan inscriptions that lined

130. Devine 44, 88, 99, 162, 215. For its eighteenth-century location and size, see Map 1750:VII:8.

131. Zhang Jiangcai & Xu Daoling 51; Mosques 1938b:57–58.

his tomb, in the construction of many new shrines and halls within the palace for his own use, and in his generous donations to lamaseries in and beyond the capital.¹³²

Peking had many more Tibetan Buddhist temples in the Qing than in the Ming (forty-three versus nine). Some were on imperial property and fully funded by the Imperial Household (twenty-three), some were beyond the imperial domain but supported by the Neiwufu (thirteen), and some were not on imperial property and received only ad hoc imperial gifts (seven).¹³³

Many of the new Qing temples were intended to house important lama incarnations and their accompanying communities of Central Asian monks. The two great lamaseries in the north suburbs, the Black Temple (Heisi) and the Yellow Temple (Huangsi), were built early in the dynasty. The Heisi was started in 1645 as a residence for the Chahan Lama when he moved to Peking from Shenyang.¹³⁴ In 1652 the Yellow Temple was founded to accommodate the greatly honored fifth Dalai Lama; it was later used to house other high-ranking Tibetan and Mongol clerics and was repeatedly restored at imperial expense. Another complex of Tibetan Buddhist temples was built in 1706 beside the Buddhist-sutra printing workshop in the northeast part of the Imperial City to be the residence of a line of Mongol living buddhas (the Jangjia Qutugtu) who were religious teachers for the emperors and links between the Qing and the Mongols. Sutras in Mongolian and Tibetan continued to be printed and sold here.¹³⁵

In the autumn of 1665 an imperial order initiated the construction of a new temple in the northwest corner of the Imperial City to house not a holy man but a holy image, an antique, full-sized sandalwood image of Shakyamuni that was one of those imperial treasures removed from the Northern Song capital of Kaifeng by the Jin in 1126. It had been kept in Peking since Yuan times and had become a famous object, thought to be more than two thousand years old. The temple (shown in Figure 10.5) was generously endowed and staffed with hundreds of lamas. Yongzheng and Qianlong saw that the story of the sandalwood figure was made known among Inner Asia Buddhists, among whom it was much revered, and Qianlong restored the lamasery in 1760.¹³⁶

132. For extended treatments of this subject: Crossley 1999:chaps. 5, 6; Rawski 1998: 244–63.

133. I have not counted half a dozen temples for which lamas can be attested only in the twentieth century.

134. This lama had previously been an emissary from the Qing to the Dalai Lama. The Heisi was further improved under Kangxi. *JWK* 107:1774; Ya 36.

135. *JWK* 39:616; Edkins 1870:341; Jagchid 148; Bouillard 1924b:chap. 3.

136. *JWK* 41:646–53; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:25–33 passim; Atwood 17. The young Kangxi's Mongol grandmother may have been responsible for the 1665 temple restoration. *ECCP* 301; Oxnam 167–68.

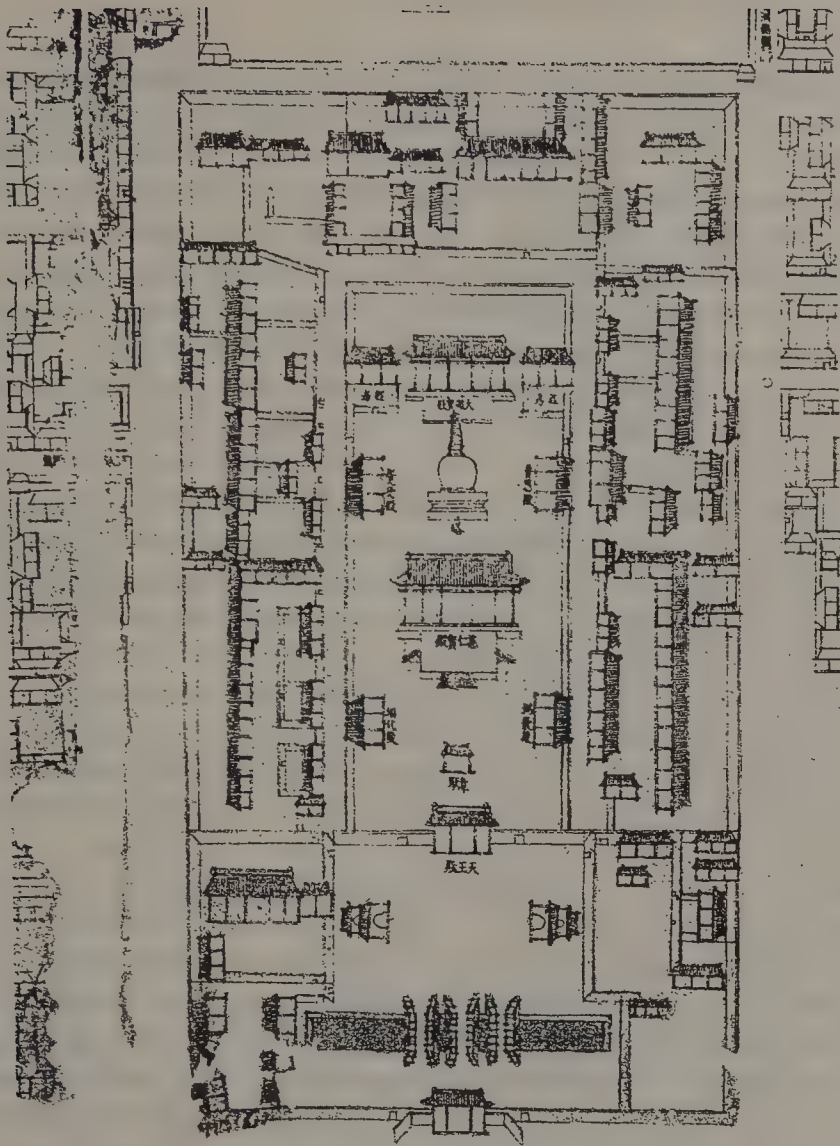


Figure 10.5. Sandalwood Buddha Temple

The Temple of Vast Humaneness (Hongrensi) was built in 1665 inside the Imperial City. It was also called the Zhantansi (Sandalwood Temple) after it came to house one of Peking's most famous images, a standing buddha of sandalwood, usually understood to be Shakyamuni but actually the Indian King Udayana. The image was said to have been removed to Peking from Kaifeng by the Jin in the early twelfth century. It was then housed sequentially in six different Peking temples. Only when it was moved to this Hongrensi was the image worshipped by Tibetan Buddhists. It stood in the central hall in front of the bulbous stupa. A thousand lamas lived here in the eighteenth century, and their extensive quarters can be seen on both sides of the main axis. The temple was largely destroyed by French armies during the Boxer troubles in 1900, and the wonderful image was lost.

SOURCE: Map 1750:V-VI:8.

NOTE: *DJ* 4:170-72; *JWK* 41:646-53; Braam 1:274-77; Pan Rongbi 8-9; Hong Taeyong 338. For stories told about the image: Tan Qian 1656:77-78; Ruan Kuisheng 712. For an early eighteenth-century rendering of the temple, see *Birthday* 1713:41:28; for a mid-nineteenth-century drawing of the Ciren hall and the buddha, see *Linqing* 3:69. Rubbings from two-dimensional pictures of this buddha carved in stone were well known: Weidner 221-25.

The largest and best-endowed Tibetan Buddhist temple outside the imperial domain was the Yonghegong (Palace of Harmony and Peace), intended as an intellectual center for the religion and training ground for monks. In 1743 in consultation with his religious adviser and companion, the incarnate Qutugtu Rolpay Dorje, Qianlong began to convert his father's princely mansion into Peking's first Tibetan-style monastic college. The property was expanded, and eighty lamas were brought in to study and teach philosophy, arts and sciences, and medicine; in 1744, five hundred monks were provided for. The temple was assigned substantial rental income from a land endowment and, in an unusual arrangement, was supervised jointly by the Imperial Household and the Lifanyuan (Agency for Imperial Dependencies). It seems to have eventually housed more than a thousand mostly Mongol lamas and served as a hostel for clerical delegations from Inner Asia.¹³⁷ Other Tibetan Buddhist temples outside the imperial domain were used by the Qing ruling house for family celebrations—the Wutasi, for example, where Qianlong feted his mother on her birthdays in 1751 and 1761.¹³⁸

Imperial patronage extended from temples and lamas to texts. Encouraged by his Mongol grandmother, Kangxi ordered new woodblocks for the Tibetan Buddhist Canon (printed in 1700 and thereafter); a revised edition in Mongolian was published in Peking in 1718–1720; and a Manchu translation was printed in 1790. The lengthy commentaries on the Canon were published in Tibetan in 1724, and under Rolpay Dorje's leadership, rendered in Mongolian and published in the 1740s. All were distributed to major monasteries in Inner Asia—as well as in Peking and Mount Wutai.¹³⁹

The particularly Qing character of relations with the peoples of Inner Asia was also manifested in another new temple built on a small rise east of the Forbidden City (but still within the Imperial City). For many centuries the Mongols had venerated Mahakala, a warlike Protector of the Law, and seen their ruler as his embodiment; Manchu rulers adopted this cult in the 1630s. By bringing to Peking a famous image of Mahakala that had been cast under Qubilai Khan and by building this unusual double-eaved temple in which

137. For the expansion of the original site, compare the maps in the 1739 *BQTZ* 2:2–10 with later ones. X. Wang 93–94; Miao Zhou 1937a:44–46; *Huidian shili* 1899:1173:18796–97; Edkins 1870:344–45; Du Jianye. The order to support eighty lamas (cited in Wang) is found in the *Huidian shili* 1899:987:16956, where it is dated YZ 8 (1730). Unlike Wang, I believe this to be a mistake for QL 8 (1743); all other evidence dates the formal (finished) creation of the Yonghegong to 1744.

138. Wutasi: *JWK* 77:1288–91. Other: *JWK* 20:263–69; Qijuzhu QL 17/3/11, 17/10/13; *ECCP* 372, 581; J. Liu 151–55.

139. The Manchu version was edited in important ways. Farquhar 17, 24; Heissig 1980:33, 112; Crossley & Rawski 97–98; X. Wang 140–54; and very helpful comments from Vladimir Uspensky 1997. Other religious materials—dharani spells, drawings of deities—were likewise made more widely available. Clark; Heissig 1954; X. Wang 150–51, 157.

Mongol lamas could pray, Kangxi presented the Manchus as the legitimate rulers of the Mongol peoples against whom he had just waged a successful campaign.¹⁴⁰

There was little construction of Tibetan Buddhist temples during the nineteenth century—all of the temples that I know about were built before 1800—but patronage of them continued. Jiaqing went to several lamaseries on a regular basis to burn incense, as did Empress Dowager Cixi and the Guangxu emperor.¹⁴¹ Imperial subsidies continued, but irregularly, and by the late Qing the lamas were feeling the financial pinch.

All in all, their financial and institutional resources allowed Qing rulers to involve themselves widely and flexibly in the religious life of the capital. They supported monks, daoists, lamas, and priests, as well as temples and gods familiar to the local and sojourning population, and as a result, their reach extended considerably beyond the palace and imperial domain. The active role of Qing emperors contrasted with the diminished visibility of imperial relatives. The more extensive imperial domain, a different family system, and the new Imperial Household Agency reshaped the sphere of potential action for princes, women, and especially eunuchs.

IMPERIAL FAMILY

Because of the Qing system of succession, the sons of the reigning emperor remained in the capital rather than being enfeoffed elsewhere. They grew to adulthood in Peking without knowing who would succeed to the throne, and routinely stood in for their father at imperial rites.¹⁴² When grown and married, these men lived outside the Forbidden City; their activities in the city and as patrons of religion will be considered in Chapter 11.

As Evelyn Rawski has argued, the Qing systems of imperial marriage and succession made it quite difficult for empresses and princesses and their relatives to build power at court.¹⁴³ Imperial affines could, of course, still exploit their links to the center of power, just as princes could become pow-

140. The temple was restored by Qianlong. It had been converted from the mansion of the regent Dorgon in 1694; portions still stood in 1988. *JWK* 40:634. For the cult: Grupper 1979:esp. 160–65. For a painting of this blue-black, six-armed, fierce-looking figure, swirling fire and swinging human heads from his waistband, see *Cultural Relics* fig. 26-1.

141. Qijuzhu JQ 21, JQ 24, GX 12; QSL-XF 84:40.

142. Rawski 1991, 1998:chap. 3. When the Jiaqing emperor gave thanks for a timely rain in the spring of 1819, he went himself to the Dragon-god temple in the Yuanmingyuan and sent his second son to the Black-Dragon Pool, his third son to the Great Bell temple, and his fourth to the Kunming Lake Dragon-god shrine. QSL-JQ 357:24.

143. Rawski 1998:chap. 4.

erful regents, and the Qing system did not prevent weak or youthful emperors from being dominated by their female and male relatives. We have only to look at Dorgon's commanding presence early in the dynasty, the Oboi regency of Kangxi's youth, or the return of imperial uncles, wives, mothers, and eunuchs during the dynasty's last half century to see the continuing vulnerability of the imperial system to this kind of structural distortion.

The brides and bridegrooms of the imperial family came from the Banner elite, many of whom were Mongols and all of whom were dependent on the dynasty for their privileges. Empresses were principally drawn from either a small number of aristocratic Manchu families or from a pool of palace maids that had been selected from the bondservants of the Imperial Household. Marriage to Han Chinese commoners was prohibited. Although the upper strata of the Banner community was in some ways comparable to the local military elite with which the Ming intermarried, the strong sense of separateness from the Chinese population cemented more tightly the shared interests of imperial affines and emperors.

Within a generation of the Qing conquest, most of the women who married into the imperial family were—as they had been in the Ming—natives of the capital and important conduits between the world of Peking and that of the Forbidden City. Although they did not have bound feet and were theoretically more mobile than their Ming Chinese counterparts, imperial women were not as active or as independent patrons of religion in the wider capital area.

We can presume that the women of the imperial family played a role in selecting and outfitting many halls and shrines inside the palace and imperial villas. Indeed, the plenitude of such private places of worship within this enlarged domain may have made it less necessary for them to be involved outside it. In any case, records about the generosity of empresses toward temples that lay beyond the imperial sphere are rather few. As in the Ming, dowager empresses were the most active patrons, empowered by their age and positions as imperial mothers and grandmothers. (Six outlived their husbands by many years and two outlived their sons.)¹⁴⁴

Constraints were fewer early in the dynasty. Shunzhi's young wife, Empress Xiaoxian, admired and visited the Shanguosi in the Outer City and selected its chief cleric.¹⁴⁵ Her mother-in-law, Empress Dowager Xiaozhuang, outlived her son, and as a grand empress dowager gave land for a temple that pro-

144. See Table 1.1. These six were Xiaozhuang (consort of Hongtaiji and empress dowager for 45 years), Xiaohui (for 57 years), Xiaosheng (42), Xiaohe (30), Xiaoqin (47), and Xiaozhen (20). Xiaozhuang and Xiaoqin (Cixi) also survived their sons. *ECCP* 300–301, 369, 968, 295.

145. *BJTB* 64:34; *ECCP* 257, 301–2.

vided for the urban poor, and initiated the worship of four heroes of the conquest era in a shrine in the Inner City.¹⁴⁶

After Xiaozhuang passed away, her grand-niece Xiaohui, another consort of Shunzhi, continued to enjoy what became the longest career as empress dowager during the dynasty (fifty-seven years). Although her deeds paled by comparison with Empress Dowager Li of the Ming, Xiaohui was a relatively active patron of religion in Qing terms. She accompanied Kangxi on his visits to Tanzhesi, had her own travel-palace there, and saw to it that an annual gift of five hundred ounces of silver was provided between 1704 and her death in 1718. She also paid for the rebuilding of another temple in the western suburbs in 1703, had an abbot installed, and saw that it received a small regular gift from the Imperial Household.¹⁴⁷

Qianlong's filial devotion to his mother, the Xiaosheng empress dowager, is well known, and it is difficult to disentangle her piety from the acts done in her name or in her honor. She accompanied him on excursions far and near, but rarely acted independently outside the imperial domain.¹⁴⁸ By the first half of the nineteenth century, imperial women were even less active. A lone example is provided by Jiaqing's consort, the Xiaohe empress dowager, who was apparently a devotee of Bixia Yuanjun; she restored the Yajishan temple in 1837 and came in person for the reopening.¹⁴⁹

At the end of the Qing, however, we encounter another empress dowager on a grand scale, comparable in her way to Madame Li. This was Xiaoqin, better known as Cixi (Tz'u-hsi, 1835–1908). She outlived her husband (Xianfeng) and her son (Tongzhi), dominated her nephew (Guangxu), and for much of her forty-seven years as dowager empress wielded the decision-making powers of an emperor. During what was effectively her reign, eunuchs were more visible and powerful at court. Lionized by the women of the foreign diplomatic community at the end of her life but treated harshly by twentieth-century historians, Cixi has long been a controversial figure.

Cixi's religious activities have not been given as much attention as her political ones and, indeed, do not seem nearly as significant. Nevertheless, although she did not finance major reconstruction projects, this empress dowager carried on the tradition of visits and gifts to favored religious establishments, and she took some religious matters seriously.

146. *JWK* 107:1774; *Xu Ke* 1:218; *ECCP* 221–22, 247. After her death, one of her eunuchs contributed the funds to build a temple in the Outer City where prayers could be said for her. *ECCP* 300–301; *Kim Ch'ang'öp* 170–73; *JWK* 55:890.

147. *ECCP* 300; *Tanzhe zhi* 84, 86; *JWK* 99:1644; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:26, 33, 34.

148. Kahn chap. 5. When Qianlong presented gifts to the Tanzhe monastery in 1764, his mother donated cloisonné ritual implements to the abbot. *Tanzhe zhi* 201.

149. *Linqing* 3:97–98. More on this in Chapter 14.

Like Empress Dowager Li, Cixi seems to have envisioned herself as an incarnation of Guanyin. She posed for photographs as the bodhisattva amid the lotuses at her new summer palace, had banners inscribed with the appellation “Holy Mother” (*shengmu*), and allowed herself to be addressed as “Venerable Buddha” (*foye*). This understanding was probably based on the ideas of Tibetan Buddhism. If Qing emperors could see themselves as incarnations of Manjusri, why wouldn’t Cixi be an incarnation of Guanyin?¹⁵⁰

The dowager empress encroached on the emperor’s ritual status in other ways. She arranged for the Ministry of Rites to have offerings made in several capital temples on her birthday (on 10/10), and she revived the use of the Altar to Sericulture (Cantan) in the Imperial City, where she performed the rituals herself.¹⁵¹

In her other acts of patronage, Cixi resembled other Qing imperial women much more. She and her fellow empress dowager (Xiaozhen) contributed to the Xinglongsi, a eunuch temple near the palace, and sent their eunuchs to make donations to a Lüzu temple near Liulichang in the Outer City in 1867. During a drought in 1878, relief was given in the name of the emperor and the two dowager empresses. Cixi travelled frequently to the suburbs and also patronized the temples there. She made regular use of the Wanshousi, where she would rest in the travel-palace en route to her new villa (under construction in the 1880s).¹⁵² She was a patron of Our Lady of Mount Tai, made gifts to several of her temples in and near Peking, and supported her pilgrims. Unlike Madame Li, however, Cixi does not seem to have taken up any monks or other clerics as personal favorites or advisers, and there were no Rasputins at her court.

For most of the dynasty, neither eunuchs, palace women, nor Banner bondservants served as surrogates for their imperial masters outside the palace in matters of religion. The contrast with the Ming was quite dramatic. Even for Li Lianying, Cixi’s favorite of whom it was said, “half the pawnshops and banks of Peking belong to him,” there were no obvious acts of temple patronage when he acted alone or on her behalf.¹⁵³ As the discussion in Chapter 11 should make clear, those who staffed the palace during

150. Bland & Backhouse, frontispiece, plate opp. p. 32; Johnston 1934:70–73; Warner 174, 246. Earlier emperors were also called *lao fo*, “Old Buddha.” Huc 1:376; Farquhar; Johnston 1934:72–73; Ya 259–66. The correct term may be “emanation.”

151. Birthday: *DMJL* 1886; *Huidian shili* 1899:444:10959–62, 1064:17709. Sericulture: rites were scheduled for 3/12 of 1887; see *DMJL* 1886: calendar; *Huidian shili* 1899:415:10544–45; Conger 1913:27; Bouillard 1923a:131.

152. Peking Library #647; *BJTB* 83:120, 84:187. Wanshousi: Bredon 230; Bouillard 1923b:303–4; *BJTB* 87:99–100; Dun Lichen 36–37.

153. Late Qing eunuchs have been treated with the same vitriol as Ming ones, and many unflattering things were said about Li. For this quote: Weale 30. See Bouillard 1921 for several temples near the Dajuesi that he may have founded. Also Jinxun 7.

the Qing were much more confined within it than their predecessors had been in the Ming.

As Qing emperors and their households enlarged the imperial sphere in the various ways described in this chapter, they straddled the worlds of their family, the city, and the empire. Through ritual, they made themselves the center of a series of overlapping communities, communities that are revealed by consideration of these celebrations.

Every year on the emperor's birthday, the Ministry of Rites arranged for offerings at the Imperial Ancestral Temple and the tombs of the previous two emperors, as well as at temples to Zhenwu, Dongyue, and the City-god. At the same time, the Imperial Household paid for rites at an additional forty-three others. Many of those temples received money solely for this purpose. In the Dagaoxuandian, the ritual hall just outside the palace, for instance, twenty-four daoists performed an extravagant thirty-six-day rite. The effect of all these birthday expenditures was to enlist the principal religious resources of the city on behalf of the throne. Temples could hardly refuse. Except for a few famous occasions, people who were not part of the imperial world were excluded from such celebrations.¹⁵⁴

In the spring of 1713, Kangxi permitted the citizens of Peking to be part of the sixtieth birthday procession from his suburban villa (the Changchun-yuan) to the Forbidden City. In 1790, Qianlong emulated his grandfather's action on the occasion of his own eightieth birthday. Contrary to usual practice, these processions were open to public view—albeit under the careful supervision of the Gendarmerie. These two celebrations were recorded for posterity in color paintings and in nearly 150 woodblock prints (each) published in book form with an accompanying prose description of the festivities.¹⁵⁵ In addition to the many altars set up in government offices along the roads, thirty-six different temples were mentioned or illustrated in these two birthday compendia, only ten of which were on the Imperial Household payroll. In all, at least seventy-four religious establishments in and near the capital were, in one way or another, rallied to participate on these occasions (most of them for both). Their clerics and their ordinary devotees were drawn

154. Birthday 1713:13:8–12; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:25, 30. No imperial birthdays coincided with those of prominent gods. Guangxu celebrated two days early when his birthday interfered with the important autumn equinox rites. Carl 57. The Imperial Household organized (and funded) these festivities. Weddings were normally closed to public view. In 1872, a foreign reporter had to sketch the midnight procession of the bride to the palace from a hole in the window of an opium den, thus creating a fine cover for the *Illustrated London News*. Simpson 1872. For wedding ritual: Rawski 1991:191–92.

155. Kangxi: Birthday 1713:jj. 41–44. Qianlong: Birthday 1790:jj. 77–78. Both scrolls are in the Palace Museum, Peking.

for a sharp moment into the larger imperial community, and the roads and temples became the loci for the expressions of this shared moment.

During the procession of 1713, a great variety of people paid for celebratory decorations and activities. (Gifts that were at once voluntary and coerced.) Donations from the Imperial Household or from various groups in the city paid for monks to chant “The Sutra of Longevity” and other appropriate scriptures and for daoists to perform elaborate *jiao* rites. Along the road at regular intervals, extravagantly decorated altars were constructed, offerings set out, and sutras chanted. Some donors provided entertainment for the emperor and for the crowds: fancy stages along the road whence issued forth the songs and music of auspicious plays, long verandas displaying appropriate pictures (“The Hundred Elderly Ones,” “Scenes of Plowing and Weaving”), high-quality embroidered hangings, and a huge number of decorated pavilions, festive arches, and congratulatory couplets (“So-and-So Prays for Your Great Longevity”). Imperial elephants were dressed up and brought out; streets, shops, and temples were decorated with lanterns, banners, and flags. (Figure 12.2 shows a detail.) Auspicious words and symbols were omnipresent: cranes, peaches, dragons, and, of course, *shou* (long life). Freshly blooming plums, peaches, lilacs, and peonies were displayed by the road (Kangxi’s birthday fell during the second week of April). Elsewhere “countless” birds were released from their cages, an act of Buddhist merit staged for the emperor by his eunuchs. From the distant reaches of the empire came special gifts of local products and written congratulations.

Relatives, officials, soldiers, and citizens presented gifts. Those mentioned included Manchu princes, palace eunuchs, and bondservant intimates from the Imperial Household; officials from all the provinces, the Six Ministries, the prefecture, and Peking’s two counties; expectant and recently appointed officials; soldiers from the Gendarmerie and Grand Canal Administration; and officers and men from the Banners. Also visible in the illustrations were salt merchants, citizens from the Lower Yangtze cities, Muslims from the nearby canal terminus at Tongzhou, and—of course—the merchants and “ordinary people” (*xiao min*) of Peking. The curtains of the carriage were kept open as the emperor passed, not only revealing the imperial visage to popular view (though most knelt as he passed), but also permitting Kangxi to take a look at his subjects.

Given the route (through the Inner City and northwestern suburbs), the crowds were mostly Banner people, but some of the excitement, contrived or genuine, spilled over to the city as a whole. We are told that in the Outer City “more than ten thousand gentry and citizens [*shi min*], merchants and traders [*shang gu*] set up sutra bowers at the Jewelry Market intersection [due south of the Front Gate].”¹⁵⁶

156. Birthday 1713:44:14.

The textual and visual records of Qianlong's eightieth birthday procession in the autumn (on 8/13) of 1790 told of the congratulations from a similar array of people from inside and beyond the capital. Joining them were tributes from abroad, in keeping with Qianlong's enlarged vision of empire: representatives of the mountain people of Taiwan, Mongol nomads, and the recently conquered Tibetan Jinchuan tribes of west China, and gifts from Vietnamese, Laotian, Burmese, and Korean kings. Wealthy merchants were ostentatiously lavish in their expenditures, in keeping with the tone of the occasion. The participation of other Peking residents was not spelled out, however, and one has to doubt the popularity of the three hundred stanzas of imperial verse that had been selected from the emperor's modest corpus of fifty thousand, set to music by the staff of the Confucius temple, printed, and distributed throughout the empire with the intention that they be sung by the people.¹⁵⁷

One other Qing emperor lived to see his sixtieth year, but Jiaqing, perhaps remembering his father's extravaganzas, let the occasion pass without fuss in 1819.¹⁵⁸ Not one to shy away from imitating Qianlong, Empress Dowager Cixi planned a grand celebration for her sixtieth birthday in the autumn of 1894 but was forced to cancel it when news arrived of the dynasty's humiliating defeat in the war with Japan.¹⁵⁹

It should be obvious that the impact of Qing patronage of religion on Peking was deep and extensive. The dynasty's contribution to the physical infrastructure of the city—in religion as in other spheres—was great; old structures were renovated and new ones built on a grand scale. Whether paid for by the Ministry of Rites or the Imperial Household, these actions represented an investment by the empire in the city. By virtue of these two and a half centuries of generous funding, Peking became even more different from other cities in the empire—more imperial.

The Qing had a vision of themselves as more than mere emperors over the territory of the Ming. Their involvement with Tibetan Buddhism combined private belief with a new vision of empire.¹⁶⁰ Lamas, monasteries, and the affairs of Central Asia were the business of the throne, not the regular bureaucracy. Funded by a privy purse that was well stocked for much of the dynasty, Manchu emperors could direct the resources of the Imperial House-

157. Birthday 1790:jj. 77–78; *Wanshou quge yuezhang*. Tianjin salt merchants gave 715,000 ounces of silver, partially to help renovate the Yuanmingyuan. Kwan 179.

158. QSLJQ 362:passim, 363:5.

159. *ECCP* 298; Peng Hao. Cixi took her entourage to a hill within the Forbidden City and with grandiose piety set free ten thousand caged birds she had purchased for the occasion. Malone 211; Der Ling 297–98.

160. Both Crossley (1999, which I have been able to read as a work in progress) and Rawski (1996, 1998) have developed this idea.

hold toward this wider religious world as they pleased. And they used religious rituals to create imagined but powerful communities of fellow believers that extended well beyond the territory directly controlled by the dynasty.

Although it adopted the Ming governmental system, the Qing state treated Chinese religion rather differently. Gone were the systems of registering and counting temples, certifying clerics, and issuing “imperial order” temple name-plaques. Impulses to become involved in popular cults were restrained. Privileges were bestowed on a few deities whose power and prestige were tied tightly to the dynasty and on shrines for Bannermen martyrs; other gods were likely to be ignored. When rulers gave money to the temples of the capital, it was on a scattershot and ad hoc basis. Qing emperors did form personal relationships with individual clerics—Shunzhi and Yongzheng with Buddhist monks, Shunzhi and Kangxi with Jesuits, and Yongzheng and Qianlong with lamas—but the influence of religious men at court was different and much reduced.¹⁶¹

Religion’s power to organize and mobilize people continued to be taken quite seriously by emperors and officials; both were aware of the limits of state power, and suppression became much more targeted and vigorous. The emperor could strike like a lightning bolt when he wanted, and making an example of one man or one organization was an inexpensive method of intimidation.

Qing emperors, as we shall see in detail in the following chapters, treated religion with a full range of policies. Sectarian organizations were branded dangerous and heterodox, the mobilizing potentials of Christian and Muslim ideas were understood and feared, pilgrimage was denounced but ignored, clerics were hired for their services and kept from the centers of power, and popular deities were patronized in a cool and measured fashion. Competition with or threats to imperial interests were rapidly identified and, even in the middle of the nineteenth century, dealt with successfully.

Although those that were imperially patronized made up only 15 percent of all Qing temples in Peking, more than three hundred temples benefitted, and the imperial presence in the capital was more deeply felt than in the past.¹⁶² This investment was concentrated in religious establishments that were large and enduring, but such support was more organized and more frequent than during the Ming.¹⁶³ The imperial domain was livelier and

161. For one influential daoist, see the discussion of Lou Jinyuan in Chapter 14. Perhaps the personalities of the Manchu emperors were decisive in this new situation, but for some societywide analyses of religion in the Qing, see Brook 1993:325–30; Chow 1–14, 129–203.

162. Some 317 out of 2,108. Compare with 18 percent (196) in the Ming, a percentage that is probably artificially high because of inadequate and skewed sources.

163. Of the known Qing temples that were larger than five halls, 64 percent were imperially patronized (15 out of 25). Of the Qing temples known to have land endowments, 32 percent were imperially patronized (51 out of 157).

larger, and more than a third of imperially patronized temples were located within it. Although fluctuating with imperial power and resources, patronage was also more consistent than under the Ming. Emperors themselves took charge, the Imperial Household did the work, and bureaucratic objections were few or easily silenced.

Imperial largess was not uniformly distributed across Peking. Although the divide between Banner and Chinese cities would be greatly weakened in the nineteenth century, the Imperial City would become very porous, and many of the suburban villas would no longer be usable, two-thirds of the temples subsidized by the throne were still within the imperial domain or the Inner City, and most of the rest were in the suburbs.¹⁶⁴

Qing patronage of the Outer City of Peking, the zone to which they had relocated the Chinese population of the capital at the time of the conquest, was meager. Although the throne recognized deities that were popular with their Chinese subjects and continued to bestow favors on suburban temples that hosted huge fairs, such patronage seems minor in a wider context. Even though Manchu emperors and Chinese scholar-officials shared a concern with Confucian ideas and the correct preservation of that tradition, they inhabited separate spaces in other aspects of their religious lives. Temples to which the throne gave assistance, furthermore, tended to become privatized within the imperial orbit. Only 20 percent are known to have had support from other members of society.¹⁶⁵ Some (monasteries in particular) had difficulty surviving without imperial support.¹⁶⁶

Through the systematic application of resources and the selective display of power, the Qing extended and strengthened imperial Peking. And yet we must be careful not to be overwhelmed by their well-documented actions. There was more to the city than this. Even in a 1785 study of Peking's landmarks commissioned by Qianlong, imperially patronized temples made up only one-third of those mentioned. It was in the twentieth century, as smaller temples disappeared and Peking's past was reconfigured, that such buildings became more noticeably singular.¹⁶⁷ Such distortions should not be ours. To see the complete picture, let us now turn to the rest of Peking—to the Inner Banner city, the Outer Chinese one, and the mixed world of the suburbs.

164. Excluding temples in the imperial domain, the ratios of Inner City to Outer City to suburbs were 44:23:32 percent.

165. Some 66 out of 317. Unfortunately, information is scarce. As we shall see, some served (or continued to serve) as the sites for market fairs and for pilgrimage, charity, or political activities.

166. Of all Qing temples known to have resident communities of clerics, more than half received imperial gifts (46 out of 75). These clerics consisted of monks, lamas, and daoists at a ratio of about 5:4:3.

167. As much as half of the temples mentioned in the guidebooks I have surveyed were imperially patronized. See Chapter 16.

CHAPTER 11

New Divisions

GOVERNING THE EMPIRE

Qing Peking continued to house the central government institutions that managed the empire. Nanking, a seat of Ming resistance in the 1640s, was reduced to being Jiangning, the capital of Jiangsu province. Nurgaci's own capital of Shenyang (a.k.a. Mukden), established near a Ming garrison town in the Northeast, was rebuilt with an imperial ground plan, palace, tombs, and parallel institutions of metropolitan government. After 1644, it retained the status of Shengjing (Flourishing Capital) but its role as secondary capital (*pei jing*) was of importance mostly to Bannermen.¹ The action was in Peking—still the Jingshi.

This chapter begins by examining the national and local institutions of governance that shaped Peking society after 1644. It then looks in more detail at the organization and management of the distinctively Qing Banner people who became the city's new citizens.

The buildings that housed the central government were concentrated in their Ming location immediately south of the palace. The Six Ministries (Personnel, Revenue, Rites, War, Punishments, and Works), Hanlin Secretariat, Censorate, Directorate of Astronomy, and Offices of Sacrifices and of Ceremonies were all here. This metropolitan administration did not dominate local geography as the imperial domain did, but as a major employer and focus for politics, it still had an impressive impact on city life.

Proximity to the palace made this quarter advantageous for agencies that

1. Zhenjun 10:25; Elliott 1993:49–56; Rawski 1998:18–19.

were part of the emperor's rather than the empire's bureaucracy: the offices for the Imperial Lineage, Imperial Physicians, and Imperial Equipage. The Manchu shamanist sanctuary (Tangzi) and the Agency for Imperial Dependencies were close by, and the hostels for visiting tributaries and embassies were not far away.² When the Qing needed a place to sign treaties with the representatives of foreign powers in the middle of the nineteenth century, they used the Lifanyuan's Russian hostel in 1859 and the halls of the Ministry of Rites in 1860. Thereafter, the area immediately to the east of the ministries developed into the foreigners' Legation Quarter, and new agencies such as the Foreign Affairs Office (the Zongli Yamen) and its associated Inspectorate General of Customs were in this vicinity.³ (See Map 11.1.)

Officials of all kinds congregated in this government quarter: grand secretaries and Manchu princes, Chinese and Banner junior ministers, freshly minted *jinshi* and veteran department directors, bewildered foreigners, and clerks and secretaries by the thousands. Perhaps ten thousand people, high and low, found employment in this bureaucracy, ink and paper were consumed in great quantity, and officials poured in regularly before leaving or taking up new posts.⁴

Other important government buildings were scattered about the Inner City. In the northeast were the quiet and spacious grounds of the Confucius temple and the Directorate of Education. Not far away were the two ministry-managed mints; these were not chambers for elegant gentlemen but smelly, dirty, protoindustrial workshops that produced copper cash for the city and the empire. In the southeast section near the outer wall were the two-story Observatory and the huge examination hall.

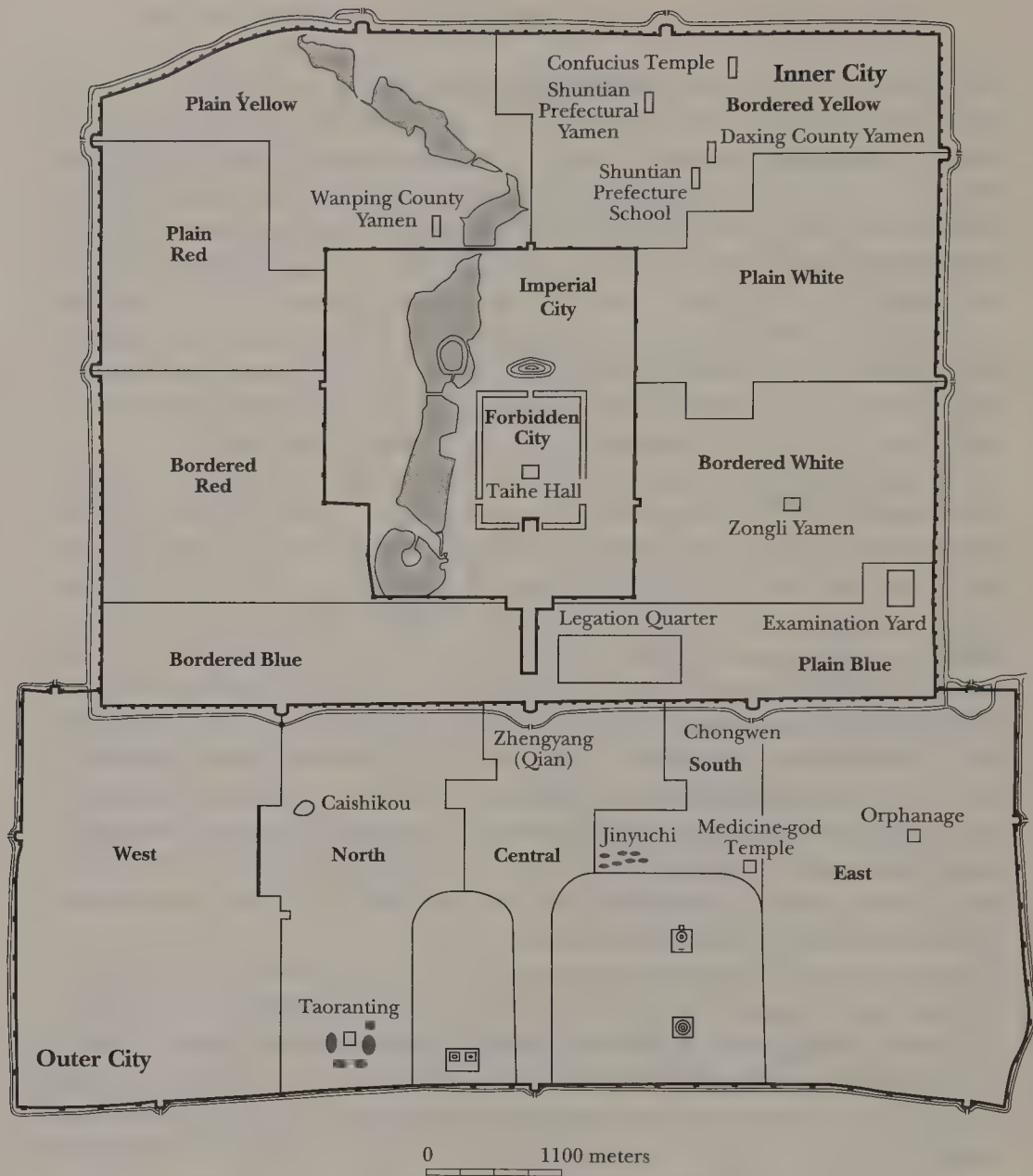
Few sites in the Outer City were part of the national bureaucracy. The entire city was, however, ringed with toll stations and substations empowered to tax incoming goods, the principal office for which was just outside the Chongwen Gate (the easternmost gate between the Inner and Outer Cities). The Ministry of Revenue and the Imperial Household shared the income. Before 1668, the office of the salt monopoly (for the Changlu zone within which Peking lay), another operation that involved both the Ministry of Revenue and the Neiwufu, was also outside that gate.⁵

2. Hucker 1985:passim; *Atlas* #31–32. This area was outside the Imperial City and within the Inner City. The Qing buildings took up less space than the Ming ones.

3. S. Meng 29; Swinhoe 346; Banno 232.

4. Estimates of the number of men employed by the metropolitan bureaucracy seem to be little more than guesses. A late eighteenth-century visitor suggested five thousand (Guignes 3:97). Sometime just before or in the early Qing, natives of Shaoxing prefecture (Zhejiang) became the dominant sojourners among the lower levels of metropolitan office staff. See Cole.

5. *Huidian* 1899:23:1–4; *Huidian shili* 1899:234:1–4; Xie Lin; T. Chang 258. In 1668 the salt controller's office was moved to Tianjin; the zone included Zhili, Henan, and Shandong provinces. *FXZ* 8:16.



Map 11.1. Qing Peking

The designated quarters for the Eight Banners are shown in the Inner City, the Five Boroughs in the Outer City.

This was not a government that encouraged citizens to come visiting, and offices were closed to the general public. Indeed, Peking offered few spaces where citizens and officials might formally interact. When four hundred men came from a district east of Peking to petition that their local magistrate be retained (in 1725), they gathered “in front of the palace” and were punished for their troubles.⁶ The “public” that mattered consisted of men with degrees or office.

Ministry buildings and many parts of the palace were open to those who held office. The area outside the Meridian (Wu) Gate, where palace and bureaucracy symbolically met, retained its liminal power in the Qing, although officials were no longer subjected to humiliating punishments here. The fame of the gate was extended through pictures like a 1745 painting of an official crossing the marble arched bridge in the mists of dawn, riding toward cloud-covered palace halls on his way to audience.⁷

The examination yard (Gongyuan) was the most open of the metropolitan government buildings, a site charged with terror and hope in the imaginations of educated men throughout the empire. (It is shown in Figure 11.1.) The *jinshi* exams, held every third year in the spring, attracted more and more men as competition increased for the official appointments that this degree might bring. Thousands of candidates came into Peking, each with flying banners reading “Ministry of Rites Metropolitan Examinations.”

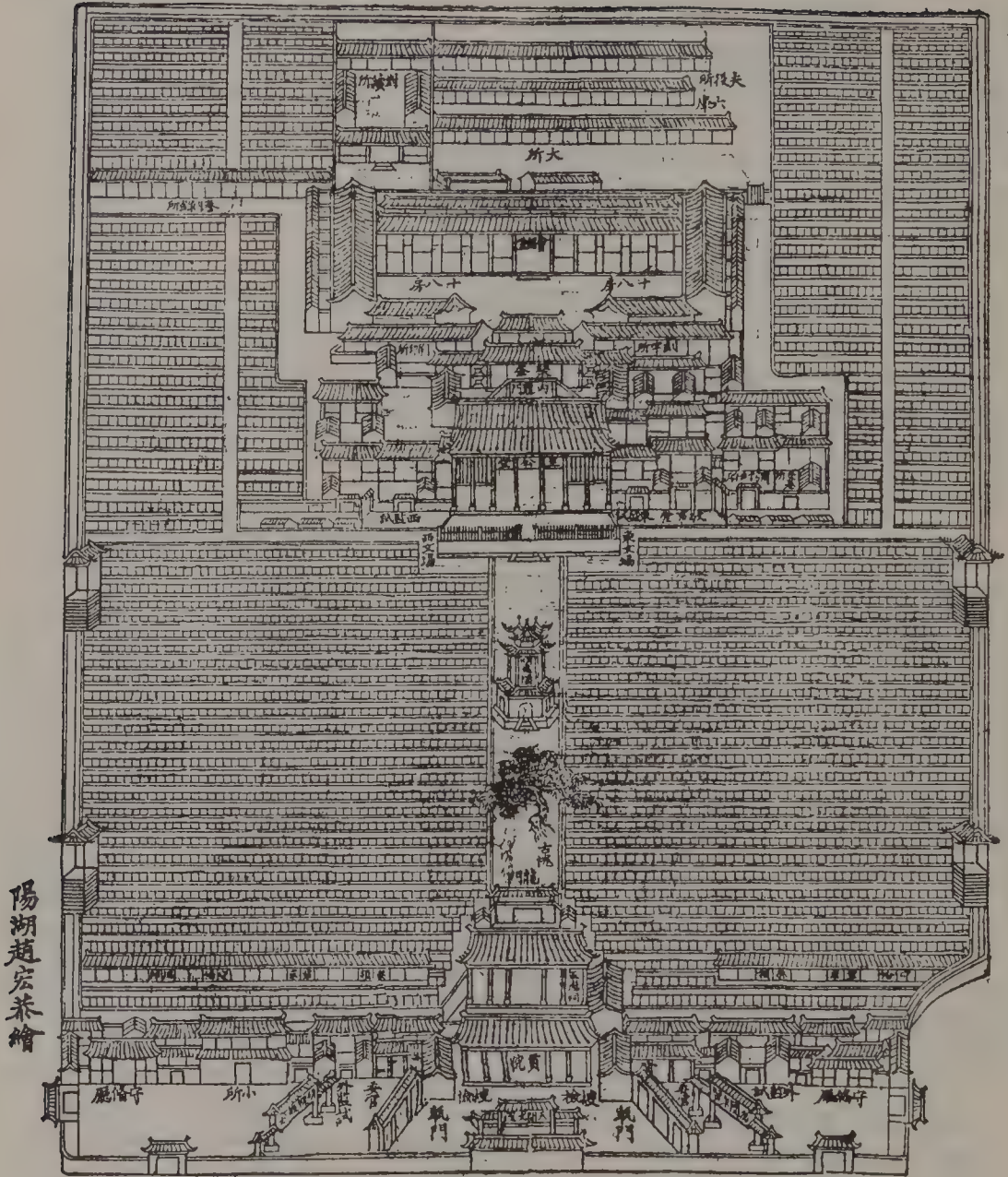
What we might call the cultural geography of these metropolitan examinations and their celebrations allows us a glimpse of the overlapping world of exams, office, and emperor in Peking. The Chinese candidates found housing in the Outer City, but for the week-long tests they went to the compound in the southeast corner of the Inner City. The results were posted outside some three weeks later. Those lucky few who passed then came into the Forbidden City to take the one-day palace exam in the first of the great halls, attended by a large assembly of civil and military officials in full regalia. A similar ceremony was necessary for the reading of the results.⁸

The greatest honors fell to the three men who came in first, second, and third. After presentation to the emperor, they were allowed the rare privilege of leaving the palace through the middle arch of the Wu Gate, follow-

6. *Qing shi biannian* 4:145.

7. Hyland 72–73. The painting is in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Hyland seems to have misunderstood the colophon. A few of the many other examples: NPM 127:9; *Zhongguo meishu quan ji* 21:#53; Linqing 1:24; *Dianshizhai huabao yi* 9–69. The gate as shown by foreigners: Walravens 147; Okada Gyokuzan j. 1; Pelliot 262.

8. The military *jinshi* examinations were held in the northern suburbs, and the palace examination within the Western Park. *Huidian shili* 1899:719:14386. The “Collected Statutes” did not identify the “outer yard” (*waichang*), but see Zhenjun 8:3–4.



陽湖趙宏恭繪

Figure 11.1. Examination Yard

SOURCE: STFZ 1885 maps.

ing a ministry official who carried the ranked list of new *jinshi*. In a great parade, the three men proceeded with much fanfare around the east side of the palace to the Shuntian prefectural yamen, where they were received and banqueted. They then completed their circumambulation of the palace on the city streets to the north and west and finally passed through the Front

Gate into the Outer City. At that point, public celebrations turned private, and each winner was separately banqueted by his fellow natives. A few days later, the entire class of new degree-holders was feted at the Ministry of Rites compound, then all assembled outside the Wu Gate to thank the emperor before proceeding to the Temple to Confucius.⁹

The center of gravity for this ritual, established in Ming days before the southern (outer) wall was built, was thus the Inner City. The triennial procession surely had the effect of drawing the Banner population, through whose neighborhoods it went, into this world of exams and government; at the same time, Chinese, an eager audience for the parade, came into the Banner quarter to watch.

Indeed, the populace of Peking, like that of the empire, related to the government more as audience than actor. The sedan chairs and palanquins of officials hid their occupants but were a common sight on the city streets. Imperial processions were likewise frequent, inconvenient, and closed. It was as genuine spectators, however, that the citizenry came to Caishikou, the intersection in the Outer City where criminals from throughout the empire were executed by the Ministry of Punishments.

The metropolitan bureaucracy and examination system thus constituted an important dimension of Peking's identity as national capital, but being the seat of government was a mixed blessing for the city. It meant, of course, increasing political centrality. In fact, from the time the capital was shifted north in the fifteenth century (or earlier?), the local language of Peking had formed the basis of the administrative vernacular (*guanhua*) that became firmly established under the Qing as the spoken language of government.¹⁰ (It became the national language in the twentieth century.) The Qing government occupied prime urban real estate, but it provided jobs for local men and women and attracted wealthy sojourners who consumed local goods and services.

The day-to-day politics of the metropolitan bureaucracy—like those of the court—seem to have been of great interest to residents as well as to sojourners. Peking's local business was, almost of necessity, shoved into the background by the more weighty affairs of empire. City government was small and weak by comparison.

GOVERNING PEKING

The new dynasty and the arrival of the Banner population had prompted a restructuring of local government in the capital, but complicated civil struc-

9. Man-cheong 81, 143, 152, 192, 227–29; Meskill 1964:362–67; Shang Yanliu 119. (Shang was a Chinese Bannerman *jinshi* of 1904.) Linqing illustrated his own moment of success, bowing at the Wu Gate after passing the metropolitan exam (1:24).

10. Astley 4:194; Guan Jixin & Meng Xianren.

tures still competed and overlapped with military ones tied to the throne. These systems changed over time, as the Qing better understood local realities and adjusted to them, and as local society itself changed, but they were still fundamentally fragmented.¹¹ The preponderant power of the throne and its concern for local security remained constant.

The Ming system of five districts (*wu cheng*) was retained but radically redefined; I now call them the Five Boroughs. These were administered by civil officials privileged to memorialize the ministries and the emperor; they were called censors but are better thought of as superintendents of police. Each borough took formal responsibility for pieces of a confusing jigsaw of the Inner City, Outer City, and suburbs. In everyday practice, however, the borough censors and their police subordinates concentrated on the Chinese populations of the Outer City and suburbs.¹² The Inner City was governed primarily through a separate military-cum-civil Banner bureaucracy under the emperor. The Imperial Lineage Administration handled members of the extended imperial family wherever they resided, while the Imperial Household managed the Imperial City.

The suburbs and countryside on the west remained in Wanping county, and those on the east remained in Daxing county; those magistrates each took over their Ming predecessors' offices in the Inner City. These counties continued to be part of Shuntian prefecture, whose headquarters was also in the Inner City. The two prefects had to attend to a huge territory, now enlarged to eighteen counties and five departments. By 1690, four subprefects were responsible for policing the more distant north, south, west, and east suburbs of Peking and were stationed in towns some twenty to thirty kilometers away.¹³

Elaborate structures of military power paralleled these civil ones. At the beginning of the dynasty, Chinese soldiers from the Ming armies had been reconstituted as the Army of the Green Standard. At first, two of these battalions—then three (in 1658), and then five (in 1782), eventually totaling some ten thousand men—were on duty at Peking as a constabulary force. They were assigned in equal measure to a network of sentry posts and guard stations within the Outer City, outside each of the gates, and in the vicinity of the imperial summer villas.¹⁴

11. My superficial description obscures many of these adjustments.

12. "Borough" implies a degree of self-government that was absent in the Qing case. For these structures: B & H #206, #214, #793–802; *Huidian shili* 1899:1025:17344–47, 1031:17394–95, 1031:17407–8; Xu Ke 3:1276, 1335; *Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'anguan guan zang dang'an gai shu* 101. These divisions were shown on the 1788 *Chenyuan* maps, and more clearly on the map in Imahori. For more on the complications, see Chapter 12 n.112.

13. *STFZ* 1885:22:681–83 and Chapter 12.

14. Here and elsewhere I have relied on the work of Alison Dray-Novey (1981:10–12, and chap. 1E). By the nineteenth century many of these soldiers were Bannermen in origin.

For both local and dynastic security, the Qing relied more on their own Banner armies. All Banner men were in theory soldiers, but not everyone served, and with time fewer did so. In order to prevent any one Banner from itself becoming a threat to the throne, active battalions (and their component units) were made up of men from different Banners. Affiliation with one of the Eight Banners determined a man's residence within the city but not his service unit. Eight battalions, numbering some fifty thousand men in the nineteenth century, were assigned to Peking, and as many were deployed in a cordon around the city.¹⁵ They stood ready for assignment anywhere in the empire and were sent on campaign with some regularity—against the Three Feudatories in south China in the 1670s, the Mongols of Central Asia in the 1690s and 1750s, the Taiping rebels in central China in the 1850s–1860s, and countless other insurgents.

A new Qing institution, the Gendarmerie (Bujun Tongling Yamen), was given responsibility for maintaining order in the capital. After 1691, its authority was extended to include the Outer as well as Inner City and parts of the surrounding countryside, and it thus became the only agency with jurisdiction over all of greater Peking. By 1825, there were more than 23,000 Bannermen in this corps, responsible to and paid for by the throne.¹⁶

Gendarmerie soldiers were assigned to the nine Inner City gates and the seven Outer City ones and to ninety-eight guard stations and thousands of small sentry posts within the Inner City; this area remained their principal responsibility. Their duties included securing the gates, maintaining roads and sewers, ensuring order on the streets day and night, and arresting and trying criminals. Like Green Standard soldiers, they were armed variously with muskets, bows and arrows, shields, spears, hooked poles, swords, knives, and whips. The population was, by contrast, disarmed, being forbidden to possess deadly weapons. Throughout the Inner and Outer Cities, wooden street-gates (*zhalan*) were used to check on passersby and to close off the lanes and alleys at night.¹⁷

The commandant of the Gendarmerie was in charge of both Banner and Green Standard battalions and expected to coordinate their activities. Because such combined authority created an unusual concentration of power, this high-ranked position was held only by trusted Manchus and Mongols. The Gendarmerie headquarters (with its own jail and substantial civilian

15. Dray-Novey 1981:59–67.

16. Dray-Novey 1981, 1993. Small sums came from the ministries. Dray-Novey 1981:42–44. For primary sources: *Jinwu shili*; also *Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'anguan guan zang dang'an gai shu* 101–2; *BQTZ* 54:1036; *Huidian shili* 1899:869:15834–40.

17. Dray-Novey 1981:67–94; Xu Ke 4:1656; M. Shi:chap. 3; J. Bell 138; Naquin 1976:152. The gates are illustrated in Dray-Novey 1993. Several hundred other soldiers served in the suburbs under the Shuntian subprefects. Dray-Novey 1981:139–40.

staff) was first placed inside the Xuanwu Gate and then, after 1756, relocated to north of (and convenient to) the Forbidden City.¹⁸

The administration of Peking thus became ever more singular. Technically part of Zhili province, none of its officials were responsible to that governor-general.¹⁹ Three different bureaucratic apparatuses brought its residents directly under imperial rule, and city business usually involved the Banner commandant of the Gendarmerie, the Chinese Five Boroughs police censors, and the Chinese Shuntian prefects, simultaneously.

The city walls coincided with only some of these administrative divisions. Other military and civil structures marked off a greater Peking that extended deep into the countryside in all directions—to Tongzhou on the Grand Canal to the east, Lugou Bridge in the south, the Ming tombs in the north, and the mountains in the west. Even the supposedly fundamental divide between *qi* (Banner) and *min* (civilians—that is, everyone else) was subverted by these structures of government.²⁰

A variety of phrases expressed the idea of an area whose residents had some claim on the resources of the capital. *Jifu*, “the capital region,” referred to all of Zhili province but was commonly used as shorthand for the parts of the capital region near Peking (*jifu jin di*) and a rough equivalent of “the greater capital area” (*jing ji*).²¹ The looseness of these expressions paralleled the irregular extension of government offices into the countryside around Peking.

Whereas the structures of local government removed Peking from the province, the empirewide examination system tied it to Zhili in an anomalous fashion. The complicated overlay of prefectural, provincial, and national examinations contributed to further fragmentation of local constituencies.

Like other units within Shuntian prefecture, Daxing and Wanping counties had a generous (combined) quota for the entry-level (*shengyuan*) degrees available to their residents. Chinese from within the walled city were counted as county residents for this purpose (only), while Bannermen were considered to belong to Shuntian prefecture (but not these counties) and

18. Dray-Novey 1981:13, 46–58, and chap. 1C; *Huidian shili* 1899:870:15842.

19. Peking business was not channeled through the governor (after 1724, a governor-general) who was stationed in Baoding (140 kilometers south of the capital). *Nianbiao* 2:1510 and passim. The governor-general moved to Tianjin in 1871. Zhili (“directly ruled”) had been known as Beizhili in the Ming; it became Hebei province in the twentieth century.

20. Most Ming corvée categories had become irrelevant.

21. Other equivalents: “parts of Zhili near the capital” (*Zhili jin jing difang*), “places near the city” (*Jingshi fujin difang* or *jin jing difang*), “the capital area” (*Jingcheng yi dai*), and “beyond but near the capital” (*Jing wai fujin*). By contrast, “inside and outside the capital city” (*Jingcheng nei wai*) seems to have included only the near suburbs. See *GZDZZ-YZ* 25:369–70; *JFTZ* 1884:1:6.

had separate tracks and separate quotas. Both groups, together with other candidates from elsewhere in this large prefecture, constituted the Shuntian prefectural school community.²²

For the examination for the second-tier *juren* degree, held in the autumn every three years, Peking doubled as the provincial capital; Shuntian prefecture candidates had to compete with all of the other administrative units of Zhili for a share of the provincial quota. Although elsewhere in the empire this exam created a focus for provincial-level identity, not so in Zhili. The examination was uniquely open to nonresidents: any qualified person who had earned his *shengyuan* or purchased a comparable degree (called a *jiansheng*) could come to Peking and attempt the *juren* exam here. Thus, local *shengyuan* competed in the Shuntian exam (as it was called) not merely with fellow provincials but with empirewide rivals.²³ As a result of these loopholes and the drive for examination degrees that remained unrelenting throughout the Qing, the number of men taking the Shuntian exam grew steadily, from two thousand to ten thousand a century later, and to fourteen thousand by the end of the dynasty.²⁴

Because Peking was the emperor's residence, because it was the capital, and because it was home to the Bannermen, the throne's interest in the security of the city was deep, wide, and intense. Frequent imperial characterizations of Peking as "the premier region" (*shoushan zhi qu*) and "a place of weight and importance" (*zhong di*) were used to justify preferential treatment both benign and severe. And carried with them the implication that the population would be both well treated and grateful.

An elaborate and expensive system supplied the capital with most of its staple grains from a considerable distance away. Every year some three or four million *shi* of "tribute grain" (mostly rice) were shipped north from central China along the Grand Canal; it arrived in the spring and summer and was stored in the thirteen granaries of the Inner City and in those at Tongzhou.²⁵

From these enormous depots, the residents of the palace, Manchu nobility, and the entire Banner population (urban and suburban) were issued

22. *Huidian shili* 1899:371:1-11; *BQTZj.* 48 passim.

23. *Huidian shili* 1899:377:1-2, 348:passim; Shang Yanliu 50, 76-77. Zhili residents were given generous quotas to permit them to sit for this exam, but they lost this advantage in the small quota for winners. Man-cheong 54-55. Bannermen with a *juren* degree were identified as residents of Shuntian but had an independent quota; Chinese were designated as Daxing or Wanping natives.

24. See Chapter 12 n.104.

25. For this discussion of food supply, I am deeply dependent on Lillian Li 1994 and many conversations with her. Tribute millet, beans, and wheat also came from Henan and Shandong. Granaries were a constant object of imperial attention and their numbers increased during the

grain stipends, as were officials in the metropolitan bureaucracy. A privileged group was thus created. Supplying such entitlements to a growing population put constant strain on the treasury, but overall the Qing was successful in maintaining this essential lifeline, making sure that Peking's population in general and the Inner City in particular were supplied with grain that was both regular and cheap.²⁶ (A similar system provided the city with salt.)²⁷

Sojourners and ordinary Han Chinese residents of the Outer City had access to this tribute grain only indirectly, but they too benefitted from the imperial fear of food shortages in the capital. Bannermen sometimes resold their rations, soup kitchens fed the urban poor on a regular basis, and government grain was sold off at reduced prices whenever market prices became too high or there were poor harvests in the nearby countryside. Through such measures, grain prices within the walled city were kept artificially low. The more expensive millet and wheat grown in the countryside could be freely imported into the city for sale, but it was forbidden to export the city's cheaper grain.²⁸ When poor harvests in the region or the arrival of hungry refugees at the city gates began to drive prices in the city upward, soup kitchens and reduced-price sales brought them down again. Although market forces seem to have kept the price differential from becoming too great, the willingness of the throne to use resources from outside the region to pump grain into the local market prevented shortages and kept prices consistently low.

This concern for food security matched imperial vigilance about Peking's social and economic order in general. A great many subsidies were directed exclusively toward the Banner community (more on this later), and taxes were routinely suspended for farmlands in the city suburbs.²⁹ Emperors also stood ready to intervene in the local money market in order to stabilize the silver-to-copper ratio on which the currency rested.³⁰

Peking's unusually dense concentration of soldiers and police, the state's monopoly on weapons, and its deep penetration into society made control of crime relatively straightforward, and incidents of disorder were remarkably rare for a city of upwards of a million people.³¹ Occasionally, unhappy

dynasty. See *STFZ* 1885:j. 10; also Ruan Kuisheng 90. A *shi* of grain was 103.5 liters by volume and some 84 kilograms (depending on the grain) by weight. Perdue 104 n.20.

26. L. Li 1994.

27. Salt from the Changlu monopoly headquartered in Tianjin was supplied to the capital each year, as tribute, and then redistributed. Kwan 162.

28. *Gugong zhoukan* 227:3, 228:1.

29. Especially those areas through which the imperial entourage passed on a regular basis. Urban real estate was taxed only when it changed hands, and, except for Bannermen (who could be called for military service), city residents were not liable for land or labor levies.

30. Dunstan 1996a.

31. Missionaries in Peking in the eighteenth century frequently remarked on this fact. Dray-Novey 1993; also L'Isle 10 and J. Bell 183, both probably referring to the Inner City. Alison

Bannermen gathered to protest inadequate stipends, and candidates for the examinations sometimes “caused a disturbance in the examination yard” (*nao chang*).³² In 1705, in an extreme case, twenty to thirty volatile failed candidates who suspected irregularities in the grading of the Shuntian exam gathered at the book and antique market in the Outer City. They then carried effigies of the examiners in a procession to the intersection used for executions, where—in a tidy act of symbolic reversal—they beheaded them. For this they were in turn executed.³³ When several hundred Imperial Household bondservants pushed their way into one of the princely mansions to protest threatened cuts of stipended positions in 1725, their leaders were quickly arrested and threatened with beheading.³⁴

Even when vigilance was relaxed, the state was able to rally rapidly and punish forcefully, as three threats to the security of the Forbidden City in the early nineteenth century make clear. Attempts by one armed man to attack the emperor in his carriage (in 1803) and by another to rush through the north gate of the palace (in 1805) were utterly ineffectual.³⁵ The invasion of the Forbidden City by three hundred sectarian rebels in 1813 was much more serious, but they were contained within the palace and subdued after a day of desperate fighting (knives against bows, arrows, and muskets). The ringleaders were executed in the marketplace, and their heads were displayed in several locations in the Outer City.³⁶

Yet Peking’s security was not entirely a matter of force majeure. On two occasions the workers in the (Inner City) government mints went on strike and closed down the copper-smelting furnaces. In 1741, demands for back pay had led not only to sequential work stoppages but also to arguments and violence within the workshop compounds. The Gendarmerie deployed its soldiers gingerly and admitted to fear of arousing the three thousand mint workers. Ministry officials acceded to the workers’ demands, promising the

Dray-Novey 1993:905 has argued that the ratio of the constabulary to population was particularly high.

32. In 1758, Bannermen who had failed the exam surged into one of the halls within the compound (where the examiners were?). Elman 1990:107–8; QSL-QL 557:12–18.

33. QSL-KX 223:14–15; *Wenxian congbian* 1:86 (reference from Spence 1966:241). They gathered at Liulichang and made their way to Caishikou.

34. Crossley 1990:56; *Qingshi biannian* 4:161; QSL-YZ 38:3–7. The complex politics of Yongzheng’s rivalry with his brother Yinsi aside, this incident was an in-house affair of the Imperial Household, contained in its spatial and political scope. Bondservants had reacted to rumors about cuts by massing at the homes of Prince Lian (seen as the source of the proposal) and another man (surely a Chinese Bannerman employed by the Neiwufu). After threatening the perceived ringleaders with more dire punishments, Yongzheng sentenced five of them to banishment.

35. QSL-JQ 109:12; SYD 179–84, JQ 8/2*/20; SYD 211, 213–15, JQ 10/2/21. Neither of these incidents is well explained.

36. Naquin 1976:180–84, 340; *Jiaofei* 2:40–43.

angry emperor (who blustered about their ineffectiveness) that they would investigate and punish the troublemakers. In 1816, a fight in one of the mint workyards escalated into a temporary seizure of the facilities by the workers. In this case also, the responsible officials mollified the men rather than provoke more serious trouble. At no time did these incidents threaten to spill out beyond the walls of the mints.³⁷

The example of Hankou, a much less heavily garrisoned commercial city in central China, where disorder was likewise relatively rare, reminds us, as both William Rowe and David Strand have argued, of the important role of urban elites in managing conflict.³⁸ As we shall examine in Chapter 15, occupational guilds (*hang*) took primary responsibility for maintaining solidarity among their own workers, preventing work stoppages, and containing impulses toward violence.³⁹ And yet, because of the paucity and weakness of elite institutions in Peking before the latter nineteenth century, known incidents—and others on the same scale that are even less prominent in the historical record—suggest that the lack of large-scale violence in Peking was primarily the combined result of state willingness to keep the locals happy and the ever-present threat of overwhelming force.

The fragmentation of local government in Qing Peking enhanced the authority of the center and made unlikely the emergence of powerful local officials. Moreover, the various crosscutting structures of divided jurisdictions and overlapping authority had the effect (surely intentional) of preventing their easy use as scaffolding for the development of local power and of impeding the collective assertion of any local interests. Continuing the pattern already set in Ming times, the relative weight of imperial and metropolitan Peking was thus enhanced at the expense of local society.

The structures of administrative and social compartmentalization described in this chapter were not, however, resistant to change. As we shall see, the Inner and Outer City populations could not be permanently segregated, and the lines of authority between the police and judicial authorities became increasingly blurred. By the nineteenth century, as central power weakened, there would finally be room for the assertion of local interests and for new institutions located outside the state, and for the public articulation of collective local concerns.

In the early and middle Qing, there were few spaces or occasions that brought the state and the citizenry together. Instead, the throne used public places

37. *Kang Yong Qian* 2:520–25.

38. Rowe 1989:6–8; Strand 285–92.

39. For a strike by shoemakers in the 1880s that was eventually settled through both elite mediation and legal action, see Niida 3:489–91.

to display its might. Open land north of the city, now partially walled, continued to be an army parade ground. Green Standard forces drilled to the east, outside the Anding Gate. The Eight Banners had their own exercise yards: in the east, north, and west suburbs for six of the Banners, and in the Outer City for two. The spring and autumn sights and sounds of these military exercises became characteristics of Peking, but these intimidating off-stage displays were not turned into occasions for local community pride. The only community being activated was that of the state. The presence of military barracks in the suburbs, like the omnipresent soldiers and policemen on constabulary duty in sentry boxes and police offices throughout the city, was a constant reminder of imperial power.⁴⁰

Government offices were in theory places that the ordinary citizen could approach, although surely with trepidation, but many of the Five Borough censors and their staff did not even have proper places to do business: most worked in rented rooms until 1729, when the Yongzheng emperor finally authorized buildings for them. Even thereafter, their quarters were cramped, inadequate, and surely unwelcoming.⁴¹

The censors themselves were headquartered in the government district of the Inner City. The offices of eleven of their fifteen subordinate police chiefs and their assistants were in the Outer City, each with a detachment of soldiers nearby. The other four had their offices in the urbanized suburbs just outside the gates of the entire walled city, one in each direction.⁴² There were only a few arenas of community activity that involved the censors and their policemen.

In all counties throughout the empire, local officials were expected to inculcate right behavior by lecturing the citizenry on the first and fifteenth day of each month about the imperial maxims known as the Sacred Edict (Sheng Yu). In Peking, the trying task of staging a reading of these hortatory platitudes (“Cultivate peace and concord in your neighborhoods in order to illustrate harmony and benignity”; “Degrade strange religions in order to exalt the orthodox doctrine”) fell to the censors of the Five Boroughs. The intended audience was the Chinese population. A proposal in 1750 that these lectures be extended not only to the near suburbs but to the Inner

40. *Huidian shili* 1899:870:15840, 1041:17485; *Atlas* #41–42; Chai Sang 5; Gaubil 1758:719; Pan Rongbi 27; Freeman-Mitford 75; Elliott 1993:314. All the sentry boxes for soldiers seem to have been in the Inner City and suburbs. Dray-Novey 1981:88, 123.

41. The officers of the battalions under the Gendarmerie had similar problems, which Yongzheng likewise tried to remedy. *Huidian shili* 1899:870:15841–42. For one mid-eighteenth-century censor’s need for space, his responsibilities, and the size of his staff (“one thousand people”), see *JWK* 62:1048.

42. *FXZ* 2:11, 2:17, 7:7, 7:15, 7:24, 7:26, 8:2, 8:13, 8:37, 9:2, 10:29; *Huidian shili* 1899:1031:11; *JWK* 62:1048; B & H #796. These suburban areas corresponded to the *guan wai* zones of Ming times; deputies were shifted there in 1766. *FXZ* 7:9.

City met with protestations from the Gendarmerie. The Bannermen, it held, could be counted on to know these principles from childhood, as could local people who grew up “beneath the imperial chariot,” and besides—getting to the heart of the matter—gatherings of this sort in the Inner City might actually encourage disorder. The censors were to lecture in the Outer City, and the Daxing and Wanping magistrates in the suburbs.⁴³ Repeated imperial exhortations not to let the regulations become a dead letter suggest neglect, but even in the ideal, the lectures expressed the relationship of government to people as of teacher to pupil.

The Five Borough officers had the paternalistic responsibility of managing soup kitchens for the poor each winter. Lacking appropriate government property, the censors very often used temples for these food distribution centers (as well as other emergencies). The kitchens were set up initially in the Outer City and immediate suburbs; others were established later in the more distant suburbs.

By contrast with the censors, the county magistrates of Peking had substantial yamen built in Ming times and meant to impress the public, but the location of these offices inside the Inner City was quite inconvenient for those under their authority, none of whom lived within the walls. In fact, Daxing and Wanping had become quite marginal to Peking life in the Qing: they had no direct responsibility for the city or its near suburbs except in examination matters. What would have been appropriate county-level activities tended to be swallowed up by Shuntian prefecture. Not surprisingly, when Kangxi called for the compilation of local histories by the administrative units of the empire, Shuntian was put in charge of those two county histories. It was no coincidence that Wanping and Daxing were not given their own City-god temples until 1812 and 1872 (respectively).⁴⁴

The Shuntian prefects enjoyed an imposing office complex in the Inner City, a suitable location for them, although perhaps less so for their rural-based staff. (See Figure 11.2.) Shuntian’s prominent local identity was oriented around the school and the examinations, each of which had their own exclusive physical spaces and appealed to constituencies larger than Peking.

As in Ming times, the ancient rites of welcoming spring were orchestrated by Shuntian and involved officials of the prefecture, the counties, the senior staff of the Ministry of Rites, and local *shengyuan*. They came in procession through the central arch of the Wu Gate into the palace to present the spring ox to the emperor in the Great Interior. The imperial role and seasonal sym-

43. Milne; Mair 1985; *Jinwu shili* 8:73–80; *Huidian shili* 1899:1090:17961.

44. Zhang Jiangcai & Xu Daoling 25.

bolism encouraged the representation of these scenes in visual media for an elite audience.⁴⁵ Only in the late Qing were ordinary people permitted to watch.

The Shuntian school was also a better vehicle for the development of national-level literati interests than those of either the prefecture or Peking itself, and the examination yard was exclusively the locus for the constitution and display of national elite status. The woodblock illustrations in the only Qing gazetteer of the prefecture (compiled in the 1880s) were all education-related: the Directorate of Education, prefectural school, examination hall, and a local academy.⁴⁶ They reflect the appropriation of these parts of Peking by a national culture. Similarly, the Ming shrine to the Song martyr Wen Tianxiang in the prefectural school continued to be part of the state religion, its rites orchestrated by the prefect. It was restored in 1668 and 1828 by educational officials and in 1883 by the prefect, and was open to examination candidates from the city and the province. Wen's death at the site of the shrine created an unmistakable Peking connection, but the shrine attracted more visiting scholars—even Koreans—than local people.⁴⁷

In these different ways, county affairs were swallowed up by prefectural ones, which were in turn merged with provincial and national matters. The sites of government did not serve local constituents, and Peking the Capital was developed at the expense of Peking the City. The Qing had re compartmentalized the population, added new layers of political division, and dominated the common ground, real or symbolic, where officials met citizens. Peking's own government was thus at once omnipresent, interventionist, and invisible.

The Qing conquest brought a great wave of immigrants that disrupted and complicated Peking society. The Inner City became a special zone for these "sons and brothers" (*zidi*) of the Eight Banners, as they were often called benignly by the throne. In the 1650s, few could have predicted that this Banner population would eventually become the most vocal champion of a vigorous Peking culture. In order to understand how this happened, we must first examine the categories of Bannerman, Manchu, and Chinese. Then, in Chapter 12, we can look more closely at the development of Peking society in the early and middle Qing.

45. *JWK* 147:2345–46; *QSL-SZ* 97:6; Pan Rongbi 8; Ranglian 2. *NWF Zhangyisi* 1:2. For albums in the imperial collection: *NPM* 99:30 #2, 100:7–18 #5, 101:21–32 #6.

46. *STFZ* 1885:illustrations.

47. *BJTB* 62:117, 79:122; *STFZ* 1885:6:178–79; *Huidian shili* 1899:415:10544–45; Tan Qian 1656:72; Li Zongwan 25; Kim Ch'ang'öp 209, 242; Kim Kyöngsön 1091.

BANNERMEN

The Eight Banners were created in the Northeast at the turn of the seventeenth century and thereafter served as the organizational vehicle for the seizure of Ming territory. In its postconquest form, the system was used to administer both Banner armies and Banner people. The basic social-cum-military unit was the company, to which the soldier and his household were attached. Companies were combined into eight units that were demarcated by the colors of actual banners (*qi*): Plain and Bordered Yellow, Plain and Bordered White, Plain and Bordered Red, and Plain and Bordered Blue. For each banner, there were three different categories, identified by ethnic-sounding labels: Manchu (Manzhou), Mongol (Menggu), and Chinese (Hanjun). Each Bannerman would therefore identify himself as a member of such-and-such company of the, for example, Bordered Red Mongol Banner, Plain White Chinese Banner, and so forth. Members of the imperial lineage were an important subcategory of Manchu Bannermen, and bondservants (*baoyi*) attached to the imperial and princely households were likewise a substantial subset of Chinese Bannermen.⁴⁸

In the English-language scholarly literature, the ethnic content of these Banner categories used to be taken as self-evident: Manchu Bannermen were Manchu, Chinese Bannermen were Han Chinese. Because the term “Manchu” has often been used by historians when “Bannermen” would have been correct, the history of the Bannermen in Peking has been told as a story of the assimilation of Manchus into the powerful Chinese culture around them, one more conquering barbarian absorbed by a superior civilization. This interpretation, entrenched in most histories of modern China, now appears much more problematic: unabashedly sinocentric and too essentialized. It distorts the history of the dynasty and the history of Peking. As a result, a fresh look at Qing Peking means a fresh look at the Bannermen.

Pamela Crossley has argued persuasively that these three supposed Banner ethnicities are best understood as evolving classificatory creations of the Qing state and not—even in the case of the Mongol Bannermen—categories for identifiable, preexisting groups with distinct cultures.⁴⁹ The fluid frontier world of the Northeast in which the Banners were formed discouraged such clear boundaries, as did life in Peking. It seems more productive to ac-

48. Perhaps as much as 50 percent: Crossley 1989:77. But not all bondservants were Hanjun: Elliott 1998.

49. My understanding of these issues has been decisively shaped by Crossley 1996, 1997, and 1999 (shared with me in draft since 1991). For the period before 1644, it seems advisable to follow her and think of these as categories for primary speakers of Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese.

cept that throughout their history the Banners were artificial creations of the state, maintained by it with no small effort.

In the early years in the Northeast, the Manzhou and Menggu Banners were created first, and then the Hanjun. Although Chinese-speaking people from towns of the Liao River valley were incorporated into the Banners over a period of some twenty years, it was only in 1642 that the category “Hanjun” came into existence. The number of people in these “Chinese” Banners increased dramatically in the years immediately before and just after the conquest, when Qing armies marched west toward Peking and then south to take over the empire. Many Hanjun who moved to Peking after 1644 may, therefore, have themselves had only a hazy idea what “Han Army Bannerman” meant.⁵⁰ The cultural content and meaning of both “Manchu” and “Hanjun” continued to evolve—and not in a simple fashion. In this process, the role of Peking, home to the great majority of Banner people who came through the pass, was considerable.

The system perpetuated the categories of Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese Bannermen and at the same time attempted to draw firm lines between all Banner people and the rest of the population. Welfare measures, state-dominated employment, and segregated housing reflected a bureaucratized paternalism toward the Banner population that was carried over from the pre-conquest era. By examining these policies, we will learn something about the ways in which Inner City life was reorganized (and suburban life changed). The history of the Banner community in Peking may then be clearer.

From the outset, geographic isolation was an essential Qing strategy for differentiating Bannermen from the sea of Chinese into which they had been abruptly injected. The move to Peking had uprooted Banner soldiers and their families from their communities in the towns, villages, and encampments of the Northeast, separating them from that frontier world of mixed cultures and resituating them in the Chinese and highly urbanized Ming capital. When it became clear that Banner people were here to stay, they were summarily redefined as registered natives of Peking. Those who took the examinations were treated as men from Shuntian prefecture, and Banner soldiers garrisoned elsewhere in the empire were expected to “return to their

50. For the history of the Chinese Bannermen: Crossley 1989, 1999. See Crossley 1997 for the meaning of the original, quite different term in Manchu, *ujen cooha*. I am uncomfortable with Crossley’s translation of “Hanjun” as “Chinese-martial” because it implies (although she quite definitely does not mean it to) a style of appearance or behavior. In my experience, “Hanjun” was used as a freestanding noun to refer to a category of persons. It meant those Chinese with the status of soldier in the service of the Qing state, and its literal Chinese meaning can be rendered “Han army” or “Chinese army.” Because “Manzhu,” “Menggu,” and “Hanjun” were so often used in parallel fashion to refer to people, I have preferred to translate them—with these qualifications—as “Manchu,” “Mongol,” and “Chinese Bannermen.”

Banners” (*gui qi*) in the capital upon retirement or death.⁵¹ As Yongzheng said in 1732, “The capital is their native place.”⁵²

As we saw in Chapter 9, the evacuation and reoccupation of the Ming Northern City took place in fits and starts over a decade. The Inner City was divided into eight quarters, each under the jurisdiction of one of the Eight Banners, managed by it, and used for the residences of its members. These Banners were themselves a mix of Manzhou, Menggu, and Hanjun. Each quarter was further subdivided by street gates and barricades.⁵³ Houses were built as necessary and understood as the property of the Banner, reverting to it if abandoned; elaborate regulations specified the sizes of houses and graded them carefully by rank.⁵⁴ Not all Banners were of equal size and power, and neither were their new quarters. The three privileged “Upper” Banners (those under the direct control of the emperor rather than princes) were larger than the other five, and two of them (the Yellow Banners) also had the best real estate, in the north near the lakes.⁵⁵ Some Bannermen were stationed in the countryside, but none in the Outer City. (See Map 11.1.)

Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese Bannermen were distributed in roughly equal measures across the eight Banners, but not in equal numbers. Judging from the number of companies (ca. 1720), Manchu Bannermen appeared to have made up 58 percent of the total, Mongol 18 percent, and Chinese 24 percent. In reality, Hanjun seem to have greatly outnumbered the rest: 69 percent versus 8 percent Mongol and 22 percent Manchu.⁵⁶

A variety of special public services—so extensive that they amazed European visitors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—were provided by the

51. Most of the issues covered in these pages have been discussed at more length in the context of Bannermen in general and the provincial garrisons in particular in Crossley 1990 and Elliott 1993; also Im; W. Wu. Uniquely, Bannermen had no county affiliation. As of 1726, Hanjun who served in the bureaucracy were to observe the rule of avoidance as natives of Zhili province. *JFTZ* 1884:2:66. The policy of returning to the capital was first articulated in the Shunzhi reign but was eventually changed. Elliott 1993:179–85.

52. *Jingshi nai qi xiangtu*. Quoted in Elliott 1993:185. I consulted the original source for the Chinese text: *Shang yu baqi* 15. Elliot (1993:187) also quoted a Manchu-language edict of 1735 saying that “Beijing is where all Manchus belong.”

53. *LSJN* 186; Dray-Novey 1993:892–93.

54. *DHL* 12:22; *BQTZ* 23:438; *Huidian shili* 1899j. 869.

55. Given widely varying numbers of registered men in each company, the smallest Banner might have been only half the size of the largest. The two Yellow Banners had 41 percent of the land in 1851. *Jinwu shili* 6:15–18. Here and elsewhere I have excluded the (small) incommensurable Left and Right Wing household data.

56. There were more Manchus and Mongols in the upper three Banners. An Shuangcheng’s figures, on which I have relied, included a substantial number of bondservants. They came from a 1723 retrospective investigation conducted by Prince Yi and reported in Manchu. See

Gendarmerie exclusively for the Inner City. Streets were maintained, sewer ditches periodically cleared, and snow swept up; ice was given away in the heat of summer, shelters were available for the poor and homeless, and clinics provided inoculation against smallpox. If heavy rains caused the roofs to leak and walls to crumble, if there were damages from fire, flood, or earthquake, the emperor supplied funds for repairs.⁵⁷

In order to maintain their fighting edge, Banner soldiers drilled several times a year in the suburbs, and were called up for hunts either in the Nanyuan or (later) at Mulan outside the Great Wall.⁵⁸ To reinforce their distinctiveness from Chinese officials and ordinary civilians, the throne forbade the Bannermen to take up occupations other than soldiering. In return, they were guaranteed financial support. The Peking Banner communities were therefore granted regular stipends in silver and grain, special allowances to help pay for weddings and funerals, and (for some) income from Banner estates.⁵⁹ None of these funds came from the ministries of the regular bureaucracy.

During the first decade of Qing rule, some 75 percent of the agricultural land in the capital area had been “encircled” (*quan*)—that is, taken over as Banner property. This Banner land (*qi di*) included the confiscated holdings of the Ming court, nobility, and eunuchs, miscellaneous abandoned properties, and land whose owners had decided or were forced to “commend” it (*tou-chong*) to Banner ownership. Like the Ming imperial estates, most of these lands were located in Shuntian prefecture within about a hundred kilometers of the capital. Ninety-five percent of Wanping and Daxing counties was so encircled.⁶⁰ The Banner presence was thus felt throughout the region.

An initial plan to segregate some Banner people on these lands was abandoned, and formally or informally, quickly or gradually, Bannermen became city-dwelling stipendiaries supported by rental income from lands administered by bailiffs (*zhuangtou*, former owners perhaps). This income was allocated variously to the Imperial Household, imperial family, mausoleums, and various capital temples; most (some 80 percent) was assigned as support for the Bannermen.⁶¹

also Chapter 9 n.28. The number of companies is from *FXZ* 6:29–36; percentages are my own calculations.

57. Li Zhongqing & Guo Songyi 402; Liang Qize 1987; Dray-Novey 1993, 1981:chap. 2C; M. Shi:chaps. 2, 3, 5. Neither Dray-Novey nor Shi makes as clear a distinction as I would between the Inner and Outer Cities.

58. Elliott 1993:314, 324.

59. Crossley 1990:51–57; Elliott 1993:338–60.

60. The initial decision: *BQTZ* 18:310–11; *Qingdai di qidi* 1–22. Total land encircled: Liu Jiaju 54 and I. Yang 95. Percentages encircled: Muramatsu and Han Guanghui 1984:38–39. Most of the encirclement took place before 1647.

61. Plan to segregate: *BQTZ* 18:310–11. There is a substantial literature on Banner lands (e.g., Muramatsu), much of which implies that the Bannermen resided in the countryside. *Qing-*

The rules governing access to education and office made a civil service career possible. Special Banner schools were created immediately after the conquest, emphasizing both martial and literary skills. Chinese Bannermen had been used even earlier to staff government offices and, in recognition of their facility with the language, were permitted to take the regular Chinese-language exams after 1652.⁶² The special examination track created for Manchu and Mongol Bannermen in that same year was abandoned in 1689, after which date all Bannermen were thought capable of sitting for the normal *juren* exam.⁶³

Qing management of Banner life was highly centralized and paternalistic and, in consequence, required a substantial bureaucracy. Geographic delimitations (expressed by the city gates and the barricades around each Banner quarter) were paralleled by layers of administrative encapsulation. Control was exercised through the Banner company, whose importance was enhanced at the expense of kinship units. The captain of each company kept and regularly reported detailed figures on the population under his supervision, recording marriages, death, and births. It was through the company that employment was allocated, stipends distributed, and residence determined.⁶⁴

Each of the Eight Banners had its own separate Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese commander-in-chief who reported directly to the emperor and had an office in the Inner City. A special bureaucracy, the Imperial Lineage Administration (*Zongrenfu*), kept track of (and adjudicated all matters concerning) the large imperial lineage, while, as we have seen, the Imperial Household was in charge of the Banner bondservants. Judging from the paperwork reflected in their surviving archives, these systems worked relatively well into the first half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁵ Life in the Inner City (and among Banner people in the suburbs) was thus deeply bureaucratized and permeated by administrative structures unknown to the Chinese community.

The rough-and-ready martial vigor of the early Qing conquest elite (to use Crossley's term), their desire to preserve the distinction between themselves

dai di qidi preface 4 and Elliott 1993:345–46 agree with my assessment that few Bannermen actually moved onto these lands. Allocation of income: I. Yang 95.

62. Crossley 1997:86; *STFZ* 1885:9:286–87; *BQTZ* 48:923. In 1669, for the first time, Manchu and Mongol Bannermen were given one shared exam quota, and Chinese Bannermen another. For Manchu education: Crossley 1994.

63. Chase 18, 49–50, 122–24, 150–53; *Huidian shili* 1899:348:9692. Also Crossley 1994; Elman 2000:chap. 3. Places were made for the Bannermen at the Shuntian prefectural school; rules for their *shengyuan* degree were lax. *BQTZ* 46:895–96, 48:926. There was also a gradually widening pool of Bannermen permitted to sit for the exams: those in the main line of the imperial lineage were included after 1697, and bondservants after 1738. *LSJN* 202, 211.

64. *BQTZ* 22:410–11; Elliott 1993:chap. 4.

65. *BQTZ* 23:432–33; *FXZ* passim; Lee, Campbell, & Wang 1993; Li Zhongqing & Guo Songyi.

and their new subjects, and the unusual extent to which a mobilized society had been brought into the service of the state—these characteristics were far better suited to conquest than to rule. The policies that created the Banner population as a separate caste required money and vigilance to be effective over many generations. People mixed, moved, and married; entitled populations increased and fixed costs escalated; soldiers lost their fighting edge; connections with the Northeast became attenuated. The expenses and administrative demands of the Banner system, even in so concentrated a locale as Peking, were very high.⁶⁶ Part of the story of Banner adjustment to Peking thus involved the throne's struggles—with decidedly mixed results—to keep these distinctions clear and these structures vigorous.

The fundamental destabilizing force was population increase. Whatever figures we take as the baseline in 1644, there is no question that the number of Bannermen grew, at least doubling by the 1720s.⁶⁷ Most of this change seems to have been the result of natural increase, but there was also some movement from the Chinese population into the Banners via marriage or adoption.⁶⁸

Because no population will reproduce itself uniformly, maintaining tidy residential quarters within the Inner City would have been difficult even without the increase in numbers. The three pseudoethnic groups were already dispersed randomly across the Banner quarters and must have intermarried. Formal prohibitions and imperial suasion slowed the movement of Chinese into and Banner people out of the Inner City, but by the late eighteenth century, such efforts were abandoned. By 1785, Qianlong could only say vaguely that the residents of the Inner City were “mostly” (*duo*) Bannermen.⁶⁹

Residential segregation thus became increasingly ineffective as a mode of distinguishing among Bannermen or between Chinese and Bannermen. At the same time, there is no question (and we shall see many examples of this in the chapters that follow) that Peking had in fact become the emotional home to the Banner people.

As their ties to the Northeast weakened, Bannermen also lost their fighting edge. This decline in military readiness is a such a cliché of mid- and late Qing history that it should almost call forth our skepticism; nevertheless, expressions of imperial concern were very real, the Banners were no longer a

66. For Banner problems in general and specifically in the provincial garrisons: Crossley 1990; Elliott 1993.

67. An Shuangcheng 100; Han Guanghui 1996:table 3-19. The imperial lineage had some 1,600 members in 1660 and 49,600 in 1915. Harrell et al. 38.

68. Adoption: Elliott 1993:459–58. The Shunzhi emperor permitted marriage between “Manchus” and “Chinese” in 1648 (QSL-SZ 40:11, 40:14; BQTZ 60:1191), but Evelyn Rawski cited several authorities for a Qing prohibition on marriage between Manchus and any non-Banner Chinese after 1655. Rawski 1991:175.

69. *Huidian shili* 1899:869;15834–36, 1090:17960.

society entirely mobilized for warfare, and their armies do appear to have grown stiff with intermittent use. The “old way of the Manchus” had faded, and for many Bannermen in Peking a military career was simply not an option and other jobs were unavailable. Criticisms of the Bannermen as people dedicated to the pleasures of drinking, gambling, and the theater—that is, to a leisured, urban life—reflected this acclimatization to Peking.⁷⁰

It had been with imperial encouragement that educated Bannermen turned toward the civil service, one of the few nonmilitary careers legitimately open to them. From the 1690s through the 1730s, an average of eight Manchu and two Chinese Bannermen earned the *jinshi* degree at each exam, and four times as many gained *juren* degrees.⁷¹ By the 1720s, the number of Bannermen eager to receive schooling and take the examinations had grown so large that new schools had to be created in Peking, one for each Banner and special ones for imperial lineage members, bondservants, and suburban Bannermen.⁷² Qianlong epitomized the Manchu who could confidently participate in Chinese culture (too confidently some would say), and by his reign Bannermen in general were increasingly in command of classical scholarship, painting, poetry, and calligraphy.⁷³

Special tracks for training in Manchu and Mongol did not yield large numbers of fluent translators, and there is no question that Chinese had become the primary language for most Banner people by the mid-eighteenth century. A Korean visitor noticed in 1713 that “on the streets, Chinese and Manchu both use Chinese and for this reason the younger generation of Manchus mostly cannot understand Manchu.” Complaints about loss of speaking ability in Manchu were often repeated by distressed emperors.⁷⁴ (And have been too readily taken as a reflection of utter surrender to Chinese culture.)

The system of imperial support for the Banner people required substantial funds for stipends, subsidies, and general maintenance. Housing was always

70. Elliott 1993:403–26; Naquin 1976:1; Crossley 1990:26 (“old way”) and *passim*. Elliott has usefully disaggregated “Bannermen” and argued that the decline in the garrisons outside Peking began first among the Chinese Bannermen (in the 1680s) and then among Manchus and Mongols (in the 1730s), but “by all indications” was even more serious in the capital. Elliott 1993:406–7, 415–16. For examples: *GZDZZ-YZ* 26:475–77; Crossley 1990:84–85, 91–94; Elliott 1993:353, 373.

71. *BQTZ* 125:3401–17, 126:3461–62. For the *jinshi*: 140 Manchus, 45 Chinese, and 7 Mongols over seventeen exams.

72. *STFZ* 1885:9:286–87, 290. See Crossley 1994 for an extended analysis.

73. For some biographies: *ECCP* 396 (for Wenzhao), 227–28 (Fashishan), 259 (Gao Qipei). Atwood (9–10) mentioned sixty-two Mongol poets who wrote in Chinese, only a few of whom came from Inner Asia. Also Mote 1988.

74. Chase 3, 9ff., 21–27, 159–60; Crossley 1990:24–30; Timkowski 331. Korean: Ledyard 1974:19. Translators: M. Leung; Crossley 1991, 1994.

in demand: new residences were built for Banner families regularly and on a significant scale well into the nineteenth century. As some Banner people voluntarily but illegally moved outside the city, the formal development of suburban Banner communities was accelerated. Others were relocated elsewhere in the capital area, and some property-less Bannermen were forced to resettle in the Northeast.⁷⁵

The estate system did not resolve the problem of how to support a population that increased in size and dependency. The bailiffs who managed the lands on behalf of imperial or Banner owners were hard to control, and rents became difficult to collect in full. Properties were transferred among Bannermen and to Chinese until, by the Qianlong reign, attempts to prevent outright sales had to be abandoned. Rents still flowed into Peking, but in the course of the Qing, as Yuji Muramatsu hypothesized, “eventually the Banner estate system dissolved in a sea of private landlordism.”⁷⁶

Because most Bannermen could not count on the extra income of active service, despite increases in the number of such positions, those who mortgaged away their rent income became entirely dependent on their stipends of silver and grain. The subsidized local grain market helped keep the Banner population fed, but stipends did not keep up with the cost of living.⁷⁷ Stories of deeply indebted Bannermen were commonplace by the eighteenth century. Their state-supplied housing and regular income made them appealing clients for moneylenders, and both extravagance and penury could be slippery slopes into indebtedness. When unpaid Banner obligations were owed to an imperial agency, the imperial brush could simply cancel them, as happened periodically during the first half of the dynasty.⁷⁸ Indeed, the throne tinkered relentlessly with this system in search of solutions: creating special funds from which Bannermen could borrow (between the 1690s and the 1740s), and arranging special bureaus that would purchase grain stipends.⁷⁹ By 1821, when most were no longer soldiers, the rule that Bannermen were

75. As with all of these issues, there is a general discussion in Crossley 1990, esp. 48–56, 86–87 and Elliott 1993, but I have tried to describe problems as they applied specifically to Peking. *LSJN* 211, 215, 227, 229; Qu Xuanying 282–83; NWF-ZX 513:85–88, DG 2/8/18; Dai Yi 31; *GZDZZ-YZ* 26:475–77; *JFTZ* 1884:3:172; Han Guanghui 1984:60–68. In 1695 2,000 *jian* were built for 7,000 homeless residents of the Inner City. DHL 12:22; *BQTZ* 23:438.

76. Muramatsu 9; Elliott 1993:345–46, 352; *BQTZ* 23:436; *QSL-QL* 63:1–2; *JFTZ* 1884:3:117.

77. I have relied on Han Guanghui 1984:58–68; Li Zhongqing & Guo Songyi 126–30; Crossley 1990; Elliott 1993; plus primary source material that I have gathered unsystematically. I am indebted to Lillian Li for conversations about the grain market; see L. Li 1994. Stipends were raised in 1670, but not thereafter. Elliott 1993:335.

78. Crossley 1990:48–56; Elliott 1993:354–55; *LSJN* 204.

79. Dunstan 1996a:73, 1996b:chap. 4; *QSL-YZ* 66:13.

not to engage in commerce (surely long a dead letter) was formally abandoned, and employment within the capital region was then permitted.⁸⁰

Under all these circumstances, the Banner community became more stratified. From the beginning, uneven access to resources had been carefully articulated by rank and status, and in time the rich more readily became richer and the poor became very poor. The fault lines were many. Close imperial relatives and titled families received considerably more support and better houses than ordinary Bannermen, officials' privileges were graded by rank, and a substantial gap separated those actively employed and those not; overall, Manchu and Mongol Bannermen were systematically better treated than the Hanjun.⁸¹ The egalitarian ethos of the conquest era (if it had ever existed) soon disappeared.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, many of the structures that defined the Banner community and shored up the distinctions between them and the Chinese had thus been seriously—perhaps fatally—weakened. More drastic measures were called for. The two lines of attack undertaken by the throne were first to reduce the number of people registered in the Banners and then to draw a firmer line around this smaller residual group.

As the neat categories of the conquest era were inevitably confused and eroded, efforts were made in the early eighteenth century to clean up the household registers and invite people in marginal categories to exit the system and cease being Bannermen.⁸² In this essentially bureaucratic process, fissures within the Banner community were exploited. The boundary between the Chinese Bannermen (Hanjun) and ordinary Chinese civilians (*min*) was the most porous, and the throne progressively abandoned its efforts to maintain this separation. In 1742 Hanjun from the capital area who had joined the Qing after 1644 were allowed to leave the Banners; in 1756 certain categories of bondservants were likewise encouraged to exit, while elderly and unemployable Chinese Bannermen in Peking were simply ordered out; and in 1762 all Hanjun were free to become *min*.⁸³

Banner people living in the countryside outside Peking were already hard

80. QSL-DG 21:17-18; also Survey 1985:92-94.

81. Li Zhongqing & Guo Songyi 134-53. Residences: *BQTZ* 23:435; *Huidian* 1899:159:7165-67; Wang Zhonghan 128. Manchu and Mongol Bannermen could be ennobled and serve in the prestige divisions, and they had larger stipends and better access to active service. Crossley 1989:78-79; Elliott 1993:472-73. The high tide of Hanjun service in the civil bureaucracy crested in the seventeenth century. *BQTZ* 22:410-41.

82. Elliott 1993:470-71; QSL-QL 506:3-6.

83. YFD 181-90, QL 7/4/13; YFD 25-26, QL 7/6/9. Also Crossley 1990:52-53; Elliott 1993:470-71, 485.

to supervise and thus the easier to abandon. Local magistrates were told to start transferring them to the ordinary system of household registration in the mid-eighteenth century; in the early nineteenth, formal responsibility for all the Banner people who had moved outside the walls, lacked formal employment, and were not being properly supervised by their Banner superiors (which is to say, probably nearly all of them) was shifted to local magistrates. Even Manchu members of the imperial lineage who resided in the countryside, as well as their bondservants, were now to be treated as ordinary citizens.⁸⁴ Because the majority of Bannermen seem to have been Hanjun, and because no small number were living in the suburbs, these measures must have reduced the ranks of those on the imperial payroll.

The Banners were to be tightened up culturally as well structurally. Pamela Crossley has shown that in the eighteenth century there was an imperially inspired accentuation of an increasingly “racialist” Manchu ethnicity. In particular, what she called the taxonomizing rhetoric and activities of the Qianlong reign—the revival of Manchu language study and translation projects, the emphasis on reinvigorated martial skills, and the rewriting and “cultural idealization” of the prequest past—were intended to harden and reinforce a more exclusively Manchu culture.⁸⁵ These various measures encouraged the differentiation of Manchus from other Bannermen. Thus, by the middle of the nineteenth century, Manchu Bannermen not only outnumbered the Mongol and Hanjun, they had available a more clearly articulated discourse about their distinctiveness than they had had at the beginning of the dynasty.⁸⁶

Seen in this light, the story of the “Manchus” in Peking becomes one of a highly bureaucratized Banner system that evolved in the Northeast and was transplanted to a radically different environment. As the Bannermen made themselves at home in the capital, differences within the Banners first blurred and then sharpened. Many left, and the Banners went from being predominantly Hanjun to predominantly Manchu. The ethnic dimensions of these categories were clearly creations of imperial policy, shaped by the

84. *Huidian shili* 1899:1033:18488. Kangxi had initiated this process in 1684. QSL-KX 125:22–23. Manchus: QSL-JQ 277:29, 280:25; *Jiaofei* 24:1.

85. Crossley 1989, 1990:20–30, 1999; Crossley & Rawski; Guy 163–66. The compilation of the “Comprehensive Gazetteer for the Eight Banners” in 1739 and the “Comprehensive Genealogy of the Eight Banner Manchu Clans” in 1745 were important parts of this consolidation of Banner identities. Was the use of “Changbai” (a reference to the original homeland of the Manchus in the Northeast) by Manchu Bannermen as a marker of native place a later reflection of such heightened consciousness? I have seen it used first in 1726, and rather more frequently after the 1820s. For some examples: *BJTB* 68:41; Oyanagi 147–48, 148–49.

86. Numbers: Dray-Novey 1981:230–33. The pattern is clear whether one looks at the volumes allotted for census taking in 1845 or at the 1851 count. The ratio for the latter was 56:23:20 for Manchu:Mongol:Hanjun.

throne, and imperfectly maintained by it in the face of many contrary pressures. As the Banner system weakened, the category “Chinese Bannerman” began to dissolve, and “Manchu Bannerman” was redefined and reinvigorated. If this picture is at all correct, then the story of the Banner people in Peking cannot be a simple one of “Manchu assimilation.”

MANCHUS AND CHINESE

But the categories of the Banner system were not just arbitrary cultural constructions. Real differences did exist. To understand them, we need to turn from government structures to society itself. Although Banner (*qi*) and civilian (*min*) were state categories, Manchu (*Man*) and Chinese (*Han*) were working distinctions used by residents of Peking. By turning our attention to this pair of terms, we can see another dimension of life in Qing Peking—unfortunately, a much less well-documented one.⁸⁷

During the decades after 1644, the Chinese subjects of the Qing learned first about the category “Bannermen” and then of the necessity of distinguishing among them. This was apparently not hard. The Qing seizure of the mandate of heaven was experienced by most Chinese as a conquest by foreigners. In the 1650s a Chinese from Zhejiang had no trouble explaining that those Chinese from Liaodong who were in the Eight Banners were known as *Hanjun*, whereas the people of the regular provinces were called *Hanren*; a similar observer clearly identified residents of the capital whom he called *Manren* (Manchus).⁸⁸

During the Shunzhi and Kangxi reigns, the throne relied greatly on Chinese Bannermen as administrators, taking advantage of their language skills and making them prominent symbols of Hanjun loyalty to the new dynasty. But as Hanjun became less necessary as intermediaries, the polarity between “Manchu” and “Chinese” sharpened. The Qing restructured the metropolitan and provincial bureaucracies to require that pairs of officials be appointed to important positions; by the eighteenth century these were defined as Manchu (*Manzhou*) officials on the one hand and Chinese (*Han*) officials on the other. (Not Banner versus non-Banner.) The concentration of power in the hands of the self-consciously Manchu ruling family and the sensitivity of the throne to matters bearing on difference further sharpened the political edge to the question of Man and Han.⁸⁹

87. The following section is based on fragmentary evidence and my guesswork rather than the systematic but time-consuming investigation the question deserves. I have only sampled some of the occasional writings about Peking that mention Manchu-Chinese differences.

88. Wang Shizhen 1691:3:57; Tan Qian 1656:65, 94, 354, and *passim*, respectively.

89. For Hanjun: Kessler. Sensitivity about difference has been amply treated in the secondary literature on Qing politics, e.g., Kuhn.

This word *Han* had a long history as a way of referring to populations who lived in a style identifiable as “Chinese” by contrast with that of people from more northern parts of Asia; *Man*, “Manchu,” was a new term, adopted by Hongtaiji only in 1635 for his Jurchen Bannermen. It was thus the Qing state that gave life and weight to the pair of categories *Man* and *Han*. In pre- and postconquest Chinese-language Qing documents, this binary contrast seems to have been commonplace. As the Shunzhi emperor piously declared, creating distinctions even as he pretended to erase them: “*Man* and *Han*, officials and citizens are all my subjects.”⁹⁰ Chinese were thus encouraged not only to characterize their rulers as Manchu but to identify themselves as *Han*.

The frequent use of *Man* by the Qing rulers seems also to have expressed a persistent sense of themselves as different (“We Manchus”)—sometimes expressed as lingering sentimentality about “the old customs” of the pre-conquest era, sometimes as persistent suspicion and distrust of their subjects. This vocabulary, these structures, and the more rarely recorded prejudices lurking behind the words encouraged polarization and worked counter to the more accommodative category of “Bannermen.”⁹¹

Man and *Han* also reflected both real and perceived cultural differences. In the first place, there was language. Written and spoken Manchu—radically different in structure from Chinese languages—would have been both new and foreign to people in Peking. But it joined Classical Chinese as one of the two symbolic and working languages of the dynasty and soon became more familiar. The name-plaques over the city gates were written in both languages, and the minted copper coins that were in daily use had Manchu script on one side and Chinese characters on the other.⁹² In the writings of officials

90. Crossley 1989:66–67. Roth (passim) was often unclear about the precise terms being used. Crossley 1989 argued that both “Chinese” and “Manchu” were ill-defined and unstable categories. For uses of “Manchu,” “Man-Han,” and “Han people” (*Han min*) immediately following the conquest: QSL-SZ 5:5, 12:2–3. “My subjects”: QSL-SZ 40:11.

91. Sentimentality: Elliott 1993:404; also Crossley 1989:85. We can see distrust in Kangxi’s telling 1710 comment in Manchu, “Learned Chinese officials do not want us Manchus to endure a long time—do not let yourself be deceived by the Chinese.” Quoted in Elliott 1993:304. Also Crossley 1989:88. The censorship accompanying the Imperial Manuscript Library project (1772–1794) helped eliminate from the written record disparaging or hostile references to Manchus. L. Goodrich 44–45, 216.

92. Chinese Bannermen probably spoke a differently accented but recognizable version of the Chinese used in Peking, influenced by the speech of Shandong whence immigrants to the Northeast had come: H. Okada. See QSL-SZ 106:8 for the decision to write all name-plaques in two languages. Archival documents were in Chinese, Manchu, or both; when necessary, some would have been written in Mongolian. See Crossley & Rawski for more on the Manchu language. Mongolian was more closely related to Manchu than to Chinese, but was probably more familiar because of the long presence of Mongols in Peking. On the fate of Mongolian: M. Leung; Atwood 9–10.

and the educated about books, scripts, and texts, one finds sharply polar references to “Manchu” versus “Chinese.”⁹³

Manchus also had different naming habits and names that sounded unusual even in Chinese transliteration: Aobai (Manchu: Oboi), Sukesahē (Suk-sahē), Namufu (Namfe), Banbuershan (Bambursan); written or spoken, these were unquestionably the names of foreigners. Moreover, many Manchus lacked that essential item of Chinese identity, the surname. (Hanjun, by contrast, usually had names that were indistinguishable from Chinese.)⁹⁴

“Manchu” was identified with other cultural practices, and there seems to have been, on both sides, a sense that Chinese and Manchu customs were different.⁹⁵ The Manchu emphasis on hunting and martial culture resonated with Peking habits, but it was more unusual to Chinese from central and southern provinces.⁹⁶ In the early Qing, all officials were expected to ride horseback, but they gradually shifted to sedan-chairs; the first to do so were Chinese officials, then Hanjun, but seemingly not Manchu Bannermen.⁹⁷

Private Manchu shamanistic rituals had aroused Chinese curiosity early on. The Tangzi, the special sanctuary constructed for these rites in the autumn of 1644, was on a street of the Inner City. For much of the early and middle Qing, its rituals were perceived as different and mysterious: “There are three things one doesn’t ask about [in Peking]: one is the Tangzi.”⁹⁸ (It is shown in Figure 11.3.)

The distinctiveness of Manchu women (*Man nü*) was obvious to the Chinese: they were unusually visible in public, rode horses in the streets, and had big feet—that is, not compressed from childhood into the bound foot deemed essential to Chinese female identity.⁹⁹ Other cultural differences

93. E.g., QSL-SZ 106:8.

94. As Manchu and Chinese practices intermingled, naming varied even within families or for individuals. Crossley 1990:88, 1999:102; Shi Jichang; Elliott 1996:3; Chou 192. Compare the variant names for the same people in the following lists (where Song Delin is sometimes Delin, etc.): *NWF xianghui* 5:5, 5:6.

95. Emperors were conscious of their own Manchu rituals—QSL-SZ 17:4, 31:10—and could speak, correspondingly, of “Han customs” (*Han su*). QSL-SZ 144:2–6. Tan Qian wrote politely about “this dynasty’s customs” (1656:356).

96. Wang Shizhen 1701:6:6–7; *Yanjing za ji* 115; Xu Ke 1:9–10; Li Jiarui 1933.

97. Wang Shizhen 1691:3:68–69; Ledyard 1974:19.

98. Kim Kyōngsōn 1056; *FXZ* 2:8–9. Quotation: Xu Ke 1:19–20. For the misunderstanding of this hall as the “General Deng temple”: Tan Qian 1656:50; Kim Ch’ang’ōp 162; Meng Sen. For Western misunderstandings: Tracy 488–89; Bredon 181.

99. On the streets: Birthday 1713:41:48, 42:10, 42:65; Navarrete 2:217; Staunton 3:296–97; *Bradshaw’s* 327; A. Smith 1902:130. Feet: Kim Ch’ang’ōp 155; *Yanjing za ji* 118. Baikoff’s account from 1657 (Baddeley 1:149) is my earliest foreign comment on the larger feet. Also Staunton 3:296–97; Sō Changbo 811.

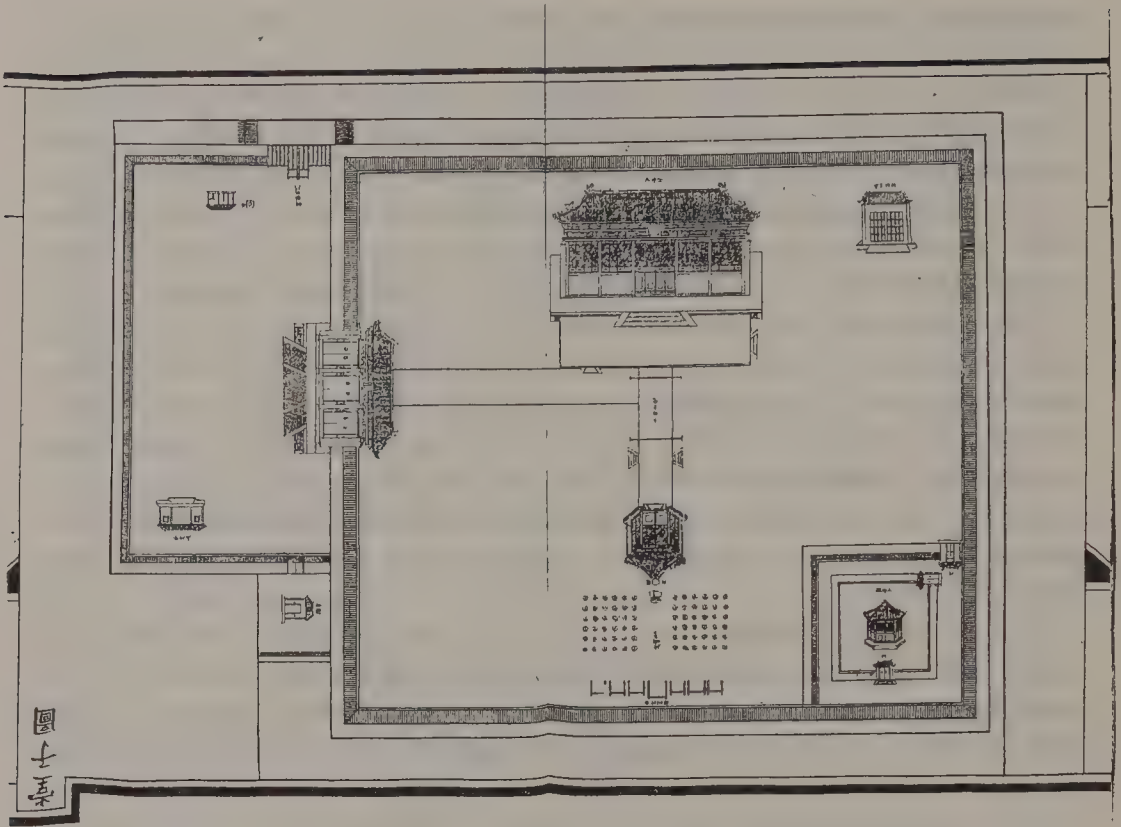


Figure 11.3. Manchu Tangzi

Located off the southeast corner of the Imperial City, the Tangzi was intended for the private shamanistic rites of the Manchu elite. This complex was destroyed in 1900 and rebuilt inside the palace; the Italian legation was constructed on the site.

SOURCE: *Huidian tu* 1899:2:5:1117.

were visible in the dishes served at court banquets and in the marriage and funeral processions that clogged the streets of Peking at regular intervals.¹⁰⁰

The general reticence of Chinese sources on these sensitive matters of difference encourages us to look for confirmation in the observations of foreign visitors to Peking in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Even though they brought their own distorting categories for understanding “China,” foreigners did notice Manchu distinctiveness. Korean visitors (writing their diaries in classical Chinese) were free to describe the Manchus using a vocabulary of disdain, and they did. Kim Ch’ang’öp not only frequently

100. Banquets: Uitzinger; Meskill 1964:366–67. Processions: Tan Qian 1656:105, 356–57; Dunne 353; Astley 4:94–95; Sö Changbo 812; Lowe 2:42.

used the term *huren* (barbarians) for Manchus but also readily distinguished “Han women” from “Qing women.”¹⁰¹ Among Europeans, “Tartars” and “Tartary” had been in use since the fourteenth century for the Mongols and what we now call Central Asia, and Western visitors to Peking used these terms for the Qing conquest elite.¹⁰² Chinese Bannermen were called “Tartarified Chinese,” and “Tartar City” was the most common appellation for the Inner City.¹⁰³ “Manchu” (or its equivalent in other European languages) was used much less often and took longer to have its spelling and meaning stabilized.¹⁰⁴ Europeans also singled out women, dress, food, and hunting as obvious markers of Manchus and Tartars.¹⁰⁵

It thus seems clear that in the early and middle Qing “Manchus” were distinguished from “Chinese” in a variety of ways by natives and foreigners who saw them in person, ways that were only tangentially related to the differences created by the Banner system. It therefore seems prudent to distrust the old Peking saying, “We don’t speak of Man or Han, only of commoner or Banner.”¹⁰⁶ That attitude was probably more ideal than reality. Cultural differences between Manchu and Han were as weighty as the structures that distinguished Banner from civilian and, with time, grew weightier still.¹⁰⁷

But to look only at the structures of difference expressed in the Banner system and at the ideas about difference at large in the culture will not capture the Banner experience in Peking. Not all aspects of everyday culture were culturally or politically charged. Much of ordinary life and behavior had little to do with Manchu-Chinese or Banner-civilian distinctions. In these spheres, Banner people accommodated themselves to Peking’s culture and society, borrowing, adding, changing, adapting, and creating a local rather than ethnic identity.

101. Ledyard 1974:19; Kim Ch’ang’öp 155, 168. In 1803, Sö Changbo (811) used *Man*. In the mid-nineteenth century, the viciously anti-Manchu Taiping rebels would put *hu* back in Chinese use.

102. OED/2; Crossley 1997:chap. 1. E.g., Semedo 1655; Nieuhof; Navarrete.

103. *Chinese Traveller* 64; Le Comte 55; J. Bell 127.

104. OED/2. Between 1655 (its first attestation) and 1821 it was variously spelled “Mouantcheou,” “Mantcheoux,” “Manchews,” and “Mantchoos.” The OED/2 first attested “Manchu” in 1883; without looking systematically, I found it in Dudgeon 1877:42. “Manchuria” was in use by 1870 (Williamson’s book title).

105. De Mailla’s multivolume history of China (published 1777–1785) described the “Tartars’” hairstyle and official attire (X:417), women’s dress (XII:638–39), food (XII:649, 652), and superior character (XII:689–90). Also Meskill 1964:366–67; Uitzinger; Baddeley 1:150; J. Bell 129, 168.

106. Cited in Survey 1985:81.

107. Perhaps because they were more-familiar strangers and fewer in number, Mongol Bannermen do not appear to have occasioned particular interest among Peking residents. Virtually all references I have encountered (in Chinese or Western languages) were to visiting non-resident Mongols.

Involvement in local religion was one such sphere, an arena into which Bannermen—Chinese or Manchu—could and did quickly begin to fit.¹⁰⁸ Just as imperial support of religion had followed Ming precedents, so could Bannermen step into the shoes of the Ming elite by visiting temples and patronizing them actively.

Cultural distinctiveness thus survived unevenly, but in the long run, even in Peking, Chinese culture had the advantage.¹⁰⁹ Chinese who came in contact with the court had to accommodate themselves to Manchu dress, language, and manners. But with the exception of the queue, the Qing made no attempt to force their culture on ordinary people. Qianlong's efforts to revive and reaccentuate the Manchuness of the conquest elite did not extend beyond that group. Moreover, Jurchen-turned-Manchu culture had had a relatively short history, and its connections with the homeland in the Northeast (where Chinese culture was also a powerful force) were increasingly tenuous. By contrast, countless Chinese institutions and traditions were in place in Peking in 1644, and knowledge of them was carried by hundreds of thousands of local people. Hanjun were numerous, and the entire Banner population was matched in numbers by the Chinese of greater Peking; indeed, if one drew the circle wider, they were a mere handful within the empire.

In the absence of state-sponsored institutions that could force the use of the Manchu language in daily life, it is hardly surprising that Banner residents of Peking learned quickly to function in the Chinese-speaking world around them. And the beleaguered Manchu language was certainly influenced by Chinese. Nevertheless, influences flowed both ways, and the culture of the capital, already distinctive before the conquest, was transformed again into a vigorous and lively hybrid.

The language that we now know as Peking Mandarin developed during the Qing out of the indigenous local language (itself much affected by the administrative vernacular of the Liao, Jin, and Yuan dynasties), under the influence of not only the Shandong Chinese spoken by Chinese Bannermen but of the Altaic languages of Mongol and Manchu. This language came into its own in the eighteenth century, and by the twentieth century, Manchus were regarded as having perfect Peking pronunciation.¹¹⁰

108. In Chapter 16 we shall discuss theater, another sphere of local life in which Bannermen became deeply involved.

109. Crossley 1990 and Elliott 1993 have described the dilemmas of Manchu identity in the provincial Banner garrisons.

110. J. Norman 5–6, 20; H. Chan 1995:46; H. Okada 168–75, 179; Elliott 1990:67; Wadley; Hashimoto; Guan Jixin & Meng Xianren; Swallow vii. Cook (1910:13) mentioned a “mongrel dialect” of Manchu “still spoken amongst the lower classes.”

Many frontier customs were undermined by urban life and abandoned. Other elements of Manchu and Banner culture blended in gradually: new styles in popular entertainment (acrobatics, wrestling, kite making); Sino-Tibetan religious art; the revival of painting on paper with the finger and fingernail; Manchu-Chinese ballads, storytelling, and drum-singing; and even the tiny dog that became known in the West by the name of the capital, the Pekingese.¹¹¹ We could, in other words, tell the story of the Banners not as barbarians absorbed, but as frontier peoples who were transformed into locals and changed Peking's culture in the process. Indeed, by becoming Peking natives, Banner people, including the Manchus, became Chinese.

To illuminate this transformation in more detail and reveal a Peking that was more than an imperial or national capital, we turn in the next chapter to the social life of Peking in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

111. Entertainment: *DJ* 2:72; Lowe 2:152-54; Fu Gongyue et al. 179. Religious art: Kar-may; Bartholomew. Finger-painting: Ruitenbeek 1993; Nixi Cura is doing a dissertation (at NYU) on Bannermen painters. Storytelling: Stevens 271; H. Okada 168-75; Crossley 1990:85, 91; Li Jiarui 1933:4-5, 8-9. Dogs: Rennie (2:96), "I purchased one of the little dogs peculiar to Peking [at a temple fair]."

CHAPTER 12

Reintegration

The Qing invasion interrupted the trajectory of Peking's history. The city's cultural and social life was torn apart by events that simultaneously destroyed the rich elites of the court, scattered and alienated sojourning officials, literati, and merchants, and swamped ordinary residents in an influx of privileged immigrants from the frontier. Although most physical structures survived the dynastic transition without harm and economic lifelines were reestablished rather rapidly, the social and political disruption was more protracted. Peking now faced challenges not unlike those of the early fifteenth century but exacerbated by the swiftness of the change. How would the capital adjust? How different would life be? How long would it take for new communities to be forged and for a shared urban culture to be recreated? We explore these questions in the chapters that follow.

Sketching out the contours of the social history of Qing Peking, we will concentrate on what can be learned from publicly constituted groups and associations, their use of public space (especially temples), and representations of their collective life. The present chapter examines Peking society during the first century and a half of Qing rule, taking each section of the city in turn: the Banner Inner City, the Chinese Outer City, and then the mixed world of the suburbs.¹ In the context of the imperial patronage already considered, but deferring consideration of organized associations, we can begin to see the place of temples in the lives of individuals, families, and collectivities. Finally, by scrutinizing the annual calendar of festivals, we can gauge the extent to which a shared collective life had emerged by the middle of the eighteenth century.

1. The topics of this chapter are covered in a different fashion in Wu Jianyong 1997.

THE BANNER INNER CITY

To see how life in the Inner City of Peking was reconstituted, we will look more closely at the members of Banner society, the available forms of public space, and the ways in which local religious practices were adopted. We shall see how temple patronage gave substance to the formation of neighborhood associations, allowed the high and low, men and women, clerics and lay people, to join together legitimately, and helped root these outsiders in Peking. Taking over where the Ming elite left off, with Hanjun leading the way, Banner people acquired merit and prestige by making sure that local gods were honored, ancient sites preserved, and Peking's clerics supported. Religious devotion thus created cultural capital with local value and eased the integration of Banner people into this society.

Ming Peking's aristocratic elite was swept away in 1644 and immediately replaced by a Qing nobility based in the Banners and supported by newly acquired landed estates.² This nobility was more numerous than its Ming counterpart, more concentrated in Peking, and more local in its scope—but similarly dependent on the throne. The presence of such a class, capable of public munificence but fundamentally parasitical on the region and the empire, thus continued to distinguish Peking from other cities.

The Inner City space into which the Banner population moved may have seemed rather attractive to them. A dignified grid of wide avenues underpinned a web of lanes and tiny alleys (*hutong*, in local parlance) that created hundreds of quiet enclaves along which were found the spacious and shady courtyards of old temples and elite homes. The chain of lakes provided an expanse of air and water and a view of the hills, while the graceful Drum Tower and mighty Bell Tower stood tall as symbols of security and order. Shielded by high outer walls and adjacent to the vermilion enclosure and yellow roofs of the palace, the Inner City offered the immigrant Banner people the best Peking had to offer. And Banner elites were quick to claim the good sites.

The new Aisin Gioro imperial family quickly established itself as the prestigious center of capital society. Those sons, brothers, and uncles of emperors who survived the succession struggles (and during the first century, many did not) remained in Peking and became powerful in both government and local society.³

A set of twelve titles was used to reward and rank these and other male members of the imperial family: princes of the first degree, second degree,

2. These estates were in the vicinity of the capital and in the Northeast. Yang Xuechen & Zhou Yuanlian 217–321, 444–66.

3. Rawski 1998:chap. 3; Bartlett 68–69.

and so on.⁴ As adults, most of these men (and their descendants) lived outside the palace in large establishments to which eunuchs and bondservants were allocated by the Imperial Household; they were privileged to use special symbols of status in their formal attire and carriages, at their houses, and at their graves.⁵ They enjoyed wealth, privilege, and intimacy with the throne, and the precincts of the Imperial City were their social center. In the early decades of the dynasty, accustomed to autonomy and empowered by the great resources suddenly at their disposal, these princes acted boldly. They constructed fine, new, grand residences and flaunted their position in the once great capital. Through their household staff, they also used and abused their power—much in the Ming tradition.⁶

Such powerful families were dangerous, and the Qing throne soon took measures to control them. For a start, titles were to be inherited on a declining scale—that is, a son succeeded to a rank one step lower than his father. Lower titles were allocated generously, but not the highest ones.⁷ Within a single descent line, the haphazard pattern of deaths, adoptions, promotions, and demotions encouraged irregular succession.

In time, emperors wrested other power from these ennobled kinsmen; by the end of Yongzheng's reign (in 1735), imperial authority was much stronger and princely control over Banner resources was bureaucratized and significantly curtailed.⁸ Favored princes were drawn into a circle of national power around the throne, and the others were left to the more limited local spheres of Peking and Shenyang. All continued to dominate the streets with their large entourages and to use their resources to command local goods in short supply.⁹

One way or another, more than one hundred Aisin Gioro kinsmen were able to enjoy the privileges of noble status across the length of the dynasty; of these, some fifteen patrilineal lines had the high rank and ample stipend that permitted a truly luxurious life.¹⁰ In the 1770s, imperial dominance now

4. B & H #16–27; Yang & Zhou, part 1.

5. B & H #27A. Bondservants from the lower five Banners were allocated to princes.

6. QSL-SZ 137:23. For the extraction of legal fees from commercial traffic at city gates and bridges (at least through the 1670s): *Tongkao* 32:5144–45.

7. B & H #27A, #27B; Wu Yuqing & Wu Yongxing 2; QSL-SZ 62:6–7. In the Shunzhi reign there was one man with one of the highest four titles for every three with one of the two lowest. At the end of the dynasty, the ratio was closer to one at the top for eight at the bottom. These calculations are my own, based on information provided by Yang Xuechen & Zhou Yuanlian 159–78, 472–85.

8. Huang 1974:168–73.

9. *Tongkao* 32:5146.

10. Yang Xuechen & Zhou Yuanlian 472–85. I counted 121 whose titles endured for more than three generations; only 15 had an income of more than 1,000 ounces of silver. The number was higher in the early years of the dynasty (pp. 39–40, 149–55).

firmly secured, Qianlong decided, as part of his retrospective recasting of early Qing history, to permit eight families, descendants of the conquest generation, to hold first- and second-degree princely titles in perpetuity. The noble hats of these Eight Great Houses could thus be said to be “made of iron,” but by now it was primarily their place in local society that was thus made more secure.¹¹

A separate system defined noble titles for Bannermen who were not in the imperial lineage, ranking them by nine familiar (Ming) grades: duke, marquis, earl, baron, and so forth.¹² Service to the throne was a common reason for the bestowal of such titles. Ortai, for example, had an extensive career in the civil bureaucracy (most notably several governor-generalships in the southwest in the 1720s–1730s) and considerable power at court, and he was granted and stripped of several noble titles in the course of his career. His descendants inherited his last title of earl third-class, but most do not seem to have distinguished themselves. The sons and grandsons of Baron Hasitun (d. 1663), by contrast, were able to earn much higher titles, and their names—Mishan, Mingru, Lirongbao, Maska, Maci, Fuwen, Fukang’an, Fulong’an, Fuchang’an, Mingliang, and Mingrui—redounded in Banner society in the eighteenth century.¹³ In the course of time, two hundred Manchu, Mongol, and Hanjun families held such noble titles for more than three generations.¹⁴

Among Banner nobles, imperial in-laws had a special intimacy with the court. These relatives were not as likely to be obscure families raised to short-lived power by motherhood or a timely marriage as their counterparts in the Ming had been. More usually, they were elite families, already closely connected to the throne, whose power was further enhanced through marriage—even more so when one of their daughters gave birth to a boy who became emperor. Mongol Bannermen from the frontier were favored marriage partners of Qing princesses, and some of these affines became politically and socially influential in Peking. Once they gained power, imperial in-laws kept it. All but seven of the two dozen families of Qing empresses preserved hereditary titles (mostly as dukes) until the latter years of the nineteenth century.¹⁵

These systems of titles for relatives and in-laws created stratification as well as privilege. For those caught up in this closeted world—as was often the case

11. There seem in fact to have been nine such houses. *ECCP* 218–19, 923; B & H #41.

12. Of these, only the first five seem to have carried meaningful weight. B & H #944; Yang Xuechen & Zhou Yuanlian 45–46.

13. Ortai: *ECCP* 601–3; *QS* 170:5525–26. Hasitan: *ECCP* 580–81.

14. *QS* jj. 168–73; Yang Xuechen & Zhou Yuanlian 149–78.

15. Rawski 1991:178–79; *QS* j. 167 passim.

under such circumstances—minor distinctions of rank and access could become cause for obsessive concern. But real differences existed as well: it was no small thing that infant and child mortality was lower among the privileged.¹⁶ Population growth within this aristocracy, combined with many of the same financial pressures that affected the Bannermen as a whole, exacerbated social and economic distances within the nobility and between them and the rest of the Banner population. By the 1810s, vast differences existed between Yufeng, Prince Yu—a descendant of Nurgaci and head of one of the Eight Great Houses, who lived in a grand urban villa attended by an army of servants—Zhu Xian, a Chinese Banner bondservant formally attached to Yufeng's household but living as an agriculturist in the Peking suburbs, and Haikang, an unemployed and undistinguished member of the main line of the imperial lineage.¹⁷

The presence of this nobility within the Inner City (and in some of the suburbs) was physically marked by their conspicuously grand homes. By the middle of the eighteenth century, more than thirty such princely establishments (*wangfu*) occupied substantial portions of urban real estate. (One is shown in Figure 12.1.) Located throughout the Inner City within the Banner quarter of their initial owners, more than fifty such mansions were known in the nineteenth century, by which time they were famous local tourist sights.¹⁸ These residential complexes were distinguished on the inside by at least three large courtyards and substantial side gardens, and on the outside by their tall walls, green or yellow roof tiles (yellow being the more privileged), unusually wide front gates, distinctive decorations, and (sometimes) corner towers.¹⁹ (Ming residences were unknown on this scale.)

New mansions were built as time passed, and older mansions were (more rarely) converted to new uses. Because large temples were one of the few establishments that rivaled princely mansions in space and grandeur, the one could be converted into the other.²⁰ The Gaogong'an (an Inner City temple

16. Lee, Wang, & Campbell 1994. Lee's figures were for the imperial lineage.

17. Naquin 1976:70, 81, 158; QS 162:5001.

18. The great Qianlong map showed the most important thirty-seven: Map 1750:index. Liu Zhiguang discussed sixty-one (excluding those of lower-ranking princes) (135–75) and described thirty-four in detail (132–33). In 1826, Zhaolian listed eighty-nine (1986b:4:509–11). Princes also had villas in the suburbs (*Huidian shili* 1899:590:12838).

19. Constant 164. Liu Zhiguang 135 illustrated two exemplary layouts. Some survive today, converted to other uses.

20. The half dozen most substantial mansions were far bigger than most temples. Dorgon's mansion became the Mahakaka temple: Xu Daoling 1:92–93. Yinxiang's mansion became a shrine to him after his death in 1730: Xu Daoling 1:14–15. The Yonghegong lamasery had been the princely residence of the Yongzheng emperor.

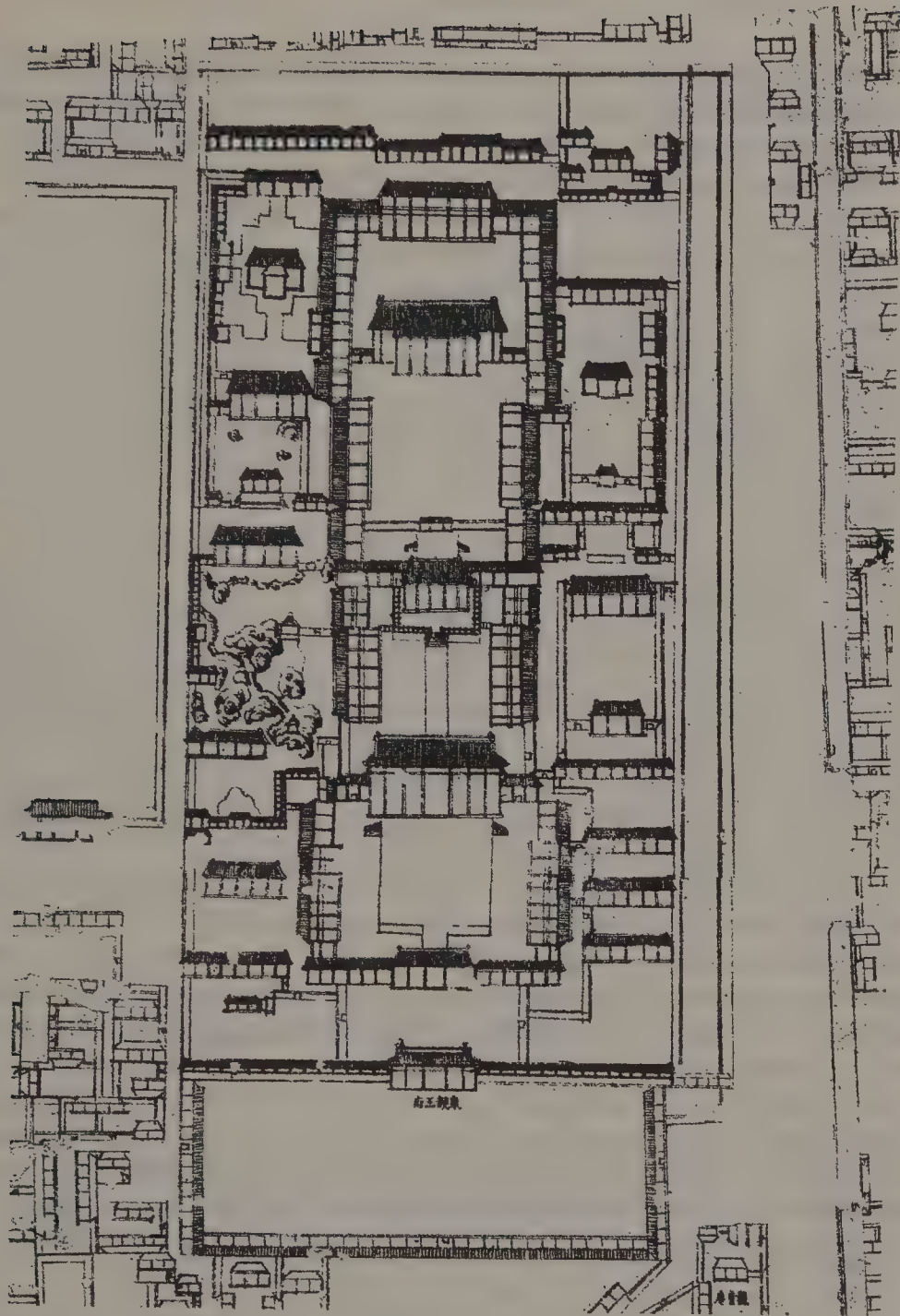


Figure 12.1. Mansion of Prince Lian

SOURCE: Map 1750:VII:9.

founded by a late Ming eunuch), where the Mongol prince Tsereng was in the habit of staying when he came to Peking, was converted into a mansion for the family when his grandson Lavrandorji married one of Qianlong's daughters.²¹

Unlike temples, princely mansions were closed to the public. Each establishment housed a single family with a sizable army of servants; *Hong lou meng* ("A Dream of Red Mansions"), the masterpiece of Qing fiction written by a Chinese Banner bondservant familiar with the rich and titled in Peking, can give the modern reader some understanding of life within such a compound.²² The story also dramatized powerfully the vulnerability of these families to the sudden wrenching loss of imperial favor and its equally rapid restoration. Because not only titles but houses and income-generating properties were allocated by the throne, the roller coaster of court politics had drastic consequences.

These mansions, unmistakable from the street, were unique to Peking and reflected the almost commonplace role that "nobility" (*guijia*, *guiren*) continued to play in the capital. From this perspective, the change from the Ming had not been so great. The scale of aristocratic consumption, the arrogance bred of power and insecurity, and even the lingering smell left by clothing "fragrant with incense" made the new court elite a dangerous but familiar presence on the Peking scene.²³ Because the most powerful families were now Manchus, their power was enhanced by their special solidarity with the ruling house, by their participation in imperial shamanist and Tibetan Buddhist rituals, and by their immersion in gossip and intrigue.²⁴

The imperial lineage constituted a distinct subgroup among Manchu Banner people. Members were defined as the descendants of Nurgaci's grandfather and constructed as two groups: a main line through Nurgaci's father (called the *zongshi*), and subsidiary lines through his uncles and great-uncles (the *jueluo*). To symbolize and publicize their special descent, men in the main line were privileged to wear yellow sashes, the collaterals red sashes.²⁵

The lives of members of the imperial lineage (like those of all Banner people) were highly bureaucratized; they had their own supervisory administration, their own schools, and their own judiciary. Within this lineage, a hierarchy of privilege was created by positions that ensured a regular income and by titles that extended to both sons and daughters. As the lineage

21. The Na Wangfu. Yang Naiji 1982b; ECCP 756.

22. This novel first circulated in manuscript among friends of the author; its 1792 publication allowed a wide and eager audience (of educated men) to see inside this noble household. *Story of the Stone*, Introduction, 1:15–18.

23. *Caozhu yi chuan* 4.

24. X. Wang 272, 276.

25. Lee, Campbell, & Wang 1993; Li Zhongqing & Guo Songyi. The genealogies that have permitted impressive demographic work did not specify where their members lived. Lee, Wang, & Campbell 1994:396 estimated that nine-tenths lived in Peking and the rest in Shenyang.

grew in size, it became increasingly stratified, and most members, their imperial connections notwithstanding, were eventually subjected to the same downward financial pressures as other Banner men. Many found themselves impoverished and undistinguished, although not necessarily humbled.²⁶

Stratification and distinction were also created by the hierarchy of privilege and authority within the Banner system itself. Commanders-in-chief were part of the court elite, and finely graded access to stipends in silver and grain sharpened distinctions among lower-ranked officers. As the throne tightened its ties with a core group of Banner men and sloughed off many others, gaps between the Banner rich and poor were exacerbated and distinctions from the Chinese *min* of the Outer City and suburbs were increasingly indistinct.

Several different kinds of figures, none ideal, give us some sense of the size of Peking's Banner population in the eighteenth century. A reasonably well-documented increase in the number of companies charted the steady growth of population so often mentioned in imperial edicts: 707 companies in 1647, 1,138 in 1725, 1,373 in 1781.²⁷ The more unsystematically noted number of paid soldiers, by contrast, seems to have remained about 100,000 for most of the dynasty.²⁸ A rather reliable estimate of the total Banner population comes from a careful survey of the Inner City in 1851 taken by the Gendarmerie: they counted 76,000 Banner households, which, using a multiplier of five (people per household), would have meant about 380,000 people at that date.²⁹

The Imperial City was home to only a small portion of the Banner men, mostly bondservants and a few thousand Chinese eunuchs.³⁰ The thirteen

26. The number of stipended posts and titled positions diminished as the lineage grew and the throne's resources became strained. Li Zhongqing & Guo Songyi 126–30; Harrell et al.

27. We know the number of companies but not how many people were in each one; see QSL-YZ 60:26–29 for the wide range that was possible. Nor can we distinguish companies stationed in the suburbs from those (the great majority) in the Inner City. The figures given in FXZ 6:29–36 for 1725 reveal considerable variety in the number of companies in each banner.

28. Survey 1985:183, 185 said 120,000, but see QSL-QL 879:13–15 (cited by LSJN 219) for the statement that there were only 89,000 in 1771 in the city, and Morache 76 for a figure of 75,000.

29. *Jinwu shili* 6:15–18. More reliable twentieth-century data encourage confidence in these 1851 figures. A survey taken circa 1911 found 83,000 households and 456,000 people (multiplier 5.4); Liang Fangzhong 268. A 1926 survey found 97,000 households and 467,000 people (multiplier 4.87); *Beijing zhinan* 1:24–25. See also Han Guanghui 1984:25–28, 33, 1996:120–25.

30. There were perhaps 15,000 people in the 1660s, increasing to 47,000 in the early twentieth century. Nieuhof 121: 15,000 people. *Beijing zhinan* 1:24–25: 47,000 people in

directorates had been replaced by the equally lucrative but more tightly controlled Imperial Household, and the capital was no longer a concentrated zone of eunuch power.³¹

Management of the immensely rich and powerful Imperial Household Agency (Neiwufu), headquartered within the Forbidden City, was in the hands of a small cohort of trusted Banner princes and nobles. Fuheng, Qianlong's brother-in-law and a duke of the first class, served as a director of the agency for nearly thirty years (holding other positions simultaneously). Heshen, the Bannerman who rose to great heights after 1775 as the elderly Qianlong's favorite, also served as one of its directors; protracted influence over Imperial Household matters was part of the foundation of his considerable power.³²

Underneath the agency directors were a few thousand managers, bondservants with the profitable responsibility of dealing with merchant suppliers. An even smaller number of bondservant families earned huge fortunes as the emperor's personal agents, became his intimates, and supplied the throne with concubines.³³ The Jiaqing emperor's mother, for example, was the granddaughter and daughter of Imperial Household bondservant officers, as was Daoguang's mother; both of their fathers were, in consequence, elevated to the rank of duke. Bondservants and maids intermarried, and some bondservant women served the emperor as wet-nurses and maids, another occasional route to wealth and prominence.³⁴

Most bondservants were humble rather than mighty. The great majority were ordinary employees in the palace, imperial villas, mansions of princes, and offices of the Imperial City. The boundaries between bondservants and other Bannermen were porous, and in time the status of Chinese bondservant, like that of Hanjun, was one that could be readily abandoned.³⁵

Except at the very beginning and end of the dynasty, most eunuchs be-

1926. *Shizheng tongji nianjian*: 63,000 people. Y. Chang 45: 5,000 households in 1907. For bondservants: Han Guanghui 1996:121. For eunuchs: Guignes 1:378: 5,000–6,000 eunuchs; Edkins 1870:323: 2,000 eunuchs; Johnston 1934:174: 3,000 eunuchs before 1911. The residents of the Imperial City made up about 10 percent of the Inner City population, much as they appear to have done in the Ming.

31. Imperial Household bondservants included people of Chinese, Manchu, Korean, and Russian background. Early in the dynasty their companies constituted about a tenth of the Banners, but their population amounted to half or more of the Banner people; there were at least 200,000 of them in the eighteenth century. An Shuangcheng 100–3; Han Guanghui 1996: 120–25.

32. Torbert 33, 77; *ECCP* 288–90.

33. Torbert 28–30, 64–80, and chap. 5. The best-known example is the family of Cao Xueqin, author of *Hong lou meng*.

34. T. Chang 246; Torbert 72–77; Rawski 1998:166–71; *ECCP* 968–69.

35. Torbert 64–69; *LSJN* 210, 211; Elliott 1993:454–58.

longed at the level of the lowest bondservant. Their sphere had been reduced to the palace (and some princely mansions), and their activities were closely supervised by the Imperial Household Agency. Although there were schools for both bondservants and eunuchs, education for the latter was not valued. It is telling that the eunuch school (established in 1696 and located for most of its history in the Wanshandian in the Western Park) was restricted in 1769 to instruction in Manchu. "Under our dynasty, palace management has been cleaned up and eunuchs are not allowed to be involved in government, so what problem is there if they cannot read? If some need to make records and lists, a crude reading ability is adequate."³⁶

In the early Qing, the vermilion wall around the Imperial City was a significant demarcation: agency staff were commanded (in 1656) to live inside it, and two years later imperial princes and their entourages were ordered to move out.³⁷ Although movement in and out of the Imperial City was supposed to be monitored on a daily basis, Bannermen seem to have come and gone rather easily. Moreover, as we have seen, a great many regular celebrations inside were attended by large numbers of high officials and Banner soldiers. We can be certain that by 1813 passage through the east and west outer gates of the Imperial City was not restricted. In that year, would-be rebels ambled unimpeded through both these gates with peddler's baskets concealing weapons. It was only at the portals to the Forbidden City itself that security measures were reasonably tight.

As time strained the geographic compartmentalization by Banner quarter within the Inner City, cultural distinctions were created between the eastern and western sides of the city.³⁸ Physical impediments to communication undoubtedly encouraged this new fault line: the Imperial City walls and the northern lakes slowed most east-west traffic by forcing it to move through bottlenecks. (See Map 11.1.) By the end of the seventeenth century, the terms "Eastern City" and "Western City" (Dongcheng, Xicheng) were already in use, and they became commonplace thereafter.³⁹

Differences between these eastern and western parts of town were even stronger by the late Qing. Because of the Grand Canal traffic and the presence of outsiders at the examination hall, Confucius temple, and Imperial Academy, the Eastern City came to have more shops and larger markets.

36. *STFZ* 1885:9:291 (quotation), 9:279–80; Xu Ke 2:555. Bondservant schools were inside the Imperial City. For palace servants in general: Rawski 1998:chap. 5.

37. *QSL-SZ* 102:18, 116:8–9.

38. It is not clear to me how much geographic mobility there was within the Inner City. Twentieth-century informants reported rather little: Survey 1985:83.

39. *BJTB* 65:66–67. These terms are not to be confused with the parts of the Outer City Five Boroughs.

The more isolated Western City, by contrast, became associated with a less-adulterated Banner population. In time, natives distinguished different accents and even different storytelling styles, and the two parts of town became associated with separate temple fairs.⁴⁰

The Inner and Outer Cities were supposed to house two legally and politically distinct populations, separated by high walls and accessible through only three gates. Social differences were enhanced in the early Qing by the prohibition against Bannermen engaging in most professions and by the forced relocation of commercial and entertainment activities to the Outer City. Away from the broad avenues, the Inner City was residential and homogeneous, and even in the nineteenth century, visitors contrasted its calmer pace with the more bustling and crowded commercial Outer City. Nevertheless, the seventeenth-century segregation so painfully created between the Chinese and Banner worlds was gradually unraveled by movement in both directions.⁴¹

The Inner City was slowly opened up to Chinese. At first, a few high officials were rewarded with temporary or permanent residences there.⁴² Before long, Chinese were renting rooms and owning buildings in the Banner part of town. The Gendarmerie survey showed that by 1851 the Inner City had 15,333 shopkeepers—presumably not Bannermen—a trend that was surely well on its way by 1800.⁴³

In parallel fashion, by the middle of the eighteenth century it was already difficult to keep Manchu officials from moving into the Outer City. Although ordinary Bannermen were permitted to build houses there in 1781, in the 1860s the emperor was still trying to prevent imperial lineage members from secretly relocating. Other Bannermen moved quietly to the countryside, renting out their urban residences.⁴⁴

The social history of the Inner City thus followed the trajectory of the Banner population as a whole: formal distinctions worked with increasing ineffectualness against the interpenetration of the Chinese and Banner

40. Kim Ch'ang'öp 240; Survey 1937:26–27, 83; *Jinwu shili* 6:15–18; Crossley 1990:91. The temples were the Longfusi on the east and the Huguosi on the west.

41. Swinhoe 356; Kéroulée 177; Morache 80; Buissonnet 33; Cumming 2:160, 263; Bouinais 225; H. Norman 197. Perhaps the close descriptions of the Eight Banner quarters made by Yongzheng in 1725 can be seen as prescriptive attempts to stabilize a situation that was already slipping out of control. *BQTZ* 1:17–22; also Map 1723.

42. Zhang Ying and Gao Shiqi were early examples. *FXZ* 1:16, 1:19, 1:25, 1:27; *ECCP* 64–65, 413–14. The many others so privileged included Mi Hanwen, Zhang Tingyu, and Zhu Yizun. Xu Ke 1:291; *FXZ* passim.

43. *Jinwu shili* 6:15–18; Liu Xiaomeng.

44. *QSL-QL* 441:15; *QSL-TZ* 108:26–27; Qu Xuanying 317; *GZDZZ-YZ* 15:914–15.

worlds, without eliminating a core of identifiably Banner and especially Manchu people, culture, and institutions.

The Banner system itself was the dominant organizing mode in the Inner City. Company and Banner affiliation had social consequences and determined place of residence and channels of patronage. Once settled in Peking, with mostly strangers for neighbors, the immigrants would have had few obvious alternatives to these channels of association and sociability.

The system provided few public spaces for assembly and may have been intended, like the institutions of civil government discussed in Chapter 11, to discourage rather than promote the development of shared interests. The imperial lineage had administrative offices just outside the Forbidden City; there were schools for all of the twenty-four Banner units; and each of the Banner commanders-in-chief had an office within the appropriate quarter. The schools eventually accommodated as many as a hundred students each, and some (especially those for imperial relatives) were substantial buildings. Only a small portion of the Bannermen were able to receive instruction here, however, and schools, like offices, do not appear to have become centers for other kinds of activity.⁴⁵

There were no rituals or ritual spaces around which the Banner population as a whole might create or act out a collective existence. (Drill yards were for soldiers on duty, and imperial rituals were not for everyone.) If the Banners had a center, it was a vicarious one: the palace. Even for those without personal access, the Forbidden City seems to have been the core by which their identities as Bannermen were defined, the site of power, focus of gossip, source of protection and assistance, and the heart of their community. Qing court paintings, as we saw in Chapter 10, likewise focused on the palace, and when the Inner City was shown at all, it was as the distant margins of a painting or as the empty streets through which imperial processions passed. Even visiting foreigners concentrated in their pictures on the imperial domain, not the city around it. (Chinese maps of the early and middle Qing emphasized the various government yamen and thus expressed the predominance of official sites among public landmarks.)⁴⁶

Minor social centers revolved in lesser orbit around the Forbidden City. Banner elites learned about Chinese villas and garden culture and used this as a bridge into local society. Emperors set the pace with leisured gatherings

45. *BQTZ* 23:433–34; *FXZ* jj. 1–6 passim; *STFZ* 1885:9:279–89. Between 1691 and 1729, there were also twenty-four separate “charity” schools (*yixue*). Crossley 1997:129 estimated that “not more than a thousand” attended these schools, and most were members of the imperial lineage.

46. *Daxing xian zhi*, map; *JFTZ* 1735:504:28; Wu Changyuan, maps; *BQTZ* maps.

in the Western Park for their intimates, descriptions of which reached others through word of mouth, pictures, and books. Accounts of life along the lakes in the Ming Northern City inspired its re-creation, and Qing nobility rebuilt old mansions, included gardens within them, and held convivial private parties. The Pool of Gathered Waters inside the Desheng Gate was more congested than during the Ming but kept its appealing waterside vistas: people still came in mid-summer to view the lotuses and drink in the shade of the willows.⁴⁷ (One such gathering is shown in Figure 3.3.)

The Ming literati practice of inviting friends to socialize in pseudorural villas and recording such moments in painting was also taken up by Banner elites. Fashishan, born in a Mongol Banner bondservant family and raised inside the Imperial City, rose to earn the *jinshi* degree in 1780; he became a poet and scholar well known beyond the Banner world, working on, among other things, an 1810 imperially commissioned expanded history of the palace. His self-identification as a Peking resident was evident in his great interest in Li Dongyang, the distinguished early Ming poet, official, and native of the capital. Fashishan claimed, with more pleasure than precision, that his residence on the banks of the Shishahai (the middle of the three northern lakes) was on a site where Li had lived. This villa, where he hosted many Chinese visitors, was famous for its bamboo and its library. An album painted by a friend of Fashishan's in 1799 commemorated scenes in the neighborhood, including lakeside lotuses and misty views.⁴⁸ This area and these kinds of activities remained popular into the nineteenth century, although by that time more-or-less private gatherings began to take on increasingly political and public functions.

It is in the context of a city dominated by imperial, state, and elite structures that we can begin to understand why the Banner population adopted so readily the temples of the Inner City as convenient places for private association and public generosity.

We should not be surprised that immigrant Banner people began almost immediately to involve themselves in Peking's religious life. Chinese culture

47. Li Jiarui 1936; Pan Rongbi 25. The lakes of the Bubbling Spring area were now gone. Of the several dozen large princely mansions that stood in the mid-eighteenth century, a third had enclosed gardens: Liu Zhiguang 132–33.

48. He also wrote a biography of Li, republished his collected works, located and restored Li's suburban grave, and met there regularly with friends on Li's birthday (6/9). *ECCP* 227–28; *DMB* 879; *FXZ* 6:3–4. In the late Ming, Li's residence was thought to have been elsewhere; the shrine into which that building had been converted was gone by Qing times. See Chapter 3. For the album: *DMB* 879; Suzuki JP16–049. These were literati-style paintings, and downtown Peking was presented as resolutely rural. Bannermen had taken up painting but, citing the Shunzhi emperor as their model, concentrated on figures and genre scenes. Ruitenbeek 1992.

was brought to the Liao River area long before 1644 by generations of military garrison households, immigrant frontiersmen seeking land and opportunity, and urban artisans and traders; temples would have been a common sight there in the early seventeenth century. There had been Chinese temples and Buddhist monasteries in the settled area west of the Liao River since at least the eleventh century; the 1537 gazetteer for the region to the east listed 170 temples within its fourteen administrative units and an established system of state worship. Because many of the immigrants were from north China, these religious institutions were similar to those in Peking.⁴⁹ In the 1630s and early 1640s, the Manchu founders of the emerging Qing state were already patronizing dozens of Buddhist and Daoist temples around their new capital at Shenyang, installing clerics and making gifts of money in a manner understandable in Chinese terms.⁵⁰ Peking's religion would not have been new to the Manchu emperors or Chinese Bannermen.

The activities of the first fifty years of the dynasty show the swiftness with which involvement in local religion began, the leadership of Chinese Banner people, and the cooperation of officials. Unlike imperial patronage of Chinese religion, which the cynical might interpret as strategic and at some level insincere, the activities of the Banner people appear more straightforward in their purposes. The gods they honored were those familiar in Peking—Guandi, Guanyin, and the generic gods of Chinese religion. In a medium whose audience was their own community, Banner patrons used the language of Chinese piety, calling themselves “good people” (*shanren*), “virtuous men and devout women” (*shannan xinnü*), and “devout gentlemen” (*xinshi*).

The patronage of local temples in the Banner city did not really begin until 1651, after Dorgon and his plan to relocate the capital were dead. That summer, a large number of Chinese Banner people organized themselves to restore a temple along the north wall of the Inner City. They took a still-lively Ming Guandimiao, rebuilt the main hall, and expanded a side-hall in which they installed the Medicine-king. (Waves of smallpox were still surg-

49. Wakeman 1985:chap. 1; *Liaodong zhi* 1:27–34. The military garrisons may have come from central China, but most immigrants were from Shanxi, Shandong, and Zhili.

50. The Shenyang gazetteer listed thirty-one as specifically Ming or earlier (excluding temples patronized by the Qing throne): *Shengjing tongzhi* 26:passim. Tibetan Buddhism was especially favored: Nurgaci had endowed a temple for a Tibetan lama in 1621, regulations for such clerics were set down in 1633, and an envoy from the Dalai and Panchen Lamas stayed in Shenyang for the better part of a year in 1643–1644. Grupper 1978:passim, 1984:51–54; *Huidian shili* 1899:501:11748; Rockhill 9; Ya 35–36.

ing through the city.) The inscriptions on the two stelae commemorating these events were written by Hong Chengchou, a Ming official who had come over to the Qing side in 1642 and served both in the capital and on the battlefield until his death in 1665. In 1651 he was a grand secretary and the highest ranking of the 661 people who subscribed to this renovation. The others were clearly also Bannermen, all or mostly Hanjun; the titled men belonged to the Bordered Yellow Banner, within which quarter the temple was located. The form and language of the stelae were entirely conventional in Ming terms.⁵¹

During the first two generations after the conquest, Manchu nobles close to the throne were deeply involved in national politics, yet these distractions did not preclude setting down roots in Peking. In 1651, Prince Jirgalang, one of the new emperor's uncles, founded a small Guanyin temple, perhaps in thanks for the success of the campaigns in the southwest from which he had just safely returned. His son and successor continued this support; Chinese scholars from the Hanlin—using the opportunity to cement a connection with this powerful family?—prepared a stele.⁵²

The Ciyunsi in the southeast corner of the Inner City had been founded by Empress Dowager Li but then left to fend for itself. By the early Qing, “the various monks had all scattered, the buildings were falling down, the wall had collapsed, and there was water inside and out.” An elderly mendicant monk and his disciple (who were originally from Liaodong) came to Peking from Mount Wutai, took up residence, and began looking for patrons in the capital. Sometime in the 1640s they made contact with a palace eunuch and through him patrons among the Bannermen. Various (unnamed) “princes and lords, gentry and ordinary people” were persuaded to give money to enlarge, rebuild, and reequip the temple. Special services were held to celebrate (ingratiatingly) the Shunzhi emperor's birthday, and the courtyards—always convenient for these purposes—were used to distribute food to the needy.⁵³

Chinese Bannermen seem to have taken the initiative in most of these early ventures, and they had plenty of temples to choose from. At least 287

51. *ECCP* 358–60; *BJTB* 61:46–47, 61:48–49. I have tried to generalize cautiously from the names of donors listed on stelae. The men I can identify were all Chinese Bannermen; because the other names sound Chinese, I hypothesize that too they were Hanjun. In the first part of the Qing, I have taken such donors to temples in the Inner City (especially when on a list that included other Bannermen) to indicate Hanjun. Such assumptions become more dubious later in the dynasty.

52. Xu Qianxue 36:31–32; *QSL-SZ* 161:4764–66; *ECCP* 310–12, 397–98. The temple was near but not in the Bordered Blue Banner quarter that Jirgalang was in charge of.

53. Field Museum #1434. Jin Zhijun, a high-ranking Chinese metropolitan official from Jiangsu, heard from a monk in an Outer City temple about the creation here a few years later of a kind of hospital for monks (10:27–28).

religious establishments stood in the Inner City (outside the imperial domain) in 1644, and fifty more were constructed thereafter.⁵⁴

The Buddhist Chengshou temple was rebuilt in 1655 by forty-five men (and one woman) of the Hanjun; the stele was composed by Grand Secretary Ning Wanwo, a Liaodong Chinese then at the peak of his career.⁵⁵ The 135 men with Chinese-sounding names who restored a temple to Bixia Yuanjun in 1658—showing obvious familiarity with the deity—had Banner affiliations and described themselves as residents of the area. With the help of the monk who lived in the temple and 363 women, they formed an association, pooled resources, and rebuilt the halls and refurbished the god's image.⁵⁶

Shang Zhixin's name topped the list of nearly six hundred men and women who gave money to restore and rename a nearly abandoned Ming temple in 1661 and who used these activities to legitimize such large-scale collective action. Shang's father was the Liaodong Chinese general Shang Kexi, then enfeoffed as a powerful "feudatory" in southern China. Several dozen low-ranking (presumably Chinese) Banner officials who had been serving in provincial offices, plus large numbers of ordinary "devout men and women" (*xinshi* and *xinnü*), were involved in a sustained project that took two years. The connections among them are not visible to us.⁵⁷ A "pious woman" (elderly, perhaps?) decided to save the collapsing Yanxisi in 1684—might it have been near her home?—and paid for it herself.⁵⁸

New temples were also built (small ones to Guandi and Guanyin, for example). The Tudi temple founded in 1673 in the Bordered White Banner quarter was reflective of the undoubtedly widespread but undocumented creation or redeployment of neighborhood Earth-gods.⁵⁹

In short, Banner men and women responded quickly to the presence of temples in Peking, bringing money and organization to maintain and restore them without obvious breaks with Ming practice. It seems likely that these activities gave them a structure around which to form new and socially meaningful communities out of the arbitrary associations created by the Banner system, but the sources do not permit us to establish this definitively. Building

54. They were on the west and east sides at a rough ratio of 60:40.

55. *BJTB* 61:78–79; *ECCP* 592. Our sources do not tell us about how these people came to connect themselves in this way, only that they did.

56. Shoudu Library #179. The temple was within the Bordered Red quarter, but those whose affiliations were given were not from that Banner.

57. *BJTB* 61:173–74; *ECCP* 634–35; *Nianbiao* 2:1521–24, 4:3182. The Three Feudatories were Ming officials who had sided with the Qing and been enfeoffed in the southern provinces after the conquest. They rebelled in 1673 and were defeated by the Qing after an eight-year war.

58. *BJTB* 64:66. The temple was used thirty years later by several of the Banners to celebrate Kangxi's sixtieth birthday. Birthday 1713:41:47, 44:6.

59. *BJTB* 63:140; Zhang Jiangcai & Xu Daoling 63. Earth-gods: Peking City Archives 2:8:531.

and rebuilding must have also created locally negotiable prestige and helped establish these outsiders as people with a claim to respectability in the city.

As two and then three generations of Banner people were born and raised in Peking, they continued to patronize local temples in ways that indicate broad participation in local culture. By the early Qianlong reign, we see more Manchus, more mixtures of Banner and non-Banner people, more involvement of Inner City residents with temples in the suburbs and Outer City, and, although less-self-conscious collective efforts were by far the most common, more formal religious associations. Local literati and sojourning officials were invited to write the stelae inscriptions and obviously saw advantages in doing so. At the same time, some differences from the Ming were striking: eunuchs and the court elites did not attract clients and dominate the scene, monks and other clerics did not play influential roles, and the court was more systematically active.

After the late seventeenth century, Hanjun played a shrinking role in Peking's temples and religious life, and more and more lists of patrons had clearly recognizable Manchu (men's) names mixed in with Chinese-sounding ones. The presence of nicknames on these donor lists suggests a broad spectrum of participation, one that reached down into the small alleyways of the Inner City. On a 1702 stele were listed men whose names were given in full as Sange (Third Brother), Si'r (The Fourth), Heizi (Black One), and Yatou (Slave); a 1719 inscription recorded gifts from Big-Mouth Cao and Black-Slave Wang.⁶⁰

The residential nature of some donor groups indicated that temples were used to form communities. After a fire in 1686, nearly two hundred neighbors (*lilin*) repaired the nearby Erlang temple, taking a decade to raise the funds and assist the resident daoist. The stele was composed by a Bannerman and recent *jinsi* who worked in a government granary in the area. (As in nearly all our cases, there is no information on what the ongoing nature of this group was, if any.) In 1688, an Inner City Guanyin temple damaged in the recent earthquake was restored and enlarged; the residents (*jumin*) were organized into a religious association, followed the lead of a Banner commander, and donated one hundred ounces of silver.⁶¹

Others groups of donors seem to have been constituted out of men who worked together. Within the lanes, alleys, and workshops of the Imperial City,

60. For mixtures, see the 128 men with both Chinese- and Manchu-sounding names who restored the Shefansi in 1694. *BJTB* 65:62–63. 1702: *BJTB* 66:17–18 (these were probably employees of the Imperial Household). 1719: Shoudu Library #83.

61. 1686: *BJTB* 65:89–90; *Beijing luxing zhinan* 115. 1688: *BJTB* 64:112–13, 83:46–47. Associations were involved in only a fraction of these patronage activities (a dozen cases in the period before 1800, about 10 percent); we will look at them in greater detail in Chapter 14.

where Ming eunuchs had been active patrons, new workplace groups were formed. In 1702, 171 Chinese bondservants of the Imperial Household together with other Manchu Bannermen of humble backgrounds restored a temple to the Three Righteous Ones—Guan Yu and his sworn brothers. But through what chain of connections were they able to persuade Wang Yi, a Suzhou man who had placed first (!) in the most recent *jìnshì* exam, to write the text extolling the virtues of a fraternal solidarity that was “faithful to the death”?⁶²

Temples were often the only remnants of reorganized and relocated Ming workshops. A collapsing Guandi temple amid the eunuch offices on the eastern side of Jingshan was rebuilt in 1769, for example, by a man (a bondservant?) who lived in the neighborhood (a *liren*), raised money from others nearby, oversaw the work himself, and engaged a sympathetic city censor to write the inscription.⁶³

Eunuchs continued to support temples and to use their connections to get imperial gifts, but on a scale commensurate with their drastically reduced status. The numerous palace women who had acted as patrons in the Ming were nowhere to be found after 1640. (Indeed, after the 1660s, there are remarkably few recorded women donors to Inner City temples at all, even as part of religious associations.)⁶⁴

In the eighteenth century, the Banner nobility continued to involve themselves in both humble neighborhood temples and shrines of national significance, but they do not seem to have played as dominant a role in the wider society as their Ming counterparts had done. Their importance as nodes of power within the Banner world was shrinking in the middle Qing, and they appear to have become less valued by Chinese as points of access to the throne.

Imperial princes routinely substituted for the emperor at rituals of the state religion and, from positions in the Imperial Household, were often in charge of both major construction projects and routine matters of temple maintenance.⁶⁵ Many relatives were active patrons of court-supported Tibetan Buddhist temples and lamas, and most (all?) also participated in the Manchu shamanistic rites in the Tangzi.⁶⁶ Some Manchus even became the objects

62. *BJTB* 66:17–18.

63. *BJTB* 73:10; *JWK* 39:621.

64. I have seen only two examples of eunuchs endowing existing temples in the Imperial City (in 1705 and 1756) or obtaining new imperially bestowed names—by contrast with the hundreds of similar activities in the Ming. *BJTB* 66:67–68; *JWK* 52:833–34, 54:866; also *BJTB* 71:109. For women, see the discussion in Chapter 14.

65. E.g., *GZDZZ-YZ* 25:378–79; Gill 131; Cumming 2:322; Wang Shizhen 1704:1:6.

66. Lamas: *JWK* 107:1787–88, 1790; Zhenjun 8:3–5; *BJTB* 69:1–2. Tangzi: Meng Sen. In the early Qing, a few princes were Catholic.

of worship in Inner City shrines of the state religion.⁶⁷ These various rituals drew the nobility not only into communities exclusive to the conquest elite but also into those that extended far beyond Peking.

Large princely establishments could afford to patronize individual temples much the way the Imperial Household did, allocating money and grain every month for resident clerics whose prayers and offerings would be directed to their patrons' benefit.⁶⁸ Such support could also be ad hoc. One of the Kangxi emperor's concubines undertook the restoration of a temple to Bixia Yuanjun near one of the lakes in the northern section of the city in 1703. Did this action turn the temple into her family's private establishment?⁶⁹

Patronage could be aimed at different audiences. After Duke Fuheng was bestowed a new residence near the Ming stables in 1749 (in reward for his services in the recent Jinchuan campaign), his family took responsibility for—and may have monopolized—the nearby shrine to the Horse-god.⁷⁰ Fuheng also helped rebuild a Yuan temple in another part of the city, one previously restored by the imperial in-law and powerful Manchu Mingju.⁷¹ (This Baochansi is illustrated in Figure 12.2.) Fuheng's eminent son Fukang'an founded the first Inner City temple to Tianhou (a.k.a. Mazu), the female deity who was so popular in coastal southern China. He did so in 1788 out of gratitude—personal as well as professional—that his armies had successfully crossed the stormy straits and pacified the Lin Shuangwen rebellion on Taiwan.⁷²

The patronage of Inner City temples by Qing emperors could be both invigorating and chilling. Alert, active emperors and an efficient Imperial

67. The Shrine for Rewarding Bravery (Jingyongci) was dedicated to Mingrui, a Manchu general and duke from a distinguished family (his aunt was an empress), and others who had died on the (disastrous) Burma campaign in 1768. *JWK* 44:695–96; *ECCP* 578–79.

68. E.g., *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:33.

69. *BJTB* 66:26–27; Chapter 14 n.241. Except for its name in a list of temples standing in the twentieth century, no other information about this temple has survived, an indication, perhaps, of privatization.

70. In the 1890s the temple and residence site were used for the Capital University, which became Peking University. *BJTB* 71:66; *JWK* 39:620–21; Arlington & Lewisohn 123; *Wenxian congbian* 1:560–62; *ECCP* 249, 252, 260.

71. *JWK* 52:833–36; *ECCP* 252, 577. These men belonged to different Banners; the temple was in yet another quarter.

72. *BJTB* 75:92. This was the second temple to Tianhou in the capital. The first had been built in the eastern suburbs in the early Ming and renovated in 1480, with an inscription written by a man from Guangdong. *JWK* 88:1483–84. The deity had been elevated to empress (Tianhou) from concubine (Tianfei) in 1683 (contra J. Watson 1985:299); it was probably the god's assistance in the suppression of the Three Feudatories that led to this promotion. *Huidian shili* 1899:445:10973; Boltz 1986.

tivities of the former abbot, and in 1744, Hongjing, a prince of the fourth degree, responded to the request of Buddhist monks in a suburban temple to pay for the restoration of a city temple that they had taken under their care.⁷⁵

Although most Inner City temples had Bannermen patrons, a few did not. Chinese were moving into the Inner City, and temples help us track this process.

Government offices were enclaves for Chinese from the beginning, mini-communities where the prefects and magistrates and their staff were supposed to (but apparently did not always) live. Within these complexes, religious structures provided focal points. The Shuntian prefectural yamen shown in Figure 11.2 had within it at least six shrines for use by the staff where offerings could be made to the Prison-god, Sections-god, Wealth-god, Judge Bao, Five Sages, and Our Lady of Mount Tai. Similarly, there were Earth-god shrines inside each of the yamen compounds (Shuntian, Daxing, and Wanping) intended for the employees, not the public.⁷⁶

By acquiring residences in the Banner part of town, sojourning Chinese officials began to make a place for themselves in the Qing capital. Feng Pu, registered in Shandong (Yidu) and a man with family ties to the Northeast, was a 1646 *jìnshì* who rose from within the Hanlin to ministry president and grand secretary.⁷⁷ Feng seems to have lived in Peking continuously after 1666; his residence was in the Outer City, but he had a second home in the southeast corner of the Inner City.

It was more difficult for officials who were in Peking only temporarily to involve themselves in the Banner city. The restoration of an Inner City Wenchang temple in 1801 was carried out at imperial initiative as part of the god's inclusion in the state religion, but it was subscribed to by more than 140 officials, grand secretaries, ministry presidents and vice-presidents, Hanlin literati, and provincial officials.⁷⁸ Such a rare occasion permitted these men a legitimate official venue for collective public action. Chinese scholar-officials were called upon to compose or write out the texts of the inscriptions commemorating temple construction carried out by local people, but

75. Prince Zhi: *BJTB* 74:51, 74:52; *ECCP* 373, 963; *QS* 165:5219. Hongjing: *BJTB* 69:147.

76. *JFTZ* 1884:4:230-31. *STFZ* 1885:illustrations. Survey 1943:2; Zhang Jiangcai & Xu Dao-ling 4; *BJTB* 72:74, 73:149.

77. Mao Qiling 2:1313-24. His Shandong ancestors had lived in Liaodong during the first century of Ming rule, moving back only in the early sixteenth century.

78. *BJTB* 77:96, 77:97-98. The gifts ranged from 4 ounces up to 1,000, averaged 100 (median 50), and totaled some 14,000 ounces of silver.

such tasks seem to have become less common and less prestigious in Qing times.⁷⁹

As shops began reappearing in the Inner City, their Chinese owners brought with them familiar kinds of pious public behavior, and through religion they were able to establish common ground with their Banner neighbors. A small Guandi temple on the west side of the city, for instance, was restored in 1747 by some fifty men who described themselves as “local gentry [*xiang shen*], artisans and merchants [*gong shang*], scholars and ordinary people [*shi shu*] who happily assisted [in the project].”⁸⁰ Stores and businesses began funding a restoration of a Five Sages temple inside the Xizhi Gate in 1753 and continued to do so for the next seventy-five years.⁸¹ The Shandong men who monopolized the urban delivery of drinking water restored the Dragon-king temple at one of the sweeter Inner City wells in 1778.⁸² The dried and fresh fruit merchants, who had shops in both cities, were patrons of the newly built Wanping county City-god temple in 1812, hanging lanterns (and competing in display?) at the new year.⁸³

By the end of the eighteenth century, both Bannermen and Chinese were active patrons of the temples of the Inner City. They used such activities to establish their claims to social respect, cement social and political ties, and express their gratitude and their fears. As a result, the number of Inner City temples increased steadily: from 287 in 1644, to 354 by 1740, and to 385 by 1800. Although we have no documentation about who supported most of these temples (only a third ever had stelae), the numbers tell their own story.⁸⁴ Hundreds of religious buildings were constructed and rebuilt, and countless unrecorded acts of small devotion kept those temples alive. Although we know too little about the communities that were so formed, those responsible were indisputably the residents, mostly Banner people, of the Inner City of Peking. They had obviously made themselves very much at home.

79. The names of the composer and calligrapher were now removed to the end of the text and usually given with abbreviated titles. E.g., *BJTB* 74:19.

80. *BJTB* 70:4-5.

81. *BJTB* 71:19, 71:165-66, 73:135-36, 76:85-86, 79:8-9. Between 50 and 150 donors (including but not obviously limited to firms) funded these five stelae, four of which commemorated rebuilding.

82. *BJTB* 74:18. They seem to have come from Dengzhou prefecture and not, at this time at least, to have acted as part of an organization. Grube 75; Han Youli 8-17 (I am grateful to Catherine Yeh for sharing this text with me).

83. *BJTB* 78:104-5.

84. Only 145 out of 433 are known to have ever had stelae. As throughout this discussion, I refer only to temples outside the imperial domain. These figures mask attrition, for we know that as many as 433 temples stood at one time or another in the Banner city during the first century and a half of Qing rule.

THE CHINESE OUTER CITY

The Chinese of Ming Peking underwent a shock in 1644 that was almost as great and not nearly as pleasant as that of the immigrant Bannermen. Residents of the Northern City lost their homes, and those who did not leave the capital altogether were forced to find new places to live in the Southern City. Unwalled before the 1550s, this “old city” was a much less appealing environment.⁸⁵ It had a few large streets, many workshops and depots, intersections that doubled as markets, and a great congestion of merchants, shopkeepers, peasants, and laborers near the gates. The northernmost districts were densely occupied, while the great altars took up much of the rest. Temples were among the few public buildings, and many seem to have stood on open land rather than crowded streets. Some sections were almost rural, and a few ponds dotted the marshy southern section, but pleasant vistas were few.

For wealthy families accustomed to spacious compounds on decorous lanes, the expulsion to new quarters must have meant hardship and humiliation, a choice between vulgar markets and dusty wastes. Sojourning scholars, officials, and merchants were banished from proximity to the examination hall, offices of metropolitan government, and customers inside the palace compound. The political distinction between Banner and civilian was thus given concrete meaning through spatial segregation.

In the course of the Qing, this Outer City (Waicheng) was integrated into the reconfigured capital. Its new Chinese residents slowly put down their roots, reasserted their social status, and gradually became active in local affairs. Officials, merchants, and exam candidates found housing and entertainment. Separated from the Banner and court world, the Outer City proved to be receptive ground for new organizations and, by the late nineteenth century, a new kind of local leadership. To understand these changes, we will look first at the major actors in the society of the Outer City, at the public spaces, and then at the role of religion in the shaping of this part of Peking.

The rectangular Outer City was smaller than its northern counterpart and lacked the majestic imperial center. Ming settlement was clustered around the three gates: Xuanwu and Chongwen on the west and east, and the Zhengyang (or Front Gate) in the middle. Under the Qing, most residents remained concentrated in the highly commercialized, densely settled lanes and alleys

85. Eighteenth-century Jesuits said it was sometimes called the Old City (Laocheng) by contrast with the “new” Banner city (Xincheng). L’Isle 9; *Chinese Traveller* 52. Qianlong referred to the Inner City (Neicheng) and the Southern City (Nancheng). *Huidian shili* 1899:1035:17431.

outside these imposing structures. This business district expanded, adjacent pools and reedy swamps were gradually drained, and shops appeared outside the walls of the imperial altars; residential neighborhoods multiplied, as did inns for visitors. Many people came to draw sweet water from the wells near the Tiantan. The southern half of the Outer City nevertheless remained relatively empty, with space for vegetable gardens and graveyards and temples.⁸⁶ (The southeast corner of the city is shown in Figure 12.3.) With two-thirds the area of the Inner City, the Outer City had a proportionally smaller population: perhaps 180,000 people in the 1770s and, by the end of the dynasty, some 300,000.⁸⁷

The occupation of the Inner City prompted a major relocation southward of markets and temple fairs, sojourner lodges, restaurants, and expensive shops. The area outside the Front Gate was reconfigured as the capital's entertainment quarter and developed as the place where both Chinese and Bannermen went to dine, visit the theater, and find male and female prostitutes.

The gates between the two cities opened at dawn and closed at dusk, and residents were expected to spend the night at home. An exception was made at the Front Gate at the third watch of the night for Chinese officials coming to the palace for an audience. As the divided city became more interconnected, this curfew became increasingly troublesome, especially for the Bannermen who spent their evenings in the Outer City and often had to use the predawn opening to scurry home.⁸⁸ At least half a dozen times a year, imperial processions in and out of the Front Gate necessitated a troublesome closing of shops and clearing of streets along the way.⁸⁹

Officials and merchants who sojourned for long periods in the capital and degree-holders born and bred in Peking emerged as the elites of the Outer City. Local Chinese families no longer ascended socially by supplying the imperial family marriage partners and eunuchs (Bannermen had replaced them). The examination system became, therefore, even more crucial to the social production of a local elite. And in the early Qing, those who had given rapid allegiance to the Qing had a distinct edge.

Those who lived in the Outer City were considered residents of Daxing and Wanping counties for examination purposes, and they surely had an advantage over their rural neighbors in competing for the generous quota of

86. Navarrete 2:214; Swinhoe 356; Dennys 1867:501–2; Staunton 2:323; Y. Chang 62; *Atlas* #31–32, #41–42; *Huidian shili* 1899:1031:2–3; Qu Xuanying 166–67. Wells: Tan Qian 1656:312; Kim Ch'ang'öp 146, 205; Wu Changyuan 9:80.

87. *Shizheng tongji nianjian* 1; Han Guanghui 1996:128. Compare 456,000 for the Inner City in 1912; Liang Fangzhong 268.

88. *Da Qing lili* 19:35; Xu Ke 1:119.

89. See Chapter 3. These processions would have been more numerous in early Qing reigns, when the Southern Park was frequently visited.

government students at the prefectural school.⁹⁰ Together with the rest of the prefecture, Daxing and Wanping shared part of the larger complexly structured quota for those who could pass the provincial (Shuntian) exam (open to men from elsewhere in the empire). Then, for the metropolitan degree, they competed directly with the best in the empire. In all these competitions, local literati did rather well.

During the Shunzhi reign, when the loyalty of people from the central and southern provinces was in doubt, Peking men, like others from north China, benefitted from the Qing willingness to help them attain degrees and office. During the 1640s and 1650s, twenty to thirty candidates from the capital earned a provincial degree at each exam, and of these, nearly half went on to gain the *jinshi*.⁹¹ This very ample *juren* quota was drastically reduced in 1660, however, and only gradually increased thereafter, not regaining the earlier level until the 1710s.⁹²

Nevertheless, Peking's two counties continued to distinguish themselves in the exams. They were easily the most successful within both prefecture and province (challenged only by Tianjin in the nineteenth century). At each metropolitan exam, an average of six men (four from Daxing, and two from Wanping) won a degree, a rate that put these two counties among the most successful in the empire.⁹³ These figures—consistent in their ratio—make clear that Daxing, the county that included the eastern side of the Outer City, was the more effective in producing degree-holders and clearly remained more commercial and wealth-producing.⁹⁴

A local Chinese examination elite thus emerged after 1644, launched by the boost from the *juren* quota; some families perpetuated a status achieved under the Ming, whereas others found old and new ways to climb the social ladder.

90. *Huidian shili* 1899:371:9972. Banner men also were attached to this school but with separate quotas. The sources do not distinguish whether Daxing or Wanping degree-holders had a rural or urban residence.

91. For 1646–1660: 73 out of 163 *juren* earned the *jinshi*. Unless otherwise noted, all figures on provincial and metropolitan degrees come from *JFTZ* 1884: jj. 40–45. The calculations are my own. For comparative purposes, I have relied on the *jinshi* figures, configured slightly differently but seemingly the same, in Bielenstein 54. The *juren* figures for the Qianlong and Jiaqing reigns are incomplete. *STFZ* 1885:118:5863.

92. Their share of 106 out of 168 was cut in half in 1660, but after 1710 held steady at about 100. *Huidian shili* 1899:348:9689–93; *JFTZ* 1884:42:214–15. For the Shunzhi reign: Bielenstein 10.

93. Ranking first and fifth during the first half of the Qing: Bielenstein 21. Thanks to Peking, Zhili province was one of the three most successful provinces in the metropolitan exam, even though its share declined in the later Qing. Bielenstein 15–16. The Ming rate was two to three per exam.

94. In both provincial and metropolitan degrees, Daxing was twice as successful as Wanping throughout the Qing.

be ministry presidents. Wang Xi readily learned Manchu and earned the favor of Shunzhi. His decisive advice (and local social authority) was credited with halting panic in Peking in 1674 during the rebellion of the Three Feudatories. Wang's daughters married into two other local elite families, the Mi (Mi Wanzhong's grandson Hanwen) and the Sun (Sun Chengze's son). Wang's grandson and great-grandson also became members of the Hanlin.⁹⁵

Elites were also defined (and created) by the compilation of local histories. In 1680, following the completion of a gazetteer for Zhili province, the Kangxi emperor called for similar histories for component units. Daxing and Wanping counties responded, each producing short volumes. Although the work was overseen by the Shuntian prefects and county magistrates, local scholars (including Mi Hanwen and others attached to the prefectural school) were willing to garner prestige from the collective effort as well as to use these texts to claim authority over the city's past.⁹⁶

The Outer City continued to produce noted scholars and officials in the eighteenth century. Zhu Yun (1729–1781) and Zhu Gui (1731–1807), brothers and eminent scholars of the Qianlong era, were from Daxing. An ancestor had moved to Peking from Shaoxing prefecture in Zhejiang (he was probably in some form of government employ); Yun and Gui's father had achieved only the licentiate, but they rose to join the Hanlin in the 1750s, and their brothers also became officials. Both were involved in the Imperial Manuscript Library project and had substantial careers in the capital and the provinces. This family's marriage partners were also local people: Zhu Gui wed the daughter of a scholar from Wanping, his sister married a Daxing man, and his granddaughter a person from adjacent Tongzhou.⁹⁷

Weng Fanggang (1733–1818), the prodigy from Daxing who passed the *jinshi* at nineteen and lived to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of that event, spent most of his official career in positions connected with scholarship and the examinations and earned a national reputation as a distinguished poet, calligrapher, and connoisseur. His social world was intermeshed with that of cultured Bannermen.⁹⁸

A 1782 stele marking the restoration of a school in the Outer City provides us a closer look at the “gentry [*shenshi*] of Da and Wan.” Forty men

95. *ECCP* 815–16, 819.

96. *Wanping xian zhi*; *Daxing xian zhi*; *STFZ* 1885:122:6371–72; *JFTZ* 1735 preface. A prefectural gazetteer was also compiled but survived only in manuscript: *Zhongguo difangzhi lianhe mulu* 1. A provincial gazetteer had been begun a decade earlier. See Chapter 13 for more on the backward-looking content of these works.

97. *ECCP* 185–86, 198–99; *STFZ* 1885:102:4881–97.

98. *ECCP* 856–58. Weng wrote the preface to Fashishan's posthumous *Taolu za lu*, and the Bannerman Yinghe compiled Weng's posthumous chronological biography.

contributed modest sums; all came from Daxing and Wanping, and most were then or had once served in government office. They included the eminent Zhu Gui himself and his nephew Lü Lin (a mere licentiate), the grand secretary Li Shou, various members of the Hanlin, ministry officers, former prefects and magistrates, and some less-distinguished expectant officials. The group also included Zha Li, whose family had made its fortune in the local salt monopoly headquartered in Tianjin and who had failed the *juren* exam, purchased a position, and risen high as a provincial bureaucrat. The largest donation to the restoration—one hundred ounces of silver to Zhu Gui's lone fifty (the others were even less)—came from an “expectant assistant department director,” surely a local man of wealth who had purchased that status.⁹⁹ These mercantile families are, of course, the element of the local elite most invisible to us, but the fact that Daxing continued to field candidates for the highest degrees suggests ample resources for the best education. (Exam candidates and expectant officials probably made fine tutors.)

The four hundred families from Daxing and Wanping who produced *jinshi* between 1644 and 1800 might have been able to play a vigorous role as locally dominant elites had they resided anywhere else in the empire. As it was, no matter how numerous or wealthy or successful, they were dwarfed in numbers, status, and importance by the influx of scholars, officials, and businessmen who made the capital their temporary—and not so temporary—residence. Peking imported talent on a grand scale. As in the Ming, its Qing local elites therefore lived in the long shadows of powerful sojourners and the court elite.¹⁰⁰

Exam candidates were the largest group of outsiders, and the influx was regular and massive. In theory, exams for the Shuntian *juren* degree were held every third year in the autumn, and those for the *jinshi* the following spring. In fact, there were exams three out of four years, and sometimes both levels in a single year.¹⁰¹ Although the examination yard was in the Inner City, candidates had to stay in the Chinese city. A parallel set of examinations tested

99. *BJTB* 74:125–26; *STFZ* 1885:102:4895–96; *ECCP* 185–86. Zha Li: *ECCP* 19–21; another Zha was also listed. This family's wealth made their Tianjin villa a well-known meeting place for men en route to the capital. *BJTB* 74:126. The big donor was Wang Qifeng, a person about whom I have been unable to learn anything else. B & H #291.

100. Qianlong complained about the dearth of good candidates (*Huidian shili* 1899:371:9977) and in 1777 declared that “illustrious men from Shuntian Da and Wan are few.” Quoted in He Bingdi 6–7.

101. During the 240 years between 1645 and 1884, 205 different exams were given in 186 different years; in 19 years (almost all in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), both exams were held. *JFTZ* 1884:6:40–45.

candidates for military degrees.¹⁰² The first nationwide examination was held in the early winter of 1646, a signal to scholar-official families that the Ming educational and status system would be continued. The Hanlin began functioning as a fully independent institution in 1670 and soon regained its traditional prestige.¹⁰³

Many came to sit for the exams and, even when unsuccessful, spent months or years in the capital. The Shuntian examination attracted between two and seven thousand candidates early in the dynasty, but by 1735 ten thousand cubicles had been built (double the Ming size), and in the late nineteenth century temporary stalls permitted fourteen thousand to be accommodated.¹⁰⁴ Few passed. The 1645 quota of a mere 168 was cut and, although later increased, did not go higher than some 250.¹⁰⁵ Almost as many men took the *jinshi*, although their numbers increased less drastically: 5,059 people sat for the exam in 1761 (217 earned degrees), and in 1894, there were 6,896 candidates (and 320 winners).¹⁰⁶

Competing to be one of the two-to-four out of a hundred who passed was extremely stressful, and candidates led a curious existence in Peking. Lodging in temples and inns of the Outer City, sometimes tempted by fraternization in the private homes of powerful men, always thinking of the examination hall, and sometimes daring to dream of taking the palace exam—it was a time for fortune telling and sleepless nights, distracted sightseeing and book buying, rumors and gossip. Afterward, an elated few could celebrate while the others faced the shame and despair of failure.¹⁰⁷

Despite an imperial effort to keep provincial bureaucrats from lingering and to get retired officials to return home, many men lived in the capital for years. If successful, degree-holders awaited appointment; officials posted to the provinces returned regularly between tours of duty. These men were constantly in search of housing and lived variously in friends' homes, rented rooms, inns, and temples.¹⁰⁸ Long-term residents had their own houses.

102. The quotas for each were about one hundred, but I have no information on how many competed. See *Huidian shili* 1899:jj. 716–18, esp. 716:14358–59, 717:14368–69, 718:14378.

103. It had been incorporated into another government department for most of the time between 1644 and 1670. Lui 215.

104. *Wanping xian zhi* 5:32; C. Chang 170; *Huidian* 1899:870:15840–42; Lockhart 1866:145; Gill 133.

105. It included a variety of separate subquotas. *JFTZ* 1884:42:214–15; Elman 2000:170, 682.

106. 1761: Man-cheong 143. 1894: H. Norman 204. See also Shang Yanliu 102–6; *JWK* 48:747–58. Because of many special exams, they were actually given on an average of every 2.4 years.

107. For a lengthy discussion of the lore of examination anxiety, see Elman 2000:chap. 6; also Meskill 1964.

108. *Huidian shili* 1899:1038:1–2; He Bingdi 6–7; *FXZ*jj. 7–10 passim.

The poet Gong Dingzi (1616–1673), for instance, came from Hefei in Anhui province, earned his *jinshi* under the Ming, and served successfully in the capital bureaucracy from 1644 until his death thirty years later. The career of Liu Tongxun (1700–1773), a man from Shandong, was like that of many successful officials: upon passing the *jinshi* in 1724, he went into the Hanlin and spent most of the next fifty years in government offices in Peking, interrupted by brief special assignments in the provinces and a return to his nominal home upon the death of his mother.¹⁰⁹ Such well-rooted sojourner families had the authority of those deeply familiar with the local scene and the clout that came from access to the throne. Even middle-level bureaucrats and lowly office staff in the ministries were sources of important news that could be translated into influence in the hothouse world of Peking politics. As we shall see in Chapter 15, networks created among men from the same native place could further enhance their local power.

Many resident outsiders were businessmen. The southern city continued to be a commercial center and was now home to all sojourning merchants from throughout the empire and beyond. Some were organized into occupational guilds, and others created lodges where scholars and businessmen from a common native place could stay. Most contributed resources and organized themselves in order to build or maintain temples that they used for collective worship; some were active participants in Taishan-style pilgrimages. The brewers guild, to give just one example, was in the habit of meeting in a small temple outside the Chongwen Gate, and it was natural for them to contribute to enlarge it in 1770 and add a stage; they were able to enlist two *jinshi* to write the stele.¹¹⁰ These kinds of activities absorbed much of the associational energy of sojourners. Lodges experienced an exponential growth in the Qing, increasing from some 40 in the Ming to 180 in 1788, all of them located in the Outer City.¹¹¹

The position, education, upbringing, connections, and wealth of these sojourners made them powerful rivals for men from Daxing and Wanping. And yet a certain solidarity among all the Chinese who lived together in the Outer City may have been encouraged by their sharp difference from the Bannermen. The throne rarely involved itself in this part of town, and government was omnipresent but diffuse, a situation with potential for sociability, politicking, and organizing. To understand something of the texture of Outer City

109. *ECCP* 431, 533.

110. *BJTB* 73:25. One of the two was Cao Xuemin, a 1754 graduate from Shanxi who rose to be ministry president and helped out with other merchant projects. *BJTB* 74:3, 73:104, 87:133–34; *Jinshi suoyin* 2:1853.

111. See Table 15.1. Unfortunately, these businessmen are poorly documented.

society and to explain its nineteenth-century transformations, we will continue to follow the lines of inquiry that lead from places to organizations to action.

First, a reminder. The Outer City was governed through Five Boroughs (North, South, East, West, and Central), each of which was the charge of a team of Han and Manchu censors with a staff of policemen. Although nominally also responsible for the Inner City, these censors concentrated their attention on the non-Banner Chinese population. This jurisdiction extended into the (Chinese) suburban areas outside all thirteen city gates. These censors supplied the throne with same-day news and enabled prompt action in case of emergencies. The Gendarmerie, with its large staff and visible Banner and Green Standard soldiers, overlapped and often superseded the apparatus of the Five Boroughs.¹¹²

Fragmented structures of authority were useful to the throne because they made it more difficult for local officials to become advocates for or leaders of local society. There were no important metropolitan or local government offices in the Outer City and no ceremonial focal points. The responsible prefecture, county, constabulary, and city-censors' yamen were all in the Inner City. Instead, the Boroughs were dotted by the unprepossessing offices of the eleven police chiefs and their deputies, subordinates of the censors. Small Green Standard army guard posts ensured the ready use of force, and after 1670, street-gates and sentries on the model of the Inner City were put in place.¹¹³

The state used the relatively uninhabited and underdeveloped parts of the Outer City for its own private purposes. The Ministry of Works and the Imperial Household had properties here, although the imperially managed kilns, brickworks, and workshops of Ming times were increasingly abandoned

112. See Chapter 11, esp. note 17. The team of censors originally consisted of one Manchu, one Hanjun, and one Chinese. In 1723 the Hanjun was eliminated. Alison Dray-Novey has asserted that censors had responsibility for both cities. In the evidence I have seen they almost always dealt with Chinese rather than Banner matters. In my opinion, broader, formal censorial responsibility existed primarily on paper because the throne soon realized the undesirability of allowing Han Chinese civil officials authority over Banner people. For the system in theory: *Huidian shili* 1899:1032:17408; *JWK* 49:772, 55:1. Similarly, there was an (almost invisible) system of Qing ward names for the Outer City. These were occasionally used in the Shunzhi reign along with Ming ward names, but they almost vanish from the record thereafter and seem to have been (at least, to have become) meaningless units. For an example of the mixture: *HC-Ce* 2411; *FXZ* passim. I am most grateful to Alison Dray-Novey for our amiable and informative conversation and correspondence about this point. The infrastructure for governing Peking grew more complex with the passage of time, and it is no wonder that issues of jurisdiction were never free of confusion. I am oversimplifying here. See Dray-Novey 1993:esp. 904-5, and 1981:passim; *Jinwu shili* jj. 10-11; Xu Ke 3:1335.

113. *JWK* 62:1048. There were twenty-three posts in the Outer City, one-third as many as in the Inner City; these were surely concentrated in the congested areas near the gates. Dray-Novey 1993:892-94; *LSJN* 196, 210.

or privatized.¹¹⁴ Some of the open land by the Altar to Heaven was used to raise grain and animals (for sacrificial offerings), fodder (for the imperial stables), and fruit (for sale). The two Blue Banners were given exercise yards (*jiaochang*) and barracks here.¹¹⁵

Diffuse though the government's physical presence was, state power was enacted here in a variety of public, punitive, hortatory, and benevolent modes. Outside the Chongwen Gate was the Ministry of Revenue tax office, whose inspectors scrutinized passing commercial traffic. Its presence created a tense zone of congestion, intensified surveillance, wealth, and corruption.

The Ministry of Punishments also chose an Outer City location to demonstrate its authority and might. The Ming had made temporary use of urban intersections north of the palace for the execution of criminals. Within a decade of the conquest, the Qing had shifted these executions to the Outer City, the better to impress their Chinese subjects: early in the winter of each year, executions were held with much fanfare at the Vegetable Market Entrance (Caishikou) outside the Xuanwu Gate. Soldiers guarded the prisoners and officials presided, but executioners held the stage, their huge swords and tourniquets ready. Large crowds gathered to shout, "Good blow!" Some criminals died by beheading, some by strangling, others had their flesh slowly lopped off in a painful (but spellbinding?) "lingering death." Heads of the executed were hung in cages outside the city gates, a grim and bloody warning to all.¹¹⁶

The city censors had the task of making known the Sacred Edict. Beginning in 1659, each borough of the Outer City was told to select some open-air "public place" (*gongsuo*) for the bimonthly reading of these imperial homilies and to select local notables to be present at the occasion. No official sources (known to me) specify where such rituals took place or who the audience was, but the authorities appear to have used the Medicine-king temple north of the Altar to Heaven (shown in Figure 2.3), taking advantage of the popular fair held there on the first and fifteenth of each month. These occasions were unlikely to have been as well attended or impressive as the executions.¹¹⁷

114. *JWK*61:1001; Kim Kyöngsön 1067; Pan Rongbi 9; *JJD*:QL 8160; *NWF-ZX* 506:135-38; *DG* 1/5/-. The Neiwufu seems to have been given charge of any land in the Outer City that came into the hands of the state.

115. Tiantan: Headland 334-36; *Qingdai di qidi* 342-43; *QSL-KX* 240:10; *Jinwu shili* 6:56-59. Blue Banner: *Huidian shili* 1899:870:15840; *FXZ* 7:30, 8:23, 8:37.

116. For Ming: *Beijing luxing zhinan* 100-101; Lei Dashou. Tan Qian (1656:84) saw executions at Caishikou in 1654. Other later descriptions: Rennie 1:246-47; Werner 166; Freeman-Mitford 190-96; Dennys 1866:33. Intersections seem to have been used for executions in the Inner City. *Beijing luxing zhinan* 101.

117. *Huidian* 1899:69:718; *Huidian shili* 1899:1033:17415-16, 1090:17960-61; Mair 1985. For the temple: *Beijing luxing zhinan* 133. It was restored in 1693.

For many decades the residents of the Chinese city had no county-level schools; the prefectural school (used by Daxing or Wanping men who had earned the lowest degree) was in the Inner City. In 1652, seeing a lesson in the academy politics of the late Ming, the Qing had banned any independent establishments.¹¹⁸

In-roads into this prohibition began in Peking in 1702 when the prefect, a Jiangsu man called Qian Jinxi, decided to create two “charity schools” (*yixue*) in the Outer City for local men who were preparing for the prefectural exams.¹¹⁹ Finding an appropriate space was a problem, but eventually the Daxing school used rented rooms within the villa of the descendants of Hong Chengchou, and the Wanping school was placed inside the Changchun monastery. The temple facilities were a failure (it is not clear why), and the two schools were soon combined at the Hong villa site. Wang Yuan, a versatile scholar sympathetic to the views of Wang Yangming who had worked on the Ming history project and was then making an unstable living as a tutor in the capital, was invited to lecture. He proved such a success that the prefect wanted to buy the land, take over the school, and improve the facilities. When the Hong family refused, that official falsely memorialized, claiming that the family wished to give the land to the school. Kangxi was pleased and donated a plaque for it, leaving the Hong family with little immediate recourse but to play the benefactor. (The school was located north of the Tiantan, east of the Goldfish Ponds.)

After Yongzheng had acted in 1733 to enhance the legitimacy of such academies empirewide but also to bring them under more official control, Director He Zishan found the courage to begin calling the school the Shoushan Academy, explicitly invoking Donglin times and enshrining the tablets of the founders of Peking’s short-lived but famous Ming academy, Zou Yuanbiao and Feng Congwu. In 1750, the name was changed to the less dangerous and more locally evocative Golden Terrace Academy (*Jintai Shuyuan*). (The Golden Terrace was one of the Eight Vistas of the capital.) The academy was restored in 1782, with contributions from a long list of eminent and successful local men.¹²⁰

In Chapter 16 we will return to this zone of public-private action, looking in detail at how private institutions with public functions were created and taken over by the government in the late Qing. For the moment, let us turn to the

118. Elman 1984:113–14, 119–21.

119. These developments took place in advance of the 1713 and 1715 edicts that permitted such charity schools elsewhere in the empire. Elman 1984:119.

120. *BJTB* 74:125–26; Ye Mingfeng 16–17; *FXZ* 8:11, 8:25; *ECCP* 359–60, 842–44; *STFZ* 1885:62:2189–91.

roots of these developments in those more private places of association used by local men, sojourning literati, and merchants in early and mid-Qing Peking. We shall begin with elite villas and local sights and then, with the context clearer, turn to temples.

Private homes continued to be important places for socializing. Some well-to-do Chinese of the Outer City—natives and sojourners—made their homes near the business districts, whereas others converted the empty wastes beside the altar complexes into rustic estates. In the 1660s and 1670s, Wang Chongjian's spacious Garden of Felicity (Yiyuan) helped create a fashionable quarter beyond the noisy commercial zone outside the Xuanwu Gate.¹²¹ His garden was gone by the Qianlong period, however, an example of the frequent turnover that sent each generation of literati in search of the traces of their predecessors (often known to them from written accounts)—a stand of bamboo, a spread of wisteria, a pavilion.

Because so much of the residential social terrain of the Outer City was built from scratch, locals and sojourners often had their homes in the same neighborhoods. Feng Pu, the 1646 *jinshi* from Shandong (and putative sojourner) who rose to be a grand secretary in the Kangxi reign, lived in Peking more-or-less continuously for the next four decades. He purchased land for a villa in the less-fashionable northeast corner of the Outer City; there he planted trees and bestowed the name "Hall of Ten Thousand Willows," invoking a dimly remembered Yuan dynasty garden once in Peking's suburbs. Feng's villa was made famous by the illustrious Lower Yangtze scholars who were invited to the capital to participate in a special examination in 1679, at which Feng was an examiner, and whom he entertained here.¹²² Such gatherings in private homes revived perennial problems of how to define proper socializing between candidates, examiners, and capital officials, and apolitical public places continued to be in demand.¹²³

In time, scenic spots were developed in the Outer City that were suitable for the small-scale but more public sociability of outings and picnics. The Goldfish Ponds just north of the Altar to Heaven no longer had extensive villas and pavilions but remained a place for literati strolling (as well as intensive fish-farming).¹²⁴ On 9/9, literati who did not wish to travel to the suburbs and had not been invited to a private villa could go to suitable pagodas

121. *ECCP* 815–16; *FXZ* 10:43–47.

122. *ECCP* 243, 564; Zhu Yizun 1688: Feng Pu's preface, 1708:66:5–6; Mao Qiling 2:1313–24; *JWK* 56:911; *FXZ* 7:32. Feng built an orphanage nearby.

123. *QSL-SZ* 126:20–21. Richard Belsky (chap. 2) has argued for a concentration of scholar-officials in the area south of the Xuanwu Gate.

124. Meskill 1964:369; Yuan Jing; Shi Runzhang, *Poems* 35:4; Pak Chiwön 25; Kim Kyöngsön 1064; Lowe 1:176–77; *FXZ* 8:12.

or storied buildings nearby, or to the Black-Dragon Pool, or even to the outer wall of the Southern City.¹²⁵

Reviving the late Ming charitable sociability of the Ponds for Releasing Sentient Beings, a scholar-official from Zhejiang, Fan Sijing, built such a pond in the relatively empty eastern part of the Outer City in the 1650s. Thereafter such rituals of release were spottily staged by different groups, including religious associations who (from at least 1798) purchased birds from dealers and set them free at the Dongyuemiao.¹²⁶

In the 1690s, Jiang Cao, an official from the central provinces, visited the grounds of a Liao temple west of the imperial altars while on business at the nearby imperial kilns. He discovered that the site was elevated above the dust and smoke and had a fine view over low water and waving grasses. And thus, at this quiet spot, he built a Pavilion of Merriment (Taoranting), naming it by invoking a line from the Tang poet Bai Juyi about merrily drinking with friends. The verandas of the pavilion quickly became a favorite with exam candidates and literati who gathered here to eat, drink, talk, and watch the sunset. And so it remained through the eighteenth century. At a farewell party here for the artist Luo Ping in 1773, at least sixty friends were present to inscribe one of his paintings.¹²⁷

Religious establishments also provided a welcome respite from the dusty world of the city. Wang Xi—the early Qing local literatus mentioned previously—visited and then restored a Longquan temple in the southwest corner of the Outer City in 1685, noting that “The place is only two *li* from my home; I love its shady stillness and go there when I am at leisure. . . . You don’t realize you are in the city.”¹²⁸

Temples were put to many purposes in the Outer City, as in other parts of Peking. A closer examination of their use and patronage allows us to see more of how life in the Outer City changed in the early and middle Qing. Here too the slight role of the throne and the marked involvement of sojourners were characteristic features.

125. See Chapter 3 for the different places where Wang Chongjian went on 9/9. Also: Pan Rongbi 31; *JWK* 56:908, 59:956–58; *FXZ* 10:51–52.

126. For Fan: Wang Shizhen 1691:25:594; *BJTB* 64:34; *Beijing luxing zhinan* 78. For others: *BJTB* 77:31–34, 93:104–6; A. Goodrich 1964:31–33; *Yanjing za ji* 124–25; Sun Dianqi & Lei Mengshui 49. Such rituals were also performed—grandiosely—on imperial birthdays. Birthday 1713:41:65, 44:3; Der Ling 297–98.

127. *BJTB* 66:59; Wang Hongxu 2:115; Kim Kyöngsön 1066; *JWK* 61:1000–1001; *DMJL* 1864; Minjun jj. 5–12 passim; Dai Lu 10:252–56; Lowe 2:68. The painting, which anticipated Luo’s trip to Yangzhou, was called “Returning by Sail.” Vinograd 1992:119.

128. *BJTB* 64:83; *JWK* 61:1001; *Beijing luxing zhinan* 91. Others restored it in 1770: *BJTB* 73:36.

There were only half as many temples in the Outer City in 1644 as in the Inner City, but by 1800 the number had grown from 139 to 213.¹²⁹ There had been very little private construction during the Shunzhi reign, surely a reflection of the painful resettlement process, but temples were steadily built or restored thereafter.¹³⁰ Although details are absent in many cases, donors included businesses, ordinary people, clerics, locally prominent families, officials, sojourners, and Bannermen. The gods encompassed the normal range of deities found in Peking: Guandi and Guanyin were the most frequent objects of worship, but also Bixia Yuanjun, the Fire-god, Medicine-king, Horse-god, Zhenwu, Dizang, and Dongyue. Although there were temples throughout the Outer City, only one-quarter of them were in the densely settled commercial districts outside the Front Gate.

As we noted in Chapter 10, the Qing throne paid little formal attention to religious establishments in the Outer City. They founded no temples here and patronized only eighteen; except for the four on the Imperial Household payroll, that attention was ad hoc.¹³¹ The Buddhist Fayuan monastery was unusual in the gifts it received from many emperors.¹³² Eunuchs became donors very occasionally, and local officials even more rarely.¹³³ In the end, it was the Chinese residents of the Outer City who sustained its religious institutions. And for the first half of the dynasty, they did so quite independently of government authority.

It is difficult to bring into focus the ties that lay behind this patronage. Even when it is plain that temples served households who lived in the vicinity, the surviving information does not allow us to reconstruct these collectivities clearly. Peking's urban neighborhoods appear to have been more fluid than permanent, with untidy and overlapping boundaries.¹³⁴ A Guandi temple near the Front Gate was, we know, restored in 1702 by the residents (*ju-*

129. There were 139 temples in the Outer City and 287 in the Inner, excluding the imperial domain in both cases. A total of 238 temples existed at one time or another in this section of the city between 1644 and 1800, 100 of which were new since the founding of the dynasty.

130. I know of 125 acts of (re)building affecting 95 temples during the 157 years between 1644 and 1800, an average of almost one a year.

131. E.g., *BJTB* 61:161, 67:155-56; *JWK* 60:995; *Nianbiao* 1:174-76.

132. *BJTB* 68:150; Prip-Møller 294-95; *JWK* 60:972-85; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:25.

133. After the death of the Xiaozhuang empress dowager in 1688, for instance, one of her men contributed the funds to build a temple in the Outer City where prayers could be said for her; Gao Shiqi wrote the inscription and Kangxi inscribed various plaques. *ECCP* 300-301; Kim Ch'ang'öp 170-73; *JWK* 55:890; also Peking Library #5881 and *BJTB* 65:59. I know of only two acts involving officials. One was the 1678 restoration of the Guandi temple at the Front Gate by the Wanping magistrate: *BJTB* 63:125. The other was the restoration almost from scratch of a Fire-god temple near Liulichang by the Gendarmerie in 1776: *BJTB* 73:183. Officials did take the lead in temple-connected charitable activities that are discussed in Chapter 16.

134. Organized groups are discussed in the next three chapters. For neighborhoods, see Chapter 3.

min), with donations from “each household [*ge hu*] on our lane”; in 1789, two hundred people and a dozen businesses, perhaps places of entertainment, contributed to its reconstruction.¹³⁵ A similar pattern probably prevailed at most small temples.

As elsewhere, clerics orchestrated some restorations. In 1708 a monk helped organize residents of the neighborhood (outside the Chongwen Gate) to rebuild a temple destroyed by a fire a generation earlier; a Daxing degree-holder then serving in the capital composed and wrote out the inscription, but a Chinese Bannerman donated the stone.¹³⁶ The pious female clerics of a small city nunnery were able to raise money for major repairs in 1746 and, through some unspecified connection, arranged for an eminent ministry president (from Hangzhou) to compose and write their stele.¹³⁷ Followers of Christian, Tibetan Buddhist, and Muslim clerics also had their own churches, temples, and mosques around which their communities revolved. (Of which we will see more in Chapter 15.)

In addition to their involvement with public charity and local tourism (also to be considered in later chapters), men whose families came from Daxing and Wanping were particularly active as individuals, both as donors to temples and as authors of inscriptions. And one senses that it was at this level that they were able to demonstrate (and create) local status. Tian Chongyu, a Wanping *jinshi*, funded the restoration of a small Guanyin temple in 1663, and Li Luyu, a Daxing county metropolitan degree-holder, wrote the inscription for the rebuilding of a Bixia Yuanjun temple in 1697. Wang Xi was involved with the Medicine-king temple near the Goldfish Ponds in 1699. Other local patrons had less elegant backgrounds—a fourth-rank captain in the Green Standard army constabulary, for instance.¹³⁸

A large number of temples and other activities in the Outer City were supported by outsiders to Peking. It was in this regard that Peking most obviously resembled those other Chinese cities that had—as most did—influential sojourning communities. These outsiders acted as individuals and as groups, and their presence, their prestige, their resources, and their interest were crucial to the development and shaping of the religious and social infrastructure of the Outer City.

Scholars and would-be officials continued to divine their future at the Guandimiao inside the encircling wall of the Front Gate. The historian Tan

135. *BJTB* 75:116.

136. *BJTB* 66:105–6; *Jinshi suoyin* 2:1349; *Nianbiao* 4:3258.

137. *JWK* 61:1006.

138. Tian Chongyu: *JWK* 61:1000–1001; *Jinshi suoyin* 2:1871. Li Luyu: Wu Changyuan 9:166; *Jinshi suoyin* 2:1328. Wang Xi: *BJTB* 65:139. Captain: *JWK* 61:1009.

Qian had his fortune told there repeatedly when he was in Peking in the 1650s; the prediction that Wang Shizhen received when he prayed there in 1659 was fulfilled years later. New stelae and other gifts were regularly provided by visitors to the capital.¹³⁹

We shall consider tourist patronage at length in the following chapter, so for the moment let us note only that natives and visitors visited and wrote poems about the temples and other sights of the Outer City: the Baoguoqi, where a well-known book and antique market was held; the Chongxiaosi, known for its flowers and trees; or the Fayuan monastery.¹⁴⁰

It was common for sojourners to use temples as hotels.¹⁴¹ The clerics rented out rooms, and the visitors found peace and quiet. The Lianhuasi in the western quarter, for instance, was well known as a place where officials temporarily in the capital could stay. Hong Liangji moved there in the autumn of 1799 after sending to Prince Cheng a highly critical assessment of the state of the empire (soon to make him famous) and lived in the temple until his arrest for “extreme disrespect.”¹⁴²

Living in or close to a temple and coming to care about its history, admire its grounds, or know its monks could turn a sojourner into a patron. Wang Zehong was working in Peking in the 1670s–1690s, living near the Ming Bao’ansi, and he watched its gradual abandonment with distress. When he could stand no more, he arranged (somehow) to have a new chief cleric appointed and with that man’s help galvanized others (neighbors?) to have one hall rebuilt and the premises brought back to life.¹⁴³

Many sojourners behaved like men who had set down roots. Consider Hu Jitang. Born in Peking in 1729 and raised there during the thirty years that his father (from Henan) served in the metropolitan bureaucracy, he later returned with the exalted rank of ministry president and lived the last twenty years of his life in the capital. He had acquired and rebuilt part of the famous Yiyuan, Wang Chongjian’s villa on Mishi Alley. Down the street was a Guandimiao where his family went regularly. In the fifth month of 1789, when Hu was at the office, a fire swept through the neighborhood. Rushing home, he watched the flames suddenly veer away from his house, sparing both it and the Guandi temple but leaving dozens of buildings smoldering. The sentiment with which Hu restored the temple mixed a natural gratitude with the long-standing affection one might expect from a local man.¹⁴⁴

139. Tan Qian 1656:50, 83, 91, 128; Wang Shizhen 1691:22:528. See also *BJTB* 62:13, 62:56, 63:55, 63:160–61, 64:80; Shi Runzhang, *Prose*: 18:4–5.

140. Sun Dianqi 290–303; *BJTB* 77:189, 78:149; *STFZ* 1885:16:519; *FXZ* 9:10.

141. *Beijing zhinan* 8:14–16; *FXZ* passim.

142. *FXZ* 9:9; Dai Lu 8:209; *ECCP* 374.

143. *Jinshi suoyin* 1:262; *BJTB* 65:92, also 73:32.

144. *Nianbiao* 4:3189; *ECCP* 333; *FXZ* 10:41; Dai Lu 9:229; Wu Changyuan 10:204–5; *BJTB* 76:150.

This kind of attachment seems to have been rather common by the Qianlong reign, by which time Peking had become home to many sojourning officials and literati. By the end of the century, it was not strange for a Shanxi official—thankful for having survived the Burma campaign—to complete the restoration of a temple near the family residence that had been begun by his mother thirty years earlier, and to enlist the “*shidafu* who live in the vicinity of the temple for contributions.”¹⁴⁵

Although the practice may not have been so common among high-ranking men as in the Ming, metropolitan officials also offered their prestige and professional services to temple restorations with which they were not personally involved. Gong Dingzi (1613–1773, an Anhui man, Ming *jinshi*, poet, and official) was the author or composer or carver of half a dozen inscriptions for projects that involved a variety of different donors and temples all over the city.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, Shen Quan (1624–1684, a man from Songjiang prefecture in Jiangsu who placed third on the 1652 *jinshi* exam and served for several decades in the Hanlin) composed at least eight stelae inscriptions in the 1670s and 1680s. Most may have been businesslike arrangements, but surely not Shen’s careful copying out of the “Heart Sutra” to accompany an image of a white-robed Guanyin, both inscribed on a stone plaque at the bodhisattva’s temple inside the Front Gate in 1683.¹⁴⁷

We can note here only in passing that temples were also quite important as loci for native-place lodges and guilds organized in the Outer City by local and sojourning merchants, artisans, and scholars. Fully one-third of all the acts of temple construction and reconstruction in the early and middle Qing Outer City involved such groups—cooks, actors, bakers, winemakers, butchers, money changers, exam candidates, and so forth. (These matters are discussed in Chapter 15.)

In the course of the eighteenth century, as the divisions between the Inner and Outer Cities blurred, Bannermen became part of Outer City life. Some spent their leisure hours here, and others moved in altogether. Whether as residents or visitors, they were involved in neighborhood temples, giving money or gifts as individuals and in groups.¹⁴⁸ The Pantaogong, a medium-

145. *Nianbiao* 4:3259; *BJTB* 77:29–30. He raised nearly 800 ounces of silver from twenty men, all with positions or titles.

146. *ECCP* 431. For the stelae: *Beijing lüxing zhinan* 170–71; *BJTB* 61:83, 62:67, 62:136, 63:35; *FXZ* 8:8; *JWK* 103:1706.

147. *BJTB* 63:55, 63:56, 63:160–61, 64:13–14; *Guangji zhi* 159–64; *JWK* 58:943. For the Guanyin temple: *BJTB* 67:125.

148. *QSL-QL* 441:15; *BJTB* 63:5, 68:41.

sized temple in the northeast corner of the Outer City, was restored in 1662 by a Manchu. Wudali, a Plain Blue Bannerman whose father had joined the Qing before the conquest, was working in the metropolitan ministries in the 1650s. When his sons came down with smallpox, he was persuaded to burn incense in the temple; when the boys survived, he gratefully rebuilt it.¹⁴⁹ The 1677 restoration of the Doumu altar in the Tianxian temple in the Outer City was organized by the resident daoist but drew for support not only on the charitable people of the neighborhood, but also on “Manchu and Chinese officials of the Inner and Outer Cities,” ninety men in all. (The fact that the temple was situated across the street from Banner barracks may account for the mixed support.)¹⁵⁰

The lively Ming worship at the suburban Dongyuemiao and at temples to Our Lady of Mount Tai continued, and it should not be surprising that some of the earliest temples built or rebuilt in the Outer City were connected with these two cults. As early as 1647, there were already pilgrimage associations at an important Outer City Medicine-king temple.¹⁵¹ (We shall look at pilgrimage associations in Chapter 14.)

Chinese life in the Outer City was skimpily represented in visual media before the nineteenth century. On maps, the Outer City was almost or entirely ignored, except for the gates, moat, and great altars.¹⁵² (The map in Figure 12.4 is typical.) Even pictures of the garden-party variety were rare.¹⁵³ Luo Ping did paint the Taoranting handscroll, but his homesick album leaf “Rain in Jiangnan” may have been more typical of his work in the capital.¹⁵⁴

149. *BFTB* 62:5; *Manzhou ming chen zhuan* 8:44–45. The stele dated 1662 named Wu as president of the Ministry of Works, a post he did not hold until 1669. The stone was therefore back-dated. *Nianbiao* 1:174–79. Parts of this temple (including the stele) survived through the 1980s but have since been entirely razed.

150. *BFTB* 63:106–7; Map 1750; Niida 6:1187–89; *FXZ* 7:30.

151. Peking Library #691.

152. The Outer City was scarcely included in the 1683 or 1735 *JFTZ* maps, not shown on the 1688 Magalhães map (shown in Walravens, plate 22) or in Okada Gyokuzan, and not mapped by Qianlong as the Inner City was. The most detailed Qing treatment was in Wu Changyuan, maps 13–17; also *Comprehensive Gazetteer* 1820:1:2. A rare eighteenth-century map made by a Russian mission included the trading stalls that lined the streets outside the Front and Chongwen Gates: Lange 1781.

153. Rare or overlooked? See Clunas 1997:chap. 7. Freda Murck argued (1988:230, 355) that the very rural Yuan Jiang hanging scroll from the 1720s of scholars setting off for the exams showed Peking. Compare the 1715 portrait of the second-generation Changlu salt merchant An Qi in his Tianjin villa: *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* plate 259, pp. 351–52. For another sort of painting that might not have survived, see the early Qing pictures of people in the capital marketplaces mentioned in Li Jiarui 1936.

154. Vinograd 1992:119.

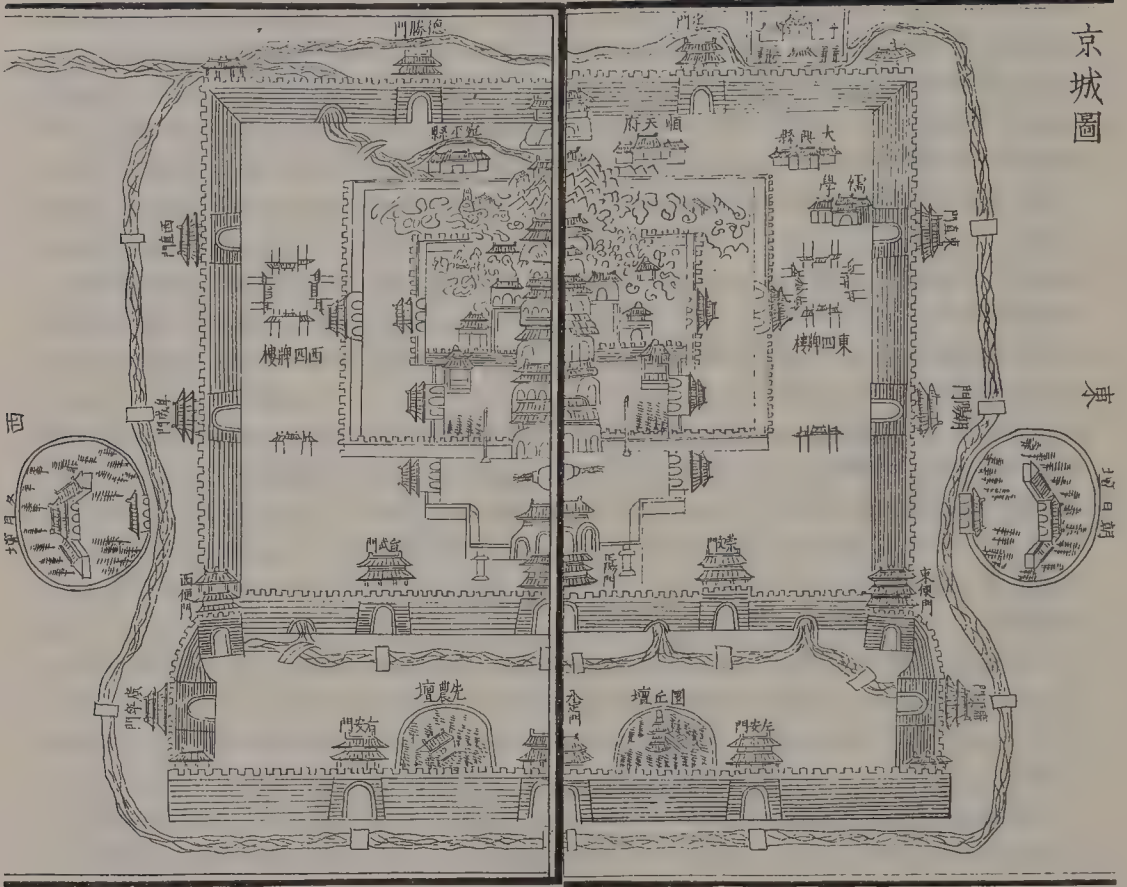


Figure 12.4. Peking in 1684

This illustration from the early Qing gazetteer for Daxing county shows the Capital City (Jingcheng): walls, gates, moat, altars of the state religion, East and West Arches, and the county and prefectural yamen. The rear halls of the palace are wreathed in clouds.

SOURCE: *Daxing xian zhi*.

Perhaps most people felt that the Outer City could not match the elegance of the palace and imperial domain or the obviously more pleasing settings of the countryside. Certainly, the suburbs continued to be popular subjects for paintings and woodblocks, for temples and tourists, and to this section of Peking we now turn.

THE SUBURBS

The area outside Peking's walls was also transformed after 1644. Properties near the city were occupied by the conquest elite, and many Bannermen were assigned to villages. The connections between the immediate suburbs and the walled city, always close, grew closer, and the reach of the urban popu-

lation extended further into the countryside. And yet, “the suburbs” (*jiaoxiang*) cannot be neatly defined, and we should not assume that all life near Peking actually revolved around the great city.¹⁵⁵

Qing rulers were quick to claim open spaces outside the walled city. The Ming had raised horses east of the capital, and the new dynasty promptly took large tracts of “abandoned land” in the more distant suburbs on both sides of Peking for the same purpose. Exercise yards for Yellow, White, and Red Banners were built in the near suburbs early in the dynasty to serve as quasi-public places for Bannermen to practice their riding and archery and for periodic imperial reviews.¹⁵⁶ The great drill yard north of the Desheng Gate included a high walled structure with a viewing tower, and this flat open plain was periodically enveloped in clouds of dust and resounded with the sounds of men and horses.¹⁵⁷

Qing emperors came gradually to appreciate the scenery of the Western Hills and claimed more and more of this area for private villas and estates. The eighteenth-century construction of the summer palaces reflected, spurred, and forcibly shaped the suburbanization of the countryside. Nearby villages were colonized and transformed into communities of bondservants. As new Banner garrisons were created, they too were stationed in the area of the imperial villas. Figure 12.5 shows the rectangular camps and barrack-villages that were visible signs of this military presence. Much of the northwest suburbs thus became culturally and administratively part of the Banner world.¹⁵⁸ Ties with these villas and the suburban altars, Southern Park (Nanyuan), Qing mausoleums, and the park at Panshan were tightened by regular visits and frequent representation in imperial media.

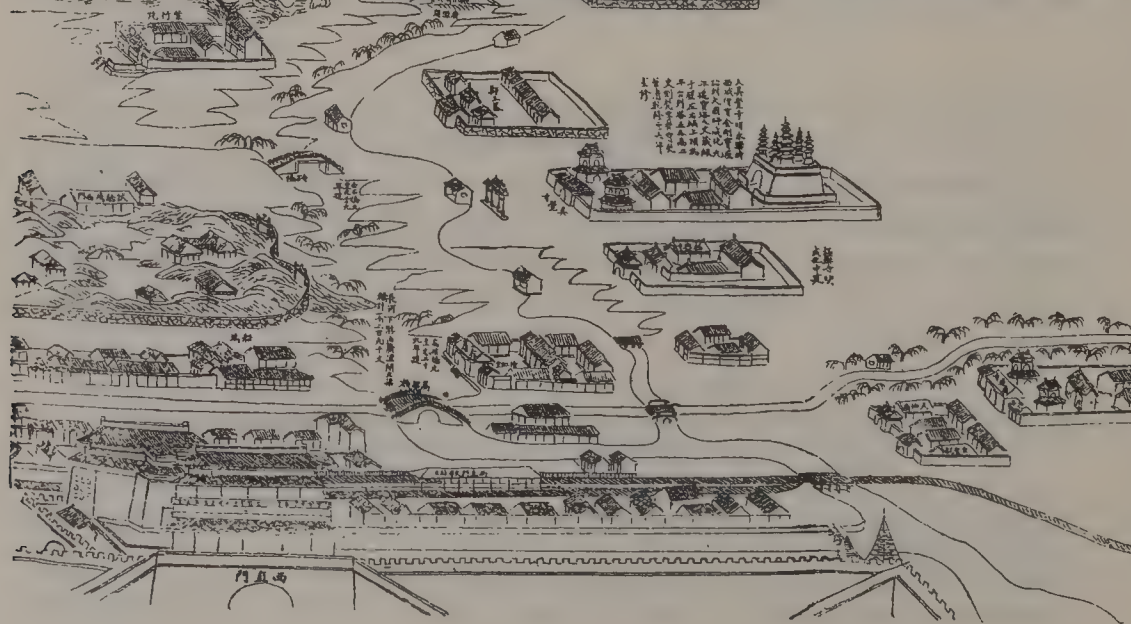
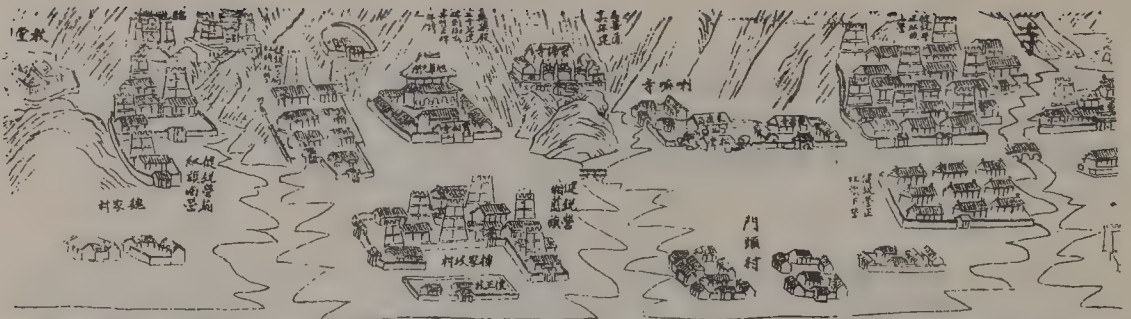
Most Bannermen seem to have settled in town and lived off rental income, but a significant number (and especially bondservants) resided in the suburbs within sight of Peking’s walls. By the end of the dynasty, this suburban Banner population was still substantial—more than double the number of those in the Inner City, and seemingly a substantial portion of those who

155. The papers and discussions at the conference on Town and Country in China held at the University of Oxford in April 1997 were quite helpful to my thinking about “suburbs.”

156. Ming: Zhang Jue 10. Qing: *BQTZ* 22:412; *Huidian shili* 1899:870:15840; *JWK* 107:1776.

157. Gamble 1925 Photographs 5/368/2107. Drills took place in the spring and autumn according to Elliott 1993:314, but autumn was most often mentioned: Chai Sang 5; Pan Rongbi 27; Freeman-Mitford 75.

158. *JWK* 72:1215, 99:1650; Malone 56–57; Freeman-Mitford 111–12; Morache 47–48. For garrisons: B & H #97–99, #733–41; *JWK* 99:1650–66 passim; *Huidian shili* 1899:543:12264–66.



lived in the vicinity.¹⁵⁹ Residents were administered variously by magistrates and Banner commanders.

As in the Ming, the zones immediately outside the city gates—the *guan*—were seen as city rather than countryside. As early as 1644, Gendarmerie soldiers were told to take charge of these areas to a distance of thirty to forty *li* (approximately twenty kilometers). They were also to care for the roads and gutters around the *guan*.¹⁶⁰ Police officers of the Five Boroughs and soldiers from the Gendarmerie were stationed outside each of the gates.¹⁶¹ At a wider remove, after the 1680s Shuntian had four subprefects, each with a staff of policemen, stationed in the four directions in the countryside beyond (at Tongzhou, Lugouqiao, Huangcun, and Gonghuacheng), each with responsibility for crime in their own sector (*lu*).¹⁶²

A few important government offices were located in the countryside and radiated power. Tax stations (supervised by the collectors at the Chongwen Gate) assessed incoming freight on the road from Zhangjiakou and other points along the northern frontier, at Shanhaiguan (the gateway to the Northeast), at Tianjin and Tongzhou on the Grand Canal, and at Lugou Bridge on the road from the south.¹⁶³ At Lugou, candidates for the Shun-

159. Perhaps 445,000 people in 1912? Liang Fangzhong 268; also Han Guanghui 1996:125–28. These figures should all be regarded as educated guesses. We cannot count Peking's entire "suburban" population because there was no such category. The combined population of Daxing and Wanping in 1882 may have been 386,000: Han Guanghui 1996:118. In 1926, the city counted 380,000 people in what were then understood as the city's suburbs (*jiao*), against 840,000 within the walls. *Beijing zhinan* 1:24–25.

160. Through 1771, funds were provided by the Imperial Household, and workers were hired from among the people. *Jinwu shili* 4:9–12.

161. MQDA document, SZ 1/7/27, as yet unpublished; *Huidian shili* 1899:590:12838–39, 1031:17399; JWK 62:1048.

162. STFZ 1885:22:681–83.

163. Kim Chōngjung 1:588; *Huidian* 1899:23:237–38; *Huidian shili* 1899:234:8199–8202, 236:8221–22.

Figure 12.5. Suburbs outside the Xizhi Gate

This drawing accompanied the Manchu Bannerman Jinliang's "Illustrated Sights of the Western Hills," written at the end of the Qing. It was one of several sketches he made of the imperial domain and northwest suburbs. The picture accentuated the dense settlement of the area between the city walls and the mountains, and it described temples, villages, and villas with some care. This detail shows Gaoliang Bridge outside the Xizhi Gate and the canal that led from the city, past the Five Stupa Temple and the Temple of Longevity. Further west were the Xiding (Western Summit) and the nearby barracks belonging to the Eight Banner Artillery Division.

SOURCE: Jinliang. Also Crossley 1990:278; a color painting of the same scene was used as the back cover of *Yandu* 1989 #6.

tian examination were also stopped and checked.¹⁶⁴ Zhangjiawan, a town on the land route from Tongzhou, was a distribution point for the salt produced in the flats further east and sold by the monopoly merchants in Tianjin.¹⁶⁵ At each of these nodes, inns catered to the government offices and their visitors.

Because of the wealth of its granaries and dangerous manpower of its boatmen, Tongzhou was of considerable concern to the Imperial Household and the Gendarmerie. Grain from northern and central China had to be moved expeditiously along the canal and securely stored in Tongzhou and Peking; Banner officers and officials connected with the Grain Tribute Administration had frequent business in this canal terminus.¹⁶⁶ The constant traffic of rich and poor to and from Tongzhou in turn promoted the development of Peking's eastern suburbs; a rare paved road, lined with granaries, linked the two cities.

Daxing and Wanping, Peking's two counties, benefitted from imperial benevolence toward places "here at the central pivot"; they were the recipients of generous exam quotas and tax relief that were founded on fear of unrest so near the throne.¹⁶⁷ The county magistrates had formal authority only over people living outside Peking's walls, but because most of the land within their jurisdictions belonged to the Banners, a clean separation of responsibilities was impossible.¹⁶⁸ Initially, most of Da's and Wan's lands would have been liable for Banner rents instead of government taxes, but from at least the middle of the eighteenth century, as more and more Bannermen were encouraged to "become *min*," the magistrates' tasks grew more onerous.

Often lumped together, Da and Wan were quite different. Rural Wanping was three times as large, extended west and south, and had many mountains. Smaller Daxing consisted entirely of flat developed plains and encompassed the heavily travelled routes between Peking and the Grand Canal.¹⁶⁹ As we have seen, commercial Daxing produced twice as many degree-holders. The agricultural land in both counties supplied the urban rich with luxuries and the poor with necessities.

Although many of Peking's residents survived on grain imported from the central provinces, the economic well-being of the city depended on the surrounding countryside. The fields near Peking were planted in the staples

164. *LSJN* 207-8; Li Zongwan 19; *QSLJQ* 59:19-21.

165. *LSJN* 203; Zha Sili 2:44; Wolsley 182-83.

166. Kelley 51ff.

167. E.g., a slush fund was created in 1729 for these two magistrates so that they could have enough cash to carry on business, a luxury not enjoyed by most officials. *JFTZ* 1884:2:99, 2:106.

168. Dray-Novey 1981:139-40; *LSJN* 210.

169. Han Guanghui 1996:113-17; *STFZ* 1885 maps.

of the pasta-eating Chinese population: wheat, buckwheat, millet, sorghum, and soybeans.¹⁷⁰ The suburbs also produced fruits, vegetables, meat, and fowl, and the commercial flower business around Fengtai in the southwestern suburbs continued to be vigorous. Imperial exhortations notwithstanding, grain was also used to make the powerful distilled liquor for which the areas east and south of Peking were well known. Westerners in the mid-nineteenth century saw ample evidence of extensive vegetable gardens and of pits for keeping produce fresh during the winter.¹⁷¹

The mountains west of Peking were a long-standing source of rocks, salt-peter, limestone, and especially coal.¹⁷² Anthracite coal—usually pulverized, mixed with earth, and rolled into balls—had been mined here since before the Ming and was the preferred form of fuel in the city. It burned readily, emitted little smoke, and was used both for cooking and for heating the *kang* that served as bed and living area in the north. Although occasionally objected to (and sometimes forbidden in the vicinity of temples), coal mining responded to an insatiable demand and attracted investors (including the Bannermen who had rights to the land). The merchant investors and distributors seem to have been Shanxi men.¹⁷³ Filthy coal storage yards were common at the city gates, and camels and mules hauling coal from Mentougou to Sanjiadian or from the north were familiar sights.¹⁷⁴

Peking was a source of employment, especially in the off-season. Country people worked as servants for the well-to-do and peddled assorted rural specialties on the city streets: candied crab-apples, ducks, winter accessories, candy, brooms, plants and flowers, toys, dried fruits and nuts, fans, and chestnuts.¹⁷⁵ Collectors came into the city to take away nightsoil to be dried and used in the fields as fertilizer.¹⁷⁶ If one could circumvent the regulations and

170. QSL-KX 240:14–15; SYD 199–201, QL 40/5/10; SYD 456, QL 50/12/3; Tan Qian 1656:31; Michie 28; L. Li 1992:73–76. These grains were also paid to the Banners and Imperial Household as rent: *JFTZ* 1884:1:47. For imperially sponsored attempts to grow rice: Brook 1982; Tan Qian 1656:314.

171. *JWK* 90:1536–38; Wang Shizhen 1701:15:12–13; Wolseley 182–83; Lamprey 247; Williamson 1:248–49; Bretschneider 1876a:93. Liquor: YFD 1, QL 2/7/6; YFD 113–14, QL 2/8/11; Dudgeon 1895:317.

172. See Kim Chǒngjung 588 for the lines of carts carrying lime over the Lugou Bridge into Peking.

173. Deng Tuo 192–232; Fang Xing; *Tongkao* 32:5146, 5152; *Huidian shili* 1899:1039:17469; *JFTZ* 1884:3:188–89; QSL-DG 37:6–7. Near Jietan: *JWK* 105:1737–42; Niida 5:1067–68; GZD:QL 51915; *BJTB* 81:60–61.

174. Pan Rongbi 34–35; Swinhoe 371; Williamson 1:144; Siren 1924:147–48, 153, 182; *Imperial China* 44–45; *Yanjing za ji* 132; Timkowski 297; Fortune 386. The emissions were not good for the health.

175. *Beijing minjian fengsu bai tu*; Strand 32; *Yanjing za ji* 122; Constant *passim*.

176. Strand 155; *Beijing minjian fengsu bai tu*.

inspection at the gates, there was better and cheaper grain available in the city.¹⁷⁷

We can see the fabric of connections between city and countryside illustrated in the life of a man called Lin Qing. His father, a native of Shaoxing (Zhejiang), was a clerk in the office of the Shuntian southern route subprefect; he and his wife were both buried outside Huangcun, the town south of Peking where that office was located. Lin himself also held jobs in the Inner City (southwest corner) and in nearby sections of the Outer City; he had Chinese Bannermen for friends and patrons, did business at shops run by Shanxi merchants, and was sworn brothers with a Manchu Banner soldier. In the latter years of his life, he lived in Huangcun.¹⁷⁸

City people encroached on the countryside for their villas and gravesites. Although the hills to the west offered more geomantically desirable configurations, graveyards were to be found all around Peking. The era when great temples were founded to accompany a eunuch grave were over, but ordinary family cemeteries dotted the farm and mountain lands around the city. Early in the dynasty, Chinese whose graves lay on land confiscated by the Banners were supposedly given continuing access.¹⁷⁹ Bannermen needed graveyards too, and allocations were given to each man, some with good geomancy, some with bad.¹⁸⁰ Walled enclosures and evergreen trees set off the cemeteries of the rich, and stelae standing on tortoises inscribed with epitaphs signalled an imperial kinsman or noble.¹⁸¹ Large collective cemeteries provided resting places for eunuchs and the native-place associations of sojourners.

The sights and scenery of the mountains continued to be enjoyed by Peking people of all social statuses. The Western Hills and Lugou Bridge were frequently represented on maps and drawings, and in 1751 Qianlong set up eight stelae marking the real or imagined location of all Eight Vistas.¹⁸²

Although most temples in the countryside were sustained by rural communities and remain beyond our consideration here, religious establishments were another link between the walled city and the suburbs. Indeed, in this book

177. *JFTZ* 1884:3:140; *Gugong zhoukan* 227:3, 228:1; *LSJN* 232; *Jinwu shili* 4:64–66. To discourage such buying, during crises Shuntian set up price-stabilization bureaus around Peking (at the subprefect stations) where granary stores would be sold off to bring the price down in the countryside. *YFD* 147–58, *QL* 16/3/1. These four bureaus were later shifted and supplemented. *JJD:QL* 6858; L. Li 1994.

178. Naquin 1976:esp. 72–77; *Jiaofei* 20:33–34; *Gugong zhoukan* 221:1–3; *SYD* 169–73, *JQ* 19/11/14.

179. *QSL-SZ* 14:9. I have not looked systematically at this issue, but see also *GZDZZ-YZ* 23:96.

180. These lands came from the imperial estates. *BQTZ* 22:410–11. See *Linqing* 3:38–39 for the author's family graveyard in the north suburbs.

181. J. Bell 155; Timkowski 314; Peking Library *passim*.

182. Shi Shuqing; *BJTB* 70:154–57; Xu Ke 1:128. Visual representations: *Nan xun sheng-dian*; Wu Changyuan j. 11; *Comprehensive Gazetteer* 1820:j. 1.

I have defined the suburbs as the area within which temples regularly attracted the intramural population. Like those within the walls, rural temples permitted solidarities to be created and helped outsiders root themselves in local society. The imperial family took the lead, but there were no eunuch magnates to extend these patronage activities far and wide. Instead, local and sojourning tourists, monks, ordinary residents, and pilgrimage associations, often using the Ming infrastructure, wove connecting strands to rural temples.

It is impossible to know how many religious establishments there were in the countryside around Peking in the Qing. I know of 314 suburban temples standing in 1644 that were patronized by city people (excluding those in the imperial domain). This number had increased to 388 in 1780, of which a third seem to have been new in the Qing. The distribution of these temples in space did not greatly change from Ming times: well over half were in the northwest, and only 15 percent were on the east, north, or south sides of Peking.¹⁸³

In the seventeenth century, the pace of temple building was much slower in the suburbs than in the walled city, and two-thirds of such documentable events did not take place until the Yongzheng and Qianlong reigns (1723–1796). The lack of activity in the first four decades of Qing rule suggests that it was only after some equilibrium was reestablished within the walls that the residents began to involve (or reinvolve) themselves in the countryside.

Imperial patronage was an important stimulant. It is an indication of the enhanced position of Tibetan Buddhists under the new dynasty that theirs were among the earliest suburban temples to be built. Beginning in 1645, large lamaseries were founded by the throne in the northern suburbs, and temples such as the Huangsi continued to be patronized by the Banner nobility and developed as centers for visitors from Central Asia.

As we saw in Chapter 10, the Imperial Household put three dozen suburban temples on its payroll, and members of the imperial family made gifts to many more. As a prince in his forties, the future Yongzheng emperor had the lovely suburban Dajuesi restored and appointed a new abbot.¹⁸⁴ His younger brother, Yinxiang, paid for the renovation of the Wofosi, work that his sons carried to completion in 1734.¹⁸⁵ In 1757, imperial relatives donated

183. I know of 490 temples that existed in the suburbs at one time or another between 1644 and 1800; temples with connections to the walled city are greatly overrepresented. Most were within about twenty kilometers of the walled city, but I have included a few at a greater remove that were patronized regularly by city people. Of the 490, 126 were “patronized” only by being included in guidebooks about Peking, and their connections with the city may be of quite a different order.

184. *BJTB* 67:123; *JWK* 106:1766.

185. *JWK* 101:1680–81; also Fengkuan 14. Examples of princely patronage after the mid-eighteenth century were fewer.

the money to build a large hall at the Tanzhe monastery for visiting monks and endowed it with land to supply food for them all.¹⁸⁶

Officials of Daxing and Wanping counties did not perform rituals outside the city. Only the rites for welcoming spring relied in part on a site in the eastern suburbs. City censors had authority outside the gates and occasionally lent their names or energies to renovation projects, but no magistrates did.¹⁸⁷

Many of the temples of the suburbs were enriched (but less often restored) by visitors, elite tourists eager to see sites commemorated in earlier eras. Peking's repertory of sights was enlarged through these efforts. For instance, the area of the Four Terraces (Si Pingtai, also called the Eight Great Sites) west of Peking, distant and neglected at the end of the Ming, received a burst of attention in the Kangxi reign, perhaps reflecting the forced displacement of literati "strolling" from those parts of the Western Hills being taken over by the throne.¹⁸⁸ In 1659 a retired scholar from Shandong attempted to restore the Shanyingsi, a temple near there long favored by literati, but could not raise the money; a decade later a hundred-odd others (including Bannermen) were able to complete the work.¹⁸⁹

As elsewhere, clerics often took the lead in acts of piety. A hostel for the poor in the northwest suburbs was founded sometime before 1688 by a well-intentioned monk and later attracted imperial support.¹⁹⁰ (These kinds of charity are discussed in Chapter 16.)

Eunuchs were now unremarkable patrons but still often acted collectively. Consider their 1701 restoration of the shrine to Patriarch Gang (Temple to the Greatly Honored Loyal Protector of the Nation). In the 1660s, some Ming eunuchs revived the association that made regular offerings to their fourteenth-century hero, and kept it alive for the next two decades. Qing eunuchs then took over. In 1701 more than one hundred of them funded the rebuilding of the temple, refurbished all of the ritual utensils, and recarved the Ming stelae. In 1727 eunuchs who worked in the imperial kitchens restored a temple to the Stove-god in the suburbs on the route to the summer palaces, attached a graveyard to it for their use, and kept it in good repair. An imperially funded eunuch graveyard was set up in 1740, obviating the need for these private efforts.¹⁹¹

186. *BJTB* 71:110.

187. E.g., *BJTB* 73:168–69.

188. These sites seem to have been originally called "Eight Great Monasteries" (Ba Da Cha) in Chinese (by 1748), then (?) "Eight Great Sites" (Ba Da Chu) or "Eight Great Temples" (Ba Da Miao) (mid-nineteenth century). *BJTB* 70:36; Shoudu Library #667; Rennie 1:111; Bretschneider 1876a:86.

189. *JWK* 103:1706; *BJTB* 62:184–85.

190. *JWK* 107:1774.

191. Patriarch Gang: *BJTB* 65:173–74, 65:182. Stove-god: *BJTB* 68:45, 71:35, 72:53, 74:139, 80:56–57; Peking Library #3442. Also *BJTB* 71:11. See Chapter 16 for more on graveyards.

The Temple of the God of the Eastern Peak retained much of its popularity with palace residents. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Imperial Household bondservants joined with the eunuchs who worked for them to organize collective support. Men who worked in manufacturing for the Imperial Household, Ministry of Works, and Five Boroughs also contributed to the shrine to Lu Ban, god of builders, within that temple.¹⁹² (During the late nineteenth century, when there was a resurgence of eunuch power, Li Lianying, favorite of the empress dowager, joined with others in giving lanterns to the Dongyuemiao and contributed to the official eunuch graveyard.)¹⁹³

Qing bondservants were indifferent patrons by contrast with Ming eunuchs and palace women. They appear primarily with other Bannermen as contributors to village temples. After the summer palace communities were established, however, some bondservants became active nearby. In 1732, for example, Imperial Household *baoyi* from the Yuanmingyuan donated 2,700 ounces of silver, purchased land nearby, and built a temple.¹⁹⁴

Banner people and sojourning merchant groups both extended their patronage activities to the suburbs. In 1728 Shanxi merchants who traded in horses and mules built a temple to the Horse-god on one of the roads west, and other Shanxi men restored a temple outside one of the western gates in 1748 so that it could serve as a native-place association headquarters and coffin storage depot. Such groups also sought grave land and built small adjacent temples where appropriate rites could be performed and a caretaker or cleric could reside.¹⁹⁵ In the 1670s, a pious Manchu happened to stroll by a Dizangsi outside the Fucheng Gate, noticed the sorry state of the temple, and initiated a restoration that was eventually brought to completion by his widow and son.¹⁹⁶

More often, patronage was collective. Repairs to the distinguished Tianingsi pagoda in the near western suburbs, led by a resident monk with assistance from “generous devotees,” took seventeen years; a Chinese Bannerman (perhaps one of the donors) wrote the 1699 inscription.¹⁹⁷ Some 439 donors (including 72 women) were enlisted to restore the Wusheng temple in the southeast suburb; some were clearly Manchu and may have been employed in the nearby Southern Park.¹⁹⁸ The Ming Baozangsi in the low foothills to the northwest had “fallen into ruin,” and in 1699 “the residents who lived on either side” of it organized (*li she*) to raise the money to rebuild

192. *BJTB* 69:87, 76:7–8; Peking Library #7824.

193. Liu Houzi 137; *BJTB* 90:208.

194. *BJTB* 69:38, 73:167. For 1723: *BJTB* 68:112. For other examples: *BJTB* 68:143–44, 74:55, 79:53–54.

195. *BJTB* 68:60, 70:26, 77:137–38, 81:95–96; Niida 1:97–109.

196. *BJTB* 63:100.

197. *BJTB* 65:140.

198. *BJTB* 72:54–55.

it. By 1708 the temple was like new; the 165 donors seem to have been Banner people.¹⁹⁹ In 1764 two-hundred-odd people who lived just outside the Fucheng Gate, merchants and ordinary citizens (*guanxiang shang min ren-deng*), restored a Fire-god temple there.²⁰⁰

In the Banner villages of the northwest suburbs, patronage was often connected to the construction of temples to Guandi, a kind of patron saint for the dynasty. One Guandimiao founded in 1705 accumulated over the next two decades gifts of more than four hundred *mou* of rural land from other Bannermen—some company captains and one a grand secretary. By 1734, an inscription named three entire villages (*quan cun*) as benefactors.²⁰¹

Some rural temples were drawn into pilgrimage networks associated with Mount Tai and patronized by city-based associations, and we shall look at them in more detail in the following chapter. Others were only tenuously connected to the city. The coal mine owners who organized the building of a Seven Sages temple in the hills near their mines in 1745 had no obvious connection with Peking save the mention of their temple in the imperially compiled “Study of ‘Ancient Accounts Heard in the Precincts of the Throne’.”²⁰²

Carving a stele usually necessitated reaching into the capital’s elite stratum for an author. A Tianxian temple in the Western Hills restored by people from thirty-three nearby villages (*cun minren*) enlisted a Hanlin official to compose the inscription.²⁰³ But not all villagers turned toward the city. Those men from four villages just southeast of Peking that “alone were spared” in a flood in 1715, believing that the Dragon-mother in their community was responsible for protecting them, “asked for donations from those gentry [*shi*] who liked to do good deeds.” (It is not clear to whom they were referring.) Having rebuilt and enlarged the temple, they invited a *shengyuan* from Changping department (just north of the capital) to compose and write the stele account.²⁰⁴ Naturally, many temples were supported by the village communities they served and had no connections whatsoever to urban elites.

Peking’s “suburbs” must therefore be understood as a loose zone outside the walls, full of holes, lacking fixed boundaries, and constantly reconfigured. The movement of people from the city to villages and mountains and from

199. *BJTB* 66:107–8. There are a number of names that sound Manchu; later donors clearly were. *BJTB* 72:154–55.

200. *BJTB* 72:62–63. This “group” seems to have involved shops as well as individuals.

201. *BJTB* 68:143–44. For other examples: *BJTB* 68:137–38, 79:136, 79:172, 86:94–95; Peking Library #2960.

202. Peking Library #5128; *JWK* 102:1689.

203. *BJTB* 72:162.

204. *BJTB* 67:57.

villages to the city created strands of connectedness that were uneven in their distribution and their strength. Like imperial Peking, the walled city was distinct and easily identified; the capital's social, leisure, and working worlds were more weakly contoured and difficult to define.

Another way of appreciating the place of the suburbs in Peking life is to examine the linkages made by seasonal festivals to and through the city. By the middle of the eighteenth century a characteristically Qing cycle was established, and it stitched together the seemingly separate components of Peking: the imperial domain, the Inner City, the Outer City, and the countryside nearby.

PEKING'S HOLIDAYS

As we saw in Chapter 8, holidays had helped create a distinctive Peking culture. These practices, more changeable than the word "traditional" implies, were jolted, like much else, by the Qing conquest. It is a measure of the re-adjustment that it took three generations to produce a substantial account of the new Qing annual calendar.²⁰⁵ This "Famous Sites in the Annual Calendar of the Capital" (*Dijing suishi jisheng*) was written by Pan Rongbi, a native of Peking, and printed in 1758. Reflecting the recovery of an integrated city life a century after the conquest, this work repays close attention.

Pan Rongbi had been employed for a dozen years on various historical projects inside the Forbidden City, and he used his retirement to write about Peking's holidays.²⁰⁶ Month by lunar month (inserting solar holidays where they most frequently fell), in short separate items, his "Annual Calendar" described the places and activities connected with each holiday. For each month, Pan named the best-known seasonal produce and foods (*shipin*). His style and approach may be seen in the following passage:

Dizang Assemblies. According to tradition, the thirtieth day of the seventh month is the birthday of the Bodhisattva Dizang. The Buddhist temples

205. A short annual calendar was provided in the local customs sections of the 1685 Wanping and Daxing gazetteers; these texts were lifted almost entirely from the 1635 *Dijing jingwu lue* and described Ming customs as if they were still practiced. See *Daxing xian zhi* 1:15–18. Nor did the great compendium on the capital, *Rixia jiu wen*, include Qing practices; its calendar (also part of "local customs") consisted of strings of quotations from Ming and earlier sources. Zhu Yizun 1688: 38:9–19, and supplement to 38:1–9. These sections were repeated in the *Rixia jiuwen kao* (JWKj. 147–48). Neither the 1671 nor the 1735 editions of the provincial gazetteer included a calendar. There was a very short account of annual festivals (likewise not set off in the text) in the unpublished notes by Chai Sang.

206. He was dissatisfied with the lack of works on the subject (preface). The text is longer but is comparable in layout and content to the 1635 account of the late Ming calendar. I have

[*simiao*] of the capital have penitential rites and sutra recitation. [The temple monks] also make paper dharma boats, in the middle of which they place painted images of Buddha-King Dizang and the ten kings of hell. When the night watches are over, they perform the “Feeding the Hungry Mouths” [ritual] and burn [the boats]. On the streets and lanes, incense is burning everywhere and there are lotus lanterns beside the roads; it is as bright as day.²⁰⁷

This mid-Qing text cheerfully associated Peking with the great capitals of previous dynasties but, unlike its Ming predecessors, made no attempt to relate local practices to those in other parts of the empire. When Pan Rongbi invoked the past, he usually did so by invoking “tradition”; the Ming was rarely mentioned except to date events.²⁰⁸ Nor did he rely on quoted material from earlier books or literati poems. Pan did not seem to need these kinds of legitimacy but instead wrote self-confidently from his own experiences. He preferred to quote proverbs (*yan*), which he used to explain or encapsulate local beliefs and practices: “At winter solstice eat *hundun* soup, at summer solstice eat noodles”; “If there is no rain on *chongyang* [9/9], look for it on the thirteenth; if there is none, it will be a dry winter.”²⁰⁹ Similarly, for the first, fifth, and ninth months, Pan listed various local superstitions (*ji*) (with no disapprobation): Don’t eat rice on new year’s day, don’t wash or sew the bedding in the ninth month for fear of offending the nine female star deities, and so forth.²¹⁰

Because Pan Rongbi was concerned with the present not the past, from his account we can see both how local customs had changed as a consequence of the Manchu conquest and how a new integration had been accomplished in the course of the early and middle Qing. (Table 12.1 lists the principal holidays set forth in his work. The sites are shown on Map 12.1.)

A comparison of the data in Tables 8.1 and 12.1 points up continuities in the calendar between Ming and Qing.²¹¹ The holidays usually celebrated within the home—the new year, 2/2, *qingming*, 5/5, 6/6, 7/7, 7/15, 8/15, 9/9, 10/1, the winter solstice, 12/8—still provided the backbone of the calendar. Festivals associated with gods and temples were more changed. More gods’ birthdays seem to be celebrated in the eighteenth century, but even if

seen no other systematic descriptions of holidays before the second decade of the nineteenth century.

207. Pan Rongbi 28.

208. As “traditionally such-and-such is done” (*chuan wei . . .*) or “there was an old tradition that” (*jiu chuan you . . .*).

209. Pan Rongbi 23, 32, respectively. Pan quoted nineteen different proverbs.

210. “Superstition” should be understood in terms of current English usage and not as the Chinese *mixin*. Pan Rongbi 13, 23, 34–35.

211. Each of these tables consists of material that I selected from the already selective data contained in two quite different sources. Continuity cannot be proved by this comparison, but it is borne out by other fragmentary sources.

this is an artifact of Pan's broader sweep, we can still be sure that they were being celebrated in new places.

Some shifts in location were the natural consequence of the Banner occupation of the Northern City. Pan acknowledged (without calling attention to it) that the Ming new year's lantern market near the Forbidden City had been relocated to several commercial intersections in the Outer City. Likewise, the thrice-monthly fair at the City-god temple had been moved to the Outer City Baoguoosi. In the early years, the public reacted by lamenting that the fairs were "Not as flourishing as in the old days!"²¹²

For some celebrations, new locations in the Outer City were simply added on, as on Guanyin's birthday (2/19) or at the mid-summer ghost festival.²¹³ In other cases, holidays were new. After a temple to the God of the Sun was restored in the early Qing (in the far southeastern part of the Outer City), that deity's birthday celebration on 2/1 attracted considerable crowds—perhaps because of the popular hall to Our Lady of Mount Tai.²¹⁴ The birthday of the Queen Mother of the West at the Pantaogong had also become a major festival, with a temple fair on the first three days of the third month and horse racing nearby.²¹⁵

Many customs associated with the Inner City were adopted by Bannermen (watching the imperial elephants and viewing the lotuses); at the same time, new places to celebrate emerged. A Ming temple inside the Xizhi Gate was patronized by the Bannermen of that quarter in the early eighteenth century and restored in 1758; its martial arts performers made it popular during the lantern festival, and a temple fair (*miaoshi*) had developed by the end of the century.²¹⁶

Temple festivals in the suburbs were less affected by the dynastic change: the White Cloud Monastery still drew great crowds in the first month, and the birthday of the God of the Eastern Peak in the third month and that of Bixia Yuanjun in the fourth continued to be very popular. The colors and scents of the tree peonies being commercially grown by the thousands in the Fengtai area south of the city still attracted viewers in the late spring.²¹⁷

212. Pan Rongbi 9, 10, 22; Tan Qian 1656:334. No information remains to tell us precisely how these relocations took place. The shift of the temple fair was more likely to have been an organized decision made, perhaps, by the sellers of goods in consultation with the respective clerics. The lantern displays, by contrast, seem to have been diffused unsystematically.

213. Pan Rongbi 15, 27–28.

214. Pan Rongbi 13–14; Wu Changyuan 9:172; Kim Ch'ang'öp 206–7.

215. Pan Rongbi 16–17; Wu Changyuan 9:168.

216. The Chongxuanguan. Pan Rongbi 9; *JWK* 52:840–41; Wu Changyuan 8:161; *Gugong zhoukan* 194.

217. Pan Rongbi 12, 17, 18–19, 22, 25. Fengtai: Pan Rongbi 20; Wang Chongjian; Shi Runzhang, *Poems* 23:13; Fang Bao 206; *JWK* 90:1536–38; Ruan Kuisheng 242.

TABLE 12.1 Annual Calendar, 1758

According to the 'Famous Sites in the Annual Calendar of the Capital'

<i>Date</i>	<i>Activity</i>
<i>lichun</i>	Prefect and officials "present spring."
1/1	Lunar new year. Officials congratulate the throne. Families celebrate at home. Fireworks.
1/8	Offer lanterns to star deities.
1/8	Rite of beating the devils (<i>da gui</i>) at the Hongren and Huang lamaseries.
1/9	Heaven's birthday. Daoist temples have rites.
1/1-16	Attend fair at Liulichang. Stroll to other places.
1/13-16	<i>Shangyuan</i> . Officials congratulate one another. Lanterns are on display on city streets. Women stroll in groups.
1/19	Celebrate <i>yanjiu</i> at the White Cloud Monastery.
1/25	Eat a huge meal, "filling up the granaries."
2/1	Eat sun-cakes. Celebrate at the Taiyanggong.
2/2	Clear out insects and eat special foods associated with the "dragon raising his head."
2/12	Flower-god's birthday.
2/19	Guanyin's birthday, celebrated at her temples.
<i>qingming</i>	Commemorate deceased ancestors by visiting family graveyards. Make offerings to orphan souls.
3/1-3	Xiwangmu's birthday at Pantaogong.
3/28	Birthday of the God of the Eastern Peak, celebrated in his temples.
4/8	Wash the Buddha; visit Buddhist monasteries.
4/8-18	Birthday of Bixia Yuanjun, celebrated at her temples.
4/10-20	Birthday of Medicine-king, celebrated at his temples.
5/1-5	Fairs at other Bixia Yuanjun temples.
5/1-8	Fair at City-god temple.
5/5	Visit scenic spots. Take prophylactic measures to "avoid poisons" in the air. Married women return home.
5/13	Birthday of Guandi, celebrated at his temples.
6/6	Air books and clothing, in homes and in the palace.
<i>san fu</i>	Bathe the imperial elephants in the moat. Enjoy the lotuses in palace and on city lakes.
7/1-7	Daoist temples worship seven stars.
7/7	Girls float needles in a bowl in their home courtyards.
7/15	<i>Zhongyuan</i> . Perform rites in temples for orphan souls and float lantern boats on city lakes.
7/30	Birthday of Bodhisattva Dizang, celebrated at his temples.
8/15	Make offerings to the full moon. Eat moon cakes.
8/27	Birthday of Confucius, celebrated at his temple and by scholars.

TABLE 12.1 (continued)

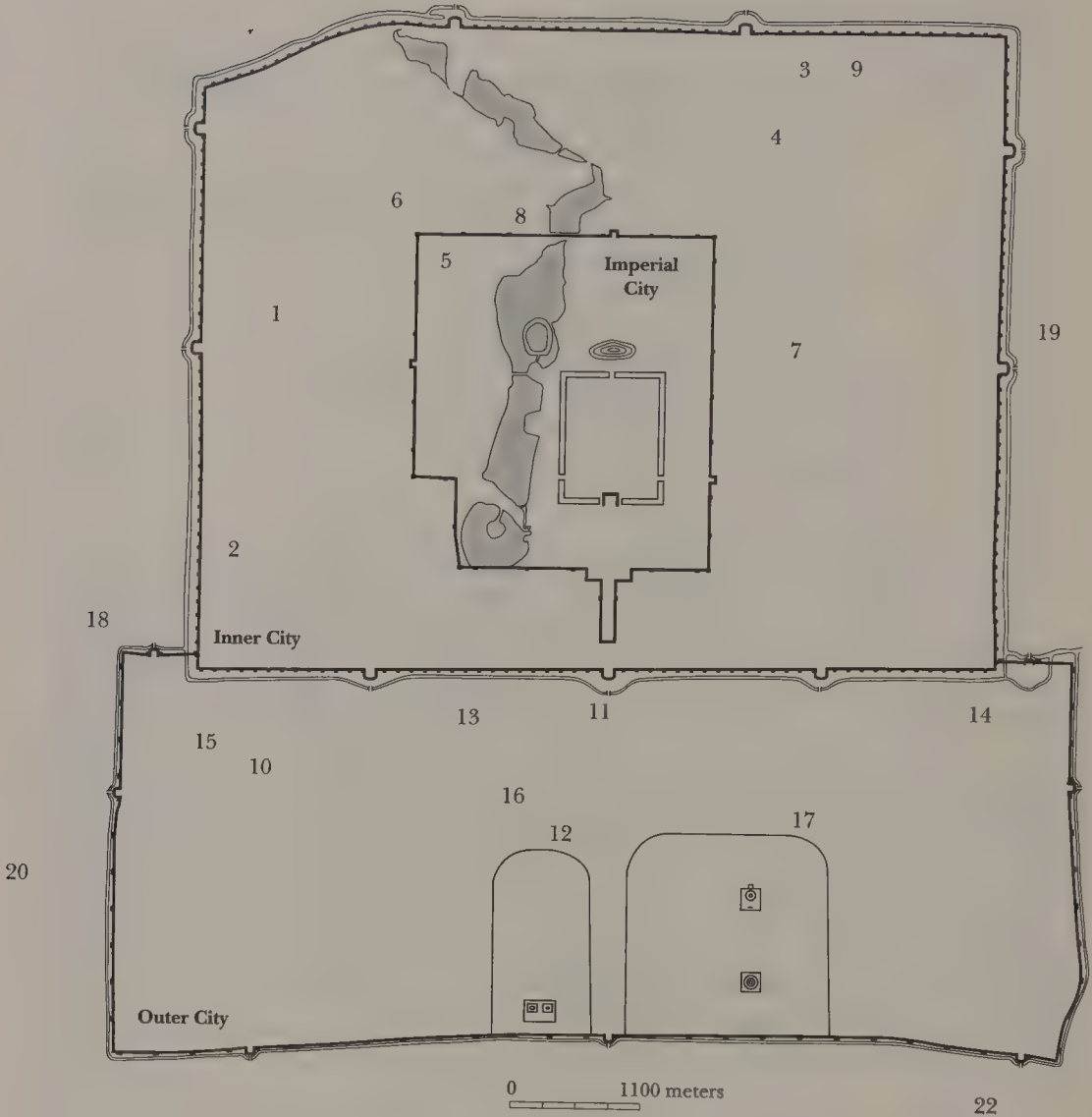
9/9	<i>Chongyang</i> . Visit high places to enjoy the view. Admire chrysanthemums.
10/1	Send spirit-clothing to deceased relatives.
10/25	Celebrate Manjusri's birthday at the White Stupa.
<i>dongzhi</i>	Winter solstice. Officials celebrate; others begin counting out the coming days of winter.
11th month	Ice-skate on the lakes.
12/8	Families eat a special porridge.
12/23	Each household fetes its Stove-god.
12/30	Families celebrate new year's eve at home.

SOURCE: Pan Rongbi.

With greater Manchu and Mongol patronage of Tibetan Buddhism, exorcistic rituals performed by lamas became public spectacles. They can be attested as early as about 1700 by visitors at the Black and Yellow lamaseries (both in the north suburbs) and at the Sandalwood Buddha Temple (inside the Imperial City), all constructed in the early Qing. The rites were locally known as "beating the ghosts" (*da gui*), and the crowds seem to have been spectators rather than believers.²¹⁸ These colorful, noisy, exciting ritual-dramas that culminated in the scattering of money to the audience delivered an exotic excitement that seems to have made them a memorable part of the annual calendar. Moreover, they provided a rare point of shared activity for the Tibetan Buddhist community and the citizenry (Chinese or Banner), and these rites were probably important in making the Tibetan religion, however unusual, a part of Peking life.

Pan's account revealed that the separate worlds of Banner and *min* created at the start of the dynasty had not entirely merged in 1758. On 9/9, residents of the Northern City mostly "climbed to a high spot" at the Five Stupa Temple in the northwest suburbs, while Chinese from the old Southern City went to the pagoda of the Fazangsi in the Outer City. More pointedly, to accommodate different visitors at the popular Guandi temple inside the Front Gate at the new year, the inner gate was opened on new year's eve so that residents from the Inner City could cross over to pay their respects; only the following morning was an outer gate opened so that Chinese residents "from

218. Yuan Jing; Pan Rongbi 8–9. See Chapter 15 for more details.



Inner City

1. Baitasi
2. City-god Temple
3. Confucius Temple
4. Daxing City-god Temple
5. Hongrensi
6. Huguosi
7. Longfusi
8. Wanping City-god Temple
9. Yonghegong

Outer City

10. Baoguoqi
11. Guandimiao
12. Lingyougong
13. Liulichang
14. Pantaogong
15. Shanguosi
16. Tudimiao
17. Yaowangmiao

Suburbs

18. Baiyunguan
19. Dongyuemiao
20. Five Wealth-gods Temple
21. Huangsi
22. Guandimiao

Map 12.1. Festivals of Qing Peking

outside the wall” (that is, from the Outer City) could enter to pray. Similarly, the theaters of the Outer City played separately to a Chinese clientele on winter nights, after the visitors from “inside the wall” had obeyed the curfew and returned home.²¹⁹

The still-awkward social separation between the two cities was also reflected in the City-god cult. As we saw in Chapter 6, the primary temple in the Ming Northern City was dedicated to the official Capital City-god (Du Chenghuang), part of the state religion and a god for the empire. The Qing state rebuilt it regularly, but the offerings from the Ministry of Rites were now sent only once a year in the autumn and on the reigning emperor’s birthday.²²⁰

Under the new dynasty, this deity was also understood as the local god of the city and celebrations on his birthday (5/11) were used to constitute this identity. Chinese Banner residents had organized religious associations to present the god with gifts as early as the 1650s, and a great Daoist *jiao* and eight-day fair preceded the birthday. More than eight hundred Banner people contributed to a new sedan chair for the god in 1673, and some seven hundred helped with the temple restoration in 1734.²²¹

The Chinese Outer City developed its own oblique way of worshipping this City-god. Sometime during the Kangxi reign (1662–1722), a travel-palace (*xinggong*) was built for the god near the Altar to Agriculture. There, apparently copying earlier practices at this site, rituals for Aiding Orphan Souls were also directed toward hungry, untended ghosts. By the eighteenth century, on the three days when offerings were customarily made to the spirits of the dead (*qingming*, 7/15, and 10/1), a City-god image was taken on a “processional circuit” (*xun*). No route was described; did the Inner City temple image come here, or vice versa? This temple received no imperial patronage but was actively supported by Chinese religious associations and by people from Jiangnan.²²²

Separate but connected schedules and places thus seem to have allowed the Banner and Chinese cities to supplement imperial worship of the City-god with their own rites, organized by voluntary associations. Other evidence confirms that the Capital City-god had a single identity, despite divided (and competing?) worship. Conceived both as a representative of a territorially based human community and as a bureaucratic position within a celestial hierarchy, this god was personified for the residents of the capital by a hu-

219. Pan Rongbi 31, 23, 33.

220. *Huidian shili* 1899:444:10961.

221. The monthly markets of Ming times had been moved. *BJTB* 61:118, 63:38, 68:146; Li Zongwan 14–15; Pan Rongbi 21–22; *JWK* 50:792–99.

222. *BJTB* 69:81–82, 76:20; Pan Rongbi 16, 28; Peking Library #4192; Wu Changyuan 10:209. The Outer City site seems to have been near the temporary altar prescribed for Ming *litan* rituals (supposedly held on those three days, with the City-god presiding, although I have

man being whose spirit was understood to have been rewarded with this posthumous appointment.

For much of the Ming, Yu Qian, a loyal minister executed in 1457, was said to have held the post of Capital City-god. In 1654, the historian of the Ming, Tan Qian, visiting in Peking, inquired as to whether Yu (a fellow provincial) was still “serving as City-god.” A temple medium had apparently spread the word that Yu had been (promoted and?) succeeded by Yang Jisheng.²²³ Yang was also a scholar-official symbol of loyalty and rectitude, identified with the defense of Peking against Mongol invaders; he had been unjustly put to death in 1555.²²⁴ Conceived of as City-god Yu or City-god Yang, this deity could thus be a representative of Peking—both the walled city and the capital of the empire.

Such a god could also be understood as a political symbol of bureaucratic (not imperial) power. The separate worship of Yu Qian had been terminated by the Qing, but in the 1780s, scholars began to gather and make offerings to Yang Jisheng in his former residence.²²⁵ Manchu sensitivities enhanced imperial ones, and the potential implications of a god who was associated with Chinese nativism may have increased the latent tensions within a cult that bridged two parts of the city.²²⁶ A 1763 imperial stele in the Inner City Du Chenghuang temple, carved in Chinese and Manchu, engaged some of these problems publicly by arguing (rather limply) against the claim that Yang Jisheng had succeeded Yu Qian to this post.²²⁷

seen no evidence of it). *MS* 50:1311. The travel-palace was also close to a temple to Dongyue, and one may have begun as a hall of the other. Both were firmly attested only in the Qing—worship of Dongyue in 1649, and worship of Chenghuang later. For a Ming date: *Beijing lü-xing zhinan* 139. For Dongyue: Peking Library #42; *BJTB* 61:138, 61:186.

223. That Yu was the City-god: Tan Qian 1656:77–78; Zha Shenxing 1; *FXZ* 4:8; Maspero 285. That Yang was the City-god: *STFZ* 1885:16:510. In 1560 an Outer City temple (the Songyun’an) that was formerly Yang’s residence may have been referred to as a City-god temple: Zhang Jue 16. That Yang succeeded Yu as City-god: Shoudu Library #988; Wu Changyuan 7:136–38.

224. For Yu Qian (1398–1457): *DMB* 1608–12. For Yang Jisheng (1516–1555, from nearby Baoding): *DMB* 1503–4. Both criticized eunuch policies, were executed, and were later rehabilitated.

225. *JWK* 46:720–21. It was revived only in the 1880s. Wu Changyuan 10:189; *STFZ* 1885:16:510. See Chapter 16.

226. One hall of the Outer City temple was dedicated to the “Loyal and Regretted” Yang Jisheng, but I cannot attest it before 1930—a reflection of late Qing nationalism? Niida 6:1104; Peking City Archives 2:8:74.

227. Shoudu Library #988; also *JWK* 50:798. See Chapter 3 for more on the unsuccessful 1488 attempt to restrict imperial worship of this god to offerings to a tablet in the suburban altars. *MS* 50:1306–10.

Worshipped by emperors, ministry officials, and citizens, by Chinese and Banner people, the City-god could thus be stretched to encompass multiple meanings: protector of the imperial capital (against foreigners), righteous voice of reason (in the face of imperial bad judgment), and supernatural official responsible for the city and its communal ghosts. This god was in many ways an appropriately multivalent and fractured deity for a city both united and divided.²²⁸

There was, moreover, a so-called Jiangnan City-god temple, located outside the city walls and built in the Ming for the City-god of the southern capital at Nanking whose image was not included in the Inner City temple. Jiangnan men, merchants in particular, were its major funders, and the temple seems to have functioned as their private native-place shrine. It had no official status and was not mentioned by Pan Rongbi.²²⁹

Through his language, his comprehensive even-handedness, and his emphasis on common themes, Pan Rongbi emphasized the integration of Peking life. He assumed that his readers shared the devotion to entertainment and consumption manifested in his month-by-month account of things to eat and drink, things to buy, things to see, and places to go—the pleasures of walking through crowded markets, kite flying, sledding, kickball, quail fights, drunkenness, firecrackers, music, crickets, and a fine view. Pan singled out for attention Peking's flowering plums, fragrant peonies, sweet melons, luscious grapes, elegant chrysanthemums, and potent wines. Like the Ming eunuch Liu Ruoyu, he delighted in recording particularities, varieties, and distinctions among consumables. For fellow aficionados, clearly among his intended readers, he advised where in Peking one could find The Best—the best lanterns at new year's, the best pears for banishing tiredness and relieving hangovers, the best flowering crabapple trees, and so forth.

Appealing to local pride and to the interests of visitors, Pan claimed that some local products were actually the best under heaven (*jia yu tianxia*): the tree peonies at Fengtai, for example, or the sweet distilled liquor from Jade Spring Hill made by the Imperial Household. Of Peking's herbacious peonies,

228. Peking eventually had City-gods for its other walled enclosures. Yongzheng elevated and formalized the Forbidden and Imperial Cities (in 1726 and 1731) by having temples built for them as well (worship was handled by the Imperial Household). *JWK* 19:259, 42:665; *Huidian* 1764:88:23–24. In the nineteenth century, additional City-gods were set up for Wanping and Daxing.

229. It was restored in 1668 and enlarged in the 1750s; a stage was added for theatrical performances, and this god's birthday procession (in the fifth month) was promoted. *BJTB* 70:195, 75:153–54; Shoudu Library #915.

he exulted: “Yao’s Yellow, Wei’s Purple, Tender Red, Pale Green, and Golden Border, all kinds; Jiangnan does not have them.” “I asked various friends who had travelled to other provinces, and they all said that the tasty, refreshing flavor of the Capital’s Cold Noodles could not be matched anywhere in the empire.” Sojourning readers were also in his mind when he praised the economy of the coal-burning *kang* over the firewood- and bamboo-consuming stoves of Jiangnan and Fujian.²³⁰

In all these comments, a shared Peking culture was presumed (or at least asserted)—a culture unfractured by geographic or social segregation. Indeed, in his language Pan distinguished between elite and ordinary people (*shi* or *shi nü* and *min* or *shu*) but not between Banner and non-Banner. He described the activities of undifferentiated “sightseers” (*youren*), wrote of “the residents of the Capital City” (*Jingshi jumin*), and relied most frequently on the phrase “people of the capital” (*duren*).

Pan was also more inclusive than the late Ming texts that described privileged literati customs. Many imperial practices and holiday sites were noted, including shared activities such as the new year’s customs of the Banner nobility or skating on the imperial lakes. Tibetan Buddhist rituals performed at the White Stupa by eunuch daoists were recounted as familiar sights, and historical information about this island within the Imperial City was provided.²³¹

Even the activities of the commercial classes were occasionally mentioned. Pan wrote about the celebrations of the leather merchants if positive auguries of a cold windy winter were seen on the last day of the ninth month, about the pilgrimage associations formed by shops, businesses, and native-place associations, and about chrysanthemum displays advertised by the wineshops and teahouses. Theaters were briefly mentioned but not given the prominence they would have in the nineteenth century.²³²

We can see another kind of integration in the variety of activities that took place at a single site. The Altar to Heaven, site of the empire’s oldest and most sacred rites and visited regularly by the emperor and a substantial retinue, was encroached on by city residents. Its ancient cypress trees were the subject of literati poems, and the seeds of its elms (made into cakes) and its “dragon-whisker” vegetable (crispy and delicious eaten raw) were prized as delicacies.²³³ The altar was also a popular destination for excursions on the

230. Pan Rongbi 20, 36, 23, 15, 35.

231. Pan Rongbi 37, 1, 10, 35–36. The particularly lavish seventh-month Buddhist rites of the Shunzhi reign about which he had “heard” were described affectionately and remembered “as a glorious event [*sheng shi*] even down to the present” (28).

232. Pan Rongbi 34, 14, 25, 32, 9, 14, 33, respectively.

233. Tan Qian 1911:5:47, 1656:312; Shi Runzhang, Poems 10:8, 25:9, 34:13; Zha Shengxing 1; Kim Ch’ang’öp 146, 205.

fifth day of the fifth month. Vendors rented stalls inside and along the northern curve of the outer wall.²³⁴ Foreigners were able to talk their way into the west side of the compound and go to the area of the Ritual Music Office (though not to the inner ritual space itself).²³⁵ Complaints about ill-mannered picnickers who filched the flowers and discarded broken crockery had little effect: a 1742 announcement forbidding drinking and eating seems to have been quite ineffectual, and one wonders about the success of the Gendarmerie in closing down the nearly four dozen shops operating within the premises.²³⁶

The activities described by Pan Rongbi in 1758 took place at a variety of public spaces: beside lakes and ponds and moat, at market intersections, along city streets, at graveyards, and within elite villas. But religious activities and festivals in temples played the predominant role. Temples continued to serve as the most common site for fairs, sightseeing, and picnicking, and only the eleventh and twelfth months had no widely celebrated god's birthday. Countless unnamed temples were implied by statements that Guanyin's birthday was celebrated at "no less than hundreds and thousands of temples," or that in the ninth month "each" Daoist temple set up an altar to the Dipper-god, or that special rituals were held in "the temples of the capital" (*dumen simiao*) or just in "temples" (*an, guan, si, yuan*).²³⁷

Specifically, thirty-seven of the ninety-four items in the "Famous Sites in the Annual Calendar of the Capital" (40 percent) covered activities that took place in temples. Sixty-four temples were named in one capacity or another, mostly as places where special events took place. The 1635 "Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital," by contrast, mentioned only ten temples, and only twenty-six were named in any of the sources I have seen as the locus for a regular annual festival in the Ming.²³⁸

Map 12.1 illustrates some of the most prominent of the Qing temple festivals. Crisscrossing the city in the course of the year would have exposed the Banner people to the rest of Peking, opened up the Inner City to Chinese, and encouraged further development of the near countryside. Of those sixty-four named temples, ten were within the imperial domain; 20 percent of

234. *Huidian shili* 1899:1031:17386; Qu Xuanying 166–67; *FXZ Draft* 2:195.

235. Korean envoys had been doing so since the late Ming. See Hong Ikhan 167; Kim Ch'ang'öp 167–68; Hong Taeyong 316; Kim Kyöngsön 1068.

236. *FXZ* 7:18; *Huidian shili* 1899:1031:17386; Pan Rongbi 17, 21; Qu Xuanying 335–36; Meyer 137–41. The prohibition had been prompted by a Manchu dignitary who had come with his servant to view the flowers and found huge crowds. Dai Lu 5:133.

237. Pan Rongbi 15, 27, 28, 31, 35.

238. Although Pan Rongbi's was more specific and complete, the difference is not an artifact of the sources. I have not been able to find any holiday of the mid-eighteenth century that was not mentioned by him.

the others were in the Inner City, 25 percent in the Outer City, and the rest beyond the walls. The trend of steadily greater involvement of suburban temples in collective city life obviously continued in the Qing.

This chapter has shown how the capital adjusted to the changes wrought by the Qing conquest. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, immigrants were becoming natives, separate populations began to mix, and life outside the imperial domain developed its own culture and integrity. If Peking had begun in 1403 as a grandiose dream of an insecure emperor and then metamorphosed into a town dominated by the throne and government, after five centuries it had become a diverse, self-confident, and complex city.

In the course of the Qing, tourism further solidified Peking's identity for its residents, for its visitors, and for those who had only heard of it. In the following chapter, we will examine the sights of the city as they developed during the Qing period and the ways in which they shaped the city.

CHAPTER 13

The Sights of Qing Peking

The rich tourist literature about Peking created by late Ming elites became the foundation for Qing understandings of the city. After a period of adjustment to the new dynasty, a “Peking” began to emerge from the pattern of tracks and traces left by natives and foreigners. Produced by outsiders interacting with local people, tourists sights became part of the changing cultural contours of the city. The most famous ones provided a bridge from Ming to Qing and, as we shall see at the end of this book, from the Qing to modern China.

This chapter begins with the ambivalent late seventeenth-century works about Peking, then examines in turn energetic imperial efforts to define and document the city’s monuments, the privately circulated views of sojourners and locals, and the nineteenth-century development of consumer- and tourist-oriented maps and guidebooks. As we shall see, Peking’s status as a political and cultural center was much less vulnerable to challenge from Lower Yangtze cities than it had been in the Ming. The more serious competition would come from commercial centers and treaty ports in the late Qing, by which time Chinese culture was under assault from the West.

It took some time after 1644 for Peking to be reconstituted as an object of tourist attention. At first, Qing sensitivities and the painful memory of the Ming confounded attempts to integrate the two periods into a single history. After Peking had found a new equilibrium a century later, people took pleasure in distinctively Qing sights. European Jesuits and emissaries were succeeded by increasingly large numbers of soldiers, diplomats, and tourists. The combination of foreign, Chinese, and local visions gave late imperial Peking a lively and sustaining multiplicity of identities. These representations (and misrepresentations) were transformed into the old Peking we know—or think we know—today.

FROM GAZETTEERS AND COMPENDIA

In the early decades, those who wrote about Peking were inhibited and uncertain: how were they to characterize the Bannermen and the new regime? Little was published at first, and even in the course of the next century the city was given literary shape and weight almost entirely in the safe confines of historical studies and large compendia.

The Daxing native Sun Chengze took refuge in the past. A 1631 *jinshi*, Sun badly miscalculated in 1644 by briefly serving the rebel Li Zicheng, but he recovered by readily taking office under the Qing. In the 1650s, Sun researched and published the biographies of famous Peking natives who had lived during the last four reigns of the Ming.¹ He worked simultaneously on a much longer book about Ming Peking. This “Record of a Remembered Dream of the Capital” (*Chunming meng yu lu*) encompassed the wider area of Shuntian prefecture but concentrated on the capital. Writing in the vanished-capitals genre, Sun produced a compendium of detailed historical information on Ming palace buildings, imperial altars, and government offices—all places with pedigrees that antedated the Ming. Two *juan* dealt with “famous remnants” (*mingji*), and another listed fifty-five temples in order of (and with an emphasis on) their antiquity. This material circulated privately, but was not published in Sun’s lifetime—indeed, not until 1761.²

The Jiangsu scholar Gu Yanwu travelled in the area around Peking in the 1660s examining and making notes about its historical sites, but he too had problems with publication. His short “Records of the Antiquities East of the Capital,” which provided careful corrections to the official gazetteer of the Ming empire, did not appear in print until 1702. His longer essay, “An Account of the Changping Area,” which looked in detail at the even more sensitive topic of the Ming imperial tombs, was not printed until 1906.³

In addition to discouraging private histories of Peking, the Qing state shrewdly attempted to preempt them by writing its own. A Kangxi edition of

1. The *Jifu renwu zhi*. Sun Chengze 1658; *STFZ* 1885:105:5096–97; *ECCP* 669–70. Although the term *jifu* had been used in the Ming to refer to the greater Peking area, Sun’s book was the first (that I know of) to employ it in a title.

2. Sun organized his work into two versions, the longer, earlier *Chunming meng yu lu* (70 *juan*) and the shorter, later *Tianfu guangji* (Extensive account of Heaven’s prefecture) (44 *juan*). The latter circulated in manuscript: Tan Qian 1656:55; *ECCP* 670. No map or visual materials were included.

3. Many of Gu’s writings were proscribed during the compilation of the Imperial Manuscript Library, and two of his works on Peking have disappeared altogether. Gu Yanwu 1982a, 1982b; Lai Xinxia 18–19. The *Changping* work was noticed by the Imperial Library project but not copied into it. *Qinding Siku quanshu zongmu* 2:76:4. For the lost essays on Peking’s antiquities and Wansuishan (a.k.a. Jingshan): *STFZ* 1885:122:6369–70.

the “Gazetteer of the Capital Region” (*Jifu tongzhi*) was begun under the direction of the newly appointed (Chinese) governor-general in the 1670s and printed in 1682–1683. In four volumes and forty-six *juan*, this was a reference work, and its tone was historical, professional, and seemingly neutral. Peking was cast as the seat of Shuntian prefecture in the text and on the maps.⁴

To fill out the official record, local histories for Peking’s two counties were compiled and published in 1682–1685: the *Wanping xian zhi* and the *Daxing xian zhi*. Edited under the supervision of the prefect, these two works followed the usual format for gazetteers and included some identical material. Seemingly uncomfortable with the present, they omitted recent changes, drew little from Qing sources, and focused entirely on the Ming period. Banner Peking was ignored altogether, and the Imperial City was scarcely shown or mentioned. Urban Peking was dissolved into the two largely rural counties. Short, unsophisticated, and crudely done, these were the first and only gazetteers for Peking and its counties. And yet, *faute de mieux*, they could still be useful to visitors: when Kim Ch’ang’öp arrived in Peking in 1713 as part of a Korean embassy, he purchased a copy of the Daxing gazetteer and referred to it often in his private expeditions around the city.⁵

At the same time, as a new generation of Chinese scholars without personal loyalties to the Ming began to work at the high levels of the metropolitan bureaucracy, different sorts of works about the capital became possible. The first stages of the slow shift toward Qing Peking can be seen in Gao Shiqi, confidant of Kangxi and author of the 1684 two-*juan* “Leisure Notes from the Golden Tortoise Bridge” about the Imperial City. Gao used his access to archives and aged eunuchs to describe the past and present of places most Chinese would never see. His even-handed references to Ming events and affable insider tidbits about the Qing set a matter-of-fact tone more suited to the new era. His position made publication easier.⁶

A more comprehensive and serious book on Peking, beside which the county gazetteers seem exceedingly thin, was written by Zhu Yizun (1629–1709), another scholar from Zhejiang with privileged access to the Kangxi court. Zhu completed the “Ancient Accounts Heard in the Precincts of the Throne” (*Rixia jiuwen*) in 1688 and put the history of the city on firm his-

4. *JFTZ* 1683.

5. I have seen editions dated 1684 and 1685 that were variously handwritten, printed, and a mixture of the two. There may also have been an abortive 1685 prefectural gazetteer: *Zhongguo difangzhi lianhe mulu* 1. Kim Ch’ang’öp 149 and *passim*.

6. *Jin’ao tuishi biji*. The word *Jin’ao* referred to the Golden Tortoise Jade Rainbow Bridge that crossed and divided the northern and central lakes of the Imperial City. Gao’s useful study appeared in his collected works and in various eighteenth-century compendia including the Imperial Manuscript Library. *Qinding Siku quanshu zongmu* 2:70:4.

torical footing while still obliquely invoking the lost-capital genre.⁷ The title (*Rixia*, “beneath the sun”) reflected Zhu’s presentation of Peking not as a city in its own right or as a county seat, but as the residence of the emperor. Peking’s Qing present was thus naturalized by being set in a sequence of capitals of Han and non-Han dynasties—the Ming, Yuan, Jin, and Liao.

Zhu’s focus was on Peking under the Ming. He concentrated on the Northern City, systematically described the important buildings and appended quotations about associated people and events. Relying on wide reading (1,600 sources we are told! including most of the Ming books about Peking discussed in Chapter 8), repeated visits to the sites, and interviews with elderly residents, Zhu gave precedence to historical information over poetry. It seems clear that his goal was to accumulate records of past practices, not to digest them, or reconcile them, or relate them to contemporary activities.

Although palace halls (familiar to Zhu) were given generous attention, temples were the primary enduring public buildings of interest to this author and his presumed readers.⁸ Through them the traces of older cities on the site were discerned; in their stelaie inscriptions, Peking’s history was recorded. An impressive 429 temples (my count) were listed, more than three times the number in the 1635 “Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital.”⁹ The importance of suburban temples as worthy sites was indirectly emphasized by the relatively large number treated (42 percent). Unlike Gao Shiqi but like the gazetteers, Zhu banished the Qing capital entirely. He followed the Five Districts organization of the Ming city and described annual festivals according to Ming sources. The Peking presented by him was thus the city not of the present but of the past.

Zhu’s work was certainly not handy (two cases containing twenty large fascicles), had no maps, and was intended less for tourists than for the serious student of the past.¹⁰ Its eight prefaces (one by his friend Gao) lavishly praised the *Rixia jiuwen*’s scholarship and it became the model for later Qing works on Peking.

For the next half century, Peking continued to be described mostly in compendia or large-scale gazetteers. The city was included in the imperial encyclopedia of the later Kangxi reign and presented through quoted passages from older texts arranged topically. The most detailed map was of Shuntian prefecture and showed little more than Peking’s walled outline. Furthermore,

7. Zhu’s 42 *juan* were supplemented by seven more written by his son; the final version was completed and published a decade later. See *ECCP* 182–85; Qu Xuanying 225. The prefaces mentioned books about Luoyang, Kaifeng, and Hangzhou that Zhu saw as antecedents.

8. Some 75 percent of all entries were temples.

9. There were more temples in 1688 than in 1635, but not that many more.

10. Each case was 25 by 17 by 9 centimeters.

a palace edition of ten thousand *juan* was hardly in the public domain and extremely inconvenient to use.¹¹ Likewise unwieldy was the enlarged “Gazetteer of the Capital Region,” published in 1735 in a substantial 120 *juan*. But by the Yongzheng period, Peking was looking forward not backward, and that 1735 gazetteer, like the shorter entry in the 1746 “Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Qing Empire,” emphasized the imperial presence and contemporary centrality of Peking.¹² The 250-*juan* 1739 “Gazetteer of the Eight Banners” was an even more unabashedly Qing work.

In these publications of the 1720s–1740s, Peking began to be mapped in a fashion that was systematic and detailed.¹³ The Eight Banner gazetteer included a map of the Inner City, detailed the streets and lanes, and showed graphically for the first time in a printed book the boundaries of the Banner quarters. And forty-one temples were presented as the urban landmarks they clearly were. Although this map would have been useful for navigating the city streets, its purpose was better control by Banner authorities.

An undated “Complete Map of the Capital” appears to have been created (ca. 1744?) using the Eight Banner gazetteer map as its model. Apparently not part of a published book, this may have been one of the first general maps of the city.¹⁴

Mapping was very much on the mind of the Imperial Household staff during the first half of the eighteenth century. Utilizing the surveying skills of the Jesuits employed in the imperial workshops, the throne began to demonstrate and effectuate Qing control over the city (as over the empire) by new detailed maps.¹⁵ The first seems to have been a large (2.4 by 1.8 meters) “Map of the Imperial City, Its Palaces and Offices,” circa 1723.¹⁶ It was unlike any previous map of Peking in its European concern with accurate re-

11. *Gu jin tushu jicheng* 10:7.

12. Information on the halls and grounds of the Imperial City (and a short list of temples) was in the first *juan*. *Comprehensive Gazetteer* 1746.

13. Diagrams of the state altars were included in the “Collected Statutes,” reference books that exposed these parts of the imperial domain only to the same kind of high official who might have participated in the rites anyway. (One such diagram is shown in Figure 11.3.)

14. Map 1744a. For dating, see note 48. Its size (approximately one square meter) and lack of detail about the Imperial City suggest official or private (not imperial or Banner) use. The *Jingshi chengnei shoushan quan tu* (“Complete Map of the Premier Capital inside the Walls”) illustrated in Hwang 11, 12 and dated by him to 1744 is of the same general type and shape. They have been called “circa 1744” because of their failure to show the Yonghegong, formally established that year. I wonder.

15. The Jesuits had been involved in mapping the Peking area (after flooding in 1700) and the empire (in 1717). *Travels* 226–30. For the Jesuit role in Qing map-making, see the articles by Cordell D. K. Yee in Harley & Woodward; unpublished papers by Mark Elliott, Richard Smith, and Laura Hostetler; Qin Guojing.

16. Map 1723. Hwang 9 dated it 1723; the introduction to the 1940 edition of Map 1750 said “early Yongzheng.”

lations among parts and in the precision and detail of its information. The palace complex, extensive grounds of the Imperial City, shores and islands of the lakes, buildings and trees were all carefully drawn. Because this was an Imperial Household map not intended for outsiders, buildings were labeled but not streets. It must have pleased Qianlong when he saw it, because in 1743, another map was produced in the Imperial Household showing the waterways and wells of the entire walled city.¹⁷

The culminating achievement of these efforts was the gigantic map of the Inner City (14 by 13 meters) completed in 1750. With extraordinary thoroughness, it named major streets, lanes, bridges, and gates, labeled 1,275 temples, 38 princely mansions, and most government offices, and seemed to draw the shape of each building. All were shown in precise proportions relative to one another.¹⁸ (Examples are shown in Figures 2.1–2.5 and 10.4–10.5.) The Western influence brought by European Jesuits is obvious. This map was likewise intended for use by the throne and Banner elite: most Chinese officials would never have seen it.

Qing imperial information-gathering extended beyond maps and shaped eighteenth-century books about Peking. Li Zongwan, a native of the capital area who served off and on in the metropolitan bureaucracy after obtaining his *jinshi* in 1721, undertook an imperially commissioned research project while he was working for the Ministry of Works. His 1745 “Investigation of the Ancient Traces in the Capital” (*Jingcheng guji kao*) was prepared for Qianlong. Li supplied tidy descriptions of forty-seven places in the Peking area (thirty-two of them temples), summarizing first what was known from existing sources and then adding his own comments about the contemporary situation. This useful account would have been an ideal guidebook, but it remained in manuscript and was unavailable outside the palace until the twentieth century.¹⁹

Like these other projects, “The Palace History for Our Dynasty” (*Guochao gong shi*) compiled between 1742 and 1769 was evidence of imperial interest in documenting the history and present glories of Peking. It was fundamentally Qianlong’s palace that was recorded in these thirty-six *juan*, and basic information about the Forbidden and Imperial cities was weighed down

17. Hwang 9, 136–37.

18. Map 1750. The original (1:650) has survived in Peking but is known to us in two reduced-size versions. I am grateful to Elling O. Eide for making his copy of the 1:2600 edition (used for my illustrations) available to me. See Hwang 6–13; Yang Naiji 1984; and the introductions to the three editions. For the number of temples, see the index to the Japanese edition 11–26, my count.

19. Li Zongwan, editors’ preface; *ECCP* 490–91; *BJTB* 68:150. For the 1745 date: *LSJN* 213. The *Jiuxwen kao* editors saw this manuscript, but the compilers of the Shuntian prefectural gazetteer in the 1880s did not. Li had access to many of the Ming sources discussed in Chapter 8, as well as the *Chunming meng yu lu* and the *Rixia jiuxwen*.

with quotations from his poems and edicts. All three copies (handwritten only) were kept in the palace.²⁰

Qing imperial interest in Peking was thus deep but private. As in other spheres, the throne seems to have stifled rival endeavors. Besides some printed lists of important addresses, published books that described Peking systematically were remarkably few in the eighteenth century.²¹ (The availability of then-unpublished texts in modern reprints can blind us to this fact.)

The greatest of the Qing compendia on Peking was the Qianlong-period amplification of Zhu Yizun's work called "Study of 'Ancient Accounts Heard in the Precincts of the Throne'" (*Rixia jiuwen kao*). This imperially commissioned project was begun in 1774 and substantially completed by 1785.²² It used Zhu's work as its framework, taking the reader through the city from palace to Imperial City to Inner City to Outer City to suburbs to the rest of Shuntian prefecture (the last third), but it rearranged the material to match Peking's Qing administrative geography. Primary sources were updated with new material, and Zhu's 42 *juan* quadrupled to 160. The sections on the imperial domain were all new, and the actions of Qing emperors were noted meticulously: each plaque, each stele, each couplet in the imperial hand, and selections (mercifully not more) from the poetry with which Qianlong commemorated his every visit in and around the city.

The men who carried out this project exemplified the spirit of evidential scholarship current in the capital during the years of the Imperial Manuscript Library project: they carefully weighed evidence, noted contradictions in their sources, and corrected errors in past works.²³ The "Study of 'Ancient Accounts'" recorded and celebrated a Peking that was, above all, the glorious home of the current rulers. The Ming had become one dynasty in a sequence of Peking's past, submerged in a vast sea of Qing material. Temples were recorded in unprecedented numbers (783), especially those in the imperial domain, and, like the entire text, the section on customs was heavy with quotations (more prose than poetry). Printed by the Imperial

20. It was not published until the twentieth century.

21. The long "Description of China" drawn from a variety of sources commented (Astley 4:8) that in Peking "There are books sold, which give an account of the wards, streets, or places where every person lives, who has any public employment." I have not seen any such extant book.

22. Conventionally dated 1785, the first 120 *juan* were finished by 1782, and there is material in the last 30 *juan* dated as late as 1788. *Qinding Siku quanshu zongmu* 2:68:7-8; 1983 editors' preface.

23. Grand Secretary Yu Minzhong was the titular chief editor; those who worked on the project were a mixture of Chinese and Bannermen, including many who were personally familiar with Peking (such as Fulong'an, Hu Jitang, and Zhu Yun). See list of editorial staff.

Household in forty-eight volumes (in eight substantial cases), the “Study” seems to have been available only to the limited scholarly public for which it was intended.²⁴

We can understand the grand commemorative pictures of the Kangxi and Qianlong eras as parallel attempts to record imperial Peking in visual media. Woodblock prints of the birthday processions showed a real city with recognizable streets, landmarks, and temples, albeit spruced up and sanitized for the occasion. Similarly, the paintings of the two emperors’ southern tours began and ended not in a generic capital but in an identifiable and imperial Peking.²⁵

The eighteenth-century dominance of the imperial version of Peking was thus manifested in both pictures and texts and, like the imperial domain itself, threatened to overwhelm all others by its large-scale, well-funded products. Nevertheless, Qianlong’s “Study” was the last gasp of that older order. Change was at hand.

Almost as soon as the “Study of ‘Ancient Accounts’” was published, a usable digest of it was in print. Wu Changyuan (another long-term Zhejiang sojourner) vigorously cut the 160 *juan* down to 16 to make the “Sketches of the Imperial Enclosure” (*Chenyuan shilue*). He retained most of the original entries, pruned them of primary sources, and supplemented them with new ones.²⁶ Moreover, Wu reorganized the material explicitly for the convenience of tourism (*youlan*). The work was published in 1788 in eight smaller, handy, thread-bound fascicles contained in one case.²⁷ A blank space was conveniently left at the top of each page for the owner’s notes.

Reflecting (and promoting) visitor curiosity about the Banner elite, Wu added entries on the mansions of the Manchu nobility and the offices of the Banner authorities. The palace (including a section on the Great Interior) and the imperial villas were each given separate chapters. Some poems by Qing authors were included. Wu identified the homes of famous Chinese and, all in all, gave much greater consideration to the world of the Chinese

24. Emil V. Bretschneider, himself a scholar of Peking’s history, called it expensive and hard to obtain in the late nineteenth century. Bretschneider 1876b:4.

25. For the 1689 tour the first segment portrayed the journey from the Yongding Gate to the Southern Park; the last one began inside the Yongding Gate and showed the progression through the Zhengyang and the Tian’an Gates, past waiting officials outside the Wu Gate, and into the palace. *De Verboden Stad* 124–29; Hearn 1990:66. The scroll of Qianlong’s 1765 tour started at the Zhengyang Gate and went through the Outer City; it ended at the Wu Gate. *SHTM* 1:Jing-2–614; Hearn 1988:100–102. The nine albums celebrating Guangxu’s marriage in 1887 were set mostly within the Forbidden City. *De Verboden Stad* 133–37.

26. The “Sketches” included 80 percent of the *Jiuwen kao*’s temple entries.

27. Each *ce* was only 18 by 11 centimeters.

city than any of the books we have so far considered.²⁸ This was, after all, his world.

A set of eighteen maps complemented the text and were set conveniently within the chapter to which each applied. For the Inner City, the “Sketches” followed the map in the 1738 Eight Banner gazetteer but provided more detail on the palace. The Outer City was presented visually in one general map and in four more-detailed ones.²⁹ (Figure 13.1 shows the section of the Outer City outside the Xuanwu Gate.) The quality of these maps was far inferior to the private imperial maps and not even on a level with the Banner gazetteer, but they did present basic information in a straightforward fashion.

For the first time in a book about Peking, lists of *huiguan* were provided: eighty-two of these native-place lodges in the eastern part of the Outer City, and ninety-nine in the west. The suburbs (*jiaoxiang*) were given their own map, on which were included disproportionately large imperial villas (represented as roofs amid clouds surrounded by walls) and other sights (such as Gaoliang and Lugou Bridges). Wu Changyuan’s book was reissued in 1852 and 1876, with new prefaces, and Westerners of that era who could read Chinese found it “a useful book for reference and easily obtained.”³⁰

The “Sketches of the Imperial Enclosure” was the first real Qing guidebook to Peking, a distillation of a previous scholarly and imperial compilations made for recreational use. It was also the first work to become the basis for foreigners’ guides to China. Okada Gyokuzan used it as one source for his 1805 illustrated work about the Qing empire, and a Russian priest translated it into Russian in 1829, whence a French translation was made and published in that same year. (More on these below.)

The “Sketches” pointed forward toward the new guides of the early nineteenth century, but in order to understand the context for those developments, we need to reconsider the period of the 1640s through the 1800s, this time to see how Peking was refracted in private writings. As in the Ming, this tradition was primarily constituted through poems and short accounts, many of which circulated only in manuscript or as parts of larger works.³¹

TO PRIVATE WRITINGS AND GUIDEBOOKS

The diary, poems, and notes of Tan Qian can help us recapture the spirit of the early Qing visitors to the capital. Tan, a Zhejiang man, had been work-

28. Wu considered 165 Outer City temples, more both in absolute numbers and in proportion (compare 117 in the much larger “Study”).

29. Some later editions rearranged or omitted the maps. For the Outer City: Wu Changyuan maps 13–17, originally found in jj. 9 and 10.

30. Bretschneider 1876b:4; also Edkins 1870:314. For lodges: Wu Changyuan 9:180–81, 10:213–14.

31. As I did for the Ming, I have read a sampling of early and mid-Qing visitors.

ing since the 1620s on an enormous history of the Ming dynasty but did not visit the northern capital until after the Qing conquest. He spent twenty-eight months in Peking from the winter of 1654 to the early spring of 1656 and could apparently travel without difficulty in the Inner City. For him, research, pleasure, and tourism were inseparable.³²

Tan naturally attempted to visit sites where he would learn about the past—Matteo Ricci’s church and Wei Zhongxian’s grave, among many others. But he also took in famous sights, read stelae, sighed over ruins, and admired great old trees. He had his fortune told at the Front Gate Guandi temple and went twice to the Dongyue temple for the god’s birthday; he saw the relocated Lantern Market, travelled to the Ming tombs, and visited Our Lady’s Central Summit temple. He learned about the great Southern Park from an official friend and drank in Outer City wineshops. He went many times with companions to the Baoguoosi to smell the spring lilacs, climb the belvedere, admire the crab apples, hear stories about the temple’s history, drink beneath the pines, and write poems.

Tan poked around in the Altar to Agriculture and tried unsuccessfully to get into the Altar to Heaven. He arranged to be taken inside the villa that used to belong to Empress Dowager Li’s family; he and his friends got quite drunk there as they pondered life’s ironies: that the Manchu prince who had burned it in 1636 now enjoyed it as his villa, and that the once-powerful Lis had become poor while their former servants were extremely well paid by their new master. Tan watched the funeral procession for Dorgon, inspected the Sandalwood Buddha, and visited more than fifty temples. After getting lost on the way to the Temple of the Azure Clouds on a three-day autumn excursion (one of many) to the Western Hills, he rued the lack of a guidebook (*zhinan*). He commented on the customs of “the people of Yan” or the “people of the capital” (*duren*) and pronounced the bookstores inferior to those in Nanking.

When the poet and exam candidate Shi Runzhang came to Peking from Anhui in the late 1640s, the places he sought out were similar to though less scholarly than those visited by Tan Qian. Shi’s subsequent employment in the ministries allowed him to visit the Western Park and participate in the rites of the state religion; on short excursions, he went looking for traces of earlier scholar-gentlemen like himself (*shidafu*) and wrote the requisite short travel account and poems (not published right away).³³

Peking’s residents—including Bannermen—also contributed to the images of and information about the capital that circulated to the reading public. The young Manchu poet Nara Singde (1655–1685) was highly conver-

32. *DMB*: 1239–42; Tan Qian 1656. His works were not published until the twentieth century.

33. He also wrote out a stele inscription for the Qianmen Guandimiao: Shi Runzhang, *Prose* 14:5–5, 18:4–5; *ECCP* 651.

sant with elite Chinese culture and very interested in the city. He wrote mostly about the Inner City, the suburbs, and the imperial domain, and his work reflects a fascination with the Qing palace world.³⁴ Similarly, many of the poems by the Jiangxu man Jin Zhijun, who served in the metropolitan bureaucracy across the Ming-Qing transition, described his experiences in the imperial villas and gardens.³⁵ Gao Shiqi's book about the Imperial City should be understood in this context.

Enjoying Qing Peking thus became an activity that drew together locals and visitors, Banner or not. Manchu emperors participated in the strolling and poeticizing conversations across time, and they too left records of the places they visited.³⁶ The city's accessible sites, especially its temples, accommodated this range of visitors and variety of goals.

These shared pleasures were condensed by Pan Rongbi, the Daxing native and intimate of the court, in his "Famous Sights in the Annual Calendar of the Capital" (*Dijing suishi jisheng*). As we saw in the last chapter, this short, present-oriented book, published in 1758, was written for a general reader and conveyed the particularities of the Qing city. Pan's descriptions were rich with the sounds and tastes of seasonal foods and drinks and warm in their detail about activities, taboos, markets, and sights. Explicit about the flourishing of contemporary tourism, the book explained unfamiliar local customs, told visitors the best things to see and eat, noted "good places to stroll," and told you how to get there ("Cross the stone bridge," it said, "go west, and there is an earthen mound several dozen feet tall that one can climb for a view").³⁷

Many scholars wrote poems about the sights of the city. The "bamboo-branch lyric" (*zhuzhi ci*) was an old verse form (seven characters to a line) that became a popular genre during the Qing for describing characteristically local (in this case, Peking) sights, scenery, and activities. Like "miscellaneous verse" (*za yong*), the form was thought suitable for the use of vernacular terms and local topics.³⁸

Such verse became popular among the Kangxi generation of scholar-officials. They seem to have written these bamboo-branch lyrics to encapsulate what they saw as the particular customs of Peking, often with annotated

34. Nara Singde jj. 15–18:passim. Singde was patronized by friends of Zhu Yizun and quoted in Zhu's "Ancient Accounts"; *ECCP* 662–63.

35. Jin Zhijun j. 7.

36. E.g., *JFTZ* 1884:8:28–59, 8:79–85, 9:145–10:301, 11:302–35.

37. Pan Rongbi 9, and passim.

38. Li Jiarui 1936; Lu Gong; Sun Dianqi & Lei Mengshui; Hang Yu; Wu Xiaoling; *Hanyu da cidian* 8:1092.

explanations for the reader who came from elsewhere in the empire. The topics included many that we have seen mentioned in other genres. Wang Hongxu's (1645–1723) twelve short “Casual Verses about Peking” (*Yanjing za yong*) celebrated identifiable places (half of them temples) and the particular seasonal specialities of the capital: the markets full of peonies in the fifth month, the crab-apples in the Cirensi (“red like in Jiangnan”); the rich patrons of the Central Summit, the wineshops and prostitutes, the best things to buy—the smells and sounds of food, sex, drink, and outings. Other men's verses mentioned the lantern festival, new year celebrations, the elephants, and the summer sale of ice. They also made evocative references to topics less easily discussed in other ways—horse racing and riding, local food and wine, and the behavior of women, especially prostitutes—and commented cynically on local hypocrisy and pretentiousness.³⁹

In these private works, Peking could more readily be presented in an unfavorable light—unthinkable in imperial compendia. In his lyrics, Peng Sunyi (1615–1673) enumerated the “ten unpleasant things” (*elie shi wu*) about the capital, including insects, flies, the *kang*, garlic, and beggars. Short prose essays sometimes covered similar ground. The “Chance Notes from the Capital” of Chai Sang, a Lower Yangtze man who worked at court in the 1690s, took a critical outsider's stance toward “northerners” (*beiren*) and life in the Jingshi: the prices, the packed streets and confusing addresses, the dust and the wind, the bad food, and the inconvenience of being identified by one's accent as an outsider. But Chai also singled out the annual calendar of Peking for more positive notice and described some of its special events.⁴⁰

In the eighteenth century, many more poems, anecdotes, and short travel accounts about Peking were included in the collected works of most important literati—local men as well as sojourners—and circulated in manuscript and in print. These writings plainly advertised the sights and whetted the appetite of readers who, accordingly, approached Peking well prepared: “The Feng family villa has a low-spreading pine tree that covers a half a *mou*. It is one of the ‘ancient traces’ in the capital, and I was the only one who had never seen it.”⁴¹ The accumulated weight of such references grew ever more dense with time, as sites were visited and revisited, described and redescrbed.

Dai Lu (1763 *jinshi*), a thirty-year sojourner employed in the ministries, made notes on life in Peking over a long period and finally published them in 1796 as “Miscellaneous Notes from under the Wisteria” (*Tengyin za ji*). A

39. Wang Hongxu 1:529–32. Also Li Jiarui 1936; Lu Gong.

40. Chai Sang. Chai's undated account does not appear to have been widely available before it was published in a collectanea in 1897. Dated events in the text occurred during the years 1694–1697; the calendar is on p. 5, the long criticism of the capital on pp. 13–15.

41. Fang Bao 210.

third of the book concerned people and events, but the rest was organized according to the Five Boroughs and suburbs and concentrated on the northern and western section of the Outer City where Dai lived. He shared anecdotes about scholar-official life in the capital, traced the successive owners of houses and villas, and reintroduced to this genre the poems about places that had typified the late Ming *Dijing jingwu lue*. (Temples functioned entirely as the loci of literati life.)⁴²

None of these works were illustrated, and paintings of Peking remained scarce. The visual equivalents of these private works were surely the album and scroll paintings done by sojourners and local men to record memorable social occasions: Luo Ping's scenes in the Hanlin and at the Pavilion of Merriment, or Gu Heqing's pictures of Fashishan's Inner City lakeside neighborhood. Comparable to private imperial works were the modest albums that showed local calendrical activities.⁴³

By the later eighteenth century, new topics—theater, lodges, examinations—were being introduced to bamboo-branch and casual verses, and by the nineteenth century, these poems were published in book form and had themselves become the objects of appreciation.⁴⁴ The 1814 booklet “A String of Grass Pearls” (*Caozhu yi chuan*) illustrated this development and anticipated the mature guidebook literature of midcentury, capturing memorable features of the capital—women, businesses, customs, fashion, food, and sight-seeing (*youlan*).

In 1845, a new kind of portable and practical guidebook appeared, one aimed at Peking's visitors, especially merchants and examination candidates. The “Short Account of the Capital” (*Dumen jilue*) grew out of collections of verse and began as a slim two-*ce* book. Through at least twenty-three editions over the next sixty years, a number of editors and publishers expanded it to eight fascicles, changed its name, and broadened its contents.⁴⁵ It was genuinely handy (thirteen by twenty centimeters), with two, four, six, eight, or ten thin *ce* inside a cloth-bound case. The book's original purpose was to help sojourning merchants find their way around, negotiate local customs,

42. *Jinshi suoyin* 2:1394; Dai Lu prefaces, 9:218. Comparable material is to be found in the better-known work of the Manchu prince Zhaolian; he included anecdotes about many places in Peking and a current list of princely mansions (1986b 1:384).

43. Quite a number of the latter from the Qianlong and Jiaqing reigns are to be found in the National Palace Museum, Taipei: NPM *passim*.

44. Was Yang Miren's 1795 hundred-verse “Bamboo-branch Lyrics from the Capital” (now lost) the first collection? Li Jiarui 1936.

45. *DMJL*. Although not exhaustive, my survey of surviving editions of these books is relatively complete and forms the basis of the present discussion.

and learn where the markets, stores, and famous products were; in time, the contents shifted to serve a larger clientele.

The original author, Yang Jingting, combined “miscellaneous information” of the sort contained in earlier books (customs, old sites, seasonal markets, maps, foods) with new material: the texts of famous couplets and plaques found on the gates of various urban establishments, the location of shops and artisans, and lists of theaters, troupes, and famous actors. From the first edition, one fascicle (the “*Dumen za yong*”) was given over to twenty-eight-character bamboo-branch lyrics about these topics. We can see Yang’s amused and slightly cynical tone in the entry for the Baiyunguan:

Only a few days after the lantern festival
Is the Assembly of Immortals at the White Cloud Monastery.
How many of those along the roads are immortals come down to earth,
Each and every one of them wanting money?⁴⁶

The expanded second edition (1864) included for the first time one fascicle listing the capital lodges and another giving the routes and distances from other parts of the empire to Peking. Later sections described the city section-by-section, enumerated the annual holidays, listed the top three *jinshi* winners for every examination beginning with 1646, and specified the imperial ritual calendar for the coming year. The cover of the 1879 edition boasted of “a complete map of the empire, map of the capital, map and description of the Imperial City, route book for the empire, names and addresses of lodges, the exam-winners list, addresses of all the yamen, the original miscellaneous account of the capital, its equivalent in verse, and a list of theaters and opera stars.” As we will see in Chapter 16, the popularity of local drama with outsiders in and after the Daoguang reign fed and was fed by the availability of information about it.

The city was no longer described by quarters, and much of the information in this *Dumen* genre focused on intramural Peking, where the shops and entertainments were. The 1845 first edition had noted that, because some famous sights were in “forbidden territory,” they were not to be included, but after 1872, maps began to show the Great Interior, and an entire fascicle was now devoted to it.

In these books, temples continued to be important landmarks. They were prominent among the places listed under “miscellaneous information” and “old sites” and formed the backbone of market fairs. But they were not exhaustively enumerated as were the lodges, and they had begun to be marginalized in favor of minute attention to entertainment and other forms of

46. A note explained that “on the nineteenth day of the first month it is commonly said that an immortal must come to earth at the Baiyunguan.” Hoping to encounter him, visitors gave money to the poor, who congregated here for that purpose. *Dumen zhuzhi ci* 14.

consumption. Verse and prose descriptions were likewise displaced by the cataloguing of useful information.

Judging from the many extant editions, these *Dumen* guides were increasingly in demand in the late nineteenth century. I know of nine editions in the 1870s, and seven in the 1880s. The 1886 edition (under the name “Complete Account of the Capital and Its Markets”) added lists of hotels and banks, and updated names and addresses of lodges and theaters. New editions were cobbled together from sections of earlier ones and were unevenly updated.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the late Qing state was still reasonably vigorous, and the gazetteer tradition was still alive. While Li Hongzhang was governor-general of Zhili province, he initiated greatly enlarged editions of the provincial and prefectural gazetteers (completed in 1884 and 1886, respectively). But like the government itself, these editions drew on earlier works and presented information in a predictably traditional manner.⁴⁷

Even before the first of the *Dumen* volumes, Peking’s visitors and residents began to have access to genuinely convenient maps. Separately printed maps of the walled city may have been available as early as the eighteenth century.⁴⁸ They certainly were by the early nineteenth. Entitled (in characters across the top) “Complete Map of the Premier City” (*Shoushan quan tu*), these maps turned Peking into a rectangle by squeezing the Outer City to the same east-west dimensions as the Inner City. The maps were large enough (1.1 by 0.6 meters) to give the names of a great many of the city’s lanes and alleys but still portable when folded. A blank space for the Imperial City continued the tradition of imperial privacy.⁴⁹ (Details of one such map are shown in Figures 12.3 and 15.3.)

47. Another similar project was the “Collectanea of the Capital Region” (*Jifu congshu*), 1879.

48. I have tried to create a sequence (rather than assign firm dates) for the surviving detached maps of Peking. For a careful attempt to date them: Li Xiacong 1996. I propose that the maps that use “Jingshi” for Peking came first and appeared in the middle of the eighteenth century (Map 1744a, 1744b).

There were also mid-Qing imperial and Banner maps exclusively of the Inner City, seemingly for the purpose of urban security. They were characterized by their lack of a title, use of color, exclusive concentration on the Banner city, attention to princely residences and government offices, and coded symbols to show the distribution of the different Banners. I would call them “For Official Use Only.” The ones that Li Xiacong has called eighteenth century were smaller (approximately 85 by 110 centimeters) and less detailed than those done after 1800. See Li Xiacong 1994; Li Xiacong 1996:#06.01, #06.02, #06.03, #06.05, #06.09, #06.10; Spink; the Royal Ontario Museum map 920.21.48. I benefitted from talking with James Hsu of the Royal Ontario Museum, who has been studying their map.

49. Maps entitled “Shoushan” may be placed next in the sequence and were available across the nineteenth century. Like Li Xiacong 1994:452, I have seen these maps in many Western

A roughly similar map was being published by the middle of the nineteenth century under the title “Complete Map of the Capital City” (*Jingcheng quan tu*).⁵⁰ (See Figure 13.2.) Within a few decades, it was possible to buy a smaller “Complete Map of the Premier Capital, Inner and Outer [Cities]” (*Jingcheng nei wai shoushan quan tu*) that showed not only many places within the Imperial City but also the foreign legations that had been established in the city after 1860.⁵¹ In their many editions and attention to the convenience of visitors, these late Qing maps mirrored the successive editions of the *Dumen* guidebooks (which had nondetachable maps). Both concentrated on the present city and turned its past into sights. Both presented a diverse city, not an imperially dominated one. Both emphasized the city within the walls.

There were thus several strands to Chinese writings and pictures about Peking in the Qing: private works intended for imperial use only; historically oriented compendia that circulated in government and scholarly circles; privately available writings and paintings that recorded literati experiences; and maps and books intended for the visitor and tourist. As defined by this literature, Peking’s identities were multiple and overlapping.

The capital cannot, however, be understood in isolation but should be appreciated in contrast with other cities of the empire. Although recovering this context in its entirety is more than can be attempted here, a few comparisons are possible.

In the early Qing, one axis paired Peking with Nanking, the capital of the Ming founder and of the Southern Ming resistance. Loyalism and nostalgia could both be expressed as interest in that southern capital. In the 1690s, its late Ming courtesan quarters became the focus of Kong Shangren’s powerful and well-researched historical drama titled “The Peach Blossom Fan,” of verse by the poet Wang Shizhen, of a poignant memoir by the aesthete Yu Huai, and of albums by the painter Shitao.⁵² Such sentiments were trans-

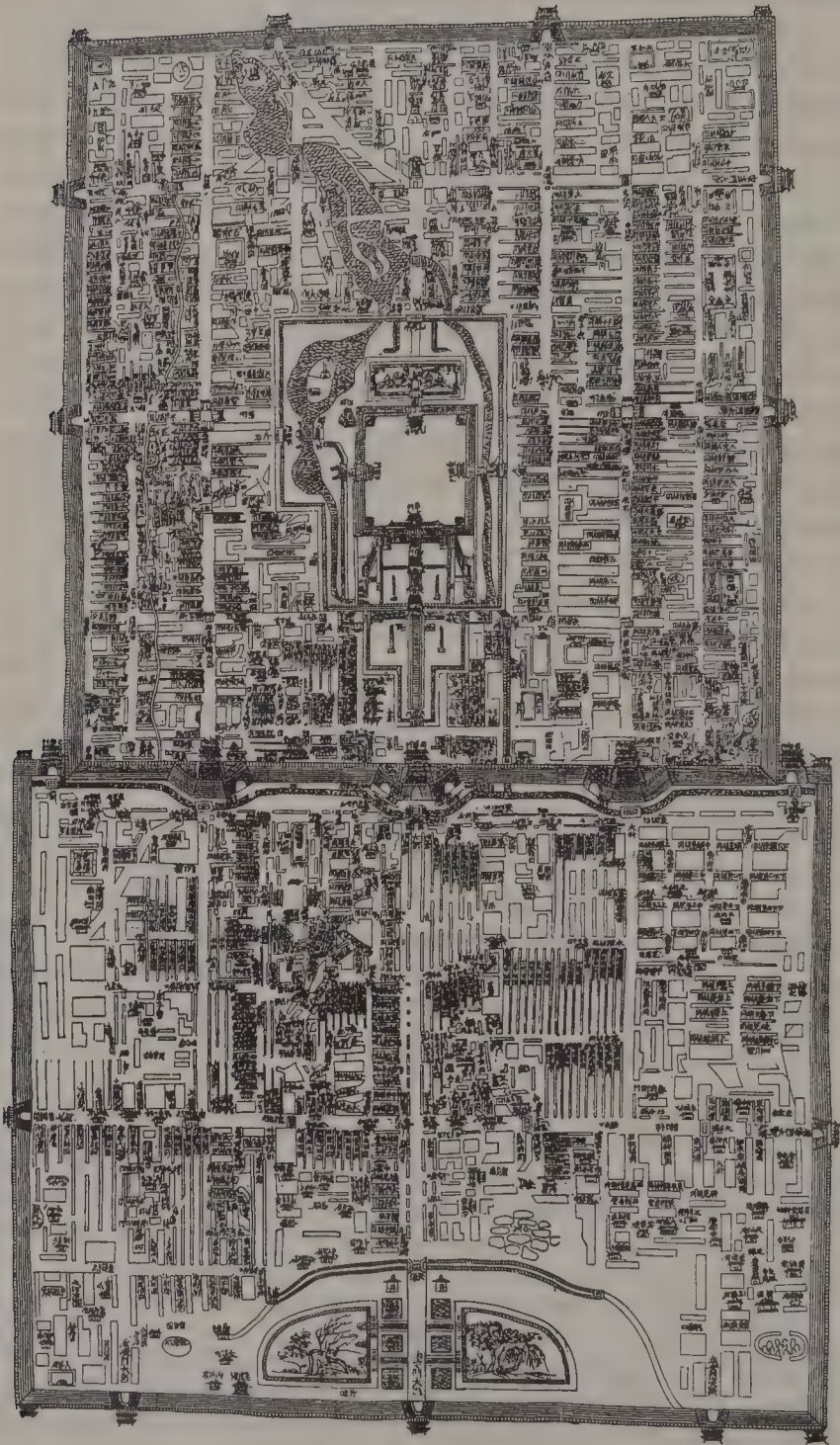
libraries and library catalogues; some are larger and seem to have been later printings. Li gives an 1829 provenance for the Berlin map (via Russia), which he has dated from internal evidence to the Qianlong or Jiaqing reigns (prior to 1820): 1996:#06.04 and map 10, also #06.06, #06.08. The ones in Figures 13.2 and 15.3 both antedate 1860.

50. In this pre-legations map, the Outer City protrudes slightly beyond the Inner City. It was through Armand Lucy that the map shown in Figure 13.2 was made known in the West in 1861. Also Li Xiacong 1996:#06.07. Maps entitled “Jingcheng” may have come next.

51. This map had rounded walls and reduced the two great altars to empty ovals. See Scidmore 1900:67; Conger 1909: opp. p. 94; Zheng Lianzhang; Li Xiacong 1996:#06.11. These maps vary slightly, the result of multiple printings. An even later—but still Qing—map was entitled “Detailed Map of the Capital City” (*Jingcheng xiangxi ditu*). It showed a few structures in the suburbs: see Geil 404. Republican-era maps used “Beijing” and “Beiping” in their titles.

52. Bryant; Strassberg 1983:esp. 195–200, 394; *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* plate 238, pp. 322–23.

北京城全圖



Plan de Péking d'après un document chinois rapporté par M. Armand Lucy, publié par l'Illustration.

Figure 13.2. "Complete Map of the Capital City"

SOURCE: Lucy 1861: n.p. (back of book). Original size: ca. 100 cm. × 58 cm.

formed in the eighteenth century into a more generalized melancholy, as in Zheng Banqiao's poem: "When will the night moon end? / Empty it shines over the deserted palaces . . . / Over the ruins of ancient monuments and graves forsaken."⁵³ Nostalgia aside, Nanking was not a significant rival in politics or culture or commerce.

Other cities of the Lower Yangtze were more formidable competition. Suzhou, its textile manufactories revived by the Qing, was still understood as a city of refined culture, a source of artists and actors and chefs, and maintained its vigor into the early nineteenth century. It made a deep impression on the Qianlong emperor when he visited, and the 1759 imperially commissioned handscroll "Scenes of Vitality in a Prosperous Age" represented this Suzhou in clean, attentive, and comprehensive detail.⁵⁴ In the meantime, money had endowed nearby Yangzhou with the energy of lavish patrons and exuberant consumption. Its immensely rich salt merchants supported luxurious villas, well-known painters, and a theatrical life lovingly documented in prose.⁵⁵ And yet, in 1800 Peking could more than hold its own in such comparisons. It was still the nerve center of the empire and a city of great wealth and glamour.

The creation of treaty ports and the devastation of the cities of central China by the Taiping rebels in the middle of the nineteenth century changed everything. After 1860, Tianjin challenged Peking within the region, and Shanghai set national standards for economic power, urban vitality, and cultural sophistication.⁵⁶ By 1900, as we shall see in later chapters, Peking's centrality was under assault.

In the course of the Qing, the tourist sites of Peking developed in tandem with the regular influx of visitors, and these visitors in their turn made the city exciting and diverse. The cosmopolitanism came in large part from talented and ambitious people from all over the empire, but also from the presence of foreigners. With their visits, these people from beyond the boundaries of Qing rule helped identify and popularize local sights, created images of the city that defined Peking abroad, and themselves became objects of Chinese tourist attention.

53. Cheung & Gurofsky 24–25. Zheng died in 1765.

54. 'Sheng shi zi sheng' tu; L. Johnson 1986:75–76; Lust 54–59. For views on Suzhou in the nineteenth century: Marmé 1987:436; L. Johnson 1986:chaps. 6 and 7.

55. P. Ho 1954; Finnane 1993. The book is, of course, Li Dou's 1795 *Yangzhou hua fang lu* (A record of Yangzhou's pleasure boats); there is a substantial literature on these "eccentric" painters.

56. Guidebooks to Tianjin and Shanghai began later than the *Dumen* type. See Zhang Tao; Des Forges chap. 1; Yeh.

FROM EMBASSIES

Peking's foreign visitors looked at Peking with different eyes, and their versions of the city were communicated not only to local people but conveyed in words and pictures to audiences back home. For the first two centuries, such foreigners were few, but once Peking was opened up by treaty, more came and stayed longer. By the turn of the twentieth century, when "China" had become a destination for organized parties of tourists, Peking was at the top of their lists.

Before 1860, foreign clergy resided for long periods in Peking, and people from European and Asian kingdoms came on official missions to the Qing court. The Peking that these men saw was shaped by their circumscribed movements. Mongol and Tibetan lamas and Jesuit and Lazarist priests supported by the Imperial Household spent most of their time in the palace, Imperial City, suburban villas, churches, and lamaseries. For emissaries, control in time and space was even tighter: they travelled in and out of the empire under supervision and by a predetermined route, were confined to Peking, and were permitted to stay no more than a few months.

Like the Ming, the Qing insisted that members of foreign missions stay only at designated lodges. The main Envoy Residence (Huitongguan) had since 1542 been located on the east side of the Forbidden City, convenient to the palace, the Agency for Imperial Dependencies (Lifanyuan), and the ministries.⁵⁷ At first, Koreans, Russians, Ryukyuan, Portuguese, and Dutch all stayed here. After the 1720s, when a Russian Orthodox church was built on the premises, it was converted to the Russia House, and a nearby building previously used for Central Asians became the primary tributary lodge. There was also a hostel for Uighurs on the west side of the palace and an Outer (Mongol) lodge north of the Desheng Gate.⁵⁸ When the main lodge was full, the missions overflowed into other places, even an occasional temple, but most visitors were concentrated in government-run compounds in the center of the Inner City.

The ritual focus of these visits was the new year's banquet in the Baohe-dian of the Forbidden City, and although other missions arrived for the emperor's birthday or other occasions, most emissaries saw Peking only during

57. B & H #392; Crossley 1991; Widmer 88–94. For a clear abstract of the routine: Wills 29–36. For other lodges: *FXZ* 2:3–5, 2:14, 5:2, 6:18, 7:14, 10:46. A collective study of these lodges would be useful.

58. Russia House: Widmer 88–90; S. Meng 20–22. Uighurs: Kim Kyōngsōn 1106. Mongols: B & H #498; *Huidian* 1899:68:712; *BJTB* 85:105–6.

two or three winter months.⁵⁹ Private sightseeing in and near the city was discouraged though not impossible, and there was much that these men necessarily missed. Their attention was focused on official dealings and imperial ceremonials, and their concentrated presence enhanced these dimensions of Peking life.

In the envoys' pictures and written accounts of Peking, imperial ritual and imperial spaces naturally dominate—just as Qing emperors would have wished. Elaborate and solemn tributary rituals accentuated the austerities of the winter and the grand scale of the palace, while the protracted holidays of the new year filled the streets with celebrations. Foreigners also admired high vermilion walls, gold tiled roofs, white marble bridges, gardens and pleasure houses, pronouncing them (variously) beautiful, charming, delightful, magnificent, vast, and awe-inspiring. Such images made up their Peking, but within these general parameters, experiences differed. Let us consider first the Central Asians, then the Koreans, and finally the Europeans.

Central Asians formed the largest component of Peking's regular foreign visitors. As Manchu suzerainty was extended to Mongols and Tibetans and then to the Muslim inhabitants of the Silk Road, these peoples were obligated to send regular "tributary" delegations to the Qing capital.⁶⁰ The Lifanyuan subdivided them into groups that came to Peking on a rotating basis at different intervals.

These delegations were often rather large (especially early in the dynasty)—perhaps as many as a thousand people. Most spent the winter in Peking. They camped in the north suburbs, their leaders accommodated within the Yellow or Black lamaseries or housed at one of the envoy residences in town. Even into the nineteenth century, many still preferred to pitch their tents in hostel courtyards.⁶¹ Visitors from Central Asia seem to have been less closely supervised than other foreigners, perhaps because Peking already had a community of Mongol merchants, many Chinese Muslims, and a large number of resident lamas.

Tibetan Buddhist clerics had been coming to Peking since the early Ming. During the Qing, some moved into temples provided by the court; others came and went. Incarnate high lamas made the journey regularly from their home communities in faraway Kumbum or Lhasa, following an established pilgrimage trail to religiously charged sites in Qing territory. Some temples,

59. Mongol princes also sent gifts on the occasion of the birthdays of high lama incarnations: X. Wang 297.

60. Chia; Millward 1998:156–59; Jagchid 147.

61. Chia 76; Lockhart 1866:130; and sources in Chapter 15.

as we noted in Chapter 10, imitated monasteries in Lhasa, Chengde, and Wutaishan, and thus borrowed from their sacrality and added to it. Visiting lamas strengthened this complex of associations with each trip, while their presence added to the aura of Peking's lamaseries.⁶²

Although there does not appear to have been a regular system by which information about China was systematically transmitted back to Central Asia by lamas (as the Jesuits provided for readers in Europe), a hagiographic-cum-biographic literature in Tibetan about the highest incarnations described their visits to Peking. Moreover, accounts of the supernatural manifestations at rituals performed by powerful lamas, as well as paintings that recorded these moments, associated the Great Qing with miraculous events in the minds of Tibetan readers.

Rolpay Dorje, the Jangjia Qutugtu and close associate of the Qianlong emperor, lived most of his life in Peking; able to speak Chinese, Mongolian, Manchu, and Tibetan, he was in contact with a constant stream of visitors who called upon him at the Songzhusi. He also travelled to Lhasa in 1734–1736 and 1757–1758 and went to the Amdo area in 1749 and 1764. He wrote accounts of two Peking temples and of the shrines at Wutaishan, and he must have described the Qing capital to those he met on his journeys.⁶³

For the titled Mongols who came on regular missions to Peking, the ceremonial focus was the new year's day banquet, but as Buddhists, they were very interested in temples associated with high lamas. The Sandalwood Buddha of the Zhantansi in the Imperial City was probably seen as the holiest object in the city.⁶⁴ The Baitasi had long been associated with the Yuan capital, and a guidebook to it was published in Mongolian in 1753. The Huang and Hei temples in the northern suburbs were the core of a Mongol neighborhood and a good place to buy religious objects. The lamas in the Yonghegong, whose mid-eighteenth-century restoration Rolpay Dorje helped supervise, were mostly Mongols, and that complex also accommodated the retinues of Mongol dignitaries and hosted large-scale rituals.⁶⁵

Distinctive images of the Qing capital circulated in Central Asia. Through a famous poetic lamentation over the lost Yuan capital (Dadu, "my great jew-

62. The 1770 regulation that lamas from Mount Wutai who were on a pilgrimage to Putuoshan on the coast of central China (the principal pilgrimage site for Guanyin in this period) had to stop in Peking to receive a pass may have been intended not merely to control such traffic but to put Peking on their route. *Huidian shili* 1899:501:11748.

63. X. Wang 103, 113, 124, 125, 160–65, 211 and chaps. 6, 7, and 8 more generally. Rolpay Dorje's accounts were of the Sandalwood Buddha and the Baitasi; written in Tibetan, they were also translated into Mongolian and published in Peking. Vladimir Uspensky, personal communication 1998.

64. Vladimir Uspensky, personal communication, December 1998.

65. Huc 1:375–82; Edkins 1870:336; Franke 162; Heissig 1966:152–53; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:35; Little 1904:34–35; Crow 285; Berger 115. Yonghegong: Bartholomew 36; Bredon 155–68.

eled city”), Peking was incorporated into Mongol popular culture.⁶⁶ Mongols who visited seem to have also given currency to the idea that Peking was the home of Vairochana, transcendent Buddha, incarnation of the Law, and symbol of the Wheel-Turning King. (This link between Peking and an idealized Chakravartin ruler probably originated with—and certainly served the interests of—the Qing throne.)⁶⁷ Did Tibetans also know of another story familiar in Peking—that the capital city layout was modeled on a tanka of the god Yamantaka?⁶⁸ Perhaps the most influential of these images was the one put forth by Qing emperors, who, from the time of Nurgaci, had imagined themselves as incarnations of the bodhisattva Manjusri. Literature in Tibetan and Mongolian, including books about Wutaishan, spread this idea, as did tanka images of Qianlong as Manjusri that were displayed in places such as the Yonghegong.⁶⁹

As a city, Peking does not seem to have been visually represented in the splendid detail that Lhasa was in Tibetan art. Yet some paintings used imperial architecture as settings for highly charged meetings between emperors and incarnate lamas. These pictures and the movements of a few celebrated visitors help us recapture the Peking known to Tibetans and represented by them.

When the fifth Dalai Lama visited Peking in 1652, he was banqueted in a temple in the Southern Park, housed at the newly constructed Huangsi, and received in the Forbidden City by Shunzhi. A mural in the Potala palace in Lhasa commemorated this meeting, showing the two men seated in front of a handsome Chinese-style hall.⁷⁰

Enroute to Peking in 1780 the sixth Panchen Lama first paid his respects at the Tibetan Buddhist temples in Rehe that were intended to be another node in the sacred geography of the religion. Once in Peking, he and his entourage of high lamas were taken to the Yuanmingyuan, to the hill beside Kunming Lake, to the temples of Incense Hill (including the Zhaomiao built specifically for him), to the palace, to the Yonghegong, and to the Songzhusi where Rolpay Dorje resided. The party stayed in the Yellow Temple. Qianlong also made a point of receiving the Panchen Lama in the same Southern Park temple where the Dalai Lama had met Shunzhi, 128 years before. Such visits drew huge crowds of lamas from near and far.⁷¹ The Panchen Lama’s sudden

66. Also through tales that portrayed the Yongle emperor as the posthumous son of the last Yuan emperor; Hok-lam Chan suggested that the tales originated with the Peking Mongol community and spread to Inner Asia. H. Chan 1990; Serruys 1972; Heissig 1966:54. Poem: Krueger; Vladimir Uspensky supplied me with this reference.

67. Grupper 1979:185; Berger 91, 94; Crossley 1999: chap. 5.

68. Lessing 89–90.

69. Farquhar; Grupper 1984; Bruckner; Crossley 1999:chap. 5; Berger 113.

70. I saw this mural in 1987; it has been reproduced in Ya. The positions taken, both during the actual meetings and as represented, were significant ways of making claims about this complex relationship: Hevia 1993. Also Rockhill 17.

71. X. Wang 250–51; Xu Ke 4:1565; Cammann; *JWK* 74:1251.

and frighteningly inauspicious death of smallpox helped create a new holy site in Peking: the white marble stupa within the Huangsi that the chagrined emperor commissioned to hold the holy man's relics.⁷² (It is shown in Figure 15.2.)

In the summer of 1908 (another 128 years later), the thirteenth Dalai Lama, who fled from Lhasa when the British invaded, came by invitation to Peking. He went first to Mount Wutai, then arrived in Peking by train, where he was greeted by Qing dignitaries and lamas from twenty-eight temples in the city and carried by sedan-chair to the Huangsi. He met with the emperor and empress dowager several times in the palace and Western Park; these encounters were later painted on murals within the Potala, and again palace architecture was used to conjure up Peking. The Dalai Lama also visited the Songzhusi, the Baitasi, and the Mahakala Temple; the British ambassador called upon him at the Huangsi. The deaths of Guangxu and Cixi, one after the other, abruptly curtailed his visit, but the pontiff went to the Yonghegong on several occasions to perform rituals for them. (Local belief that two living buddhas could not “manifest themselves in the same locality” was no doubt even further strengthened by the fatal conjuncture.)⁷³

The frequent presence of such foreign visitors in Peking—some imperial, some religious—affected the meaning their lodgings and favored sights had to Peking's residents, shaped the city's neighborhoods, and diversified the population. And through these visitors, both august incarnations and undocumented lamas, Peking became familiar to Central Asian Tibetan Buddhists. This Peking was in turn incorporated into the greater Buddhist world, a world whose lamaist centers remained high on the Tibetan plateaus.

I could only speculate irresponsibly about the sights that Muslim visitors might have sought in Peking. Certainly they would have gone to the city's mosques in search of fellow believers and the acceptable food and safe accommodation in the surrounding neighborhoods. As we will see in Chapter 15, Uighur tributaries were housed in the southeast section of the Inner City and used the mosque there.⁷⁴ Did they also visit the venerable Ox Street mosque? Had they heard of its Yuan dynasty tombs? Did they take in other sights besides religious ones?

Better documentation allows a closer look at the tourist activities of the Koreans who came on tribute missions. An average of three embassies a year came to the Qing court, each with several hundred people. Although the

72. *JWK* 107:1786–89.

73. Rockhill 76–88; Ya 257–66. Two buddhas: Johnston 1934:72–73. Mural: Ya.

74. Muslims who came from elsewhere in north China may have patronized the Flower Mart mosque. See *BJTB* 68:73–74; Li Fuliang 335.

educated men who accompanied each mission dressed distinctively and did not speak Chinese, they were familiar with the history and culture of the Middle Kingdom and could read and write classical Chinese. It became customary for many of them to keep diaries of their “visits to Yan” (*Yŏnhaengnok*)—as they delicately termed their destination—and these circulated privately to interested readers at home. Korean travellers had access to books about Peking and seem to have read their predecessors’ accounts. The diaries recorded each day’s activities and were often organized around the local sights. They are the “tourists” who will concern us here.⁷⁵

In the early Ming, members of the Korean missions had been permitted unimpeded access to Peking, but security considerations constrained their movements. In later centuries, restrictions fluctuated and intermittent sight-seeing was possible.⁷⁶ Like other emissaries, Koreans focused on the annual events of the winter months: the new year’s banquet and lantern festival, looking for Immortal Qiu at Baiyunguan, shopping at Liulichang and Longfusi markets, horse racing, theater, street magicians, and acrobats. Like Chinese scholars, Koreans were interested in books, texts, famous paintings, and the occasional imperial procession. Their attitudes toward the Qing itself were ambivalent; although they acted the part of proper tribute bearers, a residual Ming loyalism seems to have prevailed at home.⁷⁷

Koreans were energetic sightseers: “I left our hostel thirteen times, and went in eight of the nine city gates, some many times,” one bragged. They knew of the Eight Vistas, tried to see those that survived, and inquired about the others. Of course, much of their time was spent within the imperial domain, where they were awed by the Taihe Hall, crossed the Rainbow Bridge over the lakes, and looked at the sights of the Western Park. Through persistence, they sometimes managed to get into the Altar to Heaven. They asked questions about the secret Manchu rites in the Tangzi, ogled the tigers in the imperial pens near the Yuanmingyuan, talked their way in to see the Observatory, and visited the South Church to see the murals, images, and “self-chiming” clock.⁷⁸

Temples were among the most frequently noted sights. Although many Koreans struck a pose of disdain for teachings other than those of Confucius—

75. Chun; Ledyard 1974; Kim Ch’ang’ŏp 149; Kim Kyŏngsŏn 1061, 1068, 1100. I have relied on the descriptions in the *Yŏnhaengnok sŏnjin*, esp. 1:55–72 (for 1574); 1:148–73 (1624); 1:213–23 (1636); 2:451–55, 485–96 (1720); 1:277–349, 1:476–515 (1766); 1:847–902 (1769); 2:587–613 (1778); 1:566–91 (1792); 1:1011–118 (1833); 2:1245–64 (1887). And also on Kim Ch’ang’ŏp 136–249 (1713); Pak Chiwŏn (1780); Yi Kaewŏn (1830). See also Ledyard 1974; M. Tao 88; Yi Wŏnbok.

76. P. Lee 74–75; Ledyard 1974; Kim Ch’ang’ŏp 211.

77. They continued to use the Ming calendar, and maps of the Qing empire were annotated with Ming administrative designations. Ledyard 1994:257.

78. Hong Taeyong 277–78, 315–16; Kim Kyŏngsŏn 162, 1029, 1064; Pak Chiwŏn 25. Quotation: Kim Ch’ang’ŏp 240.

they were especially critical of the yellow-robed lamas—as tourists, they were not so straitlaced. I know of seventy-nine temples visited or commented on by Koreans. Only eighteen (22 percent) were within the imperial domain; the others were distributed rather evenly across the city, and the relatively high number of temples in the Outer City—which required an effort to visit—suggests these Koreans’ wide-ranging curiosity.

Most of the temples that they wrote about were already famous for their markets, festivals, stelae, or connection with events of Yuan or Ming history.⁷⁹ Some were on frequently travelled routes within the imperial domain; others were along the roads that led from the Envoy Residence to the sweet-water wells by the Tiantan; still others were discovered by chance.

The Confucius temple and the Directorate of Education were high on the Koreans’ list of sights they had to see. Like his fellow natives, Kim Ch’ang’öp went in search of the Shrine of the Three Loyal Ones where Zhuge Liang (the hero of the Three Kingdoms story) and the Song martyrs Yue Fei and Wen Chengxiang were worshipped. He admired the images and took tea with the resident monk but was distressed by the shrine’s lack of popularity. On this same trip in 1713 Kim also tried to pay respects to the Ming martyr Yu Qian, writing the characters for “Shrine to the Loyal and Pure” in the dust of the road with his whip, hoping someone would understand and direct him, but none could or did. In 1769 Pak Saho discovered another shrine to Yue Fei in the Outer City (the Jingzhongmiao), and in 1833 Kim Kyöngsön sought it out as well. Although this temple was already an important center for guilds, the Koreans were more interested in the statues and stelae connected with the Song patriot.⁸⁰

The Koreans approached Buddhist and Daoist establishments with ambivalence. “What is this temple called and what are you doing?” wrote Kim Ch’ang’öp to a young man he encountered in a bustling Outer City temple.⁸¹ Seeing a temple from the street, the Koreans would enter, bow to the god, burn incense, inspect the god images, read the stelae, stroll through the halls and courtyard, have tea with the monks and “discuss” the temple history, appraise the female visitors, and try not to mind being stared at.

The pagoda of the Fazangsi in the deserted southeastern section of the Outer City had been famous since the Ming for the display of lanterns during the new year’s holiday, and it became a staple of the Koreans’ tours. By the time Kim Ch’ang’öp made the treacherous winding climb up to the top, there was abundant graffiti written by his fellow countrymen; he read and

79. Half were described in the Ming literature about Peking; most were in Qing compendia or guidebooks.

80. Kim Ch’ang’öp 151–53, 156–58; Pak Saho 894; Kim Kyöngsön 1038.

81. Kim Ch’ang’öp 206–7.

eagerly added to it, as his successors would also do.⁸² Chinese visitors could not fail to notice the Korean presence.

The album that Kang Se-kwang painted in 1784 concentrated on predictable scenes: the White Stupa by the lake, Bannermen ice-skating drills, and the temples by Kunming Lake.⁸³ Kim Kyōngsōn's simple map of the city ("A Complete Map of the Northern Capital") from his 1833 trip appears to have been his own creation. Highly regular and stylized, it showed primarily the walls and gates of the nested cities, with the central halls of the Forbidden City and the main altars of the state religion. There were no lakes or waterways, no roads, no temples or other buildings; this imperial orientation stands in sharp contrast to the wide range of places that Kim actually visited during his two-month stay.⁸⁴

Although preoccupied with imperial ritual as all tributaries were, Koreans were curious about, able to see, and chose to write about a much broader spectrum of Peking life than most foreigners. Their experiences were intense and varied. They learned about the city through the writings of Chinese elites, and by means of their own writings and repeated visits enhanced the tourist reputation of certain sights among Koreans and Chinese. And they themselves became sights, part of Peking's diverse society.⁸⁵

The Tokugawa regime in Japan had no formal relationship with the Qing and Japanese were not permitted to visit, but a regular if controlled trade between Nagasaki and Ningbo (in Zhejiang) ensured contact between the two cultures. Information about Peking drawn from printed books and conversations with Chinese merchants circulated in Japan, and there seems to have been an audience for books about "Tang Lands."

The 1799 "Account of Qing Customs" (*Shinzoku kibun*) did not discuss Peking, but Okada Gyokuzan's 1805 "Illustrated Compendium of Famous Sites in China" (*Morokoshi meishō zue*) did. It contained fourteen woodblock drawings of the Qing capital, all derived from published works available to the author in Japan. Of the four chapters dedicated to Peking, two were on the Great Interior (meaning the Forbidden City) and the Imperial City; the

82. Kim Ch'ang'öp 205–6; Hong Taeyong 316; Yi Kap 604; Pak Chiwön 25; Kim Kyōngsōn 1058.

83. Yi Wōnbok esp. 37–39, 47. I am most grateful to Burglind Jungmann for sending me this article.

84. It is not clear to me what part this map-drawing had in Kim's original diary.

85. Residents recognized their distinctive pale blue or white clothing and hats and hairdos, and called out "Koreans!" as they passed. Kim Ch'ang'öp was amazed (173) when he met a person on the streets of the capital who had been to his country and could speak the language.

illustrations showed the Western Park, Taimiao, Shejitan, formal court banquets, ice-skating on the lake, officials waiting for an audience outside the Wu Gate, and similar imperial scenes. The other chapters covered a range of city sights, some familiar from Qing materials, some fanciful, but most reflecting established sights: the Hanlin Secretariat, the Observatory, the Elephant Stables, the Eight Vistas, the imperial summer villas, and the altars. By such means, expectations were created in print long in advance of the travel of nineteenth-century Japanese tourists to the Qing capital.⁸⁶

Those who came to Peking from Europe in the period before 1860 did not have the Koreans' advantages of deep familiarity with the language and culture, and their greater foreignness made for rather different experiences. For short-term Western visitors, Peking was the end-point of a long journey full of many sights, and once in the capital they too became absorbed in the tributary world (the envoy lodges, the audiences, the palace). They came with an interest in Chinese religions and with prejudices that inclined them toward Confucianism and made them disdainful of other forms of worship.

And yet these Europeans were not entirely ignorant about the place they called "China." The fourteenth-century writings of Marco Polo were widely known, and missionary letters had circulated since the sixteenth century. Together with published accounts of European embassies, these came to form a substantial body of "knowledge" about the Ming and Qing empires in general and Peking in particular. And like other foreigners, Europeans eventually left their mark on the city as residents and as visitors. Let us look at these two intertwined strands of information about Peking: the experiences of Western visitors, and the city that they portrayed.

Marco Polo had brought "Cathay" into the imaginative world of Europe. His account of the Yuan empire in the 1270s–1280s and his descriptions of Qubilai Khan and "his Citie Cambalu and glorious palace" were the earliest sustained descriptions of Khanbaliq, Cambulac, the khan's city, Peking. Although the wave of travel writings about Asia that accompanied the European expansion of the sixteenth century slowly brought China into focus again, the northern part of that empire remained largely hearsay until the Jesuits were able to visit Peking in 1598.⁸⁷

86. Okada Gyokuzan; Hu Jia.

87. Polo 2:140–43. See Lach 1:2:chap. 9.

Matteo Ricci's writings became the foundation for European knowledge of China over the next centuries, but he had surprisingly little to say about the northern capital. His most detailed description, reflecting his first impressions, noted that it compared unfavorably in layout and buildings to Nanking, where he had previously been living. Ricci conceded the greater governmental activity, but remarked on the high concentration of soldiers and officials, the dust and the mud of the city streets, and the strange system of heating homes with a "bituminous substance."⁸⁸

Ricci's ideas about Chinese religion—a serious matter to him—helped set the tone for future missionaries. Of Buddhist monks, he said (expressing the public position of his literati informants as well as his own biases): "This special class of temple servants is considered to be, and in reality is, the lowest and most despised caste in the whole kingdom. They come from the very dregs of the populace, and in their youth are sold into slavery to the Osciami [Buddhists]. . . . Though not a marrying class, they are so given to sexual indulgence that only the heaviest penalties can deter them from promiscuity." Daoists were no better: "They buy in their disciples and are as low and dishonest a class as those already described."⁸⁹

It was Ricci who began the transition to a definitive European rendering of the name of the Ming northern capital. His writings made it generally known that "Pechini is Campalu of Marco Polo, Catai is Cina."⁹⁰ Ricci wrote originally in Italian, but his works were translated into Latin (1615), then French, German, Spanish, and English. His names for the two Ming capitals, variant even within one language, were rendered as "Pachino" and "Nanchino" (in Italian), "Pechini" and "Nanchini" (in Latin), "Pachin" and "Nanchin" (in German and French), and "Pequin" and "Nanquin" (in English).⁹¹ The crystallization of "Peking" with a "k" (Pekim, Pékin, Peking) occurred several decades later with the publication (in 1642) of the account by Alvarez Semedo, a Portuguese Jesuit (who was in China 1613–1616 and 1620–1637).⁹² The consolidation by the 1650s of haphazard romanizations into a name that would be read and recognized throughout Europe and

88. Ricci 1953:309–11.

89. Ricci 1953:100–101, 102.

90. Ricci 1615:340–41 or 1953:311–13. He also established Peking's latitude with greater accuracy. See also Lach 1:2:752; Lach & Van Kley 3:4:1575–78.

91. See Ricci 1953 preface for the editions of his works. Ricci's first references to Peking were in book 4, chapter 2 of Trigault's 1615 edition of his journals, his first visit in chapters 3 and 12, and his residence in book 5, chapter 7. The appellation "Xuntien" (Shuntian) was also known and used, especially on seventeenth-century maps.

92. I have not seen the original Portuguese manuscript, but the first published version (in Spanish translation) in 1642 used "Pekim" (Semedo 1642:31), as did the 1645 French and 1655 English editions. "Pequin" lingered for a few years but was soon displaced.

North America was no small thing.⁹³ (The same could be said about the word “China.”) Once it was consistently named, Peking became (or seemed to be) knowable and was grasped in a new way; with the backward linkages to Cambulac clear, new information about the city could now accumulate in the seemingly systematic fashion characteristic of European orientalism.

With the establishment of the Qing dynasty, embassies began to arrive in Peking on an intermittent basis from the emerging European nations: Russia, Portugal, Holland, France, and Great Britain. The knowledge that European publishers stood ready to print and sell accounts of missions to China encouraged the keeping of diaries by embassy members. Drawings made along the way formed the basis for etchings that illustrated printed books. Peking, like China, was thus represented—selectively—in both words and pictures, and so came to life in the minds of European readers, visitors, and sojourners.⁹⁴

Johan Nieuhof’s account of the Dutch East Company embassy of 1655–1656 included several pictures of Peking that were often reprinted in later decades. One portrayed a modest low-walled city seen from a great distance against a background of hills, another purported to represent one of the courtyards of the Forbidden City with ceremonial halls on three sides, and a third showed an aerial view of the ground plan of the Imperial City in the shape of a cross.⁹⁵ All owed as much to the Western imagination as to the Chinese reality.

Once they arrived in Peking, most of the time and energy of Europeans was bound up in the tributary diplomacy and rituals within the imperial domain. Although it was easier for the lesser members of the missions to explore the city, most seem to have been confined to their hostels. In consequence, comments about Peking were thin and general. E. I. Ides, the Russian ambassador, was taken around in 1693 during the new year’s holidays. His hosts chose to show him the elephants in their stables, and these beasts figured in the etching of the Wu Gate that accompanied his text.⁹⁶ Most Europeans discovered the Christian churches, some noticed the “dwellings for their priests” and “idol-temples,” but many fewer discovered the presence of Mus-

93. See Michael Boym’s 1652 map in H. Goodman 263, plate 190, or the often republished writings and maps of Martino Martini (1654 and after).

94. The accounts I have consulted include Baikoff (1657) in Baddeley 1:143–51; Nieuhof 105–31; Van Hoorn (1667) in Astley 3:455–83; Milovanoff (1670) in Baddeley 1:195–203; J. Bell; Lange 1872.

95. Nieuhof 115, 127, 128; Lach & Van Kley 3:1:plates 22, 23, 303, 305, 314; Walravens 236; Blussé & Falkenberg.

96. The other pictures concentrated on imperial ritual spaces. Ides 3:573–74; Walravens 147, 157. Also Lange 1872:3.

lims.⁹⁷ These visitors were aware of the division of the city into two parts, one for the “Tartars” and one for the Chinese, and were particularly interested in determining the size of Peking’s population. It is tempting to read these concerns as reflective of more general fears of China’s great size.⁹⁸

The first Western map of Peking known to me is the one drawn second-hand from the observations of the Portuguese Jesuit Gabriel de Magalhães and published in 1688 (and thereafter). Reflecting the prominence of the Inner City, as many maps did, it showed only this part of Peking, drawn as a small-squared checkerboard; within it, the Imperial City was given exaggerated prominence. As in other Western illustrations from the early Qing, an idealized city was shown, with straight lines, regular proportions, symmetry, and impossible neatness.⁹⁹ Like the dignified indigenous imperial view of the capital—by which it was doubtless influenced and whose rightness it implicitly confirmed—this Peking was not a place for the confusion of a real city.

From a slightly later period (1736) came a more unusual map of Peking, drawn by an experienced member of a commercial mission from Russia. It was expressive of the more diverse experience of these long-term sojourners and a part of the valuable information accumulating in St. Petersburg.¹⁰⁰ Peking was presented south to north, as suited a visitor from Siberia. Although this map showed no obvious influences from Jesuit maps produced in Peking, it was roughly accurate in overall size and shape. The basic identifying features were present—the palace, Imperial City, altars, walls, and gates—but scaled down and deemphasized. The map concentrated instead on the Lifanyuan, Russian lodges, cemeteries, and Christian churches, but added the great lamaseries and the sites of sweet-water wells of the north suburbs, and the shops of the Outer City.

Western European embassies diminished in the eighteenth century, as did accounts of them,¹⁰¹ and European visions of Peking in this period came pri-

97. “Temple” was the most common English word for these buildings. Cf. Nieuhof 121, 129. Muslims: Baddeley 1:150.

98. In the charged atmosphere of the mid-nineteenth century, earlier estimates of two or three million inhabitants for Peking were dismissively and confidently revised downward to a million, or fewer. For a sampling, see Pinto 234; Le Comte 58; Astley 4:7; Staunton 2:332; Morache 18; Wheeler 121.

99. Lach & Van Kley 3:4:plate 304.

100. It was appended to the 1781 published account by Lorenz Lange of his 1736 trip: Lange 1781:following p. 677, and reproduced but not so precisely identified in Foust 108 (but see also pp. 128, 380). Lange had already made at least three other trips to Peking: Lange 1872.

101. See L. Fu *passim*. The English and French accounts of Russian missions were the exceptions.

marily and most importantly from missionaries. Employed in the Imperial Household, these men knew Manchu and Chinese, understood the culture, and usually spent long years in Qing territory. They cannot properly be called tourists, and their world revolved around the throne, but they did see Peking. (The Dominican father Domingo Navarrete much resented that, “being prisoners,” they could not see the “Wall of China.”)¹⁰²

Between 1708 and 1743, Jean-Baptiste Du Halde was responsible for editing a series of French Jesuit letterbooks that began in 1702 and continued in various versions into the next century. The many volumes of *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* and *Mémoires concernant l’histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages, etc. des Chinois* brought first-hand accounts of China to the European reading public.¹⁰³ The encyclopedic four-volume *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique de l’Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* that Du Halde had compiled by 1735 drew on this correspondence but synthesized and organized the material so that, in the tradition of Semedo and others a century earlier, new information about an objectified China was presented in an organized and seemingly comprehensive manner. This work was also, as its full title indicated, “enriched” with maps and “ornamented” with engraved illustrations.¹⁰⁴

Jesuit writings presented, as is well known, a favorable portrait of the Qing empire and its system of governance. Peking was set in this sympathetic and increasingly detailed understanding of Qing political geography.¹⁰⁵ Certain aspects of the capital were on their way to becoming clichés: the walls, large and orderly population, impressive imperial presence. These missionaries concentrated on what they knew best—the Imperial City, Forbidden City, and summer villas—and emphasized that Peking was both capital of the empire and home of the emperor. The life of the wider city was not in much evidence.

Because they were the centers of Catholic Peking for both foreigners and Peking’s residents, places of worship were often mentioned. By the early eighteenth century, these Catholic churches were being systematized into a set, and the designations South, East, North, and West Churches came to replace their formal names.¹⁰⁶ Parallel names in Chinese made local people aware

102. Navarrete 2:219; he was in Peking in 1665. Missionaries were expected to live out their lives in Peking. L. Fu 273. For examples: Navarrete; Astley 3:513–30; Le Comte 49–76; *Travels*.

103. Cordier 54–59, 923–30; Percy; *Chinese Traveller*.

104. Du Halde; Foss.

105. Lach & Van Kley 3:1:chaps. 20–22 for the seventeenth century.

106. Almost from the outset these churches had been known informally by both geographic designations (“the eastern church,” “south convent,” “chiesa occidentale,” “orientalis domus”) and

of this network. Other sights included the suburban Zhala cemetery where Ricci and many later Jesuits (and others) were buried, the Orthodox church, and the Russian cemetery outside the north wall.¹⁰⁷ Catholics were quick to pay attention to the lamas (their competitors for imperial favor), and they were well aware of the existence of “some mosques for the Mahometans.”¹⁰⁸ Their bitter rivalry in the Astronomy Bureau, like the competition between Jesuits and Dominicans, transplanted European politics to Peking.

The visual images sent home by the Jesuits followed and reinforced the imperial-centered embassy accounts. Indeed, there may have been more pictures of Qing emperors (mostly spurious) available in Europe than in China (where pictures of the reigning emperor were unknown outside the imperial family).¹⁰⁹ In addition to the maps and illustrations that circulated in book form, there were also engravings suitable for wall hangings. Copies of etchings of the Central Asian campaigns had been kept in France (contrary to Qianlong’s wishes), and these large handsome prints circulated thereafter, possibly reengraved. Three showed Peking: the submission of the defeated Zunghars outside the mighty Wu Gate in 1757, the emperor in the suburbs awaiting news of the distant battles, and the celebratory banquet at the Ziguangge in 1760. To meet a continuing European demand, smaller and less finely executed sets were printed in Paris in the late 1780s by Isodore-Stanislas Helman. Helman added four new scenes, including the plowing ceremony and an imperial procession on the streets of the capital.¹¹⁰ All emphasized monumentality, ceremony, and exoticism. Can we say that in the

national ones (“the French convent,” “College des Portugais”), and by European names and Chinese ones. But until all four churches were built (that is, 1723), these designations were quite unstable. Navarrete 2:213; J. Bell 142, 145; Gaubil 1970:180–81; Verbiest 169–70. I can firmly attest the full set in Chinese only in Yao Yuanzhi 3:6, which dates from the first four decades of the nineteenth century. In Chinese texts, these buildings were also called “Tianzhutang” (Halls of the Heavenly Lord) and (by the early nineteenth century) “Xiyangtang” (Halls of the Western Ocean). Koreans wrote of an “Eastern Tianzhutang”: Hong Taeyong 315; Kim Kyöngsön 1029–35.

107. *Travels*; Gaubil 1970 passim, 1758:706; and sources cited in Thomas 113–28, 227–31, 336–42.

108. Astley 4:21, 94–95, 220; Gaubil 1758:715.

109. For some eighteenth-century examples, see Walravens 38, 100, 102, 107, 108, 134, 138, 143, 144, 153, 175. Kangxi was struck by the portrait of Louis XIV that he saw in the Beitang; Vissière 212–13.

110. Pelliot 245–62 (he straightened out some of Helman’s errors); Pirazzoli-T’Serstevens. The three street scenes could have been based on scrolls or prints of Kangxi’s birthday procession. Helman also seems to have been responsible for etchings showing ancestral rites (perhaps in the Taimiao), and a banquet in the palace. Christie’s London 1985:#77, 1988:#302.

original prints, viewed in both Paris and Peking, two difference audiences were encouraged to see the same Qing capital?

The astronomical instruments built under Kangxi for the Observatory in the southeastern corner of the Inner City also became well known in both Europe and China through texts and pictures. Handsome engravings of the quadrant, sextant, globe, armillary spheres, and other astronomical instruments manufactured by Verbiest were published by him in 1674 in China (as woodblocks) and 1687 in Europe (as engravings) and often republished.¹¹¹

The Peking map in Du Halde's 1735 compendium was a great improvement over Magalhães's 1688 one, but the world within and beyond the walls was still largely blank.¹¹² In contrast, the map of the Inner ("Tartar") City published in 1765 by J. N. de L'Isle reflected the knowledge shared by Jesuits who had mapped the city for the emperor in the previous decade. It showed streets and blocks of houses, lakes and waterways, arches and gates, temples and princely mansions, government offices and palace halls. Unlike publicly available Chinese maps of the era, street names were not given, and the Western system of keying items on the map with symbols and numbers was followed.¹¹³ (A detail can be seen in Figure 13.3.)

These reinforcing visual and verbal descriptions of Peking were widely disseminated, and thus it was imperial Peking that Western readers and viewers were encouraged to see and admire. This was the same imperially oriented Peking that Qianlong himself encouraged the Jesuits to see, and that he used their presence to construct literally and symbolically.

The European literature on China expanded in the course of the early and middle Qing: at least 600 books were published in the seventeenth century, 850 in the eighteenth, and another 1,100 during the first half of the nineteenth.¹¹⁴ Despite the diminution of the missionary presence after the 1780s, Europe and China became more intertwined economically, and understanding the Qing empire became an ever-more-pressing geopolitical matter. The British and Dutch embassies of the 1790s and 1810s helped usher in a more hostile and sour era.¹¹⁵

111. Cao Xuequan j. 1; Verbiest 250–51, fig. 13; *Daxing xian zhi* 1; Kim Ch'ang'öp 209, 211–12; Okada Gyokuzan j. 3. Also NPM 75:35 for a 1761 Chinese image.

112. The two Christian churches and the imperial altars were indicated. Walravens 152 (from the 1747–1749 German edition); also Du Halde 1:map; Astley 4:6; Destombes.

113. L'Isle made this map by drawing on Jesuit correspondence from Peking, especially the map in Gaubil 1758.

114. Lust ix. This count included reprints and translations as separate items.

115. Guignes 1:360–436; Braam; Staunton; Cranmer-Byng; Abel; Ellis. Other accounts are listed in Lust.

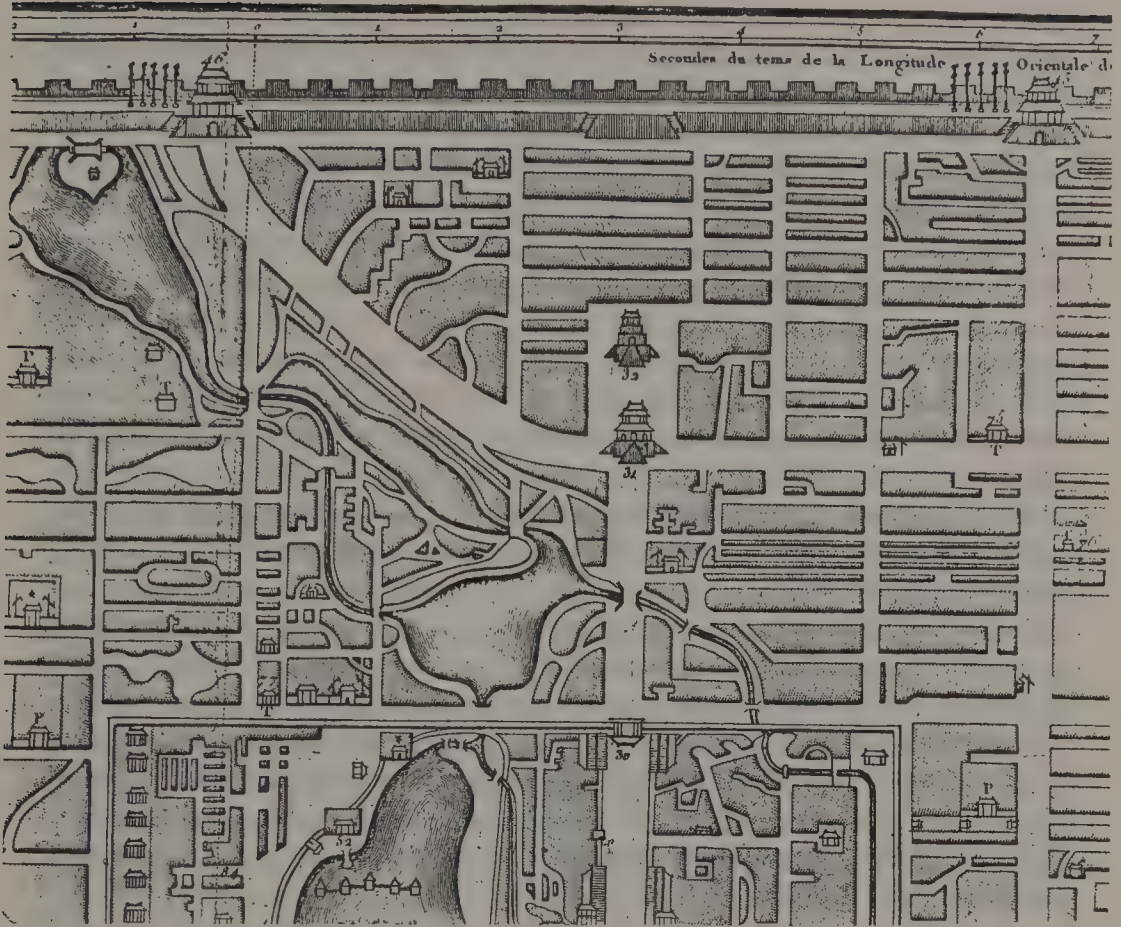


Figure 13.3. Bell and Drum Towers

The 1765 map from which this detail is taken was prepared on the basis of Jesuit intelligence (note the longitudinal measurements along the top). It shows the Inner City north of the palace and part of the Imperial City. Notable sights were drawn and labeled with numbers: the thinner Bell Tower is #32, and the larger Drum Tower is #31.

SOURCE: L'Isle.

Fresh illustrations amplified changing images of China. William Alexander, who accompanied Viscount George Macartney in 1793, produced watercolors and etchings that captured the Qing domain in a new and (to Westerners) persuasive manner. Of Peking, he drew two scenes: the huge Xizhi Gate through which the embassy passed en route to the Yuanmingyuan; and "A View in the Gardens of the Imperial Palace in Peking," with imperial barges in the Western Park and Qionghua Island's White Stupa. Other pictures rendered scenes Alexander had witnessed at Rehe, exposing the imperial retreat to Western eyes for the first time. These pictures were published with George Staunton's account of the embassy in 1799 and thus reached a

wide public.¹¹⁶ Knowing of these sights, visitors wanted to see them. One member of the Dutch embassy, for example, already knew that an excursion to the Great Wall would be impossible, but he asked to visit the Yuanmingyuan because he had seen drawings of it.¹¹⁷

Ritual remained at center stage but became increasingly an arena for conflict. When the Dutch were taken to a demonstration by Banner soldiers on the ice of the palace lakes in 1795, they presumed to indicate some ability on skates and accepted an invitation to show off their skills for the emperor. Was not some larger competition implied?¹¹⁸ More serious, the British actively contested Qing standards for the appropriate gesture of respect from a Western ambassador toward the emperor; negotiations with Macartney were tense in 1793, and the Amherst mission was turned back from Peking because of that envoy's refusal to kowtow in 1816.¹¹⁹

Turn-of-the-century publications amplified the more sanguine tone that had been present in muted form in earlier merchants' and travellers' accounts. Of Peking, one wrote in 1793, "We had been induced to form so high an idea of its amazing grandeur, that I confess, we were somewhat disappointed"; yet he found the summer villas "charming and delightful." By 1816, the poverty of the Chinese ("the inhabitants are poor and squalid, their habitations mean, dirty, and dilapidated") and the despotism of their government were more likely to occasion comment.¹²⁰ For its part, the Qing soon expelled the resident missionaries and shut down their churches. Dangerous issues were at stake, and within a few decades an industrializing Britain would be at war with the Qing.

Did ideas about Peking generated by foreign visitors during the early and middle Qing have any effect on the Chinese themselves, or did they exist in a separate universe? Jesuit painters' and mapmakers' European visions of Peking, themselves collaborations, certainly had a significant impact on the Qing court. Their maps of the city pictured it in new ways that encouraged and facilitated imperial control. It is likely that the snapshots of intimate court life created in the paintings by Jesuit court artists fueled an appreciation for realistic portraiture and contemporary settings. But in both cases, different ways of thinking about Peking seem to have been limited to the court.

116. Legouix 52–53, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65. Alexander also used his sketches for later pictures and publications, which were in turn pirated by others: Legouix 14–17. For comparable etchings from a Dutch embassy in 1794–1795: Guignes, plates 2, 3, 5, 9, and 10.

117. Braam 2:36–37.

118. Guignes 1:379; Braam 1:193.

119. Hevia 1995.

120. Lach & Van Kley 3:4:1558. 1793: Holmes 133, 135. 1816: Abel 75, speaking—I must fairly confess—of the countryside between the coast and Tianjin, but see also pp. 87ff., 103, 106, and Ellis 232, 237.

Knowledge of the churches and temples (and mosques) of foreign religions was more widespread among Peking's residents, and these places became sites of overlapping tourism—new year's day at the South Church, Yellow Temple, or Fazangsi, for example. Foreigners in blue Korean, russet Tibetan, or black Jesuit robes, men with peculiar hair and strange food preferences, were objects of local tourist interest and part of Peking's cosmopolitanism. And their outsiders' gaze, like that of Chinese sojourners, became one of the many competing and complementary ways of seeing Peking.

From the Qianlong reign on, Western images of imperial Peking were overwhelmed by a sea of accounts of the Qing empire emanating from the south. The city of Canton had been designated the port officially responsible for European trade in 1757, and by the late eighteenth century its resident foreign community represented the varied interests of merchants, Protestant missionaries, and the buying public at home. William Alexander's scenes from the 1795 Macartney mission may not have excited as much interest as the many editions of *The Costumes of China* (sixty hand-colored engraved plates with captions in French and English) or, more interesting yet, *The Punishments of China* (twenty-two gruesome plates) edited by George Henry Mason in 1800 and 1801.¹²¹ Paintings and books showing the warehouses and ships at Canton supplemented the objects purchased and the stories told by visitors—more and more of them Americans—that increased that city's fame abroad.¹²²

During the era of the Opium Wars (the 1830s through 1850s), Peking was unusually empty of Europeans (the churches were closed and only a few Russians were in residence), and little information about north China circulated abroad.¹²³ As economic and military concerns grew increasingly urgent, Peking became associated with a conservative and hostile court—and not just in the minds of foreigners.

As Europeans contemplated military action against the Qing capital, maps of the city took on a new importance. On his mission to Peking in 1820–1821, Igor (George) Timkovski not only secured a fine map of the walled city in the precise Imperial Household tradition, but also had it published in the 1820s' Russian, Polish, German, French, and English editions of his *Travels*.¹²⁴ Even better maps of the capital and the environs were brought to Russia in

121. In 1800, 1801. The same publisher also brought out Alexander's *The Costumes of China* in 1804 and later editions.

122. For a sampling: Lust #209–30.

123. For a rare example: Tracy.

124. See De Groot 1904:394 and QSL-JQ 142:33–36 for Qing alarm at Westerners sending maps out of the country. See Cordier 2473–74 for editions of Timkovski. I have seen both the Russian and English maps.

the 1820s and given wider currency in 1843 and again in 1860 when French and British forces marched on Peking.¹²⁵

TO TOURISTS

After 1860, Westerners returned to Peking in force. The British-French burning of the Yuanmingyuan in the autumn of that year, the flight of the Xianfeng emperor and his death the following summer, and the establishment of a European diplomatic community in Peking suddenly made the Qing capital accessible.

The reading public in Europe and America was treated to a burst of illustrated accounts in French and English describing the 1860 campaign. The march on Peking, battles in the suburbs, torching and plundering of the summer palaces, and triumphal entry into Peking were turned into a dramatic story that took the place of the more unsatisfying embassy narrative—a story that would be replayed with even more gusto during the expedition of 1900. No longer the cosseted guests of the state, the foreigners portrayed themselves as having righteously forced open the Qing capital. Their power was demonstrated (they thought) not only by the march of the allied armies into the city and by the treaty that permitted the permanent establishment of foreign embassies in the capital and the accessibility of the empire to missionaries, but also by the physical removal of loot.

For Chinese, imperial objects were always a tasty matter for gossip, but the wealth and finery of the throne was exposed and made available in a new and brutal way in 1860. For Europeans, objects “brought from the Emperor of China’s Summer Place &&, near Peking,” rich with imperial allure, were of a different order from “China trade” goods purchased in Canton; these treasures soon found their way into public displays, onto the auction circuit, and eventually into museums.¹²⁶ The court in Peking was no longer simply something to admire or to despise, but something to possess.

New technologies were simultaneously making China much more visible. Photography brought Peking into sharp focus, while etchings closely based on photos were widely reproduced in popular illustrated periodicals. Pictures

125. The best new map of the walled city (of the westernized Imperial Household type) accompanied the 1829 translation of the *Chenyuan shilue* into Russian (by Father Hyacinthe Bitchurin) and then into French. It was published by Pauthier and Bazin in 1853 and later reprinted (Varin, Bredon). See Cordier 211–12; Hyacinthe; Lust 1985: #185; Map 1843; Pauthier & Bazin; Bretschneider 1876a:7. The best map of the environs was based on a survey made by Mikhail Ladyzhenskii in 1830, printed in 1848, and reproduced in Rennie in 1865: Map 1848; Bretschneider 1876a:6–7. For a Chinese-style map side by side Hyacinthe’s, see Poussiègue 216:114–15.

126. The smoking ruins were open to looting by Chinese as well, and even a very close study might not reveal who took what when. Hevia 1994, 1999; Clunas 1994.

of the palace ruins became a poetic symbol of this problematic act of destruction, but campaign photographers had no difficulty identifying the established sights as well: the city walls (what else), the Altar to Heaven, the marble monument to the Panchen Lama, the white stupa by the lake in the “winter palace.”¹²⁷ As Western books began to be printed in treaty ports and Chinese took up photography, the fame of selected monuments was reinforced and further diffused to Chinese audiences.

The treaty settlement of 1858–1860 permitted foreign powers to dispatch permanent representatives to Peking, and foreigners were formally given the right to “travel for their pleasure or for purposes of trade to all parts of the interior” if granted a passport; passports were not necessary for travel in the immediate suburbs of the treaty ports.¹²⁸ The Ming and Qing policies of tight control were thus subverted and the country wrenched open.

European tourism began slowly. In the 1860s and 1870s, churches and legation compounds served as residences, offices, and hotels for the rare visitor. The writings of travellers to Peking in this period consolidated the foundation for the sights of Peking, and by the 1880s and 1890s, leisured Western elites were coming to see for themselves.¹²⁹

The almost uniformly critical views articulated during the 1860 campaign set a disdainful tone for visitors: “We had exhausted the novelties of the city, and seen all the sights that its dirty, uneven, and poorly populated streets afforded”; “the fine solid wall which encloses the straggling mass of ruin, dirt, and decay, called Peking.”¹³⁰ For those who had first travelled to Japan, as increasingly many had, the comparison did not favor China.¹³¹ The Anglo-Americans continued to be more jaded (“Peking’s a gigantic failure, isn’t it? not a two-storied house in the place, eh?”), and the French more admiring (“Pé-Kin, la ville fabuleuse et colossale”; “Pekin que nous avons tant revé de voir, et pour lequel nous avons couru tant de mers!”).¹³²

127. Thiriez 1994:18–40, 100–200, 1998:passim; *Imperial China* 38, 41, 42–43; Heard #24, #31, #34, 36, #37, #40; Michie. The etchings in Poussielgue’s account in *Tour du Monde* were based partially on photographs, partially on sketches made by a member of the group, and partially on Chinese pictures acquired en route.

128. Morse 563.

129. For the generalizations in the sections that follow, I have relied particularly on Denys 1867; *Guide for Tourists to Peking*; Fonblanque; Fortune; *Preussische expedition*; Rennie; Freeman-Mitford; Buissonnet; Girard; Edkins 1870; Child; Beauvoir; Bretschneider 1876a; Gill; Dudgeon 1877; Simpson 1877; Rochechouart; Happer; Bouinain; Douglas; Scidmore 1899; Fraser. See also Thiriez 1994:41–52.

130. Swinhoe 381; Fonblanque 213.

131. E.g., Fonblanque 180, 183; Seward 136.

132. Freeman-Mitford 61; Irisson 296; Beauvoir 51.

In 1866, only a half-century since the words “tourist” and “tourism” had come into use in English,¹³³ Nicholas Dennys could publish in the *China Mail*, a Hong Kong English paper, sixty-one pages of “Notes for Tourists in the North of China.” He apologized for the difficulties of “a part of the world which is so destitute of the ordinary travelling appliances of civilized countries” and had much to say about the “wretchedness” of transportation, but he provided practical attention to modes of transport, costs, accommodations, passports, currency, maps, sanitation, excursions, and, of course, shopping and sights. This material reappeared the following year as part of Dennys’s *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan. A Complete Guide to the Open Ports of Those Countries, Together with Peking, Yedo, Hongkong, and Macao, Forming a Guide Book and Vade Mecum, for Travellers, Merchants, and Residents in General, with 29 Maps and Plans*. Dennys’s work was more than six hundred pages in length and was published in both London and Hong Kong; it seems to have been the first Western guidebook to all of China. In 1876, the *China Mail* published its own *Guide for Tourists to Peking and Its Environs: With a Plan of the City of Peking and a Sketch Map of Its Neighborhood*, a practical guide that (they claimed) improved on Dennys’s. Subsequent editions (in 1888 and 1897) were similarly small in size and short in length, with maps of the city and the surrounding area. With such aids, Peking became accessible to “the excursion-loving Englishman” and like-minded Westerners—and even some Chinese. Properly prepared, foreign travellers became more eager to see the city and their experiences more positive.

As a result of the military operations of 1860, accurate representations of the layout of Peking passed into the Western public domain.¹³⁴ Foreign maps of the city became increasingly accurate. As the decades passed, the outline of walled Peking (a square sitting on a rectangle) crystallized in the literature as a readily identifiable representation of the Qing capital. And it remained so until after 1949, when the destruction of most of the walls broke this iconic connection between the modern and the older city. At the same time, both European soldiers and resident diplomatic personnel became familiar with the suburbs, began using the phrase “Peking and its environs,” and made maps that—unlike Qing versions—set the city firmly in the wider region.¹³⁵

The heart of the imperial domain had not lost its mystique and was still off-limits. First called “the Emperor’s palace,” it became known as the “Prohib-

133. OED/2: “Tourist” 1780; “Tourism” 1811; “A Traveller is now-a-days called a Tourist” 1814. Phrases such as “tourist route” and “tourist season” were not attested until the 1870s and after.

134. Lucy; Dennys 1867; and note 125 above.

135. Bretschneider’s (1876a) map is probably the best of these.

ited City,” and by the 1880s was “commonly” called the “Forbidden City.”¹³⁶ Westerners could view the Western Park from the Rainbow Bridge, as Chinese had long done, but they lacked easy access to the lakes (“in and around which,” they were sure, “are found some of the most beautiful objects and spots in the metropolis”) and to Jingshan (which they usually called “Coal Hill”). They had to be content with gazing upon the restricted area from afar, noting its “quaint forms and yellow tiles glittering in the sun.” Short of “a general sack and plunder of the city,” Dennys admitted candidly in 1867, access to the Imperial City was unlikely.¹³⁷

Inevitably attracted to the Yuanmingyuan, they found the ruins closed (one had to sneak over the wall), but you could get into Kunming Lake and its adjacent hill “by civility and bribes.” This area had only been partially developed, and, although much had been burned, there were still buildings to visit, picturesque bridges to cross, vistas to enjoy, and a lake to ice-skate on.¹³⁸

The “Altar of Heaven” (Temple du Ciel, Himmelstempel) excited immediate and sustained interest. In 1860, the foreigners had forced their way in and finally discovered for themselves the ancient cypress trees, graceful blue-tile roofed hall, and serene white marble altar; photographs were taken.¹³⁹ (See Figure 17.1.) Thereafter, the Tiantan was repeatedly represented in etchings, photos, and engravings (as it had never been in Chinese publications) and included on every map of the city. It was pronounced “the most remarkable and imposing structure in the capital,” and its “magnificence” made it one of the “great set sights” of Peking. Off-limits again in the 1890s, its allure only increased. Visitors sought out the other imperial altars, but none excited the same interest.¹⁴⁰ Aesthetic appeal, solemn imperial ritual, and a seedy “ruinous” charm were here combined with the imagined power of the Son of Heaven.

Peking, like the Tiantan, had its contradictions and left most Western visitors with “confused ideas of grandeur and utter ruin.” “Strange and magnificent” one pronounced it. Upon arrival, most commented on the crowds in the streets, the many beggars, and the smells (“stink!”), but also the orderly society. In 1899, Eliza Scidmore quoted Coleridge’s century-old lines (“In Xanadu did Kubla Khan / A stately pleasure-dome decree”) and then

136. J. H. Wilson 162. In French, “Ville Rouge,” “Ville Violette Reservé,” “Ville Interdite”: Poussielgue 216:115; Favier 337; Casseville. In German “Verboten Stadt”: Bretschneider 1876b.

137. Dennys 1866:42; Fortune 358; Dennys 1867:507.

138. Bretschneider 1876a:71ff.; Dennys 1866:57; Freeman-Mitford 209–10.

139. Heard; Swinhoe 357, 359; Michie 46; Lockhart 1866:143.

140. There had been a fire, and the Guangxu emperor had begun to perform the rites in person. Edkins 1891:2–4; W. Martin 242. The name “Temple of Earth” was often used confusingly and incorrectly for both the Xiannongtan (which had several names in Chinese) and the Ditan, while the “Temple of Agriculture” was applied to both the Xiannongtan and the Shejitan.

gushed: "Peking is the most incredible, impossible, anomalous, and surprising place in the world; the most splendid, spectacular, picturesque, and interesting city in China."¹⁴¹

Although imperial Peking exerted its considerable charm over the Western community, diplomats and empire-builders also took an interest in matters relating to the city's economic potential: its coal supply, trade, and local manufactures (deemed few), plus the agricultural productivity of the countryside. The fortified walls themselves continued to impress, and these "truly wonderful monuments of human industry" were (not altogether innocently) described, photographed, and measured.¹⁴²

Expertise in the language and culture gradually accumulated among the long-term residents, and with it came understanding, and with understanding, sympathy. Missionaries such as Joseph Edkins (an important interpreter of Chinese religion) and the Lazarist priest Alphonse Favier (who wore Chinese dress and his hair in a queue) became advocates for the city and the culture.¹⁴³ The medical men attached to the legations, often missionaries, were well educated and deeply involved in the local community. Their accounts not only concentrated on health and public hygiene but were unpredictably admiring of Peking.¹⁴⁴ Thanks in particular to the widely known work of John Thomson, by the 1870s, photographs of Peking showed more than the clichéd sights.¹⁴⁵ Pictures of street life, people, and genre scenes—albeit quasi-staged—began to reveal ordinary Peking. Of course, many Europeans visited places associated with their predecessors, especially the cemeteries and four Catholic churches (now rebuilt). And there were new places of current significance that had to be pointed out and photographed: the embassies themselves, the customs house, and the Foreign Affairs Office.

A perspective favored by most able-bodied male Western visitors to and residents of Peking was that afforded from the walls of the Inner City in the vicinity of the Legation Quarter; the hardy were no longer forbidden to walk or ride around the circumference.¹⁴⁶ The view from near the Observatory was often remarked on: the blue tiles at "Temple of Heaven" to the south, the exposed cubicles of the nearby examination hall, the yellow roofs of the palace to the north, the great gates, and in the distance the purple Western

141. Gill 44; Girard 37; Scidmore 1899:859. Coleridge's poem was written in 1797, influenced by Marco Polo's description of Yuan Shangdu. Krueger 116–17.

142. Thomson 1899:219.

143. Edkins 1880; Ruoff 7.

144. William Lockhart, John Dudgeon, Georges Morache, and Emil Bretschneider are very informative sources.

145. Thomson's photographs were first published in *The China Magazine* and then in various book forms: Thomson 1874, 1899, 1909.

146. It was some 24 kilometers around the Inner City: Geil 415; Rochechouart 218.

Hills. The Bell and Drum Towers in the Inner City stood out as landmarks against the sky (the shapely Gulou in particular). Some groused that the city “looks better from the wall than anywhere else.”¹⁴⁷

Given the imperial and government orientation of foreigners (businessmen being few in these decades), the Outer City was neglected. “The most important objects of interest to visitors are nearly all located to the North of the capital,” Dennys pronounced in 1866. Westerners lived in the Inner City legation district and went to the “Chinese City” to shop. They discovered the stores of Liulichang and crowded into the Dashalar area outside the Front Gate. Because Chinese goods were already familiar, short- and long-term visitors plunged naturally into shopping for porcelain, jade, bronze, crystal, cloisonné, furs, embroideries, paintings, “bric-a-brac,” and “curios.” Although not oblivious to Peking’s lively world of entertainment, Western residents of the capital were slow to become aficionados of Chinese opera.¹⁴⁸ Before 1900, their presence in this part of Peking was light.

Throughout the forty years after 1860, Chinese religion remained ever interesting to foreigners. Its temples were striking in appearance and among the few “native” buildings to which foreign access was unimpeded. Treaty-port language of “idols” and “joss houses” gradually gave way to “divinity” and “temple,” yet Christian residents and travellers usually did not understand what they saw and were not disposed to be sympathetic. Not only Tibetan lamas but clerics in general (“bonzes”) were called “respectable looking” at best and more often a “lazy, brutish lot.” Buddhism was beginning to be understood as a system and “buddhas” were recognized, but it was still possible to refer to a set of Lohans as “benevolent-looking elderly men.”¹⁴⁹

British armies had temporarily occupied the Tibetan Buddhist Heisi and Huangsi in the northern suburbs in 1860, and both were thereafter noted on maps. The “grave harmony” of the Huangsi’s “exquisitely carved” white marble stupa commemorating the Panchen Lama’s death was much admired and repeatedly photographed.¹⁵⁰ (It is shown in Figure 15.2.) But it was the Yonghegong (“the great Llama temple”) that particularly attracted the Europeans and—access smoothed by a combination of money and irresistible

147. M’Ghee 306.

148. Dennys 1866:55. Dennys mentioned the theater district and named some theaters; others visited the restaurants, or saw a show, or commented critically on the female impersonators. Freeman-Mitford 347–55; Buissonnet 51–52; Deveria 241; Dudgeon 1895:331. In 1897 Father Favier pronounced the theaters “d’affreuses constructions mal baties, mal tenues et mal propes” (415).

149. Rennie 1:112.

150. E.g., *Preussische expedition* #43.

pressure—made it part of their “customary sight-seeing.” The yellow-hatted lamas excited more interest than the temple itself, and few visitors neglected to denounce them with a disproportionate passion as “ignorant, idle, and lazy,” “a rough and lawless lot,” “filthy, vermin-covered, bloated, scrofulous, and with the marks of nameless vices stamped clearly on many of their faces,” “yellow-robed scoundrels,” “between whom and driveling idiocy there is no missing link.”¹⁵¹

The Confucius temple was assessed more generously and admired for its rows of “marble” tablets, “picturesque” tiled roofs, and “shady silent grounds.” John Thomson put a photograph of the symmetrical “Hall of the Classics” (in the Guozijian) on the leather cover of his 1874 *Illustrations of China and Its People*. Europeans also paid more attention to Chinese Muslims, their mosques, cemeteries, and customs.¹⁵² The mosque built for the “red hat” Central Asian soldiers in the middle of the previous century became associated with the romantic tale of the “Fragrant Concubine,” the captive Muslim concubine of Qianlong who, from the Precious Moon Tower in the palace, supposedly gazed with homesick eyes upon the mosque and garrison next door.¹⁵³

By my own rough count, there were at least fifty temples that were noted by Westerners in the latter half of the nineteenth century, of which about two dozen formed a consistent core. Those that were part of the imperial domain were favored even though access to them continued to be difficult. It was a measure of Western obliviousness to (shading into contempt for) the seriousness of Chinese ritual that they eagerly went swimming in the Dragon Pool of the Heilongtan, where Ming and Qing emperors prayed for rain. And it says no less about the resident clerics that they not only permitted these violations but rented rooms to such guests during the summer months.¹⁵⁴

The diplomatic community learned very quickly that the way to bear the sweltering summers in the capital was to escape to the Western Hills. The cluster of terraced temples called the Eight Great Sites was (for some reason) seized upon, and soon each foreign community had “its own” temple, most with “charming views” over the plain toward the distant city. These they found extremely pleasant, “almost enough to tempt a man to turn Buddhist priest.”¹⁵⁵ Hardier travellers made their way further out to Jietai and Tanzhe

151. Seward 159–61; H. Norman 205, 207; Scidmore 1899:869; Freeman-Mitford 339.

152. Lockhart 1866:154; Morache 74; Bretschneider 1876a:101; Bouinain 278.

153. See Dennys 1866:53. This reference is earlier than those cited by Millward 1994:438 in his analysis of this tale. For other later visitors: Rochechouart 238; W. Martin 245.

154. Dennys 1866:60. Freeman-Mitford 344 found one “priest” in residence, probably a daoist. Peasants of the locality also came here to pray for rain: Bredon 351.

155. Freeman-Mitford 335, speaking of the Dajuesi. For the first use of this “eight great” term that I have seen (“Pata-tshoo”), see Fortune 374; also Chapter 12. The Russians may have

monasteries and were exposed in passing to the flourishing world of Chinese pilgrimage.¹⁵⁶

Miaofengshan and Yajishan—mountains we will discuss in the next chapter—were the subject of watercolors done by a person attached to the British legation in 1861, and A. B. Freeman-Mitford could write in a letter dated May 21, 1866 (4/8, Bixia's birthday) that "The pious Chinese are all off these days making a pilgrimage to a holy shrine among the hills, called Miao Feng Shan, to burn joss-sticks as a sovereign prophylactic against disease and misfortune of all kinds."¹⁵⁷ Camille Imbault-Huart, who had climbed the mountain himself during the pilgrimage seasons of 1884, explained the religious activities rather sympathetically and in some detail.

Indeed, most Europeans saw the countryside as a pleasant contrast with the city itself and began immediately to roam through it. Robert Fortune, plant hunter and traveller extraordinaire, went in 1863 to inspect the nurseries and plants at Fengtai, where his "appearance created a considerable sensation amongst the natives."¹⁵⁸ Other restless Westerners made excursions that Chinese considered distant and made them seem easy.

The Ming tombs were now entirely within the foreigners' self-defined sphere: "well worth visiting." The stone figures along the entrance way to the tombs were immediately drawn and photographed.¹⁵⁹ Further north was the Great Wall ("la Grande Muraille"). This wonder had become part of European myths about China long before the nineteenth century, and now tourists eagerly made the journey. It was "a supremely wonderful sight!" as well as "an evidence of Celestial greatness and enterprise gone never to return"; John Thomson confessed that "no illustrated work on China would be worthy of the name if it did not contain a picture of some portion of the Great Wall." This voracious demand reinforced the curiosity of Chinese tourists.¹⁶⁰

It is probably a measure of their distance from the rhythms of Peking life that Western residents and visitors wrote about places—mostly buildings—

been the first to use this area, in the 1830s; Rennie 1:111, 116. Also Bretschneider 1876a:86; "Where Chinese Drive" 195–99. After 1898, newer resorts by the sea at Beidaihe became more popular. Oliphant 150; Ruoff 31.

156. Bretschneider 1876a:89–92; Rochechouart 223–24; Happer 366–69; Edkins 1880: 252–54; Naquin 1998. The Germans, at Dajuesi, were on one of the routes to Miaofengshan. Hildebrand; Bretschneider 1876a:79–80. Hildebrand's careful drawings are shown in Figures 5.2 and 15.1.

157. Sotheby's 1991:#605; my thanks to Valerie Hansen for assistance with this item. Freeman-Mitford 309–10.

158. Fortune 368.

159. Dennys 1866:61; Sotheby's 1991:#605; Rennie.

160. Waldron, esp. 203–14; H. Norman 216; Thomson 1874:4:#56. The "Ten Thousand Li Long Wall" and its passes were already noted in the (ca. 1820) *Yanjing za ji* (135), and Juyong Pass (just beyond Nankou) was one of Peking's oldest sights and a standard item in any *Dumen*-style guidebook.

rather than events; from such descriptions, readers learned little of the capital's annual calendar. Of course, the public new year celebrations, familiar from the older Western literature, were impossible to miss. Foreigners joined the crowds near Liulichang, watching jugglers and sword fighters; they went strolling on the lantern festival ("quite a bright scene . . . but it sounds much more than it is"). The regular sequence of temple markets and their exotic offerings (telescopes, incense sticks, birds, letter writers, street-side dentists and barbers) gradually became familiar. Nevertheless, most Westerners found life in Peking dull, and looked to extravagant weddings and funerals and the passing of an imperial entourage for the occasional diversion.¹⁶¹

These Western visions of Peking were, of course, neither unitary nor static. In general, the authors of the accounts on which I have relied came from the official community, were largely male, and were British, French, and American.¹⁶² By the 1870s, the Tokugawa regime had been replaced by the rapidly modernizing Meiji state, and Japanese began to be numbered among Peking's foreigners. As Joshua Fogel has shown, although Japanese visitors schooled in classical Chinese language and thought had been able to appreciate China through literati eyes, the transformations of the Meiji era created a widening gap.¹⁶³ Strategic considerations began to vie with cultural ones. In 1881, the woodblock map of Peking in Kishida Ginkō's "Gazetteer of the Qing Dynasty" (*Shinkoku chishi*) reflected past conventions, whereas Saito Miki's "Map of the Route between Tianjin and Peking" (*Pekin yori Tenshin ni itaru rojōzu*) of the same year portended the territorial conflicts of the future.¹⁶⁴

Western visions of Peking had much in common with ones generated by the Chinese themselves. The world of the emperor fascinated and impressed everyone, and foreigners strengthened that version of Peking in accepting

161. Freeman-Mitford 226. Processions included the funeral for Xianfeng in 1861 (Lockhart 1866:154–56) and the marriage of Tongzhi in 1872 (Simpson 1877:144–74).

162. There were some women. Olive Seward accompanied her father on his visit to China in 1870–1871 and edited an account of the trip. Mary Crawford Fraser described her 1874–1878 stay in Peking in *A Diplomatist's Wife in Many Lands*. Alicia Bewicke (Mrs. Archibald) Little wrote the first of four books about China in 1899. And Eliza Scidmore wrote a book about China. I have not done justice to German and Russian sources, which were less extensive but still significant; see Cordier 210–20.

163. Western-style diplomatic relations began in 1871, and the first embassy came to Peking in 1873. Fogel 37. Nineteenth-century Japanese travellers to China were analyzed in great detail by Fogel (chaps. 2 and 3).

164. Kishida; this map oriented the city toward Japan (with the east at the top) and was entitled "A Map of Beijing." The Library of Congress Map Collection holds at least six Japanese maps from the 1880s showing the road system of northern China.

it so readily. Because the city's sights could accommodate a variety of patrons with different motives, Chinese and foreigners both pressed to see the grounds of the Tiantan. Both converged at popular fairs, for reasons that were both similar (shopping) and different (worshipping). In some cases (the Confucius temple, for example) the local clientele seems to have been blasé about the Western presence; in others (the temples of the Eight Great Sites), local elites may have been displaced by the foreign presence. Westerners learned from locals and began shopping for books at Liulichang (though they could read few of them) and joining the crowds for executions at Caishikou (without knowing that some Chinese remembered the heroes who had died here). A love of riding and of gambling created physical grounds for genuinely shared activities like horse racing. Competitions on small native Mongolian ponies drew not only foreigners in search of diversion but also an enthusiastic local audience.¹⁶⁵

Lacking serious access to Chinese history, Westerners had a poor idea about what Peking's sights meant to the subjects of the Qing. The guidebook literature before 1900 was singularly weak in this regard and encouraged such obliviousness. And so about some sights, they cared very little. What of the examination hall, focus of so much elite anxiety? "Anything more drearily dreary and dilapidated than this great theater of national learning could not be imagined." Although Favier witnessed the new year Tibetan Buddhist rites at the Zhantansi in the Imperial City, and although the local residents had long since turned them into a local spectacle, Westerners before 1900 had not yet discovered what they would later call the "devil dances."¹⁶⁶ The great piles of wood destined for the palace in the Yongle reign but left to rot outside the eastern gate of the Outer City had attracted Chinese and Korean visitors for many centuries and were mentioned in all the nineteenth-century guidebooks. Dennys announced that the site was "thought much of by the Chinese," but few Westerners showed the slightest interest.¹⁶⁷ Unlike the Koreans, Westerners knew only a few of the Eight Vistas.¹⁶⁸ Obsessed by the Great Wall at Nankou, Westerners showed only mild curiosity about Juyong Pass. "Marco Polo's Bridge" was not on the usual route into Peking (most visitors now came from Tianjin via Tongzhou), and only an occasional visitor rode down to inspect the lions.¹⁶⁹ Opera stars, expensive banquets and

165. The European community had appropriated an old riverbed in the western suburbs and converted it into a race track. Dennys 1866:59; Colquhoun 180; Bridge esp. chaps. 6, 10; *Beijing lüxing zhinan* 198.

166. Cumming 2:206–9; Favier 358–60.

167. This was the Shenmu Chang, a.k.a. Huangmu Chang: Tan Qian 1656:44; *JWK* 89:1518–19; Kim Kyöngsön 1068; *DMJL* 1845; Dennys 1866:55–56. Adam was the exception.

168. I have not seen a pre-1900 reference to them as a unit.

169. Rhein 174; Child.

street snacks, *huiguan* lodges and local militias, and the gossip and maneuvering of national politics—these lay at the scary edges of the foreigners' world.

Although the legation district was small and isolated before 1900, resident foreigners were becoming a visible and powerful element of Peking society. Chinese intellectuals and the Qing state had begun to engage in earnest the Western technology and culture to which they had first been exposed two hundred years before. The effects of that increasingly intensive engagement, still underway today, were both obvious and subtle, both superficial and far-reaching. In the late Qing, however, the most dynamic and consequential interaction took place in spheres other than tourism and not in Peking.

As we shall explore in later chapters, the Qing capital's relative isolation was soon ruptured. The 1895 defeat by Japan and the Boxer siege and foreign occupation of 1900 humiliated and opened up both Peking and China in revolutionary ways. As steamships and railroads made the city accessible to domestic and world travellers on a new scale, the dynasty collapsed, the imperial past slipped away, and residents feared for the city's future. Could Peking still be Peking without the empire? Without being the national capital? As the city redefined itself in the early twentieth century, Peking's cosmopolitanism and multiple identities would become a source of strength.

CHAPTER 14

Religious Associations

In Chapter 7 we saw how formal, organized, enduring “celebratory religious associations” (*shenghui*) emerged during the late Ming at temples for gods of Mount Tai. This chapter picks up that story and shows how these associations blossomed under the new dynasty and were transformed into pilgrimage associations. The pilgrimages became, in turn, a defining feature of Peking life. Denunciations by the Qing state did not dislodge these groups from their central place in the culture of the capital. They provide one of our clearest windows into a Peking that was shaped by local, not national or imperial, concerns. Qing religious associations, like those of the Ming, revolved principally around two interrelated cults: one to the Emperor of the Eastern Peak, Dongyue, and one to Our Lady of Mount Tai, Heavenly Immortal and Holy Mother, Sovereign of the Clouds of Dawn, Tianxian Shengmu Bixia Yuanjun. We will first examine these deities in the context of other popular gods, then turn to the associations formed for Dongyue and Bixia specifically, and then trace the history of the pilgrimage site at Miaofengshan. It will then be possible to compare these *shenghui* with contemporaneous religious organizations, and finally to examine their relationship with the state.

In combination with Chapter 15, this chapter should illuminate the too-often-invisible dynamics of Chinese urban organizations, private and public. We will see that although religious establishments had few counterparts in their capacity for encouraging legitimate voluntary associations, they were not unusual in their potential for encapsulating and sustaining private groups. At the same time, this discussion will amplify our understanding of the Banner population’s rapid involvement in Peking culture and the role of religious organizations in that process. By extending our scope to the end of the dynasty, moreover, we can glimpse the transformations in Peking that

were taking place in the nineteenth century and that are explored in the last chapters of this book.

POPULAR GODS

First known in Peking in the middle of the fifteenth century, Bixia Yuanjun was worshipped in many local temples by the late Ming and was already part of pilgrimage networks that were intertwined with the cult of the Eastern Peak. In the course of the Qing dynasty, Bixia's independent identity was clearly defined, and she became the focus for the most active public expressions of religious devotion in the city. Her important place in local life cannot be appreciated in isolation, however, and it seems wise to begin by comparing her to other gods with wide followings in Peking.

The number of temples dedicated to a deity is one of the few quantifiable measures of popularity available to the historian. By this inadequate standard, the three most popular Peking gods were Guandi, Guanyin, and Bixia Yuanjun, in that order.¹ (See Table 2.2.) A quick look at each of these cults, with attention to each god's history, legitimacy, key temples, and associated festivals helps us account for Our Lady's special place in the religious culture of north China.

There were overwhelmingly more halls in Qing Peking devoted to Guandi (Emperor Guan) than to any other god: one in eight temples (254) treated him as the principal object of worship.² The god was distinguished by his masculine and public virtues, imperial and Banner patronage, and his reputation based on secular oral and written literature.

Guandi was enthusiastically worshipped by the Qing ruling house, which promoted and rewarded the god and restored and enlarged his temples. Already designated for third-rank rituals by the Ming state, Guandi was elevated in 1853 to the select list for Secondary Sacrifices. One of his Peking temples was funded statutorily by the Ministry of Rites, two were supported by the Imperial Household, eighteen benefitted from imperial visits or gifts, and the rest were maintained by ordinary people. Most were small and undistinguished, located in the Inner and Outer Cities and in the suburbs in ra-

1. The same order had prevailed in the late Ming. Of 1,294 temples for which principal or secondary deities' names are known to me, nearly half (608) had halls to one of these three deities on the premises, mostly (532) as the principal god. These represented 29 percent and 25 percent of all temples.

2. Some 12 percent of all temples; plus at least another forty-seven temples where he was worshipped as a secondary deity.

tios comparable to all temples in this period. Only a few had communities of resident clerics.³

Because of the god's origins as the historical Guan Yu (162–220), by Ming and Qing times the cultural resources for this cult were old, complex, and widely diffused. Tales about the loyal warrior and his tragic death had circulated for centuries in the “Three Kingdoms” theater- and story-cycles and shaped the god's persona and iconographical repertory: his beard, his sword, his horse Red Hare, his sworn brothers Liu Bei and Zhang Fei, his adopted son, his generals, and his faithful servants—these were all familiar and often represented. Hagiographic literature about the god was later in developing. In his most common Qing iconographic form, a robust, bearded Guandi was portrayed in martial attire, seated as if about to spring into action. Two major centers for the cult competed for attention: one in Xiezhou Shaanxi and the other in Dangyang Hubei.⁴

The man and the god were principally identified with the bravery, loyalty, and uprightness enacted in his life, but different temples emphasized other episodes and qualities. The small Guandi temples built at seven of the nine gates of the Inner City stressed the god's martial valor.⁵ Another highlighted the god's capacity for both anger and forgiveness by dramatizing in life-sized figures the story of Yao Bin, a man who stole Guan Yu's horse to use it as food for his ailing mother.⁶ It was not uncommon for Guandi temples (and quite rare for others) to have two images and be known as Paired (Shuang) Guandi temples. Guan Yu's different Ming titles became alternative names for him and for his temples: Sovereign Demon Queller of the Three Realms (San Jie Fumo Dijun), Great Emperor Who Assists Heaven (Xie Tian Da Di), Loyal and Righteous One (Zhong Yi), and Venerable One (Laoye).⁷ He and his sworn brothers were also the principal gods in temples to the Three Righteous Ones

3. I know of no more than a dozen temples larger than two courtyards, only a handful bigger than three, and fifteen (mostly suburban) with land endowments. Duara 1988:785 said that other Guandi temples in the empire were “under the command” of the official Peking temple. I have seen no evidence that this was the case. Each administrative district did designate one Guandi temple to be part of the state religion.

4. Duara 1988; Arlington & Lewisohn 215; Peking City Archives 2:8:30. See Duara 1988:784 for a 1693 book about “the holy deeds of Guandi.” Other scriptures treated him in his guise as Demon Queller: Li Shiyu 1961: #101, #102.

5. The two northernmost gate temples were instead for Zhenwu, the God of the North. Siren 1924:147–48, 153, 157, 160, 164, 166–67, 172, and 184, 186.

6. In one diorama, Yao Bin was portrayed tied up and kneeling, unrepentant, while Lord Guan sat angrily nearby, Red Hare (the stolen horse) stood in an accusatory pose, and several generals awaited their orders. *DJ* 3:101; Kim Ch'ang'öp 180; *JWK* 58:946; *Beijing liuxing zhinan* 84. There was a less-remarkable Yao Bin Guandi temple in the Inner City: see Ma Shutian.

7. I know of seven Shuang Guandimiao. See Chapter 5 for Peking's White Horse Guandi temple. Did different designations involve different iconography? The Shuang Guandi may have

(San Yi), and he was sometimes the central figure in temples to the Three Sages (San Sheng), Five Sages (Wu Sheng), and Seven Sages (Qi Sheng).⁸

Despite the god's popularity, only two Guandi temples were integrated into the public and collective life of Qing Peking.⁹ The small temple inside Peking's busy Front Gate maintained its late Ming efficacy. People went there on new year's day, on the first and fifteenth of every month, and on the god's fifth-month birthday; it was particularly famous as a place for fortune telling.¹⁰ The only Guandi temple with active religious associations was a new establishment located in the southeast suburbs. Pilgrimage associations were coming to this Ten-*li*-river temple (named for the village) by 1674, and into the twentieth century it continued to draw patrons from both sections of the city on 5/13.¹¹

Judged by the number of temples, Bodhisattva Guanyin was the next most popular deity in Peking: I know of 176 temples dedicated to her.¹² By contrast with Guandi, this well- and widely established cult was grounded in Buddhist scriptures that were numerous and old, patronized primarily by clerical communities in Peking, and recognized by the Qing throne only privately.

There was no temple dedicated to Guanyin on the roster of officially supported state rites. The twenty-six temples to her that received informal imperial gifts or visits and the eight that were funded by the Imperial Household (more in both categories than for Guandi) benefitted from the private rather than public devotion of the ruling house. Both Guanyin and Guandi were, however, among the handful of Chinese gods incorporated into the Manchu shamanistic rites performed in the Tangzi and Kunninggong.¹³ Guanyin was a Buddhist deity, and nunneries were built around her temples.¹⁴ Indeed, most Buddhist establishments had a shrine to the Bodhisattva some-

been standing figures (Johnston 1921:63–64), and there are images of the god on horseback (W. Watson 1984:104; Ma Shutian). Guandi has sometimes been characterized as a Wealth-god (as in *Beijing lixing zhinan* 219–20).

8. Various combinations of gods were given these names. For those involving Guandi: Niida 5:866; *BJTB* 77:114; Ma Shutian.

9. Popular worship on the god's birthday at the official Inner (now Banner) City temple had dropped off entirely in the Qing. See Chapter 10.

10. Pan Rongbi 23; *DJ* 3:97–100; Johnston 1921:63; Kim Chǒngjung 1:573. Tan Qian divined (*bu*) here repeatedly during his stay in Peking (1656:50, 83, 91, 128).

11. Dun Lichen 49; Zhenjun 10:12; *Hebei miaohui diaocha baogao*.

12. Some 8 percent of all temples; she was a secondary deity in at least another forty-eight temples.

13. Meng Sen 2:314–15.

14. I can identify seventeen Guanyin temples that housed substantial communities of clerics (mostly monks, a few of nuns and lamas), by contrast with only four for Guandi (three of monks, one of daoists).

where on the premises, often in a belvedere at the rear. Compared with all Qing religious establishments, somewhat fewer of her temples were in the Inner City, and slightly more were elsewhere.¹⁵

Guanyin had been part of Chinese culture almost as long as Guandi, but she had originated as Avalokitesvara, an Indian Buddhist male deity, and been feminized and indigenized in China during the medieval period. Knowledge of her merciful nature and capacity for miracles was grounded and widely dispersed in Buddhist sutras of many sorts. These scriptures transmitted various versions of Guanyin (understood as different incarnations): the thousand-armed and thousand-eyed Compassionate One of the Miaoshan legend, the delicately feminine white-robed Guanyin, the knowledgeable guide to the pilgrim Sudhana, the elegant Guanyin of the South Seas, and the motherly deity who answered prayers for sons. These personas were reflected in the names of different Peking temples: White Robed (Baiyi), Greatly Compassionate (Dabei), Ocean Wave (Haichao), Water Moon (Shuiyue), Purple Bamboo (Zizhu), Giver of Sons (Songzi), and Mercifully Compassionate (Cibei).¹⁶ These names, their iconography, and the stories behind them reflected Guanyin's womanly nature and the compassion that was her most common attribute.

Guanyin was also known, in combination with Wenshu and Puxian, as one of the Three Great Beings, each of whom rode on a characteristic beast (hers was a lion); they were sometimes worshipped in temples to the Three Holy Ones (San Sheng). She was also a central deity in Tibetan Buddhism—the Dalai Lamas claimed to be her incarnations—and Peking had at least four temples with giant wooden images showing her in her multiarmed, multi-headed Tantric (Dabei) form.

Although Guanyin had great pilgrimage centers elsewhere in the empire (most notably at Putuoshan off the coast of Zhejiang) and a reputation that extended to greater East Asia, in Peking no religious associations were organized around her cult, nor did she play a particularly important role in the public life of the city. Her birthday on 2/19 was celebrated in a diffused fashion at the countless small temples of the city, especially where clerics were in residence.¹⁷ Pan Rongbi singled out the one inside the encircling wall of

15. Guanyin 39:26:35 (Inner City: Outer City: Suburbs) versus 47:22:29 for all Peking. Most of the monasteries were in the suburbs.

16. Yü 1992, 1998. Some were scriptures translated from Sanskrit, others were composed in Chinese, and some were *baojuan*. Many temples had more than one name, but the following list indicates rough frequency (for Ming and Qing combined): Baiyi 23, Dabei 17, Haichao 6, Shuiyue 5, Zizhu 5, Songzi 3, Cibei 3.

17. Temporary "groups" formed for renovations, but there do not seem to have been pilgrimages, not even to the legendary Dabei image from Hangzhou that had allegedly been moved to Peking in the early twelfth century. *DJ* 3:138; *JWK* 95:1594–96; Yü 1992.

the Front Gate as particularly popular.¹⁸ Sutra recitations were usually performed by clerics and lay people on the nineteenth days of the second, sixth, and ninth months.

Guanyin was thus a deity with a rich iconography and a long diverse history recorded in often-reprinted Buddhist scriptures. Although widely worshipped, she was not included in the state religion and in Peking her festivals never took center stage.

Both Guandi and Guanyin were very much a part of Peking's religious world. Nothing intrinsic to these cults discouraged organized worship, but a combination of contingencies permitted another deity to absorb the city's associational energies. Let us shift our attention to her, the Heavenly Immortal and Holy Mother, Our Lady of Mount Tai, Bixia Yuanjun.

There were 102 temples to Bixia Yuanjun in Qing Peking.¹⁹ Like Guanyin, she was not part of the state religion, but four of her temples received support from the Imperial Household and eleven were honored by an imperial gift or visit. Temples to Our Lady tended to be small or medium sized, and none (known to me) were monasteries or nunneries. The scattered clerics in residence were a diverse lot and included monks (46 percent), daoists (30 percent), and nuns (25 percent). Her temples were disproportionately in the suburbs.²⁰

Bixia's history was much shorter and less well documented than that of the two gods just discussed. Although precursors could be identified, the cult seems to have emerged between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries. Worship in the Peking area began early: I know of seven temples to her that claim to antedate the Ming period (as compared with seven to Guanyin and only three to Guandi).²¹ The cult had its center at Mount Tai in Shandong and became widespread only in the surrounding region.²² As we discussed in Chapter 7, the cult of this female deity was inseparable from that of Dongyue, the God of the Eastern Peak, her putative father. Her images were found in his temples in Peking, and his were often found in hers.

18. Pan Rongbi 15; Bouillard 1923a:402. This shrine built in 1642 to honor Hong Chengchou was hastily rededicated to Guanyin when it was learned that Hong had not died for the Ming but joined the Qing. *STFZ* 1885:16:481; Wakeman 1985:219.

19. Five percent of all temples.

20. Inner City 19 percent, Outer City 11 percent, suburbs 40 percent (all Qing temples 47:22:29). The percentages for clerics, drawn from all periods, sound misleadingly conclusive; n=36.

21. I know of 89 temples to Guanyin in 1550, 75 to Guandi, and 65 to Bixia. I know of twenty temples where she was a secondary deity, and seventeen more where her attendants can be attested.

22. Xie Zhaozhi's *Wuzazu* (4:281) suggested popularity in central as well as northern China. See Dott 1998: part 2. I intend to investigate the spread of this cult.

Lacking the rich history associated with both Guandi and Guanyin, Bixia's cult was much indebted to that of Dongyue, but neither had an extensive textual reservoir. Mount Tai has been regarded as a sacred mountain for millennia, but the cult of the mountain god developed in medieval times. By the Ming, ideas about Dongyue had loosely cohered into the picture of a powerful impartial male judge with authority over life and death.²³ Information about both Dongyue and Bixia, such as it was, circulated primarily in a few Ming dynasty scriptures, in bronze and woodblock god images, and in folktales.²⁴

The (few) Qing accounts of the life of Our Lady of Taishan usually told a story of a prince's daughter who refused marriage and went to Mount Tai for self-cultivation and eventually was enfeoffed as a Celestial Immortal.²⁵ She was usually represented as a ruler with female attendants, all associated with childbirth; she was known by a variety of names and identities (mountain-dweller, jade woman, empress, immortal, and mother). These sometimes competing personas were not, as far as I know, expressed in different iconographies. The language of most of her stela inscriptions emphasized her protective powers (*you, hu*), her gracious favor (*chui en*), her merciful heart (*ci xin*), her benevolent humaneness, and her vast or efficacious benevolence.

This god's many titles and array of appellations provided a range of names for her temples: Tianxian Shengmu, Bixia Yuanjun, Taishan Niangniang, and Niangniang. The most common name around Peking was "Celestial Immortal" (Tianxian, Tianxian Shengmu, or Tianxian Niangniang); almost as popular was "Our Lady" (Niangniang).²⁶ "Holy Mother" was used much more frequently in the Qing than before.

Because of her popularity, images of Our Lady (often with her two companion deities) were also to be found within a great many Peking temples, including those devoted to Guanyin, Guandi, Wenchang, Zhenwu, the City-god, Fire-god, Earth-god, and Medicine-king. Her smaller hall might attract much larger crowds than the main god. Bixia's birthday early in the fourth month was a major citywide event in the late Ming and early Qing. Although the constellation of temples that hosted these festivities changed during the Qing, the event continued to be important into the twentieth century.

The cult of Our Lady of Taishan was thus more recent and more localized than those of Guanyin and Guandi. Her temples were distinguished by their actual and symbolic linkages with Mount Tai and with one another, and

23. See Chapter 7 n.66; Chavannes chap. 1, esp. 27–28; A. Goodrich 1964:34–39.

24. *Bixia Yuanjun huguo bimin puji baosheng miao jing*; also Boltz 1987:297. *Tanci baojuan mulu* 12b, 13a, 20a, Suppl. 3b. For tales: Zhang Baozhang & Peng Zheyu 193–94; Dott; Pomeranz.

25. *BJTB* 66:28–29; *Daojiao shen xian hua ji* (110–21) showed paintings of this story. For tales current in the early twentieth century: Douin 3:135–36; Gu Jiegang 1928:120–23.

26. Some 75 percent of all temple names were one or the other.

by the lay religious associations that were the organizing forces behind these connections. A more comparable figure with about the same historical depth was the southern China female deity Mazu, the Empress of Heaven (Tianhou). She too combined the physical appearance of an impartial ruler with a motherly personality; she too was a largely regional deity worshipped by organized groups.²⁷

In order to explore further the religious associations so characteristic of Mount Tai, we will begin with those organized around the large Dongyue temple and then turn to those active at the dispersed shrines to Bixia Yuanjun.

THE DONGYUEMIAO

Dongyue, the God of the Eastern Peak, was not a popular god by the standard invoked here: only two temples were dedicated to him in all of Peking.²⁸ Nevertheless, as we have seen, his venerable cult and large temple were central to the public religious life of the Ming capital. They were the foundation for Peking's religious associations, particularly those dedicated to Bixia, and for our understanding of them. The abrupt unseating of the Ming court elite and drastic reduction of eunuch power in 1644 swept away the most active patrons of both Dongyue's and Bixia's cults. Thereafter, devotees of these Taishan gods relied on the organizational forms developed before the conquest to secure their place in capital society, and a closer look shows something of this process.

Organized social patronage of the great temple to the god of the mountain lost little momentum during the first decade of Qing rule. Its convenient location outside the walls in the eastern suburbs (an area not targeted for population relocation) and the citywide nature of its patronage, as well as the continued support of surviving Ming groups and the readiness of Banner-men to assume the role of local patrons, all contributed to this resilience.²⁹

In the autumn of 1646, some five hundred people (half of them women)

27. Boltz 1986; J. Watson 1985; Zhang Tao 2:28–32. The quasi-underground sectarian deity, the Eternal and Venerable Mother (Wusheng Laomu), was also in some ways comparable. She had a relatively recent history conveyed in noncanonical scriptures, but a paucity of surviving images makes it difficult to analyze her representations. For confusion in north China over the differences between these deities: Gu Jiegang 1928:120–23. In the Northeast and Tianjin, where the Mazu cult was established by sojourners from the coastal south, all three gods were sometimes fused. See Okamura 145–47; also Yü 1998.

28. Plus a Dongyuemiao inside the imperial park at Yuquanshan. *JWK* 85:1418–20. See note 47.

29. I know of only two other religious associations active during these years, both at the Medicine-king temple.

made a collective donation to the Dongyuemiao; rather than erect a new stele, they simply added their names to the 1640 stone set up by the Religious Association for Presenting White Paper to the Six Summits, with which they were probably connected. Two years later, nearly one thousand people paid for the construction of a stele for their Lantern Hanging Venerable Association. The White Paper Association commissioned other stelae in 1648 and 1650, each time with hundreds or thousands of donors. Although the skimpy information provided and the poor quality of the stelae rubbings make it difficult to be sure who these individuals were, later evidence about this group suggests that they were eunuchs and palace serving women (perhaps still employed, perhaps retired).³⁰

Stelae set up in 1651 and 1652 listed various association leaders (*huishou*). The latter text characterized the 893 male donors who had formed a “philanthropic association to pray for offspring” as “a group of virtuous devout men [*xinshi*] who live in various wards of the two counties of Da and Wan in Shuntian prefecture, under the Great Qing Dynasty [*Da Qing Guo*].” The donors’ names imply that many were Chinese; their leader resided in the Outer City.³¹

The respectability of groups dedicated to Dongyue was confidently asserted in 1655 when the Great Offerings Religious Association invited Fu Yijian, then grand secretary and the Shandong man who had placed first on the Qing inaugural *jinshi* examination, to compose their inscription; the calligraphy was by Chen Zhilin, another grand secretary and the man from an eminent Zhejiang family who had placed second on the exam of 1637. The historian Tan Qian was among the crowds who set out for the temple on the god’s birthday that year.³²

A small stele dated 1656, twelve years after the Qing conquest, marked the rapid involvement in the Dongyue cult by Inner City Bannermen (probably Chinese bondservants); they cooperated with more than 800 eunuchs and 160 women (also from the palace?). Their organization, the Hanging Golden Lanterns Venerable Association, was managed by ten *huishou* and was probably connected with a 1648 group.³³

In these ways, the Eastern Peak temple continued to be supported by the

30. Lanterns: *BJTB* 61:27–28. White Paper: Shoudu Library #306, #308; Peking Library #1022; and Chapter 7. The headpiece of the 1648 stele makes the earliest use I have seen of the term *laohui* (venerable association). Use of *laohui* came to be a claim to having been in existence a long time; was it originally a Qing designation for a Ming group? Liu Houzi 120 is wrong about the 1634 stele (see Shoudu Library #305). See also Gu Jiegang 1928:39.

31. *BJTB* 61:36, 61:53.

32. *BJTB* 61:83; *ECCP* 96–97, 253; *Nianbiao* 1:7. The seal characters were by Gong Dingzi. Tan could not get through on 3/28 and tried again two days later; he went on the birthday in both 1655 and 1656. Tan Qian 1656:58, 99, 100.

33. Peking Library #987.

people of Peking. It seems clear that eunuchs played an important transitional role in the aftermath of the conquest, that Chinese men and women turned out in large numbers, and that Chinese Bannermen had rapidly adopted the cult. For Chinese whose lives had been radically disrupted by the upheaval of the dynastic transition, the reassuringly familiar religious celebrations allowed private prayers to be collectively constituted in a public and politically safe manner. For the newcomers, formation of a religious association for a popular Peking cult, one with which Chinese Banner people were already familiar, bridged the gap between their old and new homes and allowed them to play a socially acceptable role in local society.

Over the next century, one new association stele was added to the courtyards of the Dongyuemiao about every two years (seventy-seven in the 160 years between 1644 and 1804). These activities continued thereafter at a slower pace (twenty-eight for the remaining 106 years of the dynasty), making this temple the recipient of more stone inscriptions from *shenghui* than any other in Peking. A closer look at the nature and development of these organizations across the rest of the Qing period shows how women in general and the court elite in particular played a declining role, how Bannermen became increasingly active, how the services provided for the god and for visitors proliferated, and how the groups became organizationally more complex.³⁴

Most of the Dongyuemiao's religious associations provided regular services to the temple, some annually, most monthly. Some groups concentrated on this or that hall, while others saw to the seventy-two offices of the gods of hell around the central courtyard. They provided lanterns, paper, clothing for the images, artificial flowers, incense, offerings, and candles; they swept the halls and grounds, emptied the incense burners, set up awnings, and paid for plays. From the middle of the eighteenth century, various groups readied and served tea to thirsty visitors ("sweet dew, precious rain," the grateful pilgrims would say).³⁵ Each *shenghui* had its own task. In addition to the inscribed stelae placed in the courtyards, they donated new bells and incense burners. Restorations on a grand scale were undertaken by the throne, but these groups regularly repaired individual halls.

These associations—like the ones I have described elsewhere³⁶—used the language of collective good-deed doing. They called themselves "virtuous and devout ones" (*shanxin*), "a group of virtuous ones" (*zhongshan*), or "a group of believers" (*zhongxin*). They claimed to act "wholeheartedly" (*quanxin*), or with

34. This discussion is based on the large corpus of inscriptions from this temple that I have been able to see. Liu Houzi provided a useful (almost complete) list of them.

35. *BJTB* 68:97–98.

36. Naquin 1992.

“a common resolve” (*tongzhi*). “In our association there are men and women, old and young, more than ninety people; we reside in various localities but have a single heart [*yi xin*] and collective goal.” Because these goals were “difficult to accomplish with solitary efforts, we solicited widely and with assistance were successful.”³⁷ The unanimity of such “collective decisions” (*gongyi*) could mask dictatorship, we must remember, because the constraints of expected behavior necessitated precisely this “devout and sincere” consensus.

Most association names were prominently placed on the crown of the stela.³⁸ (One is illustrated in Figure 14.1.) Inscriptions usually told of the group’s past activities—over “consecutive years,” “the last three years,” “already for four years,” “many years,” “ten years in all,” “more than ten years,” “after twenty years,” “more than twenty years,” “for several dozen years,” “more than fifty years,” and, in one case, “for one hundred years without interruption.”

The willingness of new groups to revive old names makes it tricky to establish their age. Consider the White Paper Religious Association (Baizhi Shenghui). The name appeared at the Dongyuemiao first in 1624, last in 1933; in between, a total of sixteen stelae were set up by groups employing the phrase “White Paper” in their name. Some followed one upon another a year or two apart; others were separated by forty or sixty years. Were there connections between them? The fact that throughout this period most “members” apparently continued to be eunuchs and continued to provide white paper-money for the judges of hell suggests there were. But we cannot usually be sure.

With the series of groups who took responsibility for sweeping up the dust in the temple and cleaning out the incense burners, we can see a similar pattern of inconclusive evidence. During the period 1690–1708, a Saochen Shenghui (Dust Sweeping Association, also called Fuchen, Dust Shaking) went to the temple once each month, cleaning the filth inside and out, “like sweeping one’s heart.”³⁹ A Danchen (Dust Brushing) Shenghui performed similar services on a different day of the month circa 1733–1800. Revived again in 1849, it too survived into the 1930s.⁴⁰

Within these associations, organizational complexity was initially low, and a few positions were generously dispensed. One 1678 group of 584 men had

37. *BJTB* 69:81–82; Niida 4:716–18; and Chapter 3.

38. A single stela might use longer and shorter versions of a name interchangeably.

39. *BJTB* 64:146, 66:112–13; Shoudu Library #328.

40. This group came from a different location. Peking Library #925, #926; *BJTB* 68:116, 69:56, 72:16–18, 73:133–34, 77:31–34, 83:106–7, 83:132–34, 87:7–8, 93:104–6; Shoudu Library #350; Grube 65; A. Goodrich 1964:29–30. Goodrich reported that the dust was highly prized because it was said to turn to gold.

242 with one of five titles, not an uncommon ratio.⁴¹ Most used the imprecise titles already found in the Ming. For leaders and their assistants, *huishou*, *zheng huishou*, and *fu huishou* recurred. There was, however, a gradual but general trend toward complexity. We find new terms for leaders—leader of the group (*lingzhong* or *ling hui huishou*), chief or deputy pilgrimage leader (*zheng* or *fu xiangshou*); for various kinds of managers—*guanshi* or *duguan*; and for those “on duty this month”—*dangyue*. From the middle of the eighteenth century, there was a proliferation of specialized groups within the associations called such-and-such a unit (*ba*) (Dusting Unit, Sweeping Unit, Tea Unit, Noodles Unit, and so on).⁴² Members were most often called the “group of virtuous ones” (*zhongshan rendeng*), or “followers of the association” (*suihui*), or “association underlings” (*huimo rendeng*). Sometimes they were divided into categories of “pious men” and “pious women” (*xinshi* and *xinnü*) or “pious female (or male) underlings” (*huimo xinnü* [*xinshi*]). We cannot recover the precise meaning of these terms (assuming there was precision), but internal differentiation is clear.

These groups were able to collect large sums of money. Some solicited funds from members regularly (“Association members give incense money monthly, and when there is a surplus, we sometimes repaint and fix up the [gods’] offices”).⁴³ Others sought donations only when a major project was in order. *Shenghui* had no endowments and little collective or permanent property. Information about the size of gifts was, characteristically, almost nonexistent. Did this reticence result from the rhetorical insistence on a collective spirit or a particular unwillingness to emphasize status differences among members?⁴⁴

If there was central coordination of these different associations, it was not a matter of public record, and the loose relationship with the temple facilitated the casual appearance and disappearance of groups. (But more on this later.) Under these conditions, it would have been easy for Bannermen, for instance, to create new groups with familiar names and insert themselves into the general festivities. Who would have dared turn them away?

How big were these associations? As in the Ming, a Qing stele had the names of donors carved on the back, lined up in bands and columns with the most

41. *BJTB* 63:114.

42. *BJTB* 69:56, 83:89–91, 87:7–8, among others. The character *ba* normally functions as a verb meaning to handle or to take charge of.

43. *BJTB* 72:191–93.

44. For a single (late and minor) exception: *BJTB* 86:82–83. The Ming eunuch founders of these associations set the precedent. The *shenghui* associated with the two suburban Buddhist monasteries discussed later in this chapter publicized the size of individual gifts, and *huiguan* were insistent in listing each sum given.

important donors at the top. These sources show that associations varied greatly in size. On ninety Qing Dongyuemiao stelae with such information, the number of people per stele ranged from 20 up to 1,500, with an average of 357 (and mean of 265) people. Twenty-five of these groups included women; the number named ranged from 2 up to 1,360, with an average of 140 (but a mean of only 34).

What can we say about this membership (if that word is not too strong)? Only so much can be gleaned from the names themselves (it is much easier to count the totals than read each name). Fortunately, after 1665, the text on the sides of the stones gave information about the location of the group. For example: “Collectively set up by the current year pilgrimage leaders of the Golden Ox Religious Association from the small street inside Xizhi Gate, Zhao Tingshi, Shi Mingxian, Song Hongde, and Zhou Guodong.” Such “addresses,” although general, were more than enough to identify the group as based inside or outside the Inner City (and thus as Banner or not).

Yet such information is too superficial to reveal whether any of these groups were communities of neighbors headquartered in a temple. Nor is it obvious that temple-to-temple relationships with the Dongyuemiao were being created by these groups. On the evidence, we do not see here a pattern similar to that in Fujian and Taiwan, where communities organized around temples came in pilgrimage to the more “senior” temples from which they had “divided incense.”⁴⁵

In fact, most religious associations did not even identify a temple as their home address. The Midnight and Noon Religious Association (Ziwu Shenghui) was exceptional in doing so. The first stele set up by this group, dated 1704, said that the association originated at the Haichao’an (dedicated to Guanyin) outside the Xizhi Gate. The same (or another?) group using the Ziwu name claimed an Earth-god temple in the Inner City as its origin in 1716, whereas the following year the location of yet another (?) group with the same name was an Inner City Guandimiao.⁴⁶ No regular connection between any of those temples and the Dongyuemiao can be demonstrated.

Even more surprising, given what one would expect from southern China, groups that originated in other temples to Dongyue or Bixia did not come regularly to the great temple. (There was, in any case, only one other temple to Dongyue in Peking.)⁴⁷ As for Our Lady of Mount Tai, I cannot show that any of her temples in the Peking area were the headquarters for regu-

45. Schipper 1990:397, 413–14. For similar relationships with Dongyue temples: ter Haar 1995:26.

46. Peking Library #2783; the name seems to refer to incense that would burn all day and all night: Kōroku Sanjin 2:10:16–18. *BJTB* 67:48, 76:64.

47. It was a small Outer City shrine (re)established in the Qing to the immediate east of the City-god temple with which it had a close relationship. Peking Library #42; Pan Rongbi 17;

lar visits to the Dongyuemiao. Occupational groups probably came to one of the shrines for various tutelary deities within the Dongyuemiao, but it is easier to assume than to demonstrate this.⁴⁸ Monks and nuns who joined *shenghui* identified themselves by their home temples, but no connection between those temples and the Dongyuemiao was ever mentioned.⁴⁹ It therefore seems sensible to conclude that groups associated with this temple were more ad hoc and short-lived, less rooted in enduring residential communities, and not as narrowly limited to devotees of the Taishan gods as the example of rural Taiwan might lead us to expect.

We can identify the eunuchs who provided the transitional leadership in the Dongyue cult in the first decades of the Qing, but their glory days were over. Eighteenth-century stelae occasionally mentioned eunuch donors, but their patronage did not flower again until the latter nineteenth century, and even then they could not match their Ming predecessors in generosity or ostentatiousness.

Qing eunuchs probably could not have carried on such activities without tacit imperial encouragement and the involvement of the Banner population. The court had taken over formal patronage of the Temple of the Eastern Peak as they had of Mount Tai: the god was included on the list of Tertiary Sacrifices, and modest offerings were made in Peking on the reigning emperor's birthday.⁵⁰ In 1698 a fire burned the temple, and Kangxi paid for the reconstruction ("Not to exhaust a single citizen, not to activate any corvée"), putting the three-year task in the hands of his brother Fuquan. Sixty years later (the interval was deliberate), the Qianlong emperor paid for another restoration; rooms at the rear were used for His Majesty to rest in when he stopped en route to the Eastern Mausoleums or the nearby Altar to the Sun.⁵¹

Temples to the God of the Eastern Peak were known in the Northeast be-

Wu Changyuan 10:209; Niida 6:1103-12; Chapter 12 n.222. A few associations patronized both. In 1659 a Danchen Association headquartered elsewhere set up the same stele (same text, different carving) in the two Dongyue temples to commemorate new halls to Bixia. *BJTB* 61:186 (the original?), 61:138. The Panxiang Association of 1740 likewise provided its eponymous "coiled incense" to both temples. *BJTB* 69:81-82. A 1691 stele referred to ten travel-palaces of the Eastern Peak in the capital, but I cannot imagine what it referred to except temples to Bixia Yuanjun. Shoudu Library #328.

48. E.g., Ranglian 5.

49. E.g., *BJTB* 62:49-50.

50. *Taichangsi zeli* 75; *Huidian shili* 1899:415:10544-45, 444:10961-62.

51. Kangxi: *BJTB* 66:65; *ECCP* 251. Wang Shizhen 1704:1:6 stated that donations from officials were also received. Qianlong: *BJTB* 71:211; *JWK* 88:1488; Dudgeon 1870:44; *Peking Gazette*, March 20, 1874.

fore 1644, and it did not take long for Banner people to become involved with the Dongyuemiao. They did so energetically. Half of the inscriptions recorded for the entire Qing were from the Inner City, and the Banner community became the backbone of the cult.⁵²

Neighborhoods and Banner affiliation may have been at the core of many associations, but more broadly based mixtures of people were common. By the end of the seventeenth century, some typically inclusive groups were being described as “residents of the various wards and lanes of both the Inner and Outer Cities in the capital” (1691), “believers and pupils who reside on various lanes inside and outside the Chaoyang Gate” (1712), “residents of the wards and lanes and various cities of Da and Wan counties in Shuntian prefecture” (1717), “residents of different localities” (1740). A 1749 stele was not unique in listing donors who included a Plain White Banner Mongol, Plain Blue Banner Hanjun, Bordered Yellow Banner Manchu, Plain White Banner Hanjun, several Daxing county residents, someone from Fengtian in the Northeast, and a person from Tianjin (whose name sounded Manchu).⁵³

The incremental (re)integration of Peking society during the Qing that we saw on a broader scale in Chapter 12 was reflected in associational language. A 1762 stele stated explicitly that the god’s birthday was celebrated by all, whether Banner or civilian (*zai qi zai min*). Others spoke of devotees as “the virtuous ones, Banner and civilian [*qi min rendeng zhongshan*] inside and outside the Chaoyang Gate, Da and Wan counties, Shuntian prefecture, the Capital.”⁵⁴

After the end of the seventeenth century, occupational groups emerged as new patrons of the Dongyuemiao and were a regular presence. By 1670, a hall at the west side of the first courtyard was dedicated to Lu Ban, patron of artisans who worked with stone and wood. Altogether, fifteen related stelae were placed in that courtyard in the course of the Qing. Restoration of the hall in 1753 was carried out by “the five guilds [*hang*] and eight occupations [*zuo*].”⁵⁵ Later stelae identified some of the component units as tile

52. The gazetteers of the counties of the Northeast offer ample evidence for Ming Dongyue temples. Unquestionably 49 out of 104 Qing inscriptions were by Bannermen or eunuchs, and probably at least another dozen more.

53. Neighborhoods: A 1690 stele inscription stated that people (many with Manchu names) from the same *li* just outside the Forbidden City had been assembled (*ji*) to form an association (*hui*). *BJTB* 64:144. *Li* was used similarly in other instances. 1749 stelae: Peking Library #979. Others: Liu Houzi *passim*.

54. Peking Library #1104; *BJTB* 77:31–34. See the later discussion of the treacherousness of the term *qi min*.

55. A. Goodrich 1964:141–43; Niida 4:716–18. See Figure 7.1.

workers, carpenters, and stone masons (among the *zuo*), and lime manufacturers, decorators, awning makers (among the *hang*). In the nineteenth century, these collectivities began to divide into separate groups: the tile shops presented the god with a robe in 1843, the reed-awning makers set up their own stele in 1846.⁵⁶ The number of donors to these Lu Ban associations (all men) ranged between 60 and 350, with an average of 130 per stele. The shops and workshops were in both the Inner and Outer Cities. Presumably these groups had no separate shrine or meeting place and used the Eastern Peak temple as their collective space.

Many halls in this temple were supported by other occupational groups. Actors sponsored a shrine to their patron beginning early in the dynasty.⁵⁷ Those who raised horses or donkeys likewise came to the temple's Horsepatriarch hall to watch plays in the third and sixth months; repeated gifts of stelae and wooden plaques marked restorations of that hall between 1697 and 1940.⁵⁸ The sheep guild left a stele in 1764, and the watchmakers gave an incense burner and plaque in 1863 and 1864.⁵⁹ In 1837, men from Tianjin, a city with close economic ties to Peking, funded the restoration of three halls where gods to the granaries and waterways were worshipped.⁶⁰ When Anne Goodrich studied the temple in the early 1930s, she found that many other similar groups—who have not left inscriptional records—worshipped patron deities in the dozens of niches and halls in the huge temple complex: butchers, miners, bathhouse proprietors, midwives, beggars, and gamblers.⁶¹

Association members—like patrons of the temple in general—came from all sectors of society, from men whose names used elegant and obscure characters to Two-Tiger Wu and Third Miss Cun, from Banner princes and imperial elites to monks and stonemasons. Language of collective sincerity seems to have muted impulses to manifest these differences on the stelae: names were given without titles or the amount of the donation.

As compared with the Ming, few Dongyuemiao *shenghui* called on highly placed men with prestigious degrees to compose and to write out their inscriptions. One of the few groups to do so was the White Paper Association of 1737, who prevailed (through their eunuch connections?) upon Zhang Tingyu, then a grand councilor and extremely powerful at court, to provide

56. Most of these stelae are in the *BJTB*, but some may be found in Niida 4:715–36.

57. Tan Qian 1656:58; Niida 4:753–56; A. Goodrich 1964:140–41.

58. Liu Houzi 127; *BJTB* 67:113; also Niida 4:697–707. Inner City residents, they may have been part of the Neiwufu.

59. *BJTB* 72:46–47. The sheep guild members may have been Muslims. Niida 4:760.

60. *BJTB* 80:125–27. These halls did not survive into the twentieth century. A. Goodrich 1964:262.

61. A. Goodrich 1964:chap. 11. For the nearly forty small halls—not including the seventy-two hell-officer shrines—see A. Goodrich 1964:282–84 and ground plan.

the calligraphy for the four-character head-piece on the top of their stele.⁶² Most composers had metropolitan careers and lived for long periods in Peking; at best they were men with *jinshi* degrees and posts in the Hanlin, but more often they were magistrates, prefects, censors, retired provincial officials, military officials, and temple clerics. Indeed, not every Qing stele identified its author or writer.

Evidence about the relationship between these lay organizations and temple residents is frustratingly slight. Since the Yuan, the Dongyuemiao had had temple households (*miaohu*) assigned to provide service to it, and we find references to them as late as 1763. In that year, the Incense-Burner Cleaning Religious Association complained that because these families were unable to manage the task of tending the temple, assistance from pious laypeople like themselves was needed.⁶³

The resident clerics in this temple, like its Yuan dynasty founder, were from the noncelibate Zhengyi school associated with the Daoist Celestial Masters of the Zhang line who resided at Dragon-Tiger Mountain in Jiangxi. Lou Jinyuan (fl. 1730–1790) may give us an example of what this connection meant in practical terms. Lou was a daoist who had been ordained at Longhushan; he had cured the Yongzheng emperor and been rewarded with appointments in Peking (hence his relative visibility). He was made chief cleric of the Qin'andian (in the palace), of the Daguangmingdian (in the Imperial City), and of the Dongyuemiao. Lou also composed three inscriptions for two Dongyuemiao religious associations between 1741 and 1763.⁶⁴ In the course of the Qing, however, daoists like him became less valued at court, and their influence seems to have declined.⁶⁵

Other daoists who lived in the Eastern Peak temple seem to have been likewise involved with its many temple associations, and the names of chief clerics appeared regularly on their stelae.⁶⁶ But there is no evidence that large numbers of daoists were in residence, and we do not see a powerful independent clerical community like those in some Buddhist monasteries. I found no references to endowed lands donated by either throne or citizens. The

62. *BJTB* 69:15. Zhang (1672–1755) had also been born in Peking and, as far as I can tell, lived there most of his life. *ECCP* 54–56.

63. Shen Bang 17:167; *JWK* 88:1484–91; *BJTB* 72:33–35.

64. In 1730 he took up residence in another temple in the Inner City, and forty-eight daoists came from Jiangnan and Jiangxi to make up its community. Chen Guofu 181; *BJTB* 69:64, 69:87. For Lou's somewhat unorthodox Daoism: Zhaolian 1986a:9:274. For his stelae: *BJTB* 69:87, 71:85–87, 72:33–35.

65. I am following Leung & Pas 78, but I have not verified this assertion.

66. Fifteen different men's names appeared on seventeen different stelae from 1660 to 1846.

considerable influence wielded by the religious associations matched that of religious professionals. Although conflicts of interest undoubtedly caused tension between daoists and lay people, on balance their symbiotic relationship seems to have contributed to the vitality and fortunes of the temple.

The Eastern Peak cult itself appealed to people of all ages and classes, and religious associations were only a small portion of the devotees who came to the temple. Clichés about men and women, young and old, urban and rural, and elite and populace (*shi shu*) coming in an unbroken stream do not seem too much of an exaggeration.⁶⁷

The temple was open on the first and fifteenth of each month, when it attracted vendors as well as visitors; on 3/28 large crowds came for Dongyue's birthday. At first the parade of the god image (*sai shen*) continued (though still not explicitly described in our sources), but it seems to have ceased after the seventeenth century, (probably) inhibited by imperial prohibitions against "welcoming the gods and having processions."⁶⁸ The activities of religious associations, perhaps in consequence, were directed toward the temple itself and those who came there, rather than toward the procession.

The halls to other gods within the sprawling temple complex were foci for individual and group attention in the course of the year, and plays were sponsored by guilds and performed on the appropriate occasions.⁶⁹

The small "offices" (*si*) housing the unforgiving judges of the netherworld and their demonic assistants were, in the Qing as earlier, an important focus of the attention of pilgrims and religious associations alike. "The Holy Emperor of the Eastern Peak Equal to Heaven oversees and checks up on [*si cha*] human good and evil and is in charge of the offices of hell." Rewards and punishments were gruesomely depicted with life-sized plaster figures: "When you go in the Dongyuemiao, you encounter the gates of the seventy-two offices and are immediately fearful."⁷⁰

Our Lady of Mount Tai and her companion deities had been housed in the Eastern Peak temple since the Ming, and many visitors came to pray to them.

67. E.g., *BJTB* 61:53, 65:121, 69:56; Tan Qian 1656:58, 99; Hubert 33:261–69. Koreans were usually in Peking in the first and second months and did not observe the annual birthday, but they still concluded that the temple was enormously popular. Hong Taeyong 317; Pak Saho 893; Kim Kyöngsön 1012.

68. *BJTB* 65:74–76, 69:56; Pan Rongbi 17; Ranglian 5.

69. *BJTB* 64:160–63; Niida 4:704–6.

70. *BJTB* 67:93–94, 72:191–93. Many of these offices were photographed for Anne Goodrich in the 1930s (1964:plates).

Their power to bring children was graphically manifested in the many figures of squirming babies on the altars and on the laps and in the arms of the gods.⁷¹ Because of the Goddess of Eyesight, one of the attendant Niangniang, there were two large basins for washing one's eyes in the courtyard in front of their hall.⁷² The proximity of the birthdays of Dongyue and Bixia (on 3/28 and 4/8) made possible one continuous celebration.

Stelae occasionally articulated the place of Bixia in the Dongyue cult: "Some say that the deity of Mount Tai is the Jade Woman, the Sovereign of the Azure Clouds. But if there is also His Humane Sageliness Equal to Heaven, how can this be? People respond by saying, it is the rule of heaven and earth that there are Yin and Yang, so to worship the Jade Woman Bixia is to treat the Yin [side], and to worship the Great Emperor of Human Sageliness is for the Yang." In 1761, Qianlong legitimized Our Lady's presence by writing a plaque for her hall: "Bixia Governs Transformations" (*Bixia zai hua*).⁷³

As we shall see, there were many links, symbolic and organizational, between the Dongyuemiao and temples dedicated to Bixia Yuanjun. In the course of the nineteenth century, as the religious associations at the Eastern Peak temple decreased in activity and became more private and occupational in orientation, devotees of Bixia seem to have increased.⁷⁴ Although different manifestations of these two closely intertwined gods rose and fell in their perceived efficacy, taken together, the Taishan cults increased in popularity. Such success was possible in large part because of their religious organizations.

PILGRIMAGE AND OUR LADY OF TAISHAN

The religious associations that had begun to form at Bixia temples at the end of the Ming flourished in even greater numbers in the early Qing. The momentum of these activities may have sustained the organizational impulses of believers during the uncertainties of the conquest era, even as the depth of local devotion communicated itself to the Banner newcomers.

The existence of well-developed pilgrimages from many parts of north China to the cult center at Mount Tai encouraged linkages among temples to Bixia and pilgrimage-like circuits of visits to them.⁷⁵ Some of Bixia's *shenghui*

71. Pak Saho 893; Kim Kyöngsön 1012; Dudgeon 1870:121-22; A. Goodrich 1964:53-76, plates XII, XIII. As throughout her book, Goodrich combined personal observation with a hodgepodge of stories collected from her principal informant (a Mr. Shi) and elsewhere. The contradictions and variety so presented are a useful reflection of the real world of Chinese religion. For baby-tying rituals to induce a pregnancy: Lowe 1:6, 44-45.

72. Pan Rongbi 17. Hong Taeyong 317 reported that this courtyard had "several dozen" stelae in 1766; none were shown on the Goodrich ground plan.

73. *BJTB* 64:146; *JWK* 88:1484.

74. A. Goodrich 1964:44, and chaps. 3, 7; also Madrolle 1912:43.

75. Dott part 2; Dudbridge 1991; P. Wu 1992; Baker 9-10, 17.

were already pilgrimage associations in the Ming, dedicated as much to the welfare of pilgrims as to the maintenance of the focal temple. In the Qing, these organized pilgrimages necessitating a journey of several days became an essential feature of Peking religious life. Initially, the groups visited an array of different temples, most of which were at a distance from the city.⁷⁶ By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, most concentrated on a newer temple in the mountains west of Peking, Mount Miaofeng (Miaofengshan).

Because temples to the same god competed with one another (but rarely overtly), the locus of the god's perceived power could shift. The dynamics of Chinese religion meant that a god's efficacy and popularity were mutually reinforcing, producing a fluid pattern of a few "successful" temples among a host of others. For these reasons, devotees to Bixia Yuanjun not only stressed publicly the deity's general powers, her generosity and responsiveness, but they also emphasized qualities specific to the temple of their choice—examples of miracles performed, the popularity of their manifestation of the god, or the history and special qualities of their location. The ascendancy of Miaofengshan in Peking life needs to be understood in the context of these other temples to the Holy Mother.⁷⁷

At least four Ming temples to Bixia had hosted exuberant celebrations of her fourth-month birthday in the late Ming. (See Map 14.1.) Of these, the Western Summit (Xiding) on the plain in the near suburbs west of Peking seems to have been most popular in early Qing. Devotees praised its location beside springs and mountains, calling it famous, efficacious, and superior to the other summits: "It is not on a mountain but the peaks can be seen in the distance, it is not on the water yet the streams run all around it."⁷⁸

The first stele from a religious association dedicated to Our Lady outside the Dongyuemiao was a 1654 stele in the Xiding. It celebrated the completion of a cycle of three years' offering of incense by 344 donors; two-thirds of the patrons were women and the others were eunuchs. The inscription, composed by a (fourth-rank) former assistant salt commissioner, was written in arcane pompous language. This group did not use an association name, and it had a headquarters in a Three Sages temple near the lakes in the Inner City.⁷⁹ The important role of eunuchs and presumably palace women in mediating the transition from Ming to Qing is again obvious.

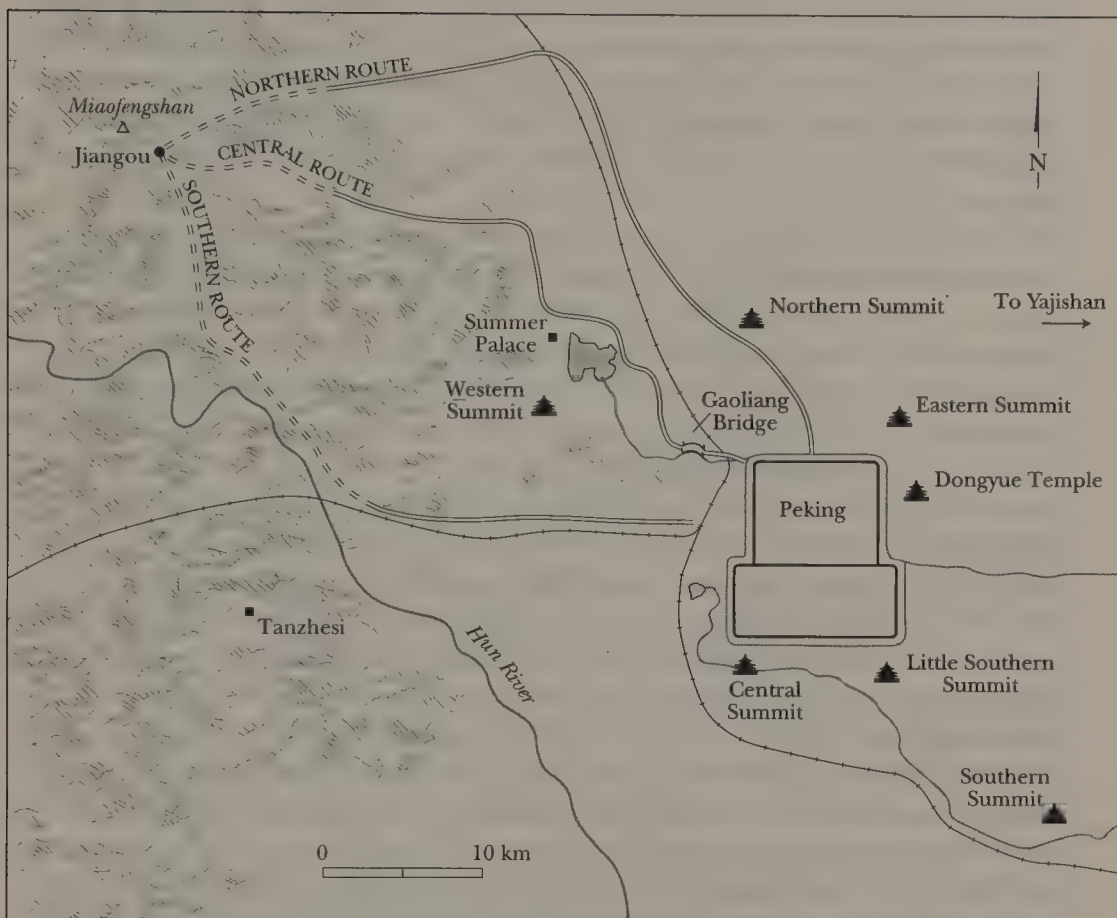
A new group was formed at the Western Summit in 1656 with the purpose of providing tea and fruit to refresh the people (may we not call them "pilgrims"?) who walked here to present incense on the god's birthday. (The

76. With one exception: a nameless group (*hui*) of Banner men and women restored an otherwise undistinguished Tianxian'an in the Inner City in 1658. Shoudu Library #179.

77. For this entire discussion, I have drawn on Naquin 1992.

78. Peking Library #2759, #2767; and Chapter 7.

79. Peking Library #2757.



Map 14.1. Temples to Our Lady of Taishan

temple was about six kilometers from the city walls on the way toward Kunming Lake. It is shown in Figure 12.5.) More than one thousand people were named on a second stele set up twelve years later; almost all were men, and several hundred were designated as *huishou*.⁸⁰

The Western Summit continued to attract organized supporters. At first, inscriptions employed the term *hui* and mentioned their “pilgrimage associations” (*jinxiang shenghui*), but few had names. By the 1680s, such groups were more formally designated: “Religious Association [That Donates] Incense and Lanterns,” “Incense-Presenting Religious Association [That Prays for] Sons and Grandsons,” or “Spirit-Money Association.”⁸¹

In the latter seventeenth century, associations at the Xiding were similar

80. Peking Library #2759.

81. Peking Library #2777, #2787, #2791.

to their contemporaries at the Eastern Peak temple. The inscriptions used the language of collective good works; association titles indicated a level of organization that became more complex with time. Their activities were concentrated on Bixia's birthday in the fourth month and included maintaining the Western Summit temple, making the pilgrimage, and helping other pilgrims.

Soon, this temple attracted extensive and organized patronage from Banner people in the Inner City.⁸² Some of these associations were based in neighborhoods, but the composition of the others was not clear. One 1669 stele revealed an unusual rural female clientele: in addition to 140 men (with organizational titles), there were some 470 (married) women listed under eighteen different villages in the northwest suburbs. They appear to have Chinese names and may have been Chinese Banner people.⁸³

By 1689, Chinese from the Outer City were demonstrably involved. An association of that year came "from the wards and lanes outside the Zhengyang [Front] Gate." Eunuchs and palace women still remained the primary patrons, however, and between 1708 and 1712 the Kangxi emperor paid for a restoration. The monk Haixiu, the chief cleric at the Xiding, listed his name on five stelae set up by groups who visited the temple between 1687 and 1722, and his support may have played an important facilitating role.⁸⁴

Although the temple was restored again at imperial expense in 1756 and the fourth-month fair continued to be held into the twentieth century,⁸⁵ there were no more stelae and little evidence of active pilgrimage associations of any sort at the Western Summit after 1725. As we shall see, intense imperial attention and newly efficacious rivals may have contributed to the declining charisma of this manifestation of the god.

Organized pilgrims were less visible at other temples to Our Lady in the early Qing. At the Central Summit (only built in 1627), religious associations were active at first. In 1664 a group of more than two hundred men celebrated their presentation of incense for three years in a row. In 1696 another large group of (Chinese) men and women from the Outer City recorded their Hundred Children Religious Association, already more than twenty years old, which made offerings each year on the eighteenth day of the fourth month, thanking this manifestation of the god for her particular efficacy: "those with-

82. Twelve out of nineteen inscriptions for the period before 1725.

83. 1669 (KX 8) stele at the Wutasi. This area was populated with Chinese Bannermen. A stele from the following year was set up by several Manchus and a eunuch from the Inner City. Peking Library #2789.

84. 1689: Peking Library #2787. 1712: *BJTB* 66:145. Haixiu: Peking Library #2749, #2771, #2787; *BJTB* 66:6-8, 66:13.

85. Zhenjun 10:12; Bouillard 1923b:302-3.

out sons have sons, those with sons have many sons.”⁸⁶ (Their stele is shown in Figure 14.1.)

From the outset, this temple’s location near the flower-growing region south of Peking was part of its appeal to casual visitors as well as lay devotees, and visitors continued to come even after the end of the Qing. Although a late nineteenth-century source stated that “Gentry women [en route here] don’t need to worry about respite from the sun, because once one leaves the city, every half *li* there is a tea-stall,” we know nothing else about the groups that must have supported such rest-stops.⁸⁷

At the Bixia temple at Gaoliang Bridge (not one of the summits) a single 1674 stele commemorated donations by a group of more than 120 men from the Inner City Bordered Red Banner quarter. It is not clear if there were many pilgrims or much activity after that time.⁸⁸

Several pilgrimage associations organized by Bannermen took a vigorous interest in the Northern Summit temple between the 1660s and the 1790s—presenting the god with hats and robes, belts and boots, gold and silver ritual utensils, petitions and memorials, fine sweet offerings, incense and candles, and spirit money. There seems to have been much less activity in the nineteenth century; the temple was rebuilt in 1902 by a Manchu prince.⁸⁹

The venerable Southern Summit temple on the far southeast corner of the imperial Southern Park some thirty kilometers from the city gates had been the focus of large intense crowds of pilgrims in the late Ming.⁹⁰ Its popularity also faded in the Qing, challenged in particular by a rival temple (the “Little Southern Summit”) that was more convenient. In the end, both temples hosted popular market fairs and both received some imperial patronage, but there were no stelae recording visits by pilgrimage associations. By the late Qing, the Little Southern Summit was known best as a place for urban elites to watch horse races.⁹¹

Another temple on Coiled Dragon Mountain (Panlongshan) west of Peking had been built, destroyed, and rebuilt in the Ming. Its shrine to Our Lady attracted pilgrimage associations from the late seventeenth century

86. *BJTB* 65:85.

87. Peking Library #3681. Quotation: *Dumen zhuzhi ci* 27–28. This temple: Li Zongwan 6; Pan Rongbi 18–19, 20, 25. Since groups elsewhere continued to set up stelae, even modest ones, it does seem legitimate to read the absence of such markers as an indication of reduced attention.

88. Peking Library #5833; Bretschneider 1876a:63; Bredon 502.

89. *BJTB* 77:1, 77:76, 89:49; Peking Library #8151, #8153, #8167. The prince was Yikuang; *ECCP* 964–65.

90. Li Zongwan 6. It was next to the Maju (a.k.a. Hongren) Bridge.

91. Xiaonanding: Pan Rongbi 18–19; *DMJL* 1845; markets; *Caozhu yi chuan* 16–18; Zhenjun 9:1; Douin 3:140; *Beijing lixing zhinan* 216; *Dianshizhai huabao jia* 9–68, 9–69, *ding* 10–74. Nanding: *Caozhu yi chuan* 16–18.



Figure 14.1. Stele from the Central Summit Temple

This stele was set up in 1696 by the Hundred Children Religious Association (Baizi Shenghui), a group from the Pig Market district outside the Front Gate that came every year on Bixia Yuanjun's birthday to pray for sons. The decoration around the inscription shows many small boys. The temple was in the village of Caoqiao (Grass Bridge) in Peking's southern suburbs. The Jade Emperor was installed in the rear hall, the God of the Eastern Peak in the middle hall, and Our Lady of the Azure Clouds in the front. The courtyards were lined with shrines for the officers of hell. In 1987, the stone was still standing in the one surviving courtyard.

PHOTOGRAPH: Susan Naquin 1987.

NOTES: *BJTB* 62:35, 65:85.

through the late eighteenth. Stelae were set up by *shenghui*, often nameless, whose Bannermen members came from Peking's northwestern suburbs.⁹² Then it too seems to vanish from the record.

Yet another shrine to Bixia Yuanjun that came within the orbit of Qing capital elites was located about fifty kilometers southeast of Peking beside the Grand Canal. The history of this temple at Li'ersi seems to have been shorter, and its popularity was a Qing phenomenon. In the eighteenth century it hosted dragon-boat races, and Pan Rongbi commented that "incense associations are very numerous and strollers come in an unbroken stream." Thereafter, little else is known of this temple.⁹³

The temple to Dongyue and Bixia in Zhuozhou (a city about fifty kilometers southwest of the capital) never reexperienced the peak of popularity among Peking residents that had been generated by late Ming eunuch and court patronage. It endured, however, as a node in the network of Tai-shan temples, and in 1671 a Zhuozhou Venerable Association based in a temple in the Inner City began making annual pilgrimages there; in 1689 more than 450 of them donated money to restore one of its halls.⁹⁴

None of these temples to Our Lady of Mount Tai succeeded in generating steady, organized support during the Qing period. One of the few that did was beyond the usual orbit of the capital, eighty kilometers to the east, perched atop a double-peaked hill known as Two-Knobbed Mountain (Yajishan).⁹⁵ The site may have come to the notice of Peking residents because it lay near the route to scenic Mount Pan. This Bixia temple had the advantage over its rivals of being on a (small) mountaintop; reachable by easy roads and necessitating only a short climb, it became an important destination for pilgrims.⁹⁶ (Yajishan's temples are shown in Figure 14.2.)

The first documented pilgrimage association connected with Yajishan was the 1693 Three Summits Shenghui. That group originated in a village in the eastern suburbs, used the same simple titles as others in this period, and

92. Xu Daoling 2:27, 2:89; stelae at site dated 1707 (KX 46), 1738 (QL 3), 1740 (QL 5), 1773 (QL 38), and other undated fragments; *BFTB* 66:141, 67:170, 71:188; Peking Library #10276.

93. Pan Rongbi 22; *Wanping xian zhi* 3:18; *Tongzhou zhi* 9:4. It did survive into the twentieth century. W. Li 63; *Hebei miaohui diaocha baogao*.

94. *BFTB* 64:125; Pan Rongbi 18–19; Chapter 5.

95. The name referred to the two tufts into which a young child's hair was tied. Twenty stelae survived at the temple (ranging from 1693 to 1933) in 1988; I know of no rubbings. The temples at the summit are being rebuilt. The Bixia temple can be attested as early as 1604; a notice at the site claimed (plausibly) that it had been built in the Chenghua reign (1465–1487). *Zhuozhou zhi* 1:12–13; *Huairou xian zhi* 1:17.

96. The 1715 (KX 54) stele at the site noted that this was "a mountain that to the north leans against the Great Wall and to the south faces the sacred capital, [a place] where twisting mountains embrace."

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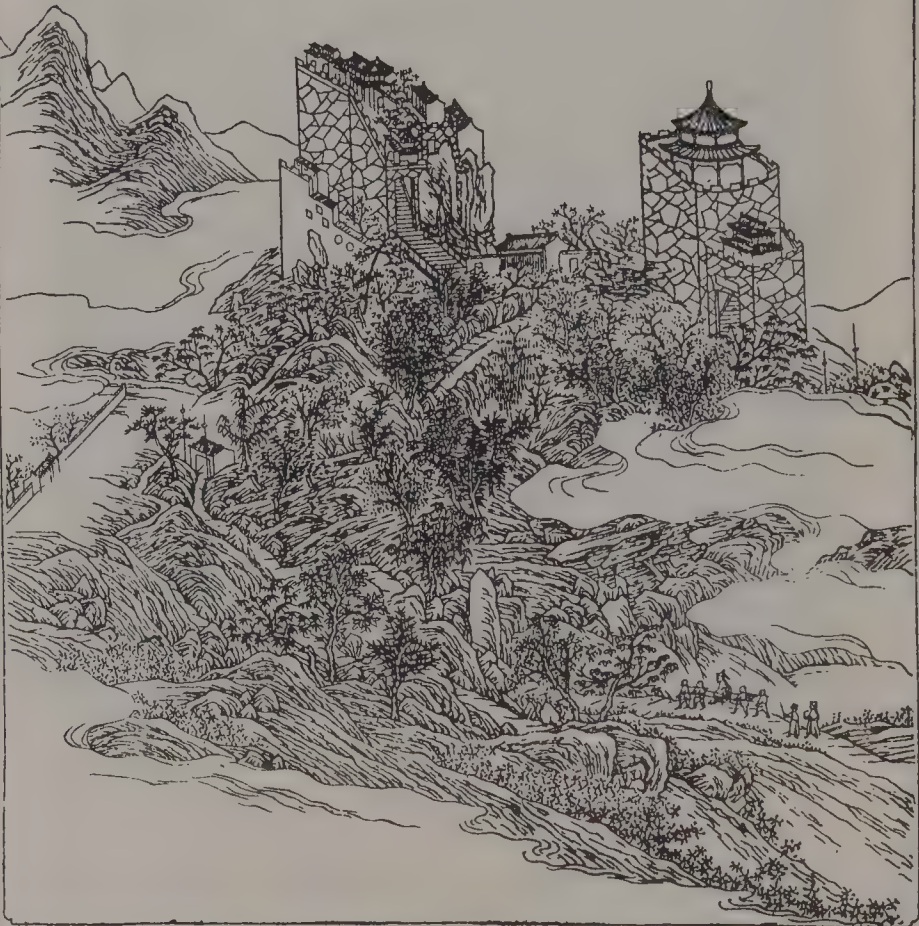


Figure 14.2. Presenting Incense at Mount Yaji

Bannerman Linqing may be seen at the bottom right, being carried in a sedan-chair up the pilgrim path that led past a small resthouse toward the two temples on the summit of Mount Yaji. The round building on the right was dedicated to the Jade Emperor; the higher complex on the left was dedicated to Bixia Yuanjun.

SOURCE: Linqing 1886:3:97-98.

visited the mountain every year. In 1696, another association built a Bixia temple on the road to the mountain so that tea could be provided for pilgrims in the fourth month.⁹⁷

The daoist in residence at Yajishan took charge of a restoration in 1698,⁹⁸ but shortly thereafter the temple's fortunes changed radically. Perhaps introduced to the temple by others in the palace, the Kangxi emperor went there on the eleventh day of the fourth month of 1704 and initiated a wave of court-connected enthusiasm for the mountain. For the emperor's sixtieth birthday in 1713 (on 3/18), two princes came with great fanfare to burn incense. "The various princes, high officials, Bannermen, and people invited forty-eight daoists from the capital to come to the mountain and perform a rite of imperial longevity." Twenty to thirty thousand people are said to have converged on the temple, their lanterns covering the entire site. A 1714 stele was written by Kangxi's third son, Yinzhi, Prince Cheng; in 1715 the emperor himself composed one. He noted the enthusiasm of "officials and citizens" in coming here to pray for him and lauded their contributions to the construction of the Jade Emperor Belvedere on the mountain's second minisummit.⁹⁹

Between 1708 and 1808, when many other Bixia temples were languishing, ten stelae from pilgrimage associations were set up on Yajishan. Most (seven) came from groups (each different) that were headquartered in the Inner City, one came from the Outer City, and one from the eastern suburbs. The size of these associations ranged from 12 up to 297 people, averaging 126. A fifth of the subscribers were women, and the great crowds in the spring were "too numerous to count."¹⁰⁰

The route to the mountain continued to cater to pilgrims. Enterprising monks at temples along the way welcomed them, and a traveller in the fourth month of 1770 found that "most of the guests" at an inn on this road were going to Yajishan. Some associations set out lanterns and distributed tea to pilgrims.¹⁰¹ The most important temple rest-stop was located about ten kilometers from Peking at the trading town of Dongba.¹⁰²

97. 1693: *BJTB* 65:27; the association head worked in the Imperial Larder and was probably a Chinese Bannerman. 1696: *BJTB* 65:84; it is not clear where the donors came from.

98. *STFZ* 1885:24:761. A 1906 (GX 32) stele at the site recorded a single reference to a land endowment.

99. *STFZ* 1885:24:761-62; 1714 (KX 53), 1715 (KX 54) stelae at site; *ECCP* 922.

100. Only three of the groups included women. Stelae at site: 1708 (KX 47), 1713 (KX 52), 1716 (KX 55), 1723 (YZ 1), 1755 (QL 20), 1767 (QL 32), 1770 (QL 35), 1773 (QL 38), 1794 (QL 59), and 1808 (JQ 13). Also *BJTB* 65:84; Pan Rongbi 18-19; *STFZ* 1885:24:761-63. Devotees from Tongzhou city also patronized the temple. *Tongzhou zhi* 9:4.

101. *BJTB* 65:84, 74:57; 1794 (QL 59), 1808 (JQ 13) stelae at site. Traveller: Lei Guoji 4:14; *GZDZZ-YZ* 3:106-7.

102. *BJTB* 65:84, 74:57; *GZDZZ-YZ* 3:106-7. A set of fine inscribed porcelain altar vessels was presented to this temple in 1740-1741 by Tang Ying, supervisor of the imperial porcelain

We are fortunate that the Manchu literatus Linqing ascended Yajishan in 1808, half-persuaded by his sons that it might cure his injured leg. In his autobiography, in which 240 scenes were each wonderfully illustrated, Linqing chose to show Yajishan's two peaks, one topped with the round belvedere for the Jade Emperor and the other with a square hall for Bixia. Linqing was pictured ascending in a sedan-chair, with no vulgar crowds present.¹⁰³ (See Figure 14.2.) Little pilgrimage activity can be documented in the nineteenth century, at least not before a visit by Empress Dowager Cixi in 1886, but the (Bannermen) faithful came well into the twentieth century.¹⁰⁴

The cult of Our Lady of Taishan flourished unevenly at these temples in the Qing.¹⁰⁵ The support of pilgrimage associations and of the throne was most vigorous in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and diminished thereafter; however, these trends cannot be properly understood except in the context of unrecorded popular devotion and developing pilgrimage to Miaofengshan (to which we will turn shortly).

Linkages to Mount Tai were deeply embedded in the cult of Bixia Yuanjun and gave rise to various systems connecting individual temples to one another and to the God of the Eastern Peak. As we have seen, Dongyue and Bixia were often found in the same temple. Occasionally, Yuhuang (the Jade Emperor) was added to a Bixia temple, usually in a two-storied building at the rear. The 1693 Three Summits Religious Association had paid their respects every year to "Yuhuangshan, Yajishan, and Dongyue."¹⁰⁶

The 1685 Wanping and Daxing county gazetteers (probably reflecting earlier practice) stated that in the fourth month "For Bixia Yuanjun's birthday people stroll to Gaoliang Bridge's Western Summit and Grass Bridge's Central Summit, to Hongren Bridge [that is, the Southern Summit], Li'ersi, and Yajishan."¹⁰⁷ In his 1745 survey of historic sites, Li Zongwan listed six Bixia Yuanjun temples together, even though not all were active. Pan Rongbi's

kilns at Jingdezhen. Most survive: Kerr 66–69, fig. 45; Bushell 396; Geng Baochang; Wiesner figs. 52, 53.

103. Linqing 3:97–98. Other illustrations from this book are shown in Figures 3.3 and 6.1.

104. Wu Zhenyu 7:9; Bouillard 1923b:308; 1906 (GX 32), 1924 (MG 13), 1931 (MG 20), 1935 (MG 24) stelae at site.

105. Other early Qing Bixia temples were also the object of pilgrimage and probably had religious associations, but they are even less well documented.

106. *BJTB* 65:27. I do not know if "Mount Yuhuangshan" was a mountain or a temple. Both a Zhuozhou association (1689) and Northern Summit one (1796) were explicitly devoted to these three gods. *BJTB* 64:125, 77:1.

107. *Wanping xian zhi* 3:18; *Daxing xian zhi* 1:16. The passages are almost identical and unusual (in these two gazetteers) in not being derived (that I can tell) from a Ming text. One might read the text as "the Gaoliang Bridge [temple] AND the Western Summit."

more sympathetic 1758 description named nine famous temples to Our Lady.¹⁰⁸ Fluid sets of summits spelled out circuits for pilgrims: in 1640 six summits, in 1665 eight, in 1674 five, in 1678 two, in 1681 four, in 1691 three, and in 1756 nine.¹⁰⁹ Obviously, no single system predominated.

No other temples in the Peking area were related in such patterns, and it seems obvious that shrines to Our Lady were conceived of in relationship to one another and as parts of sets (however inconsistently or unclearly defined); similarly, the idea of visiting a series of temples dedicated to this deity was fundamental to her cult.

A slightly different set of linkages, intriguing but difficult to unearth, concerns the relationship between temples to Bixia Yuanjun and a local shamanist cult to the four (sometimes five) "great houses" of animal spirits (*si da men, wu da jia*). In the Peking area, people believed that the fox, weasel, hedgehog, and snake could possess the unwary or disrespectful. Small shrines to these animals were therefore built inside many (most?) Peking homes.¹¹⁰ According to our best source, a 1948 article by Wei-tsu Li, when mediums, often women, were possessed by these gods they gained the power to cure the sick (using incense ash and charms). Shamanic lines had developed, each connected with one of the animals, who were politely addressed as "immortals" (*xian*).¹¹¹ At some point, these shamanic deities became connected to the cult to Bixia Yuanjun and were at once co-opted and enhanced by it. By the twentieth century, some people in Peking believed that Yajishan was the place where the four sacred animals originated and where shamans should travel for their initiations. Wang Nainai, a subordinate of Our Lady, was thought to be in charge of these animal-gods.¹¹²

The fortunes of the Peking temples to Our Lady of Mount Tai described so far were all directly affected by the emergence of a new cult center, one where

108. Li Zongwan 6 said that two were intact (Xiding and Xiaonanding) and the others in ruins (Nanding, Zhongding, Dongding, and Beiding). Pan Rongbi 18–19; his list was the same as Li's, plus the temples at Gaoliangqiao, Zhuozhou, and Yajishan.

109. The six: Shoudu Library #306. The eight: *BJTB* 62:49–50. The five: Peking Library #2767. The two: *BJTB* 63:114; Shoudu Library #672. One was the Dongyuemiao; was the other Miaofengshan? The four: *BJTB* 63:155; 1770 (QL 35) Yajishan stele at site. The three: *BJTB* 65:27; undated fragmentary Three Summits Association Yajishan stele at site. The nine: *BJTB* 71:93–94.

110. Freeman-Mitford 66. Many literati accounts of Peking had stories about foxes, not all of which were related to this cult: see Huntington; also Ji Yun A:90–91.

111. W. Li; also Zhang Tao 2:39; Huntington 96–100, 125–29; Lowe 2:79–84; Sawada 1965:64; Grootaers 1948:286–87. For a photograph of a household shrine: P. Lum opp. p. 148. Worship continues today.

112. W. Li 44–45; Huntington 99, 256; Li Shiyu 1984; Adam; Jameson 92–93.

believers were very numerous and where *shenghui* became even more elaborate and powerful. Some of these other temples may have gained renown through their connections with Miaofengshan, but ultimately, the success of that mountain site undermined theirs.

MIAOFENGSCHAN

Beginning in the late seventeenth century, a new temple to Bixia Yuanjun in the mountains northwest of Peking began to acquire a reputation for efficacy.¹¹³ Believers shifted their loyalties and made the three-day journey there. These self-styled disciples (*dizi*) of the deity came in reverent sincerity (*qian cheng*) to present incense (*jin xiang*) and pay respects to the mountain (*chao shan, chao ding*), making obeisances (*bai*) to the Holy Mother (Shengmu).

Religious organizations were deeply involved in this worship; indeed they eventually orchestrated it. Better documentation permits us to probe more closely into their workings and thus gauge the versatility, openness, flexibility, and organizational potential (and limits) of these *shenghui*. An examination of their role at Mount Miaofeng will not only make sense of the history of that site but further enhance our understanding of Peking society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Mountain of the Marvelous Peak, Miaofengshan, was located about forty kilometers from the city and, at 1,330 meters, was the highest of the range of peaks behind the Western Hills.¹¹⁴ (See Map 14.1.) Our first reliable record of a temple to Bixia at that mountain came from a religious association that visited it as part of a network of temples to the Holy Mother in 1689; other evidence suggests that this site was becoming popular in the latter half of the seventeenth century. By 1703, devotees could already list it among important shrines to Bixia.¹¹⁵

113. This subsection borrows from my 1992 article, to which an interested reader should turn for more details.

114. Bouillard 1923d. Mount Tai was only two hundred meters higher.

115. I am unconvinced by the claims for a Ming date given in Gu Jiegang 1928:124–28; see also Naquin 1992:338, 369. This 1689 Northern Summit association was based at the Xiding. Shoudu Library #653; the 1689 (KX 28) stone survives at the site. The core of this text was printed in the 1684 edition of the Wanping county gazetteer, but the date on the stele is clearly 1689. An 1857 Two Summit association left a stele on Miaofengshan claiming that their association had begun in the Kangxi reign, and there was another Two Summit association active in 1678 at the Dongyuemiao. *BJTB* 63:114. The names on the back of an 1836 stele also using the Two Summit name were supposedly recarved from a 1663 stele no longer extant. Shoudu Library #671, and 1836 (DG 16) stele at site. If correct, 1663 would be the earliest evidence of pilgrimage activity here. For 1703: *BJTB* 66:28–29.

The new temple was located in a remote spot. The bare mountains had been explored and spottily settled but were still bleak and far from Peking. The buildings were not on the summit of Mount Miaofeng, but on the end of a southern spur near the top, a spot that gave a dramatic south-facing view of the winding valley beyond which lay the Muddy River, one of the few passable routes to Mongol lands.¹¹⁶

The journey to the mountain was much more arduous than to other Bixia temples. It took the better part of a day to reach the foothills from Peking; from there, a full day's hard climb lay ahead, up steep narrow rocky paths; much of another day was necessary for the knee-jarring return. For the first and last stages over flat roads, pilgrims could ride in carts or on horses or mules. For the difficult ascent, the well-to-do could be carried in rattan chairs on the shoulders of "mountain climbing tigers." Everybody else walked. But pilgrims were undeterred, perhaps even challenged. Of the temples to the Holy Mother in and around Peking, Miaofengshan alone could be said to be a genuine summit.

Pilgrims' gifts gave ample evidence of the growing popularity of the Celestial Immortal Holy Mother of Miaofengshan. Thirty-six inscribed stelae and seventeen other objects were donated to the peak temple during the period 1689–1910 and commemorated the growth of the site; thirty-nine other gifts marked out the temples and shrines along the paths to and from the mountain.¹¹⁷ Because of the god's powerful responsiveness (*ganying*), by at least 1778 the temple was known as the Palace of Efficacious Responsiveness (Linggangong).¹¹⁸

The development of Miaofengshan was both mirrored in and made possible by the elaboration of a set of routes to it, for the physical infrastructure and social centrality of the pilgrimage grew in tandem. By 1822, stelae texts mentioned "five routes" up the mountain, a characterization later repeated even though, as with the five summits, this number was more symbolic than real. In fact, a shifting constellation of paths led to the temple, of which three were the most important: the Southern, Central, and Northern Routes (*dao*).¹¹⁹

116. Comprehensive Gazetteer 1505:1:24–27; *DJ* 7:321–25. I follow contemporary usage and refer to it as the peak temple. For a recent folktale about the site: Zhang Baozhang & Peng Zheyu 190–92.

117. These and similar generalizations are based on the corpus of Miaofengshan stelae preserved at the site or on rubbings in the Shoudu and Peking libraries, supplemented with information from Fengkuan (esp. 89–91) and Gu Jiegang (1928:esp. 146–52). I saw the stelae at Miaofengshan in 1987 and 1988. The temple has since been entirely rebuilt; new stelae have been added, but many of the older ones have vanished.

118. I can first attest the name in 1778. Shoudu Library #664, and fragment at site.

119. Called variously "North Central," "Old Northern," "New Northern," "New Central," and "South Central." These terms referred to the last, mountainous, stages of the pilgrim's journey; access to them was provided by a great number of flatland roads.

(They are shown on Map 14.1.) Resthouses for pilgrims, termed “tea-stalls” (*chapeng*), were built along these paths; some stalls grew into full-sized temples.¹²⁰

The Southern Route seems to have been the oldest; it was longer but not so difficult and meant taking well-travelled roads west from Peking, crossing the Muddy River by ferry, and then walking up the long gently ascending valley toward which the temple faced. In 1751 two groups from the western suburbs placed stelae near a ruined temple on the way, and in 1777 another group built a Returning Incense Pavilion (*Huixiangting*) at this spot. Thereafter (through the 1920s), different associations used this site and others on the route to distribute tea and porridge to pilgrims.¹²¹

The Central Route could be reached more directly from Peking, especially as communication to the imperial villas improved in the eighteenth century. Pilgrims began the ascent from the foothills northwest of these palaces, and then followed the steep path up, and then down, and then up again to Miaofengshan. A Ming *Guandimiao* behind the *Dajue* Monastery was used by pilgrims headed for the summit from at least the 1770s. At Ravine Pass (*Zhai'eryu*), high up along this path, another small temple was active from at least 1807; here associations provided plain refreshments, set up lanterns to light the way at night, and (in the 1830s) repaired and increased the number of rooms where pilgrims could sleep. Similar resthouses along this route were actively kept up into the twentieth century.¹²²

These two routes were the principal access paths until the end of the nineteenth century. The imperial revitalization of the Kunming Lake area in the 1880s for the new summer palace and the coming of railroads in the 1890s spurred the development of a Northern Route.¹²³ All paths converged at Torrent Gully (*Jiangou*), a hamlet that lay three hundred meters below the peak temple and came alive each year during the pilgrimage.

The temple complex at the summit grew as the pilgrimage did.¹²⁴ The Holy Mother *Bixia Yuanjun* was worshipped in the main hall, while the Wealth-

120. Gu Jiegang 1928:162; Lowe 1:88; Fengkuan 27.

121. Shoudu Library #707, #708, #709; Peking Library #8153; Fengkuan 59; Gu Jiegang 1928:36. Contra Naquin 1992:339, the earliest record found on any of the routes was the 1751 stele here. Today's paved road follows the Southern Route.

122. Fengkuan 22–33; Shoudu Library #725, #727, #728, #729, #736, #737; Bouillard 1921:chap. 3.

123. The twelve stelae from the nineteenth century that mention route names refer only to the Southern and Central ones. For the Northern Route: Gu Jiegang 1928:56–61, 182–83.

124. Shoudu Library #677, #687, #695, #717; Dun Lichen 38–40; Gu Jiegang 1928:131–32; Jin Chanyu layout.

god and the Niangniang who brought children were placed in substantial side-halls around that courtyard.¹²⁵ The rear hall housed a White-Robed Guanyin, smaller side-halls were dedicated to Shakyamuni and Dizang, and other rooms were used for feeding and housing pilgrims. By 1900 the main courtyard contained a forest of several dozen commemorative stelae and a stone pit that served as an immense incense burner. Off to the side were three other separate shrines, and behind, slightly up the slope, was a Returning Incense Pavilion where Dongyue was worshipped.

The temple seems to have been the residence for a few Buddhist monks.¹²⁶ Although some activity can be documented at the temple in every month of the year, from at least the middle Qing, the pilgrimage season was the first fifteen days of the fourth month (usually May on the solar calendar). The eighth day was Bixia's birthday.¹²⁷ A smaller autumn pilgrimage had developed in the seventh month in a kind of symmetry. Many groups declared that "every year in the spring and autumn we go to the Golden Summit Miaofengshan," and pilgrims referred to the two "seasons" (*qi, xiang qi*) when the "mountain [temple] was open" (*kai shan*).¹²⁸

Commemorative presents from pilgrims filled the buildings and courtyards of the temple complex. These stone slabs, wooden plaques, metal bells, chime-bowls, and incense burners, the more ephemeral paper and cloth ex-votos, and their inscriptions all helped constitute not only the temple site itself and the routes to it, but also the act of pilgrimage and the pilgrims themselves. These gifts were made about once every five years during the eighteenth century (mostly at the peak temple), and then much more frequently (once every year and a half) during the nineteenth century (mostly to the shrines en route). Nearly all of the stelae were paid for by associations—clearly pilgrimage associations—from Peking.

By the 1730s, these groups were exclusively dedicated to Miaofengshan,

125. The gilt wood images (Madrolle 1912:54) did not survive; new plaster ones were installed in the 1980s. I have relied throughout this section on Gu Jiegang 1928 and Fengkuan.

126. Shoudu Library #656, #667, #715; Edkins 1880:271.

127. For schedules that culminated on the eighth and were over by the sixteenth, see JJD:JQ 51173; Gu Jiegang 1928:34–35, 74–108.

128. The fall season (most often in the seventh and eighth months) attracted far fewer pilgrims. GZDZZ-YZ 25:369–70; Shoudu Library #740. The earliest object with an autumn date was donated to the Wealth-god hall in the eighth month of 1767. Shoudu Library #693. For various dates of the autumn pilgrimage: Imbault-Huart 63; Bouillard 1921; Gu Jiegang 1928:103–5; Linqing 3:64–65. Occasional gifts were made in the second month. Joseph Edkins, who had lived in Peking since the 1860s, commented that the clerics left the temple "shut up and unoccupied" in the off-season (1880:271). In 1907, Zhenjun said that the temple was "open" during the fourth month and "closed" (*feng shan*) thereafter (9:17).

and other temples to Our Lady were increasingly marginalized and displaced. The wishes expressed on newly carved stelae made hyperbolic but prophetic claims about the site's popularity, such as, in 1755, "Her incense mounts like clouds. . . . People come along the roads in unbroken succession, like the sun and moon in their constancy."¹²⁹

From the mid-Qing on, associations had designated leaders and increasingly formalized names. They called themselves *shenghui*, but others sometimes called them "incense associations" (*xianghui*) instead. Most *hui* had formal names, some of which reappeared at intervals. As elsewhere in Peking, these groups became increasingly specialized and more internally differentiated. Beyond the usual position of association leader and deputy leader, other titles proliferated unsystematically: money manager, tea manager, treasurer, cook, head carter, and so forth.¹³⁰

These developments can be better understood through a concrete example. Consider the Lead-to-Good-Works Venerable Association (Yinshan Laohui). It was supposedly started in 1663 but is first firmly attested in 1737 and set up its last stele in 1857.¹³¹ Initially the group had little internal differentiation, but by 1749 it was managed by a pilgrimage leader (*xiangshou*), with eight assistants, and had three other named positions held by nine men (163 other people were listed). By 1806, there were three leaders, twelve other titles assigned to ninety-seven men, and ninety-five followers. Titles reflected the specific tasks of pilgrimage: in charge of the umbrellas, in charge of finances, in charge of the god image, in charge of the route, and so forth. In 1836, specialization had become even greater; there were fourteen additional titles and only forty-five people (and a similar proliferation in 1857).

The number of people who contributed to each of this group's seven stelae fluctuated (between 47 and 268, average and mean 144), as did the number of women (a few on one, 11 on another, and 88 on the third). There was little demonstrable continuity, and "membership" should probably be understood to mean one-time-only participation. It was perhaps the name, their paraphernalia (with the name on it), and the right to use them that were "passed down" (*chuan*) for half a century from one leader to the next and constituted the essence of the association.¹³²

This Yinshan group was smaller than most. Overall, Miaofengshan's as-

129. Shoudu Library #661.

130. Gu Jiegang 1928:23-25, and countless stelae.

131. *Yinshan*, "to guide someone to do good deeds," was used here to refer to people who took the lead in getting others to contribute money, and to donors in general. Shoudu Library #657, #660, #661, #669, #671, #672, #696. Jinxun claimed that the group survived in the twentieth century.

132. E.g., Shoudu Library #664.

sociations (calculated on the basis of available information) ranged from a few dozen to more than nine hundred people (in 1823); the average was some 190 people. Well under 10 percent were women—but that was enough to arouse official suspicions of impropriety. (More on this later.)¹³³

The popular pilgrimage gradually had an impact on spring holidays in Peking itself. In 1758, Pan Rongbi recognized Miaofengshan as one of ten places one might make an excursion to (*youlan*) in the Western Hills area during the fourth month, and the pilgrimage both stimulated and competed with other mountain sites such as the Tanzhe or Jietan monasteries.¹³⁴ The Holy Mother's birthday was celebrated at Miaofengshan on the eighth, not the eighteenth (as had been customary at the Ming-era Summits). Perhaps in consequence, the celebration of the Buddha's birthday on the eighth day of the fourth month was more muted in the Qing, while the Medicine-king's birthday seems to have shifted away from the middle and toward the end of the fourth month.¹³⁵ The Dongyue celebrations on 3/28 fit nicely and were less affected. Yajishan competed directly by also being "open" from the first to the eighteenth days of the fourth month, but other Bixia temples had already postponed their fairs to the fifth month.¹³⁶ One can hardly resist attributing the decline of activity at these other temples to the growing popularity of Miaofengshan.

We can see in the road lanterns and free tea of the eighteenth century the beginnings of the array of services for pilgrims that became a distinctive feature (in the context of Peking) of Miaofengshan. Services were not merely concentrated on the temple itself (as they were at the Dongyuemiao), but provided in equal measure on the routes to it. Such services multiplied in the nineteenth (and twentieth) centuries. They were in keeping with the spirit of good works that characterized Buddhist and Confucian lay piety in general and these associations in particular. As more than one stele proclaimed: "To do good is the greatest happiness" (*wei shan zui le*).¹³⁷

The full names of these pilgrimage groups usually mentioned the services

133. I have figures for thirty-one groups who donated stelae in the Qing. The mean was 144 people. Qing stelae listed about 5,960 names; 188 (3 percent) were women. On the eleven stelae that listed women, only about 6 percent of the names were female, and the number of women was only 18. See also Naquin 1992:n.46 for similar conclusions based on twentieth-century observers of all pilgrims, not just associations. Compare Dott 132–33.

134. It was not on Pan's other list of Bixia temples. Pan Rongbi 18–19.

135. Celebrated on 4/13; Pan Rongbi 19; *JWK* 147:2354; *Beijing zhinan* 2:9–10. Celebrated 4/28: *BJTB* 65:139, 72:187–88, 78:64–65; Niida 4:804–8; Peking Library #3735, #10237; Bouillard 1923b:311. For the Buddha's birthday: compare Pan Rongbi 18 with *DJ* 2:68, 5:192.

136. Pan Rongbi 18–19.

137. Shoudu Library #658. For more on the contradictory sentiments expressed in the rhetoric of these associations: Naquin 1992.

being contributed: the Religious Association for Wholeheartedly Donating Medicinal Plasters, the Single Heart United-in-Charity Religious Association for Providing Feather Dusters and Green Tea, the Venerable Association for Donating Fresh Flowers, and so forth.¹³⁸ One group usually took care of one task: supplying one item, tending a single rest-house shrine, or repairing a segment of the stony path. Although coverage was initially spotty, with the growing popularity of the pilgrimage (in turn encouraged by these very activities) such services multiplied until a great variety of what might almost be called tour-group facilities were provided. Inscriptions set down in 1822 and 1899 chart these developments.

Two 1822 stelae were made by a group from an Inner City temple with the assistance of the chief cleric at the Miaofengshan temple (a monk).¹³⁹ They commemorated the reconstruction of a new hall to the Wealth-god at the peak, a task that had taken more than twenty years. For this expensive endeavor, the inscriptions named sixteen tea-stalls on the Southern Route and ten on the Central Route as donors. The long list of individual contributors included many Bannermen, with both civil and military positions, from the Inner City and the suburbs near the summer villas; they were joined by temples and shops, residents of the Outer City, and even lime and coal mine owners from the hills near the mountain.

The 960 people who donated an incense burner in 1823 also included many shops and businesses. At that date, pilgrim associations were already providing incense, fruit, flowers, altar decorations, and prayer mats for the temple interiors (at the top and en route); one group was entirely in charge of printing and interpreting the divination slips available at the peak temple.¹⁴⁰

By the middle of the nineteenth century, we begin to have records of the many entertainer groups who were then a regular part of the pilgrimage (and probably had always been, judging from their presence on late Ming Southern Summit pilgrimages, not to mention in most religious festivals). Some painted their faces to scare away demons as they “opened the route” (*kai dao*); others performed costumed folk-dramas, walked on tightropes, juggled clay pots or stone weights, put on lion dances, played “flower drums” (*huagu*), or dazzled the crowd with displays of martial arts.¹⁴¹

Yangge (seedling song) troupes were prominent among these entertainers. They were folksong ensembles that in Peking were usually composed of men on stilts. By the 1890s (if not much earlier), they were taking part in the Miaofengshan pilgrimage. Each troupe had between thirty and forty-five

138. Gu Jiegang 1928:41–52.

139. Shoudu Library #667, #694.

140. Shoudu Library #713.

141. JJD:XF 83202; Imbault-Huart 62–71; Grube 65, 102; *NWF xianghui* passim; Naquin 1992:fig. 8.1.

men, of whom about half were actual performers; the others were managers, instructors, and advance men. Their leaping, twirling, kicking, and prancing, all on stilts, amazed the other pilgrims.¹⁴²

An 1899 stele showed the expanded scope and scale of pilgrimage associations by that year.¹⁴³ It was subscribed to by sixty-one tea-stalls along the pilgrimage routes, fifty-six associations with specific tasks, and twenty-four entertainment organizations. The associations came from inside and outside Peking and throughout the northern and western suburbs. Other sources from the 1890s made clear that this stele had by no means enumerated them all. Manuscript lists of entertainer groups from the years 1894–1897, for example, named thirteen Yangge troupes for the 1890s, only four of which were on the stele.¹⁴⁴

The services provided at the end of the century were even more numerous and varied. Halls were restored, images refurbished, and essentials provided: incense burners, bells, chime-bowls, incense, candles, flowers, fruit, oil, cushions, altar covers, prayer mats, lanterns. For the pilgrims themselves, these groups supplied tea, porridge, salt, vegetables, bowls, firecrackers, and simple lodgings. They fixed shoes and dishes, dispensed medicines and plasters, laid down and later cleared the stone paths, put lanterns along the way, and supplied railings along the river and ropes for the ferry on the Southern Route.

It was the usual practice for these organizations to dedicate a week or two to the pilgrimage, to announce a fixed schedule of activities in advance, and to invite the public to join. For instance, a group from the south suburbs who donated fresh fruit and flowers in the 1890s assembled on the fifth day of the fourth month to spend the night together (*shou wan*), on the sixth began the journey up the mountain, and on the seventh paid respects at the summit (*chao ding*), where they presented incense before the god and burned a petition with their names and gifts listed. On the eighth, they brought back incense (*hui xiang*). Observers in the 1920s noted similar, highly ritualized schedules for nearly every group.¹⁴⁵

How, precisely, were these groups organized? An 1817 legal case gives us a rare inside look.¹⁴⁶ Fucun was in his forties, an unemployed member of the

142. Gamble 1970; Li Jinghan & Zhang Shiwen; J. Johnson. I can first attest their participation in 1894: *NWF xianghui* 2:8. Also Gamble 1954:329; Edkins 1880:269; Q. Fu 82.

143. Shoudu Library #700.

144. Another contemporary source estimated more than ninety resthouses along the main routes (versus sixty-one on the stele). *NWF xianghui* passim. See Jinxun 42–43 for sixteen groups active in the 1920s; Ranglian 5.

145. Fengkuan 106; Shoudu Library #676; Gu Jiegang 1928:48 and passim.

146. 卅卅Q 51173, a memorial from the Gendarmerie. I am exceedingly grateful to Liu Chengyun of the Academia Sinica for calling my attention to this document.

imperial lineage, a Plain Red Bannerman, and a resident of the southwest corner of the Inner City. He had made a promise (*xu yuan*) to the Holy Mother that he would climb Miaofengshan on 4/8 and dispense tea and porridge to pilgrims for seven days. To this end, he had “revived” a Venerable Association for Sincerely Presenting Tea and Porridge, written up announcements of his plans, and posted them in, among other places, Ganshiqiao, a village that was outside the northwest corner of the city on the way to the mountain. (These stele-shaped paper announcements were commonly pasted on walls and doorways around the city to publicize the pilgrimage. One is shown in Figure 14.3.)¹⁴⁷

Fucun signed up his brother and nephew, as well as an old friend, Chunde, a (Bordered Blue Manchu) Banner soldier on duty in that village. Chunde then went to each of “the shops and homes in the area where I was on guard” and raised money from about twenty people. Fucun collected additional money and listed the donors’ names in a register. There was no fixed place to set up an altar and make offerings to the god image (which one?) that the group would carry to the mountain, so Chunde arranged to borrow two rooms from a (Chinese) coal-store owner in Ganshiqiao. By 3/16, the money had been collected and eight association banners were made, and on 4/7 the group was ready to assemble for the pilgrimage.¹⁴⁸

Fucun fits nicely into the profile of an association member that can be constructed from the information on stelae, and his activities make clear that these organizations were ad hoc and voluntary, very loosely overlapping with occupational or residential categories, and could be quite ephemeral. Fucun also shows us how commonplace such pilgrimage associations had become among Bannermen of Peking by the middle of the Qing.

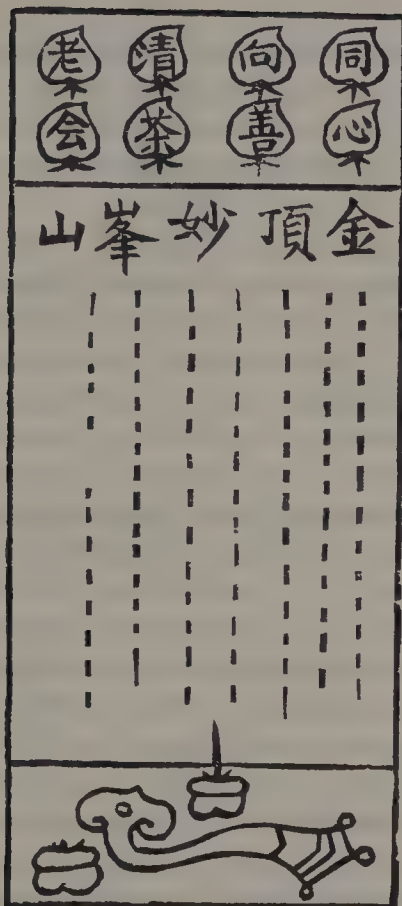
His case encourages us to reopen the question of the relationship between a group’s headquarters and the pilgrimage site. (A question that has implications for the relevance of fieldwork in rural south China to understanding cities in the north.) At Miaofengshan, a variety of such relationships existed, only some of which resemble those among village communities elsewhere.

Twentieth-century pilgrimage association announcements used the term *xiachu* or *chu* for the “place” where the group and its image were lodged prior to the pilgrimage. In the case of Miaofengshan, this place was sometimes a temple but often a private home or other building.¹⁴⁹ Wilhelm Grube,

147. There are many examples from the early twentieth century in Gu Jiegang 1928.

148. At this point they were arrested by an overzealous official. It is possible that Chunde used his guard-duty position to compel the donations, but if this had been the case, wouldn’t he have been more successful?

149. Of the groups known to me that used the term *chu*, four made pilgrimages to Miaofengshan, and eight to the Dongyuemiao or other Bixia temples. A 1742 stele mentioned a *kenchu* (approved place?) where an association originated. Shoudu Library #659. Also Feng-



The mountain society's yellow posters are a familiar sight in Peking and indicate that the person on whose house wall they are posted is a member of a Miao Feng Shan pilgrim organization.

Figure 14.3. Pilgrimage Society Poster
This poster for the Venerable Association of Those Who with United Hearts for Doing Good (Donate) Green Tea announced the pilgrimage to the Golden Summit of Miaofengshan. The drawing and caption were by Luo Xinyao, a Manchu, who wrote lovingly about Peking life in the 1940s.

SOURCE: Lowe 1:81.

who observed these groups in Peking around 1900, said that association leaders used either their own homes or a “rented” temple as their headquarters, noting that entertainer groups needed space for practice in the off-season. The association that maintained the resthouse at Ravine Pass collected money during the year in two locations, one a shop and the other a Guanyin temple.¹⁵⁰ There is ample evidence that these groups—like Chinese pilgrims elsewhere—carried with them god images (termed “holy vehicles” [*sheng*

kuan passim; Gamble 1925:7/496/2863. A 1665 stele was subscribed to by 246 (unnamed) temples “along the way” to the Dongyuemiao: *BJTB* 62:49–50.

150. Grube 102; Shoudu Library #729.

jia]), but it is not clear whether the images originated in temples or private homes.¹⁵¹ I know of two cases of Miaofengshan pilgrims who were based in temples to Bixia. One, whose “holy vehicle” began its journey in an Inner City temple, even listed on its stele the name of their cleric as well as the one in the peak temple.¹⁵² In most cases, no such symmetry or connections are evident.

The term “returning incense” (*hui xiang*) was used as the opposite of “presenting incense” (*jin xiang*) and meant returning home from the pilgrimage. It was part of the process of “descending from the mountain,” “returning to the capital” (or to the village), “resettling the god image” (*an jia*), and “thanking the mountain.” If it included bringing back incense from the peak temple (for collective worship) or “dividing incense” in some fashion, our sources do not say.¹⁵³

In short, it seems that the relationships between pilgrimage associations and the temple on Miaofengshan were as diverse as the *shenghui* themselves. No single model will explain them all.

None of the inscriptional materials tell us how the actions of these many different groups were coordinated, but Grube’s observations give us some assistance. His focus was the “martial” (*wu*) entertainers, people who, in their reliance on both professionals and young male amateurs, were probably different from the less-competitive and more sedate service-providing “civil” (*wen*) associations. Grube described in some detail the ritual procedure for starting a new entertainer association. Having signed up subscribers and prepared the paraphernalia (wooden chests, flags, and performance equipment), the organizer would banquet the members in a restaurant and then display their equipment and make offerings at a temporary altar. The heads of all the existing associations were invited the following morning and greeted by the new leader; they kowtowed at the altar and were treated to a meal.¹⁵⁴

This information makes it clear that behind the seemingly effortless coordination of groups during the Miaofengshan pilgrimage season, there was an active and recognized collectivity of men who coordinated the schedules and determined the processional order and routes of the participating performers. Fucun made no mention of such leaders, but logic suggests that

151. Association tasks involved “setting up the altar” and “inviting” and “protecting” the deity on the way. Shoudu Library #664, #667; Gu Jiegang 1928:58–59.

152. Shoudu Library #667. See Burgess 82–85 for the “porters’ guild” in the 1920s; their professional territory was in the Outer City, as were their Niangniang temple headquarters.

153. Gu Jiegang 1928:114–15. Gu admitted the difficulty of distinguishing “returning incense” from “descending from the mountain.” In a seventeenth-century novel, *hui xiang* referred to the celebrations held at a local temple to Bixia upon the pilgrims’ return from Mount Tai. Glen Dudbridge 1922:62.

154. Grube 102; Naquin 1992:359.

they existed. Was their control limited to large, wealthy, old, or prestigious groups, or just to entertainer groups? In any case, neighborhoods or territories do not seem to be at issue.

Unsystematic (and too infrequent) information about payments made to Miaofengshan's pilgrimage organizations implies that different principles were at work. Based on his fieldwork in 1925, Gu Jiegang concluded that gifts to urban-based associations were voluntary, that village residents were assessed according to their property, and that all members of occupational groups were forced to contribute.¹⁵⁵

However raised, substantial sums could be collected. Fucun—whose goals were modest—expected each member of his voluntarily assembled group to donate more than one string of copper cash, and he took in a total of fifty strings. In 1842 another group collected an impressive 210 strings per month from donations of different sizes. A Medicinal Plasters Association from the city, active in the mid-eighteenth century, could rely on at least four thousand ounces of silver in endowment income from urban real estate to fund their annual activities.¹⁵⁶ Stelae grossly underrepresented the poorer end of the social spectrum, so it is not surprising that what we know suggests a wealthy clientele. For context: one needed only forty cash to purchase a divination slip in the peak temple; repairing one of the mountain routes cost six hundred ounces of silver in 1872.¹⁵⁷

Some groups used their funds for pilgrimage-related expenses or permanent monuments such as stone stelae. Some accumulated collective properties: chests and boxes, flags and banners, and other equipment needed for their services to pilgrims. In the twentieth century (and probably earlier), they vested their identity in these objects and inscribed them with the name of the group for all to see.

Because of their roots in capital society, their collective resources, their persistent enthusiasm, and the manner in which they created the underlying temporal, geographic, and physical structure of the pilgrimage, Miaofengshan's religious associations were a decisive factor in the history of this cult. As travel agents and tour directors, they advertised and facilitated the pilgrimage; as performers they punctuated the exhausting route with sound, color, excitement, and action.

155. Gu Jiegang 1928:21–22, 1931:140.

156. Fucun: JJD:JQ 51173. 1842: Shoudu Library #729. Fifteen men gave four strings of cash every month to be used for the fuel for their spring and autumn offerings; thirty men gave five strings for the offerings and tea for pilgrims. They boasted that they had not relied on a monk to collect money. Plasterers: Shoudu Library #664.

157. Shoudu Library #694, #759. For money: Appendix 3.

It is thus of no small interest to the history of Peking that the Banner community from the Inner City and the northwest suburbs provided the leadership and overwhelming majority of association members. Lists of donors were full of identifiably Banner men and women, members of the imperial lineage, Banner bondservants and employees at the Yuanmingyuan, employees of the Imperial Household, princes, and Manchu, Chinese, and Mongol Banner people generally.

Indeed, virtually all the associations that contributed to the peak temple came from the Inner City and the suburbs. Chinese devotees of the Holy Mother joined and made the journey, but those from the Outer City were more likely to have been active (perhaps not by choice) along the routes rather than at the peak.¹⁵⁸ The term *qi min rendeng* (Banner and civilian people) that was occasionally used by groups may, in fact, have been much less inclusive than it sounded, reflecting an idealized emphasis on unity and common purpose.¹⁵⁹ But it was successful rhetoric: nowhere—absolutely nowhere—have I seen this pilgrimage referred to as a narrowly Banner concern.

Implied egalitarianism among pilgrims—“whether noble or base” and so forth—was belied by the precedence given to imperial visitors both temporally and physically. At Miaofengshan in the nineteenth century, visitors from the imperial court arrived ahead of the public to make their prayers and present the “first incense” (*touxiang*); the temple was then opened to all. These court princes, women, and nobles were allowed into the main hall of the Holy Mother, whereas ordinary people made their prostrations in the courtyard.¹⁶⁰

Grube asserted disdainfully that in the late Qing the good-for-nothing leaders of martial arts pilgrimage associations were the spoiled sons of rich families.¹⁶¹ Certainly—as Lao She wrote in a 1935 story that dealt with Miaofengshan—these occasions “gave these young men an opportunity to

158. Fengkuan 51, 52. Groups with no clear point of origin included what seem to be Manchu names among their subscribers.

159. First attested in 1749 on a stele at Miaofengshan donated by *qi min* from several villages in the northwest suburbs (Shoudu Library #660), the term reappeared regularly, usually in reference to people from the Inner City or the suburbs. Only twice was inclusion of Outer City people made explicit, and in both cases Manchus appear to have been present as well: *BJTB* 83:106–7; Shoudu Library #715. By the 1890s, the transformation of many Bannermen into *min* made it correct to speak of “Banner and civilian” in the Inner City (as in Liu Houzi 137). For this rhetoric of unity, see also Naquin 1992:359.

160. Xu Ke 1:9; Fengkuan 95. The movie footage taken by Sidney Gamble in 1925–1926 (“Miao Feng Shan”) showed that the main hall was effectively closed off. Such practices were, of course, one of many expressions of the practical and ritual dominance of the rich and powerful.

161. Grube 65, 102–3. Grube seems to have been most familiar with the urban associations that had come under imperial sponsorship, but a critical censor made the same point: JJD:XF 83202.

get out in public and flex their muscles.”¹⁶² Pilgrimages were suitable for the same kind of competitive conspicuous consumption common to many urban festivals, and there was probably some basis in fact for official worries about young married women who used the occasion to display themselves or unsympathetic complaints about the presence of prostitutes.¹⁶³

What is indisputable is that during the middle Qing, the Inner City and suburban Manchu and Chinese Banner communities were the most active patrons of Miaofengshan. Within a generation or two of the Qing conquest, they had begun to promote this new temple to a deity that they and their non-Banner neighbors both venerated. Moreover, they did so by forming associations of a sort already well established in Peking culture. We can thus see the Miaofengshan pilgrimage as a vehicle for and symbol of Banner assimilation to Peking’s local culture.

But Banner people were hardly the only devotees of Miaofengshan’s Bixia Yuanjun, even if they were the best organized ones. Without the involvement of large numbers of individual unorganized pilgrims, the new cult site would never have become successful or well known.¹⁶⁴ By the 1880s, many testified to the wide catchment area for the site, the broad social appeal of the pilgrimage, and the great volume of pilgrims. “The people on the roads come like ants, the carts like flowing water, the horses like rolling dragons,” said one source. Others estimated that in the subsequent decades, one to two hundred thousand people came annually. “From princes and dukes to scholars and humble citizens, all are extremely devoted [*qian*].” Their motives were various and their journeys much shorter than those of the associations, but unorganized pilgrims followed the temporal and spatial grid laid out by the groups.¹⁶⁵

The pool of devotees had from the beginning included villagers, but by the early 1800s stelae were also set up by long lists of Chinese shops and businesses. Ironmongers donated an incense burner to the Wealth-god hall on the peak, for instance, and reed-awning makers contributed to a Lu Ban hall in one of the resthouses on the mountain.¹⁶⁶ An entire office of the rich and

162. Lao She 1985:151; Wu Huaibin & Zeng Guangcan 1057. Lao She was himself a Manchu.

163. E.g., JJD:XF 83202; Zhenjun 9:17.

164. Naquin 1992:361.

165. Zhang Tao 2:35; Dun Lichen 38–40; Douin 3:136; also Baiyi Jushi; Gu Jiegang 1928:1, 17–18. The pilgrim’s journey usually entailed two nights and three days on the road, less after the advent of the train and automobile.

166. Shoudu Library #695, #731, #732, #741. Also Shoudu Library #655, #714. Some villagers were undoubtedly Chinese Bannermen.

powerful Chongwen Gate tax bureau (from the top men down to the runners) sponsored road repair between the 1850s and 1890s, and in 1892 they raised enormous sums from city merchants and associated offices at other city gates.¹⁶⁷ The local Manchu nobility was also active, and in 1773 an inscription on a small stele was written out by emperor Qianlong's sixth son, Yongrong, then a prince of the second degree.¹⁶⁸

The individual donors to the 1899 restoration were a heterogeneous mix: porters from the Ministry of War; Mr. Wang from Zujia Street (in the Inner City); Mr. Hou of the Ministry of Works; the Jade Guild lodge (near Liulichang in the Outer City); the Delai Teashop; the Yongyi Awning Shop; the Ginger Bureau; "two old men from the North Route"; and twenty-seven women.¹⁶⁹ Scholar-officials were notably absent. I have seen clear evidence of involvement in the pilgrimage by only three (Chinese) degree-holders, each of whom wrote stelae or plaques for resthouses in the period after 1860.¹⁷⁰

Bronze objects were expensive and rare at Miaofengshan. The eight bells on Miaofengshan were made of iron and paid for by small unorganized "groups" of several dozen donors. Iron incense burners were a gift that an individual or family might afford.¹⁷¹ Small iron chime-bowls, of which there were at least eleven at the peak and nine at temples en route, were the smallest and most affordable gift in metal.¹⁷² Most pilgrims, however, brought only themselves and spent no more than the cost of incense and paper-money for burning before the deity. Responding to the Holy Mother's advertised promise that "if you ask, there will be a response" (*you qiu bi ying*), they simply laid out their private fears and worries before her.

Pilgrims whose prayers were answered kept the promises they had made. Although penitents were relatively few in number, they set an important tone of religiosity for all who made the pilgrimage. Few (twentieth-century) ac-

167. Shoudu Library #723. Lugou Bridge (presumably the customs office there) donated 12 strings of cash, the various city gates 21 each, the cotton thread guild 24, the indigo dye guild 12, and the garlic merchants 7. Various tea guilds gave (for example) four large bundles of leaf tea, eight catties of tea leaves, and one basket of tea leaves; various grain shops gave between 10 and 150 catties of wheat or millet; and a wine guild gave one hundred thousand cash. (One catty [*jin*] weighed half a kilogram.) How voluntary were these donations? As elsewhere, there was an unspoken element of coercion in much solicitation for charity.

168. Shoudu Library #711, #663; QS 165:5219; ECCP 373, 963; Fengkuan 92-93.

169. Shoudu Library #700.

170. Fengkuan 30; Shoudu Library #731, #732, also #711. In 1925 Zhuang Yan, a modern intellectual, characterized the writing on the stelae in the peak temple as ugly and vulgar: Gu Jiegang 1928:147.

171. In the three cases with information, each bell took 29, 34, and 39 donors. Incense burners: Shoudu Library #652, #681, #693, #695, #737, #749, #750, #753; Fengkuan passim.

172. One was within the means of a woman: Shoudu Library #679. For chime-bowls, see Chapter 3.

counts of Miaofengshan failed to mention them: a man who put on the clothing of a criminal, placed a set of stocks around his neck, and sat by the roadside soliciting donations to fulfill his vow to repair a local temple; another who crawled up the mountain on all fours like a horse with a saddle on his back without speaking a word, in thanks for a relative's illness being cured; a woman on tiny bound feet who would follow each third step up the steep path with a full prostration.¹⁷³ Like many pilgrimage mountains, Miaofengshan even had a "suicide cliff" from which the desperate could fling themselves in sacrifice for others (*she shen*).¹⁷⁴ Such inspiring exemplars were treated with particular respect. They were symbols of the Holy Mother's power and of the active bond between the god and each pilgrim. They acted out in extreme form what seems to have been the attitudes of the ideal pilgrim: sincerity, devotion, fortitude, wholeheartedness, and gratitude.¹⁷⁵

The ascent to the summit was arduous, but the descent was joyous. Pilgrims were hopeful of being rewarded with "blessings" and "good fortune." They could purchase red sashes and souvenir red paper and fabric cut-outs of flowers and bats and other symbols of these blessings, announcements that the wearer had "paid respects to the mountain, presented incense, and is bringing good fortune home." Returning pilgrims were immediately identifiable by these festive souvenirs decorating their clothing and hair, hats, and turbans.¹⁷⁶

Those who could not make the journey in person could arrange for a substitute: one's name could be included on the list of members that a group burned at the peak, an "incense board" (*xiang ban*) could be sent with friends or relatives, or offerings could be made in a designated tea-stall outside the west gates of Peking.¹⁷⁷

For some Peking temples, the secular tone established by literati out for a stroll has dominated the historical record, leaving us to guess about the devotional concerns of visitors. At Miaofengshan, the opposite was true. Religiosity was paramount, and the historian has instead to imagine those others who climbed the mountain to escape from the city, enjoy the spring weather, or smell the roses for which the area was famous.

In the late Qing, the Miaofengshan pilgrimage reached new heights and great breadth of patronage. The imperial court, which had hitherto been aloof

173. Gu Jiegang 1928:159-60; Fengkuan 61; Li Jinghan 10; Jin Chanyu; Gamble 1926.

174. Bretschneider 1876a:81; Hubert 34:120; Lowe 1:87. Elsewhere: Naquin & Yü 1992a:226-27, 233, 319-20.

175. Imbault-Huart 63.

176. Gu Jiegang 1928:162.

177. Gu Jiegang 1928:136-37, 156-58, 205-6; Li Ciming 3:1299; Fengkuan 4.

from this site, became involved.¹⁷⁸ As early as 1859, five eunuchs (“Although we are of different surnames we have a common heart”) restored a small Ming temple in Bei’anhe, the village that served as the jumping-off point for the Central Route. In 1870, a portion of that pilgrim path was restored and tea distributed in a nearby temple by a eunuch who persuaded 144 other people (a few women and some businesses) to join him.¹⁷⁹ In keeping with her Ming-style involvement in local religion, Empress Dowager Cixi and her servants presented the peak temple with its first bronze bell in 1885.¹⁸⁰

The empress dowager’s interest in the temple was stimulated by her exposure to the stream of pilgrims passing by the new Summer Palace. In the 1890s she formed the habit of watching them from a special viewing stand at the villa. Entertainers stopped to perform before her and found a receptive and generous audience. Selected troupes were awarded handsome cash awards and the privilege of carrying large banners of imperial yellow inscribed with the words—emblematic of imperial connection—“Long Life Without Limit” (*wan shou wu jiang*). Such groups were permitted to call themselves “imperial associations” (*huang hui*).¹⁸¹ On the fifth, sixth, and seventh days of the fourth month of 1896, eighteen groups filed past each day, more than twenty-one hundred people, an average of forty people per group.¹⁸²

In the last decades of the century, Miaofengshan drew pilgrims—and pilgrimage associations—from a wider area, including Baoding (140 kilometers to the south) and, more important, Tianjin.¹⁸³ After 1860, this newly designated treaty port had begun to challenge Peking’s economic and cultural centrality in the region. There were pilgrims from Tianjin at Miaofengshan by the 1870s. In 1886, the “philanthropic gentlemen” (*shanshi*) of that city established an association for the purpose of setting up lanterns all along the mountainous portion of the Central Route during the pilgrimage season; they continued the practice for twenty years, storing their lanterns during the off-season in a temple in Bei’anhe. There, in 1910, Tianjin boatmen, grateful for Our Lady’s protection during a storm, began to offer food to pilgrims.¹⁸⁴

178. With the exception of the prince discussed previously.

179. *BJTB* 51:108, 82:160–61, 83:186. A eunuch-turned-monk in the temple may have facilitated these actions.

180. Shoudu Library #683, #874; Li Jinghan 8. I have not found evidence that she visited the temple, though Xu Ke 1:9 claimed that she did.

181. The first twenty-four groups named on the 1899 stele (and four others on it) had been so favored. Shoudu Library #700; Grube 65. A folk print showing these imperially favored troupes is in the collection of the Hermitage. Rudova #113 (the caption is misleading); also Zhou Huabin fig. 44.

182. *NWF xianghui* 6:2–3. The size of the groups ranged from twenty-two to sixty-four people.

183. Imbault-Huart 63; Zhang Tao 2:35.

184. Zhang Tao 2:3; Shoudu Library #745, #746; Fengkuan 34–35, 37, 69, 73.

At first, pilgrims from Tianjin traveled to Peking on the canal (given a free ride by pious boat owners) and then circled around to the north of the capital. After 1896, a railroad speeded this process and furthered the development of the Northern Route that was nearest the train line. In the first decades of the twentieth century, other railways around the city, west to Sanjiadian and through the mountains northwest to Zhangjiakou, improved the journey of travellers to the Miaofengshan foothills.¹⁸⁵

It was a Tianjin pilgrim around whom the first spin-off of the Miaofengshan cult developed in the mid-nineteenth century. Granny Wang (Wang Nainai, or Wang San Nainai) was a peasant woman, known as a healer and a devotee of the Holy Mother. She was said to have raised money to restore a run-down resthouse on the way up to Miaofengshan and then remained there to serve tea to pilgrims. She died on the mountain one spring—some said that she froze to death in her thin clothing. Her grave was located near the beginning of the Central Route, and eventually a special hall within the peak temple housed her image: an old woman with white hair and bound feet in blue peasant clothes.¹⁸⁶

Granny Wang demonstrated a special responsiveness to prayers from fellow Tianjin natives, and they in turn rewarded her with incense, offerings, and statues. The presence of a shrine to Wang Nainai in a Bixia temple thereafter distinguished the Holy Mother of Miaofengshan from the deity in her Mount Tai or other manifestations. By the twentieth century, Wang Nainai had also become part of the local shamanic cult of animal gods; she was understood as the “ruler” of these “immortals” and responsible for the ordination of their shamans.¹⁸⁷

The infusion of imperial and Tianjin patrons encouraged the pilgrimage in the 1880s and 1890s, but the expansion was cut short. In early May of 1900, a great many pilgrims froze to death in a freak snowstorm. Soon afterward, Boxer rebels besieged the diplomatic legations in Peking, the emperor and empress dowager fled, and the capital was occupied by foreign troops; the dynasty came to an end in 1911. The pilgrimage was disrupted by these events and did not recover until after 1917.¹⁸⁸ In the relative tranquillity of the 1920s and 1930s, wealthy Tianjin groups occupied a place in

185. *Dushi congkan* 65–66; *LSJN* passim.

186. Grube 65; Zhou Zhenhe; Sawada 1965:69–71; Li Shiyu 1984; Tung 24. We have no firm date for her death; the grave was restored in 1873, and a chime-bowl was donated for her in the peak temple as early as 1852. Shoudu Library #691, #726; Fengkuan 27–28, 93; Bredon & Mitrophanow 287; Gu Jiegang 1928:131, 175.

187. Shoudu Library #746; Gu Jiegang 1928:206; Sawada 1965:69–71; W. Li 43–45, 50, 64. In the early twentieth century, communication with Wang Nainai was possible by planchette. Zhou Zhenhe 83–84, 94–102.

188. Fengkuan 102–4; Jinxun 3.

the pilgrimage disproportionate to their numbers and made significant contributions to the infrastructure on the mountain even as they promoted the fame of the site in a larger region.¹⁸⁹

The prestige of the “imperial associations” of performers together with the involvement of Tianjin residents may have encouraged the re-creation of scenes of the pilgrimage in the religious woodblock prints being produced in the late Qing at Yangliuqing, west of Tianjin. The pilgrimage was also pictured in paintings and other media produced for pilgrims, visitors, and would-be tourists.¹⁹⁰

By at least the 1880s, Miaofengshan’s fame had spread even beyond the north. When editors of Shanghai’s *Lithography Studio Pictorial* sought scenes to show off its new illustrative technology, it chose to show Peking’s Southern Summit and Miaofengshan. Each scene, accompanied by a short text, showed lively festivities in settings that bore no resemblance whatsoever to the sites themselves.¹⁹¹ (Did it matter?) The mountain pilgrimage was now also known abroad: Miaofengshan was first painted by foreigners in 1862; first mentioned in a book by a foreigner in 1866; first shown on a foreign map in 1888; and first photographed in 1919.¹⁹² The mountain pilgrimage was a commonplace in the Chinese and foreign tourist literature of the twentieth century (for reasons we shall explore in depth later).

There thus seems little doubt that in the course of the Qing Miaofengshan had become a household word in Peking and that the Holy Mother housed atop the mountain was regarded as the most locally potent manifestation of Bixia Yuanjun. In 1742 the peak temple was already being termed the Golden Summit (*jin ding*), and the promise of the name was soon fulfilled. More-

189. Despite occasional mention in the 1920s and 1930s of pilgrims from Baoding and Zhangjiakou (each about 150 kilometers away), the pull of Miaofengshan’s temple did not extend much beyond the greater Peking area plus Tianjin. E.g., Li Jinghan 9; *Beijing zhinan* 2:9–10. For the fate of the temple since 1949: Naquin 1992:345.

190. Most can be dated 1890–1930. For examples: Naquin 1992:n.36 and fig. 8.1; Fengkuan 7; “Miaofengshan zhenji tu,” Italian Geographical Society #31C (I am grateful to Laura Hostetler for calling this item to my attention). Also Gu Jiegang 1928:15; Liu Xicheng 39–54, frontispiece.

191. *Dianshizhai huabao jia* –9–68, *ding*–8–64.

192. These are all “firsts” as known to me. 1862: “The Golden Mount” in Sotheby’s 1991:Item 605, “An Album of Watercolours of China and Japan” by G. H. W.; Yajishan was also painted. 1866: Dennys 1866:60. 1888: *Guide for Tourists to Peking and Its Environs*. 1919: *Scenic China*. Other early European descriptions of the mountain: Bretschneider 1876a:35; Edkins 1880:271–72; Happer 365; “Where Chinese Drive” 226. I have seen no European references to Yajishan before Bouillard 1923b:308.

over, by the early twentieth century it was entirely appropriate that a Bannerman would brag that “the flourishing state of the incense fires of Miaofengshan north of the Capital has been heard of all over the empire.”¹⁹³ The pilgrimage and the mountain contributed to a local culture of devotion and association, festivity and rivalry that was cheerfully independent of both throne and state.

OTHER ASSOCIATIONS

Numerous though they were, pilgrimages to Miaofengshan and associations dedicated to Our Lady of Taishan were not the only forms of religious organization in Qing Peking. In this section, we shall put these associations back into a wider context by examining other comparable groups.¹⁹⁴ In doing so, we will better understand the constraints on those *shenghui* that were formed on a voluntary basis, lacked extensive corporate resources, and catered primarily to pilgrims.

The largest cluster of pilgrims and pilgrimage associations independent of the Taishan cults revolved around two establishments nestled in hills some forty kilometers west of Peking: the Monastery of the Pool and the Mulberry (Tanzhesi), and the Ordination Altar (commonly called Jietaisi in the Qing, Monastery of the Ordination Platform). The primary connection between the two temples was proximity (they were fourteen kilometers apart). Lacking other places to visit in the vicinity, groups and individuals usually made excursions to both.¹⁹⁵ By the late Ming, they were already substantial monasteries that attracted wealthy patrons and casual visitors. Under the Qing, extensive imperial largess and the attention of religious associations brought the two even more into the world of Peking.

In the early Qing, lay piety at the Tanzhesi and Jietaisi had become increasingly organized and took on some of the trappings of the Taishan-style

193. Zhenjun 9:17. Jinding; Shoudu Library #659; this was a common appellation thereafter. In 1758, Pan Rongbi 18–19 had called Yajishan’s incense associations the most vigorous. For a comparison of their popularity, see Naquin 1992.

194. I have used as a measure the number of stelae in general and of those set up by *shenghui* in particular, but these figures for *shenghui* are consistent with the general picture from other materials. Counting all Qing stelae of any sort: the Dongyuemiao led the list with 100 and Miaofengshan came next with 57; the Jietai and Tanzhe monasteries had 48 and 43, the Baiyunguan 22, and the others had even fewer. These included some 80 pilgrimage-related Qing stelae in the Dongyuemiao, 57 at Miaofengshan (peak and en route), 10 at Yajishan, 9 at the Western Summit, and 3 at the other summits; there were 21 at the Tanzhesi, and 19 at the Jietaisi.

195. Peking Library #6809; *BJTB* 79:28–29; *SHTM* 1:Jing-5–134.

groups.¹⁹⁶ Associational activity can be reliably documented in the eighteenth century but claimed earlier antecedents. In 1714 and 1725 at the Tanzhesi and in 1743 at the Jietaisi, lay donors presented themselves as groups whose names suggested familiarity with activities at the Dongyuemiao but whose purposes were slightly different.¹⁹⁷

The Venerable Association for Contributing Rice and Green Tea (Gongmi Qingcha Laohui), headquartered in the northern suburbs of Peking, claimed to have been active at the Tanzhesi since the 1620s. They came to the temple once a year on the fifteenth day of the third month in order to “offer a vegetarian meal to the monks” (*zhai seng*); in 1725, to this end, they raised money to buy and donate land that could generate regular income for the clerical community. In 1711, a Great Compassion Religious Association (Dabei Shenghui) was formed at the same monastery under the direction of ten “association leaders.” Their goal was to repair an altar to Guanyin and to donate endowment land to fund regular rituals and a steady supply of incense, and they vowed to meet at the temple annually on the thirteenth day of the fourth month. The “Dabei Shenghui” name was also employed at the Jietaisi in 1744, and for another century by groups at both monasteries.¹⁹⁸ Considerable evidence documented these and like associations over the course of the next century and a half. What, on the basis of this material, can we say about how these groups compared to those at the Dongyuemiao and Miaofengshan?¹⁹⁹

First, the similarities.

At the Tanzhesi and Jietaisi, groups called themselves *shenghui* and had association names of the sort used at the Taishan temples. Members had similar titles and often called themselves groups of “virtuous ones.” Their headquarters were identified on similar-style stelae with similar language. The associations were roughly the same size as those at Miaofengshan—an average of 130 people.²⁰⁰

Moreover, such groups did not exist for most of the year but visited the monasteries annually. Their purposes were to “offer” (*gong*) or “present” (*jin*)

196. According to a 1609 stele at the Jietaisi (*BJTB* 59:6), providing tea for pilgrims was a merit-making activity provided by a nameless collectivity of ninety-six *huishou*. See also *JWK* 105:1739.

197. *BJTB* 67:23, and 1714 (KX 53) stele at the site. They repaired the Dabei altar. *Tanzhesi zhi* 46; *BJTB* 68:32, 69:118, also 69:146.

198. *BJTB* 68:32; 69:146, 75:110, 76:99, 77:71, 81:45; 1785 (QL50) stele at site. And *BJTB* 67:23, 70:142; Peking Library #6903, #7331.

199. My basis of judgment is primarily the more than eighty stelae from the two temples, of which I will cite only a representative sampling. More extensive sources for the Tanzhesi are cited in Naquin 1998.

200. Information is available for thirty-nine groups. The average number of women ($n=19$) was 44, but overall, women made up only 16 percent of all donors.

incense and, intermittently but especially in the 1880s–1890s, to provide services useful to pilgrims (*xiangke*). The associations supplied lanterns for a temple hall, and they repaired a tea-stall, a bridge, the road, and rooms for pilgrims to lodge in. In 1882 a group from Tianjin had a pilgrimage schedule like those followed at Miaofengshan, and during this decade others claimed that “those who present incense form an unbroken stream.”²⁰¹

Those patrons of the Tanzhesi and the Jietaisi who left behind stelae—and thus claimed leadership roles—were Manchu and Chinese Banner men and women (explicitly identified as such), their bailiffs, Chinese bondservants of the Imperial Household, Manchu princes and members of their households, and men of the imperial lineage. In the late Qing, as at Miaofengshan, shops and people from Tianjin also became active donors.²⁰²

There were, however, many differences.

The Jietaisi and Tanzhesi were across the Muddy River and too far south to be on the Miaofengshan pilgrimage routes, and full-fledged pilgrimage associations were not created until the 1880s and 1890s. Before then, groups of patrons employed a simple organizational format.²⁰³ More important, gifts intended for pilgrims were few, I have seen no signs of entertainers, and the intended beneficiaries of group action were primarily monks. The Tanzhesi and Jietaisi were monasteries; the Taishan temples were not. Money was thus collected in order to pay for specific rituals, to provide special support for sick or elderly monks, and, most frequently in the eighteenth century, to contribute to the monastery’s land endowment and thus provide support for the clerics and a regular supply of incense for the gods.²⁰⁴

Communities of several hundred monks under the authority of powerful abbots were primarily concerned with their own affairs: maintaining daily routines of religious devotions, performing special services for clients, hosting visiting monks, managing their properties, performing ordinations, and coping with the daily politics of a large isolated community.²⁰⁵ Although there were halls to noncanonical deities on the premises, Buddhist deities and rituals of meditation and sutra recitation dominated daily life. Guanyin, an object of unorganized devotions, was worshipped in both monasteries, and I

201. *BJTB* 69:96, 77:121, 80:184, 81:45, 85:90, 86:132, 87:71, 89:71; Peking Library #7205.

202. *BJTB* 71:110, 72:48, 80:143, 81:44; 1858 (XF 8) stele at site; Naquin 1998.

203. The first instance of many *shenghui* posts and titles came in 1893: *BJTB* 87:71. A 1930 stele commemorated a Holy Mother hall here, not attested earlier: Peking Library rubbings card catalogue. In the twentieth century, the Tanzhesi was part of the network of four shamanic animals (because of its resident snakes?). W. Li 63–64.

204. *BJTB* 72:182. These activities came in the wake of a visit by Qianlong. *BJTB* 71:110; *Tanzhezhi* 199–203. Between 1710 and 1911 I know of 23 separate but relatively small bequests of land (Jietaisi 12, Tanzhesi 11). The twelve gifts to Jietaisi, all between 1748 and 1793, totaled only 1,736 *mou*. The average gift was 144 *mou*.

205. For size: Li Zongwan 23. The Jietan may have been smaller; I have no figures.

am tempted to read her popularity as a compensating female presence on these premises.²⁰⁶ Furthermore, because both monasteries were well endowed in the Ming and the recipients of imperial largess in the Qing, the clerics were relatively independent of outside patronage. (The Tanzhesi was the better funded.)²⁰⁷

Lay groups could not, therefore, presume to dominate as they could in temples with only one or two resident clerics (like most of those to Our Lady of Taishan), much less take charge. The abbots managed the gifts and surely tried to persuade patrons to fund Buddhist rituals and to increase the endowment that was the clerics' only guarantee of future independence.²⁰⁸ The Taishan-style associations were not well suited to these circumstances.

Donations to the monasteries were spread across the year and coordinated with Buddhist holy days: sermons on Buddha's birthday (4/8), the airing of sutras on 6/6, and the lotus flower assemblies of 7/15. Casual visitors seem to have come in the third and fourth months.²⁰⁹ Despite (or perhaps because of) their pious goals, commemorative stelae openly discussed money donated and often listed individual donations.

These monasteries were also well within the imperial orbit. Both (like the Dongyuemiao but unlike Miaofengshan) were the recipients of generous visits and gifts and commanded the attention of powerful court officials, both Chinese and Manchu. The Kangxi, Qianlong, and Jiaqing emperors each visited in person, accompanied by substantial retinues. In the mid-nineteenth century, Prince Gong, despite his many responsibilities at court, was also a patron.²¹⁰

Building on their Ming reputations as scenic places, the Tanzhesi and Jietaisi also continued to attract elite visitors. Features deemed suitable for an excursion by educated and cultivated men were enhanced by generations of poems written about caves, vistas, and historic objects. The patronage network on which the two monasteries could draw was therefore wide, extending well beyond Peking, and relatively respectable by elite standards.²¹¹

206. At Jietaisi: *BJTB* 79:128, 79:129, 81:27. Tanzhesi: *BJTB* 74:120, 75:160.

207. Chapter 3; *Tanzhe zhi* passim.

208. The Yongming Haideng religious association that gave money to both monasteries (in 1802 and 1804) explicitly "turned it over to the abbot." *BJTB* 77:121; Field Museum #1838; but *BJTB* 70:161.

209. The two temples were "open" during the first half of the third month, but a typical mid-Qing group came on 1/15, 5/1, and 8/15, and late Qing pilgrims came on 4/20–24. Dun Lichen 30–32; stelae at site passim.

210. Naquin 1998; *JWK* 105:1737–42; Field Museum #1705; *ECCP* 931; Naquin 1998; Qijuzhu JQ 24. Prince Gong: *BJTB* 86:197; Kates 218–19; *ECCP* 382; *Tanzhe zhi* 175–89; Bouillard 1922b.

211. Shi Runzhang, Poems 13:11, 23:5; Fang Bao 206–7; *Tanzhe zhi* 89–174; *BJTB* 79:24. The eighty-four people who gave money in 1822 came from twenty-three different counties in Zhili.

Data about individual donations confirms cooperation across a relatively wide range of upper-income levels. The 111 donors at the Jietaisi in 1764 tended toward smaller gifts: most gave only half an ounce of silver, the most generous donor gave thirty-one ounces, and the entire group ranged between the two amounts. In contrast, within a pilgrimage group at the Tanzhesi in 1882, gifts ranged in size between two ounces and three hundred ounces of silver.²¹² These donations were all beyond the reach of the ordinary person. (See Appendix 3.)

Thus, although the enthusiasm for the cult at Miaofengshan in the Banner community made Taishan-style pilgrimage organizations familiar to them, the full-fledged monastic structures of the Jietaisi and Tanzhesi seem to have favored more affluent patrons and kept organized lay pilgrims at the margins.

At temples to the Medicine-king (Yaowang) in Peking there were also some active associations in the Qing, but of yet another type. This cult seems to have partially merged with temples to the gods of Mount Tai and thus attracted pilgrims. Stelae are fewer, but other evidence indicates a less affluent following than those of the suburban monasteries.

There were several dozen temples to the Medicine-king in the Qing capital, a few of which had made a place for themselves in the city's annual calendar under the previous dynasty.²¹³ A few *shenghui* appeared at the Southern Yaowangmiao in the Outer City in 1647, but then vanished from the record. Its fair on the first and fifteenth of each month continued to draw crowds, but the attraction may have been Bixia Yuanjun (who had a hall here). When Kim Ch'ang'öp visited in the winter of 1713, he found a brand-new two-storied hall where nine Niangniang were housed. By the time he arrived on the day of the temple fair, the noble families (*guijia*) had reportedly already come and gone, and the visitors were village women (sickly and not especially beautiful, in his considered opinion).²¹⁴ By the 1750s, the temple had been taken over and privatized by the incense and medicine guilds; they gave greater attention to their Patriarch Sun and celebrated his birthday with plays on a newly constructed stage.²¹⁵

At the Northern (Inner City) Yaowang temple near the Anding Gate, we

212. 1764: *BJTB* 72:48; stela at site. The average was 3.2. 1882: *BJTB* 85:90. The average was 16; the mean 5.

213. Temples with Yaowang as the principal god, 19; as a secondary god, 12.

214. The stelae for 1647 and 1650 are badly preserved. Peking Library #691, #693, #694; Tan Qian 1656:81. For this temple: Chapter 2 and Figure 2.3. Kim Ch'ang'öp 180, 205, 207.

215. Niida 4:801-16. Other guilds later joined in.

see a similar combination of the Medicine-king and Our Lady, but a different outcome. Here, religious associations were joined by Banner devotees and later Outer City guild members, and the two birthdays were conflated and jointly celebrated in the middle of the fourth month. In 1719 a Lantern Hanging Religious Association (Xuandeng Shenghui) took charge of the rents from the markets held here on the first and fifteenth days of every month and used them to pay for lanterns and incense. Eventually, the hall to Bixia evolved into an independent temple.²¹⁶

Yaowang temples in the suburbs observed the god's birthday on 4/28. The one in Kandan (View the Peonies) village in the flower-growing area southwest of the city became extremely popular with people from all over the capital area. (It is shown in Figure 3.2.) Here, by the middle of the eighteenth century, there were pilgrimage associations entirely of the Taishan type. A 1768 restoration was subscribed to by twenty-six such *shenghui*, whose names proclaimed their responsibilities: hang the lanterns, donate medicines, sweep the dust, offer plays, or provide incense, flowers, iced tea, candles, offerings, and fresh fruit. The five hundred individuals (including fifty women) named came from "the various wards and lanes of the capital as well as the villages of Da and Wan." There were also groups with the specialized functions—including performers and entertainers—and longer histories associated with pilgrims. This temple was on the round-about route of one Miaofengshan group: did its location on the road to Zhuozhou make it part of the regional Taishan pilgrimage circuit?²¹⁷

We also find sporadic Bannermen *shenghui* directed toward Guandi. In 1661, the Banner people of the neighborhood (*liren*) of one Inner City Guandi temple used a Three Sages Venerable Association to present their donations and renovate the temple. They may have been active in 1654 at the Western Summit and temporarily inspired by its groups; there were no later signs of community support, organized or otherwise.²¹⁸ The suburban Ten-*li*-river village Guandi temple received visits from unnamed but organized donors in 1674, and stelae of 1720, 1744, and 1811 were set up by celebratory associations who supplied lanterns, gave incense, swept the temple, and set up land endowments. In 1811, forty male donors (seemingly all Bannermen) arranged that four of them would take charge of their invested contributions each year, rotating annually so that over a decade all would

216. Xu Daoling 1:59, 77; *BJTB* 61:46–47, 67:104, 70:176, 71:93–94, 74:33–34; Shoudu Library #84, #86; Pan Rongbi 19, 22. This temple may have been the Yaowangmiao named as one of the "six summits" in 1640.

217. *BJTB* 71:8, 72:187–88, 78:66–67; Peking Library #3735; Gu Jiegang 1928: 118. An 1849 stele mentioned "paying respects to the peak," so there may have been a Bixia or Dongyue hall here. Peking Library #3735.

218. *BJTB* 61:175–77; Peking Library #2757.

share responsibility.²¹⁹ (Such an arrangement suggests they came from the same village.)

Evidence of *shenghui* at other Peking temples is even more spotty. There were a few short-lived early Qing groups who employed the name Incense Lantern Religious Association, some of whom may have actually been pilgrims. In most cases, the donors appear to have been Bannermen or eunuchs who had borrowed this (prestigious?) associational language for what was simply ad hoc community support.²²⁰

All in all, it seems clear that it was devotees of the God of the Eastern Peak and Our Lady of Taishan who put the *shenghui* to most extensive use. In the early Qing, Bannermen had seized on the possibilities developed at the Dongyuemiao during the Ming, used them there, and transferred them to Bixia temples; in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, this format was used more and more often to worship the Holy Mother of Miaofengshan. At other temples where images of Bixia attracted followers, such religious associations were sporadically formed.

It was thus the cult to the gods of Mount Tai that provided Peking with its most widely adopted form of voluntary religious association, one that was suitable for both ordinary temple-going and for pilgrimages. Other kinds of organizations existed in the Qing city but do not appear to have been as extensive (the dangers of arguing from silence notwithstanding). The organizational strengths of the *shenghui* (openness, flexibility) made them simultaneously more ephemeral (without corporate resources, weakly linked to a home base). These qualities contrast, as we shall see, with the privatized temples and organizations discussed in the next chapter.

Except for Mount Tai, our knowledge of Qing pilgrimage associations is highly undeveloped. In light of his 1925 study of Miaofengshan, Gu Jiegang decided to distinguish associations that went on pilgrimages (*xianghui*) from those that took a god out from a temple on a tour of an area (*sai hui*). He associated the latter with the “south,” by which he meant the central Yangtze provinces (Gu came from Suzhou), and the former with “the north.” Is this analytical distinction useful?

John Lagerwey has shown that there were a large number of pilgrims' stelae on Mount Wudang in Hubei (central China). Thirty-five dated from the Qing and were mostly set up by people from the region. The groups originated at temples and villages alike and used the same kinds of language and titles that we found in Peking (association leader, group of virtuous ones,

219. *BFTB* 63:56, 69:125, 78:83–84; Peking Library #6362.

220. *BFTB* 62:175, 64:112–13, 65:182.

and so forth).²²¹ Without assuming one to be prior, might we designate them of the Taishan type? There were many pilgrimage sites in the empire, but present research does not permit us to say which other ones attracted highly organized pilgrims. Did they all?

City-gods went on tours of inspection not only in Peking but seemingly everywhere. Paul Katz has examined the late imperial cult of Marshal Wen (Wenyuanshuai, a god with power over the plague) in Zhejiang province. During the festivals dedicated to the marshal, the host temples organized (in rotation) the procession throughout the city, and families and urban neighborhoods (*li*) arranged to entertain the god along the way. Processions were common in Taiwan in the twentieth century, where they were associated with territorially based cults, rural and urban.²²²

These and other scattered examples suggest that the local cultures of the Qing empire contained many organizational possibilities, that regional clusters might be expected, and that we should chart the variety before investing too deeply in models. What this book indicates is that when we look, we find many kinds of religious organizations in greater Peking, oriented variously around monks, rituals, temples, and pilgrimages. The predominant ones were long-lived, well developed, and connected to the cult of the gods of Mount Tai, and they were probably of a type found elsewhere within the northern provinces to which these cults spread. At the same time, other less formal *hui*—ones that would not have seemed unfamiliar in other parts of the empire—played a valuable role in founding and restoring temples, sustaining monks and daoists, and funding rituals for the individual and collective good. And these different associations provided different ways for the residents of this city to join forces and come together.

This capacity for collective action was precisely one of the reasons that the government was suspicious of religion. In order to understand the influence of the Qing state on the history of Peking's religious organizations, it is now necessary to examine more closely its policies, its behavior, and the effects of both.

THE IMPACT OF THE STATE

Considering the energy and extent of Peking's pilgrimage associations, the reader may be surprised to learn that they were illegal. This illegality was spelled out not in the Qing Code, but in imperial edicts that had the force

221. Gu Jiegang 1928:11–12; Lagerwey 1992:309–15. Yü 1992:236 mentioned village “incense associations” and resthouses en route to Mount Nanwutai in Shaanxi province in the north-west in the twentieth century.

222. Katz 1995:148–53, 193–202, 209–13. There is a substantial literature about Taiwan: e.g., Sangren 99–100; DeGlopper 148. Examples of major festivals arranged around such a touring type can be found in many parts of the empire: Shryock 104; Tsao 177–93; McDermott 1997.

of law and were stated and restated by successive emperors. The disapproval of religious associations was based on interrelated concerns, the most general of which—though not articulated as such—was a fear of any religious activity that was not under the government's control.

Under the Ming, the state's fears had been focused on dangerous teachings, but the Code included provisions against various kinds of assemblies (*hui*), including religious processions. After 1644, new developments strengthened older anxieties even as government responses became more effective. Imperial pronouncements against pilgrimage and religious associations reflected particular concerns. A recognition of the genuine power of religious ideas and organizations, their power to challenge social norms, received wisdom, and the state itself. An assumption that ordinary people were foolish and easily duped, a resulting fear and distrust of clerical and religious leaders, and a preference for monitoring, controlling, or coopting religious activities. Suspicions about any gathering of large numbers of people and any activities that took place in temples, disapproval of religious processions, and a general preference for women to remain within the home.

Given such concerns, *shenghui* would seem obvious objects of state vigilance. They raised money, organized people, and allowed men and women to mix in public, and they were connected to temples, under lay leadership, and difficult to monitor or control. And how much more serious would such concerns be in Peking, where security was paramount, public behavior held to more stringent standards, and toward which countless imperial pronouncements were specifically aimed?²²³ For all these reasons, emperor after emperor supplemented the Code with pronouncements directed entirely or in part at religious associations. In doing so, they created a body of what might be understood as Qing case law dealing with pilgrimage.

At the same time, Qing emperors, as residents of Peking, became caught up in the cult of Our Lady of Mount Tai. By setting their personal devotions alongside their public pronouncements, we can see more deeply into the conflicting forces unleashed by the throne on the city that was their capital. These forces were distinctive to Peking and felt more faintly elsewhere in the empire.

The power of the throne to give with one hand and take away with the other was not limited to the world of religion. Emperors could always be imperious, but the coexistence in Peking of the formally accountable central government bureaucracy alongside the private household establishment of the ruling family permitted a concentrated inconsistency that affected too many aspects of capital life to consider here. These two channels for action, potentially competing but even more powerful when mutually reinforcing,

223. E.g., *Huidian shili* 1899:501:11737; YFD 205–6, QL 2/4/18.

increased the hazardousness of a city in which immense danger was matched by immense opportunity.

In the autumn of 1644 (when Peking was barely secure), those ruling for the young emperor specified execution for those who “stir up peaceful citizens with lies and magical arts”; they identified “burning incense and assembling a group” (*shao xiang ju zhong*) as one of the identifying features of such troublemakers. This linkage was repeated in a major pronouncement by Shunzhi in 1656. He criticized those deviant groups who “use the excuse of presenting incense to unfurl banners and bang gongs,” and he asserted that “if there are those who further practice heterodox sects and, as before, assemble groups to burn incense, collect money, and call on the buddha, let them be arrested” by the officials of the capital and the provinces. In another edict, he expressed the strong preference that women not be permitted to go (out in public) to temples to burn incense.²²⁴

In 1667, 1673, and 1679, Kangxi gradually merged concern about heterodoxy (of which, more in the next chapter) with worry about religious processions, determining that anyone who “presented incense” or “welcomed gods” (*ying shen*) should be punished according to the law on sects. In 1709 he rued the evil habit of “banging of cymbals and beating of drums, assembling crowds to burn incense, men and women mixing together.”²²⁵

Yongzheng was (surprisingly?) somewhat more tolerant, and in 1724 he concentrated on what he saw as the central problem. Women, specifically women in Peking, were being hoodwinked into “forming associations to go to temples to present incense” and were joining in processions for the gods (*sai hui*). This should be prohibited. What he called “ordinary spring and autumn village worship”—language vague enough to include almost anything—would not be punished. Soon afterward, in an attempt to clarify whether resthouses en route to Yajishan that solicited donations could be said to be (illegally) collecting a tax, the governor-general of Zhili interpreted the emperor’s decree to mean that “going to famous mountain temples to perform rites [*libai*]” was permissible.²²⁶

When he took the throne in 1736, one of the first things the Qianlong emperor did was to acknowledge the popularity of Mount Tai by generously eliminating the two-centuries-old government tax on pilgrims there.²²⁷ And yet, a few years later he criticized the practice of crossing provincial bound-

224. QSL-SZ 9:20, 68:24–25, 104:12–13; *Huidian shili* 1899:1038:17457; *Da Qing lüli* 16:8.

225. *Huidian shili* 1899:501:11737–38, 1038:17458; De Groot 1904:153. See ter Haar 1992 for the history of some of these concerns.

226. *Huidian shili* 1899:501:11738, 1038:17458; *GZDZZ-YZ* 3:106–7.

227. The rate was 0.14 ounce of silver (a theoretical 140 cash) per person. QSL-YZ 7:25–26; QSL-QL 21:10.

aries to “present incense” and urged his officials to persuade the people that there was no need for long journeys because “the gods’ efficacy comes down everywhere.” When a question arose about women in the capital “forming groups and burning incense,” the Grand Council reiterated the 1724 decree. In 1762 Qianlong issued another edict, insisting now on the dangers of men and women joining “benevolent associations” (*shanhui*) and on the necessity for punishment. He was rather defensive during the repair of the Southern Summit in 1774, commenting obliquely that “some people” had suggested that there were already too many temples to Bixia Yuanjun.²²⁸ As popular organizations of the White Lotus—and later the Triad—type spread in the later eighteenth century, the Qing state became even more suspicious about religious activities that (in their mind) might generate rebellion.

In 1800 Jiaqing was reminded by the “Veritable Records” for his father’s reign of the necessity for discouraging long-distance pilgrimage: “Local officials must announce that it is strictly forbidden” and must punish violators. When he was asked to clarify the restrictions on women burning incense in temples, Jiaqing emphatically and repeatedly upheld the law.²²⁹ In the winter of 1813, after a religiously inspired rebellion had been staged in the heart of the palace, he insisted that the ban on religious processions be enforced. Nevertheless, in these and other edicts, Jiaqing showed that he realized that religious beliefs and customs were difficult to change, that it was not easy to “tell the good people from the scoundrels” in the crowds making pilgrimages, and that sudden attempts to enforce the letter of the law could easily be counterproductive.²³⁰

In 1834 Daoguang once more reasserted the ban on crossing provincial borders to present incense; later, pilgrimage festivities in Peking prompted zealous censors (in 1852 and 1885) to call yet again for enforcement of the prohibition on women making pilgrimages. Imperial and official concern about this issue thus survived to the end of the dynasty undiminished.²³¹

The story of Peking’s vigorous Taishan-style pilgrimage associations told in this chapter exposes the Qing state’s failure to make good on its prohibitions. Or does it? Some evidence argues that these laws achieved at least part of their intended effect.

A stele placed in the Dongyuemiao in 1740 stated forthrightly that the parade to welcome the god on his birthday had been “severely prohibited”

228. QSL-QL 92:19–20; YFD 205–6. QL 2/4/18; *Huidian shili* 1899:1038:17458–59; *Tongzhou zhi* A:23–24.

229. QSL-JQ 66:12–13, 204:2, 306:1; *Huidian shili* 1899:501:11747.

230. QSL-JQ 280:13–14, 66:12–13, 204:2, 306:1.

231. *JFTZ* 1884:5:363; *JJD:XF* 83202; *Huidian shili* 1899:1038:461; Zhenjun 9:1.

by the current dynasty. In fact, the procession seems to have been discontinued. A stele of 1768 noted that the emperor had prohibited women from entering that temple and had rejected a compromise proposal from the resident daoists that women be permitted to visit two days a month (on the second and the sixteenth).²³² Obviously, some constraints were being felt.

Aware of the dangers of unrest, temple clergy and religious groups were eager to assert that theirs was not the lewd or unorthodox worship (*yin si*) that was prohibited by the statutes. "Worship must not include *yin si*, so we put the heterodox at a distance and revere the orthodox path," one stele read. "[Our god] is not in the category of *yin si*," claimed another. In 1664 a Central Summit pilgrimage association specifically noted the enfeoffment of Bixia Yuanjun by the Song emperor Zhenzong and declared that "you can tell that this temple does not practice unorthodox worship."²³³

The evidence of this chapter suggests that, although pilgrimages in the Peking area were not prevented by intermittent imperial pronouncements, official harassment had a chilling effect. A temple monk who sought contributions for the repair of a bridge on the way to Yajishan was arrested for collecting a tax. Bannerman pilgrim Fucun was seized for "assembling a group and forming an organization." The monk Mingxiu was charged by a censor with forming a "benevolent association." Surely these kinds of activities would have multiplied much more had the government welcomed or encouraged them.²³⁴

The Qing state may have also been effective in discouraging the participation of women in pilgrimages. The number of women whose names were signed to religious association stelae show a sharp downward trend. For all *shenghui* at the Dongyuemiao in the period 1644–1722, an average of 250 women per stele were listed. Between 1723 and 1911, the average was 39.²³⁵ Although these figures are problematic in various ways, they fit a policy toward women that was increasingly repressive.²³⁶

Official memorials and imperial edicts were not written in ignorance of popular local practice. The considerable concern about religious activities in

232. *BJTB* 69:56, 72:191–93; *Huidian shili* 1899:1038:17459.

233. *BJTB* 62:35, 67:113, 69:184. Also *BJTB* 66:123; Peking Library #5881.

234. The monk was eventually released. *GZDZZ-YZ* 3:106–7. I do not know the disposition of Fucun's case. *JJD:JQ* 51173. The charges against Mingxiu evaporated under questioning. *Waijidang*, DG 18/8/9.

235. The range also shrank: from 2 to 1,367 women for the earlier period ($n=23$), to from 1 to 213 for the later one ($n=53$). If one looks at only Bixia and Dongyue temples, the trend is the same.

236. We do not know that all women whose names were on the stelae actually went to the temple, nor do we know how to generalize from those who inscribed stelae to the population

Peking was expressed by men who knew full well just how extensive and important such activities were. A 1735 censor's memorial explained to Yongzheng: "Recently I have seen that at the temples inside and outside the capital, places like the Western, Northern, and Southern Summits, there are people who do not stick to their proper occupations and in the fourth and fifth months adorn god images and bang drums and gongs. This is called presenting incense." He singled out other Bixia temples (without naming the deity)—"in the Western Hills, at Yajishan, and Zhuozhou"—and described the ten-day festival period when "men and women, old and young, from near and far" converged, forming associations of one or two hundred people. In 1737, another censor proposed that the "summit temples" be specifically forbidden to establish associations.²³⁷ Later, the Jiaqing emperor explained that "when I was a prince I knew well that there were people who go to Yajishan, Tiantaishan, and such places to present incense. This custom is long entrenched near the capital and in the provinces." A 1852 censor's memorial focused on Miaofengshan: "Each summer and fall for half a month, people who burn incense create an unbroken stream"; "For several years, every year when I leave the Yuan [that is, the summer villa] to go off duty, I see this phenomenon."²³⁸

Obviously, the officials and emperors who articulated policy toward pilgrimages seem to have known what they were talking about. This familiarity was more than coincidental. Many were themselves devotees and patrons.

The God of the Eastern Peak and his temples still received the personal attention of Qing emperors. The Peking Dongyuemiao was restored twice at Imperial Household expense: once in 1700 after a fire, and again, sixty years later. Large stelae in Chinese and Manchu commemorated these events and stood proudly in the main courtyard. Qianlong and Guangxu (and surely others) stopped here when they were travelling to the Eastern Mausoleums, and Jiaqing came several times a year. Kangxi and Qianlong had more than once visited the god's principal temple at the foot of Mount Tai in Shandong. Qianlong had built a small temple to Dongyue in his summer quarters near Yuquanshan in 1756, drawing an analogy between the

at large. For the changing position of women in the Qing in general: Mann 1997:23–29 and *passim*.

237. *GZDZZ-YZ* 25:369–70; *YFD* 205–6, *QL* 2/4/18. Criticism of pilgrimage often came from censors, notoriously unrealistic and often unreasonable in their proposals—and expected to be so. This generalization is based on my own experience of Qing documents, but see Polachek 32–38 (especially for their expected reliance on rumor and gossip); Kuhn 192–93.

238. *QSL-JQ* 66:12–13. Tiantai was a mountain temple west of Peking where Bixia was worshipped. Johnston 1920:184; and stelae at site. Censor: *JJD:XF* 83202; *Huidian shili* 1899:1038:17460.

rain-giving Mount Tai and this Jade Spring Mountain.²³⁹ Given the unsailable orthodoxy of the God of the Eastern Peak, such patronage is perhaps unsurprising.

Imperial devotion to Our Lady of Taishan was more irregular—and, accordingly, more private. Kangxi appears to have been the first emperor to make offerings to her when he built a temple in 1678 inside the imperial hunting estate where he could pray for the spirit of his deceased mother.²⁴⁰ In 1703, the Hui concubine, with the assistance of twenty eunuchs, saw to the restoration of a temple to Our Lady in the Inner City.²⁴¹ Thereafter, imperial patronage was regular and attentive. Kangxi visited Yajishan several times after 1704, gave honors to its daoists, and donated money and calligraphy to the temple. In 1707 there was an imperial order to restore and rename a small Bixia temple in the western suburbs, and Kangxi sent plaques in his own hand.²⁴²

The following year, someone in the palace arranged to finance the renaming and restoration of the Western Summit, then an active center for eunuch and Bannermen pilgrimage associations. The emperor's fifth son may have been in charge of the work, for he put up the stele in Chinese and Manchu. Kangxi visited the temple, newly resplendent in gold and green tiles, and bestowed upon it a new name (Palace of Extensive Humaneness), a stele in two languages, eight plaques in the imperial hand, clothing for the god images, and incense each year on 4/17.²⁴³ In 1713, when he celebrated his sixtieth birthday, Kangxi completed the restoration of the Little Southern Summit, also at imperial expense. That same year, as we have seen, the emperor visited Mount Yaji and arranged for annual incense and new construction there.²⁴⁴ These actions not only constitute substantial support for the worship of Bixia Yuanjun, they also make clear that Kangxi must have been familiar with popular pilgrimages.

Although Yongzheng had softened the prohibitions on pilgrimage, his involvement in the Bixia cult was slight. In the first year of his reign (1723), a Niangniang temple was built in the new Yuanmingyuan; he later gave a

239. *JWK* 85:1418–20, 88:1484–91; *Qijuzhu JQ* 24, *GX* 12; *Dudgeon* 1870:41; *Dun Lichen* 28–30. Kangxi went to Taishan three times and Qianlong nine: *Dott* 186.

240. The Yongyoumiao. His mother was a Hanjun from the Northeast. Had she been a devotee? *JWK* 74:1251–52; *Wu Changyuan* 12:255; *ECCP* 327–28.

241. *BJTB* 66:26–27; Chapter 12 n.69. This Manchu woman was the mother of Yinshi, then Kangxi's eldest surviving son.

242. 1704: stelae at site; *JFTZ* 1735:51:18; *QSL-KX* 215:3; *STFZ* 1885:24:761–62. 1707: *JWK* 97:1616.

243. *BJTB* 66:145, 66:153; *JWK* 99:1639–41; *Li Zongwan* 6; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:33. The prince was Yinqi, and the temple name was Guangrengong.

244. *Li Zongwan* 6; *NWF Guangchusi* 3:55–56; *JWK* 139:2248–49; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:33; *KX* 53 stele at site.

plaque to the small Holy Mother temple restored by his father.²⁴⁵ Were these for women in his household?

Qianlong combined active patronage of this deity with pragmatic tolerance of the associations. Between 1744 and the 1770s, he repaired many temples to Bixia, gave them plaques, visited them, and arranged for regular funding from the Imperial Household. Recipients included the Little Southern Summit (1744, 1773), Yajishan (1747, 1753), several small temples in the western suburbs (1747), the big Dongyuemiao (1761), the Central Summit (1771), and the Southern Summit (1773).²⁴⁶ He also accompanied his mother to the temple to Our Lady atop Mount Tai five times (between 1748 and 1776), and her devotion may lie behind his.²⁴⁷

Nineteenth-century patronage was much more modest, but temples to Bixia Yuanjun still received personal attention from imperial men and women. Jiaqing visited the Western Summit, Little Southern Summit, Central Summit, and Yajishan. His empress is said to have bestowed various gifts (including a new sedan-chair for the god) on the Miaofengshan temple. In 1837 (as empress dowager) she paid to rebuild the Yajishan temple after a fire.²⁴⁸ As a prince, Daoguang was sent to the Southern Summit and to Yajishan to offer incense; he wrote poems about the latter site, and we have the text of a 1807 prayer directed from him to Shengmu. He ordered a generous annual allowance made to the Western Summit for incense, assigned it caretaker corvée households, and ensured that the monks were rewarded after every imperial visit.²⁴⁹

After the midcentury hiatus in most imperial patronage in Peking, Empress Dowager Cixi took up the Miaofengshan cult. She was said to have come to the mountain in 1874 to pray that her son the (Tongzhi) emperor be spared when he was stricken with smallpox. In 1883 and 1885, the emperor and the empress dowager donated bells to the peak temple; Cixi also gave calligraphy and subsidized the pilgrimage associations. She was said to have visited Yajishan in 1886.²⁵⁰

245. *JWK* 82:1372; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:25, 2:26, 2:30, 2:32. The plaque was not dated. *JWK* 97:1616.

246. The Little Southern Summit: *JWK* 90:1523–24; Li Zongwan 6. Yajishan: *JWK* 139:2248–49. Small temples: *JWK* 101:1676–79, 106:1764; Wu Changyuan 15:300; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:27, 2:30; Bouillard 1921. Dongyuemiao: *JWK* 88:1488. Central Summit: *JWK* 90:1530–31. Southern Summit: *JWK* 90:1522–23; *Tongzhou zhi* A:23–24; *BJTB* 73:124–26; the restoration was combined with bridge repair.

247. Dott 186, 224.

248. Qijuzhu *JQ* 21, *JQ* 24; *NWF Zhangyisi*: Nanyuan section; Linqing 3:97–98; *Yu zhi shi yu ji* 2:19; Jinxun 35–36; *ECCP* 968.

249. *JFTZ* 1884:11:348, 11:359; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:30, 2:33; *Huidian shili* 1899:1219:19235.

250. Xu Ke 1:8–9; Fengkuan 95; *ECCP* 730; Shoudu Library #682, #683; Li Jinghan 8; Fengkuan 26; Wu Zhenyu 7:9.

All this evidence—even set in the context of the wider and varied field of imperial belief and patronage—suggests personal devotion to Bixia Yuanjun: the patronage by generations of empresses and concubines, echoed by at least Kangxi, Qianlong, Daoguang, and Cixi, and a consistent pattern of private imperial support for the god and her cult in the Peking area. The reluctance of Qing emperors to strictly enforce their own prohibitions on pilgrimages to this deity may, therefore, be understandable.

Following this same line of reasoning, it seems clear that the officials of Shuntian prefecture, charged with enforcing bans on pilgrimage, were not strangers to the cult either. Figure 11.2 shows that there was a hall to Our Lady right within the yamen compound, easily the largest of the different shrines there, and any length of experience in Peking would have exposed them to the annual pilgrimage.

The Peking Gendarmerie should have had no difficulty keeping track of these pilgrims. It had designated twenty-nine temples in the suburbs to be “officially managed” (*guan guan*) by their forces. Of these, one was the Dongyuemiao and six were temples to Bixia Yuanjun, including the Southern, Central, and Western Summits.²⁵¹ The Gendarmerie staff were themselves Peking residents who must have understood the popularity of these cults. Although an official presence in or near these temples may have discouraged pilgrimage, its primary goal seems to have been to maintain order. In 1879, when a religious association with extensive official and merchant membership decided to repair one of the tea-stalls on the Central Route, they arranged for help from one of the Gendarmerie lieutenants stationed in the suburbs.²⁵² So much for enforcing the bans of pilgrimage.

Is it possible that opposition to pilgrimage and religious associations in Peking came from Confucian officials—as much opposition to popular religious practices had come in the Ming? Can we sustain the argument that local emperors and local officials were willing to tolerate this kind of religious behavior but that high-level bureaucrats were not?

Not easily. Many capital officials were themselves Banner men, not hostile outsiders. Furthermore, those who staffed the Qing state were not as opposed to religion as the roles imposed on them by their governmental positions (and some caricatures) might suggest. Many Peking temples had literati spon-

251. *Jinwu shili* 9:61, 6:31–49 passim. These were apparently all Chinese soldiers of the Green Standard.

252. Shoudu Library #723.

sors, and the patrons of the city's *shenghui*, while less exalted, still reflected a dense intertangling of degree-holders with Chinese and Banner bureaucrats. At the Western Summit, seven out of fifteen stelae were composed or written by Hanlin men (including two grand secretaries), all before 1704. Nineteen of the 103 Qing *shenghui* stelae at the Dongyuemiao had been composed or written by *jinshi*, eleven by men who were in the Hanlin Secretariat (all but one before 1769), and five by grand secretaries.²⁵³

State hostility to pilgrimage was also unsystematic. Measured against the problems of the wider empire—mounting steadily through the nineteenth century—peaceable pilgrimage associations were of trifling concern. Indeed, a pattern of repeated exhortations, unsystematic crackdowns, and tacit permissiveness seems not to have been created by individual bureaucrats (or emperors) but to have been characteristic of this political system and political culture in general. As Philip Kuhn has argued, arbitrary imperial power and routinizing bureaucratic action were uneasily wedded in a “bureaucratic monarchy” where action warred constantly with inaction.²⁵⁴

It is also likely that, as elsewhere in the capital, the lavish, self-absorbed, and demanding presence of imperial patrons tended automatically to displace other actors and activities, and that this effortlessly marginalized other pilgrims. Especially when imperial visitations were combined with a rhetoric that stigmatized organized public expression of religious belief. Moreover, as we noted for the Ming, imperial involvement could lessen a temple's dependency on community support and discourage other patrons. These circumstances were no less true during the Qing. Resident clerics of necessity gave their attention to imperial deputies and officials from the Imperial Household at the expense of less rich and powerful patrons, perhaps driving such people to other venues where they could have the field to themselves. The experiences of the Western Summit, Yajishan, and the Dongyuemiao suggest these dynamics at work.

Newly founded and very popular in the 1620s–1630s, in the early Qing the Western Summit was actively supported by a range of citizens, organized and unorganized. An intensive period of imperial involvement began in 1708, and after 1725 there is little evidence of lay pilgrim associations; a century later, community support appears to have dried up entirely. At Yajishan, waves of royal visitors encouraged pilgrimage associations among Bannermen, but did they perhaps simultaneously discourage ordinary pilgrims?

The imperial presence at the Dongyuemiao was diffuse but still significant; however, the complex was large and probably underfunded, and religious associations were present throughout the dynasty. Was there a relative im-

253. Only one *jinshi* or Hanlin after 1867.

254. Kuhn, esp. chap. 9.

perial willingness to tolerate crowds here because exposure of the population to the seventy-two shrines of the gods of hell was thought to have a salutary influence on behavior? “The consequences of one’s actions cannot be obscured,” as one association declared with ominous sanctimoniousness on its stele.²⁵⁵ The chilly breeze from the imperial presence and repeated prohibitions against *sai shen* must surely account for the end of the parade on the god’s birthday (last mentioned in 1717). After the middle of the eighteenth century, moreover, religious association activities in the temple were more spread out during the year and less concentrated at the time of the birthday. Was it general governmental and imperial neglect that made a late Qing revival of such activities possible?²⁵⁶

In the nineteenth century, we see at the Dongyuemiao and at Miaofengshan the increased participation in temple life of all-male occupational groups who used side-halls in the temple for their collective purposes. Did they sense an opportunity to replace the mixed voluntary groups considered more suspicious by the state? We will look further at the roles of such groups in Peking life in the next chapter, but their growing prominence hints at their challenge to the religious and pilgrimage associations.

Repeated prohibitions of Taishan-style religious organizations, combined with a regular imperial presence in their temples, had an effect. They reduced the public presence of women, discouraged processions of god images through the streets, displaced pilgrimage to temples of little interest to the throne, and probably worried would-be organizers. While imperial gifts brought prestige and long life to the cults of Dongyue and Bixia, the hostile attitude of the state kept the role of the lay public within what were, perhaps, acceptable limits.

The hand of the Qing state on these *shenghui* was heavy as compared with the Ming. And yet, as this chapter shows, constrained as they may have been, pilgrimage associations flourished in the capital as never before. They further opened the city to the countryside, integrated the Banner people in their new homes, permitted broadly based public assemblage on a regular basis, and strengthened the local and regional dimensions of Peking’s identity.

255. *BJTB* 77:31–34.

256. *BJTB* 67:64, 83:89–91.

Temples and Private Purposes

The preceding chapters have shown how Peking's religious establishments were used to create ties between people and to knit together the city's residents. But temples could also become the foci for exclusive communities and be used to divide people. This privatizing impulse worked against the ostensibly open nature of religious institutions but was a natural consequence of the principle that preponderant donors could have a disproportionate influence. No institutional barriers prevented the narrowing of a temple's constituency, and many forces encouraged it.

Ancestral halls were for descendants only, as the private quarters of monasteries and nunneries were for ordained clerics. Religious establishments could nourish foreign or prohibited beliefs, host special rituals, and care for believers after death. And powerful patrons could dominate a temple with their resources and use the space for their own purposes. Under these circumstances, solidarities were strengthened and boundaries hardened. Organizations could be more corporate, more exclusive, more tightly managed, and longer-lived than those we have discussed so far. Moreover, and paradoxically, these more privatized institutions had the corporate resources and sense of purpose that enabled a broad gauge social activism.

In order to see this side of Peking life and its potentialities, we will look in turn at Muslims and their mosques, Christians and their churches, and Tibetan Buddhists and their lamaseries. We will then examine the peculiar position of sectarian believers for whom all ordinary places of worship were too dangerous to use. Finally, we will undertake a sustained examination of the lodges created and used by Chinese sojourners. In these discussions, it will be important to understand the history of these communities, their social centers of gravity, and their all-important relations with the state. These temples illustrate the particular cosmopolitanism of Qing Peking and show

how the events of the nineteenth century encouraged an enlargement of the realm of action beyond the family and the state.

FAMILIES

Families were the core social unit in Peking, as elsewhere in the Chinese world; an ancestral hall was the private possession of one family line around which an exclusive community was formed and renewed. These halls contained ancestral tablets and were the locus of collective family rituals at the new year, on certain holidays, and for rites of passage. The received wisdom is that corporate patrilineages were not elaborately developed in this part of the empire nor was the hall a common form of collective expression in north China.¹ This may indeed have been the case.

A few ennobled families within the imperial lineage were formally permitted to have ancestral halls (*jiamiao*) (presumably within their mansions), for which sumptuary hierarchies were spelled out.² But only a few examples are known to me. Descendants of the Manchu Socolo clan had an ancestral hall (*shi zongci*) in the Inner City from at least the eighteenth century. It had collapsed by the 1830s, and lack of resources and family disagreements kept it from being rebuilt until 1880. Wanping native Wang Chongjian (1602–1678) and his descendants had an ancestral hall (variously termed a *jiamiao* and a *zongci*) in the Outer City.³

A survey of Peking temples in 1943 was the first to include systematically the city's ancestral halls. It listed seventy of them, and I know of a dozen more. Almost 90 percent were in the Inner City. Many of these appeared late in the Qing, as status-conscious Banner men took over and converted small community temples—often neighborhood Earth-god shrines.⁴

Whether they had ancestral halls or not, families regularly acted out their identity in public, particularly on two great ritual occasions: marriages and funerals. Each was a time for flaunting family wealth and displaying networks of connections. If one could read the codes, a family's resources, credit-worthiness, social status, and social ambitions were plainly written in the dowry or funeral processions and the accompanying banquets. In Peking, it

1. Ebrey & Watson. But see Kwan 260–89 for a persuasive argument that urban lineages in Tianjin could become as large, powerful, and well funded as those elsewhere.

2. *Huidian shili* 1899:455:11089–96. See Chapter 2 for a description of one ancestral altar.

3. Until it burned down in 1789; they also had a genealogy. *ECCP* 815–16; *BJTB* 78:74; *FXZ* 10:46; *FXZ Draft* 2:270. The genealogy constituted j. 11 of Wang's collected works. Socolo: *BJTB* 85:21.

4. Shoudu Library #1801; also *Huidian shili* 1899:455:11089–97. Nine of the sixty-two *Tudimiao* in the Inner City were described in the 1943 survey (*passim*) as *jiamiao*.

was one family—the emperor’s—whose monumental ancestral hall and grandiose pageantry dominated public spectacle and urban space.

For men and women who became religious professionals, monasteries were surrogate families. Adjacent to the public halls of Buddhist and Daoist monasteries and nunneries were the private quarters of clerics. (See Figure 15.1.) The idea of the sangha was still respected, and these clerical communities were permitted a legitimate independent existence. So long as monks and daoists were willing to be docile and loyal, the throne was prepared to be generous and protective. Occasional proposals (from Chinese officials) that the clerical professions be done away with altogether were gently turned aside by Manchu emperors: “How could I want them all to return to lay life?” (Qianlong in 1737); “*Seng* and *dao* are also our people” (Jiaqing in 1813).⁵

And yet the state insisted on regulation and control and felt free to criticize. Even clerics in large, old monasteries with established rules could be mocked for living lives of luxury “without doing any work,” and smaller temples with no abbot and no community were readily suspected of harboring “vagrants and troublemakers” and permitting unseemly mixing of the sexes. In the mid-nineteenth century as social problems multiplied, temples were accused of being surrogate brothels and opium dens, dissolute venues for theaters and gambling.⁶

Few temples had more than ten clerics, and by the end of the dynasty most monasteries were in the countryside—Tanzhesi, Baiyunguan, Biyunsi, and perhaps a dozen others.⁷ Scattered figures provide snapshots of their declining numbers over time. The Outer City Fayuansi had eighty-one monk donors for a stele in 1442, at least twenty-four in residence in 1822, but only one monk in 1908.⁸ The Shanguosi, another ancient temple in the Outer City, listed eighty-two monks as donors for a 1476 stele, ninety-six for a 1483 one, fifty-four in 1683, but eleven monks in 1908.⁹ Suburban Tanzhesi had some three hundred monks in the middle of the eighteenth century; in 1881, a Westerner found thirty in residence.¹⁰ There were at least eighty-eight daoists in the Baiyunguan in 1444, “a hundred” in 1780, three hundred in

5. *Huidian shili* 1899:501:11741; QSL-JQ 276:28–29.

6. QSL-YZ 6:9–11, cited in De Groot 1904:122–23; GZD-R 417; QSL-DG 314:6–7; *Huidian shili* 1899:400:19.

7. Table 2.3.

8. *JWK* 60:972–85; *BJTB* 51:106–7; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:31; Survey 1908.

9. Field Museum #955, #960, #1473.

10. Li Zongwan 23; Happer 368. Bredon 324 found “one hundred” there in the 1910s.

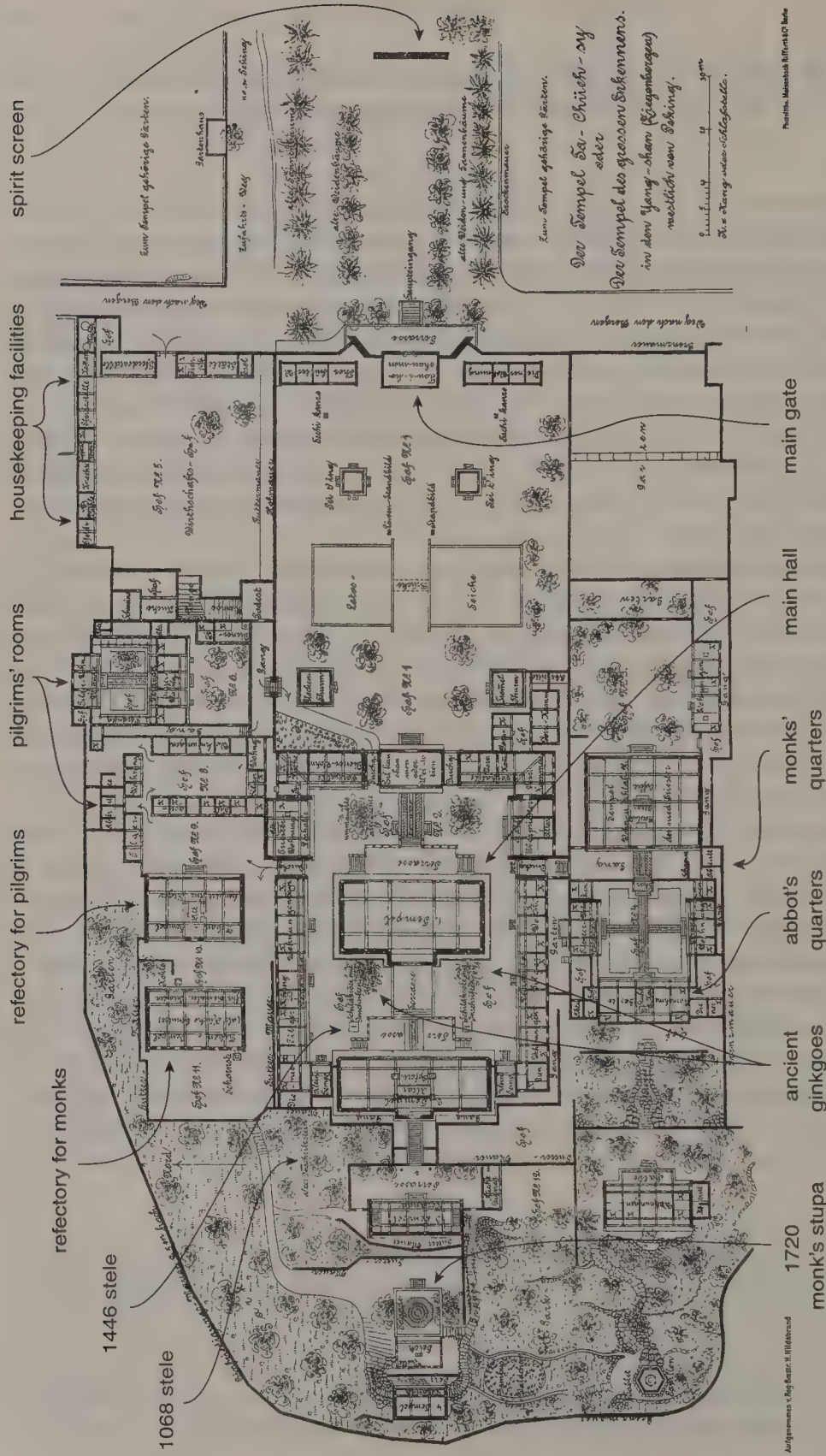


Figure 15.1. Ground Plan of the Dajuesi Western Hills
SOURCE: Hildebrand fig. 1-2.

1811, “several hundred” in 1833, and one hundred eight in 1941.¹¹ Unsystematic as these figures are, the pattern of shrinkage is the same.

If they could, monastic communities of dozens or hundreds of clerics took care of their own in life and death, as the Tanzhesi did, founding a separate temple-hostel for sick and disabled monks. The less fortunate had to depend on public charity. The dead were cremated (*huozang*); the ashes were then placed in urns and sometimes enclosed in stupas—modest in size and few in number in the Qing. The Inner City Guangjisi stupa yard was outside the city in the foothills, planted with pines and surrounded by a wall as any graveyard might be. But the remains of deceased clerics were not simply the private business of clerical communities. When an old monk died at the Ciyunsi in 1653, his elaborate cremation in the temple courtyard generated widespread interest, although perhaps not quite the “hundreds and thousands” of people chanting the Buddha’s name that the commemorative stele claimed.¹²

These clerical communities also had their private annual calendars. Daoists were likely to celebrate the birthdays of the Jade Emperor (1/9), Laozi (2/15), and the immortal Lü Dongbin (4/14); Buddhists commemorated the birthdays of Guanyin (2/19), Shakyamuni (4/8), or Manjusri (10/25). Both types of clerics performed elaborate rituals for the dead on the fifteenth day of the seventh month (Zhongyuan). Many of these seasonal rituals were shared by the public and woven into the city’s festivities.

Overall, monasteries and nunneries played a subdued role in Peking life in Qing times. Fewer monasteries received imperial patronage than in the Ming, and one reads more rarely about monks with empirewide reputations.¹³ The grand-scale largess of the throne was concentrated instead on Tibetan Buddhist lamas. The capital monasteries continued to be important to the empire, but less for their intellectual or moral leadership than for their power to do ordinations and provide licenses. The number of institutions that were permitted to ordain monks doubled from three to six, and the scale of such events was rather large—1,500 monks from all over the empire were ordained at the Fayuansi in 1733.¹⁴

11. *BJTB* 51:121–22; Pak Chiwŏn 25; Oyanagi 145–47; Kim Kyŏngsŏn 1107–8; *Huabei zongjiao nianjian* 241.

12. Field Museum #1434; *JWK* 96:1603; *Guangji zhi* 20–57. A pious doctor’s vow helped this Inner City Ciyunsi build a hall for elderly monks, a sick-room, and a dispensary. Jin Zhijun 10:27–28. I am extrapolating from the stupas at the Tanzhesi, but for an example, see *BJTB* 71:32.

13. By my count, there were 60 monasteries in the Qing and 77 in the Ming. Of these, 41 monasteries in the Ming and 33 in the Qing were imperially patronized.

14. The three Ming ones continued to perform ordinations, and three more were added. *BJTB* 86:152; *Guangji zhi* 126–32, 171–78; Prip-Møller 294–95; *JWK* 60:979. For 1733: Prip-Møller 294–95.

Consider the Baiyunguan, a great public monastery for the Quanzhen school of daoists. It needed regular income for its many residents, its ordinations, its annual festival, and the celebrations at its many ancillary halls. Imperial restorations in 1706, 1756, and 1787 and money from the Imperial Household were crucial to the monastery's longevity. In the early nineteenth century, when new sources of income were needed, the Daoist abbots turned to wealthy private donors and encouraged religious associations to help out, but did not relinquish financial control.¹⁵ As at the Tanzhesi and Jietaisi, a broader public constituency kept the temple alive. Smaller monasteries and nunneries had much greater difficulties and were often dangerously overdependent on a few patrons.¹⁶

Eunuchs were part of their birth families, but they did not marry and were without descendants. (Some adopted sons.) Qing eunuchs lacked the resources to endow caretaker temples as their Ming predecessors had done; instead, they relied on the throne and pooled their resources. In 1700, for example, the Kangxi emperor converted a Ming building near the palace into an establishment that would be exclusively for aged eunuchs to live out their years in.¹⁷ Thereafter, eunuchs by the hundreds formed charitable associations (*yihui*) and contributed generously to acquire real estate for the temple.¹⁸

The Yongzheng emperor donated a substantial 460 *mou* for a cemetery in the western suburbs where palace eunuchs were to be buried and form a community in death. A Guandi temple was built there so that offerings could be made; land endowments were supplied by the throne. This new cemetery in Enjizhuang (Village of Imperial Kindness and Assistance) survived to the end of the dynasty; Li Lianying, the powerful favorite of Empress Dowager Cixi, was buried there. Similar processes took place on a smaller scale. Eunuchs of the imperial kitchens gave money for the restoration of a suburban Stove-god temple (in 1754) and effectively took it over as an old people's home with attached cemetery land. Other servitors continued to patronize the Gangtiemiao, a eunuch temple in the western suburbs; by the

15. *BFTB* 66:87, 75:93-94, 78:72, 78:74, 85:87-88, 86:6-7; *JWK* 94:1575-85; *NWF Zhangyisi* 2:31; Oyanagi 145-53, 158-59, 164-67, 173-75, 181-83, 190-91. Ordinations, of which this temple did many, could also bring in income. Oyanagi 140-91 passim; Leung & Pas 78.

16. E.g., the suburban temples rented by foreigners during the summer or taken over by Manchu nobles in the later nineteenth century.

17. They worshipped the god of the waters of the lakes of the Western Park—perhaps connected to a related cult of three Ming eunuchs who died protecting the imperial person. Gao Shiqi 2:4-5; Zhaolian 1986b:2:414; Peking Library #647. There was also a shrine to Our Lady of Mount Tai. Shoudu Library #451.

18. *BFTB* 71:195, 73:92, 75:135; Shoudu Library #450, #451, #647; *JWK* 41:641.

nineteenth century, it was being supported primarily by men who worked in the Yuanmingyuan.¹⁹

All of these buildings and graveyards were, needless to say, quite private, limited to contributing eunuchs (and their imperial patrons). They had no public festivals and discouraged visits by outsiders. The same was true for the privatized temples of Peking's foreign religions.

MUSLIMS

Muslims had long been a publicly constituted community in Peking, identifiable though their clergy and places of worship. Some were temporary visitors from northwest China and Central Asia, but most were—or had become—local people. For them, the mosque was the central node in neighborhoods that were predominantly Muslim or the center that created a community of dispersed believers. They were the oldest of Peking's minority communities and the most open and best integrated into local society.

The half dozen (known) Ming mosques and their constituencies seem to have survived the Qing conquest without ill effect. The new Manchu rulers took a position of benevolent tolerance toward Islam, allowed it to be publicly constituted, and resisted attempts by Chinese bureaucrats to impose tighter control on the religion. In 1729 Yongzheng recognized that Muslims resident within the empire had a different religion, but he declared that because their other customs were like those of the empire they must be understood to be “the children of our dynasty” (*guojia zhi chizi*) and treated with impartial humaneness. The members of one substantial Peking mosque had this important edict carved on stone and placed in the courtyard. Qianlong later reiterated the sentiment.²⁰

Muslims claimed a separate identity but were accommodationist in their public rhetoric. Frankly acknowledging their religion's foreign origin, they emphasized shared Chinese values and pointedly abjured connections with heterodoxy: “This teaching is no different from that of the sages of the Middle Kingdom [*Zhongguo*]”; “[We take] loyalty to ruler and filiality to parents as the Way.”²¹

But Chinese Muslims were still distinctive and seem to have been imme-

19. Enjizhuang: *JWK* 97:1616; *BJTB* 69:83; Lu & Liu; Bredon 314–15; Tong Xun. Stove-god temple: *BJTB* 71:35, 80:56–57. Gangtiemiao: *BJTB* 65:173–74, 65:182, 75:101–2, 80:181–82, 84:52–53.

20. *QSL-YZ* 80:6–8; *BJTB* 68:73–74; *QSL-QL* 1159:10–12: “People of the Hui religion are all my children.” But see also Millward 1998:159–60.

21. *BJTB* 57:89–90, 59:152–53, also 74:111, 81:192–93, 85:23–24.

diately recognizable in Peking. Their devotional behavior was observably different. They frequented certain exclusive religious establishments, prayed five times a day, with special worship every seventh day, fasted one month a year, and followed an altogether different religious calendar. They did not use coffins for burial, and inscriptions in foreign scripts could be found on their gravestones, incense burners, and stelae.²² Muslim dress was slightly different (their headgear in particular), and their women did not bind their feet. There were recognizable Muslim surnames and predictable occupations. Because they ate beef and mutton (not pork), they became butchers, ran restaurants where such meats were the principal fare, and made their livings as horse and mule traders.²³

Like other foreign religions, Islam provided important links outward. Its mosques served as centers for Muslim visitors to the capital, and Islam constituted common ground between Peking's Muslims and fellow believers in northern China.²⁴ The 1759 conquest of the "New Dominions" (Xinjiang) drew tighter the various strands that linked Peking to the Muslim world of Central Asia.

As early as 1756, a school was set up in the capital to train members of the Imperial Household in the Hui spoken and written languages, and beginning in 1758, the Muslim Kazakhs began to send "tribute missions" to Peking. After Xinjiang was incorporated into the empire in the following year, regular missions came from leaders among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, and Turkish-speaking peoples of the oasis towns of these dominions. Managed by the Agency for Imperial Dependencies, these delegations usually made the long journey in the winter, their schedule slowed by caravans laden with baggage and swelled by eager merchants. When in Peking, these visitors patronized a mosque that was conveniently located just east of the Forbidden City.²⁵

In the wake of his Inner Asian conquests, Qianlong also relocated some eminent Muslim families from eastern Turkestan to the capital. These eight-hundred-odd people were enrolled in one of the Mongol Banners, and quarters were built for them at the southwest corner of the Imperial City, including mansions and a mosque for their use. The two 1764 stelae at the new mosque were inscribed in Chinese and Manchu, Mongol and Uighur (in Arabic script). This community was colloquially called the "Red Hat Garrison" for its distinctive headgear. Some three hundred Central Asian musicians,

22. Tan Qian 1656:357-59; Zha Shenxing 1; *BJTB* 57:65-67, 57:89-90, 59:152-53, 60:3, 61:76-77, 79:50, 81:192-93. The dead: Naquin 1988:50; Lockhart 1866:154.

23. Lynn 171; *QSL-YZ* 80:6-8; Bretschneider 1876a:101; Constant 10; Deveria 231; Han Youli 38; Official Guide 38; Niida 4:704; Peng Nian.

24. *QSL-YZ* 80:6-8; Bretschneider 1876a:100; *STFZ* 1885:12:322.

25. *STFZ* 1885:9:292; Millward 1998:156-60; Fletcher 1978a:62, 64, 76; Cammann.

dancers, and acrobats were also brought into service in the Imperial Household at this time and used for court entertainment.²⁶

Mosques were the religious and social core of genuine Muslim quarters in Peking.²⁷ The earliest known Muslim communities were dispersed, three in the Inner City, two in the Outer, and two in the suburbs. The largest was in and around Ox Street in the Outer City. A mosque in the eastern Inner City was for tributaries, and there was another for the new Muslim garrison near the palace. The mosque at the Flower Mart in the Outer City seems to have been patronized partially by butchers and partially by Muslim merchants from other parts of Zhili province. (It is shown in Figure 2.5.) Other quarters were less clearly defined.²⁸

Cemeteries were also circumscribed spaces where different customs and beliefs could be privately acted upon, and they formed another important node in Muslim Peking. The Ox Street mosque had a graveyard on its spacious premises, but an even more substantial cemetery (and community) could be found in the western suburbs.²⁹

How many Muslims were there in the Qing capital? A French observer guessed ten thousand in 1869, and more reliable estimates from 1938 suggest 170,000 to 200,000 at that time—hardly a small number. Although the Muslim populations of some cities in the empire were larger than Peking, most were even smaller. The size of the community served by each Peking mosque in the 1930s seems to have averaged about four thousand people.³⁰ How many clergy were there? A 1908 survey counted seventeen in one half of the Outer City; better information from 1941 suggests that there were 156 mullahs in forty-nine mosques, or about three clerics per mosque.³¹

An important difference between Muslim clerics and Catholic and Tibetan

26. Comprehensive Gazetteer 1820:2:12; *BJTB* 72:59–60; Mosques 1938b:57; Staunton 2:296; Millward 1994, 1998:159–60; *FXZ* 2:14; *Preussische expedition* #42; Q. Fu 74; Little 1899:506; Yamamoto 1901. In 1987 the 1764 stelae were lying in what used to be the Inner City Capital City-god temple.

27. Information about these mosques is uneven. I know of only 7 that can be securely dated before 1760 and another 8 that appeared in the record in the late nineteenth century. By 1911, I count 39: 15 in the suburbs, 7 in the Outer City, and 17 in the Inner City. Depending on how the city is defined, later data indicate 22 to 32 for the 1910s, and 40 to 50 for later decades. Servigny 43; Gamble 1921:511; Crow 284; Mosques 1938a:34; *Huabei zongjiao nianjian* 315–16; Gladney 174.

28. *BJTB* 68:73–74; Mosques 1928d; *BJTB* 73:15. For others: *FXZ* 3:9, 5:23, 8:23; Millward 1998:159; Mosques 1938b:57.

29. Lockhart 1866:154; Mosques 1938a:35, 1938b:60, 1938c:43, 1938d:44; Yi Kap 607.

30. Morache 74; Mosques 1938a:34, 1938c:43. A thorough 1982 survey found 184,000: Gladney 174–75. There is no reason to think that there were more Muslims in the Qing than in the twentieth century.

31. Survey 1908; *Huabei zongjiao nianjian* 315–16. Thus, there were about 120 mullahs in the city before 1911.

Buddhist ones was that the Catholics and Buddhists were funded by the throne and discouraged from proselytizing among the citizenry. Mullahs (*ahong*), by contrast, emerged from and lived as part of existing communities. They were not formally constrained in teaching their religion—although the prudent impulse to accommodate to the dominant culture and fear of provoking trouble must have discouraged active proselytizing and tempered distinctions over the centuries.

Muslims were, moreover, understood as legitimate city residents. In 1878, the religious leaders of one mosque outside the Xuanwu Gate and another in the east suburbs received permission to open soup kitchens for the poor and, like other organizations doing the same, were allocated rice from the imperial granaries for distribution. By the late Qing, mosques (the Ox Street one in particular) had also gained a minor place among Peking's tourist sights.³²

Although usually benign toward its Muslim citizens, the Qing state occasionally had cause to become concerned about secessionist impulses from the west and the destabilizing power of Islamic fundamentalism. As contacts with and through Central Asia became more frequent after 1759, Muslims were important conduits for new religious ideas. Ever since the fifteenth century, revivalist Sufi brotherhoods provoked intermittent uprisings that occasionally reached into the heartland of the empire. Rebellion in the northwestern province of Gansu had been suppressed in the 1780s but the more hard-fought defeat in 1828 of Jehangir, who had challenged Qing hegemony in Xinjiang for eight years, was celebrated in Peking with the miscreant's public death by slow slicing and a triumphal celebration in the Ziguangge in the Western Park.³³ When even more serious attempts were made to create independent Muslim states in southwest and west China in the 1860s, officials in Peking began to worry about traitorous local co-religionists. In the summer of 1862, security was tightened and travellers were more closely inspected for inflammatory pamphlets.³⁴

Tensions between Muslims and their neighbors seem to have been more visible (and perhaps more hostile) during the last half of the nineteenth century. On the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month of 1885, when offerings were traditionally made by Chinese to the spirits of the dead, there was a three-day Muslim riot in the Ox Street area. When the Boxers besieged the foreign legations in the summer of 1900, Europeans claimed that the Muslim soldiers from northwest China who had been brought in to

32. *STFZ* 1885:12:319, 12:322; Wu Changyuan 7:139, 9:167, 10:198. For foreigners, see Chapter 13.

33. Fletcher 1978a:66, 74, 87–90, 1978b:360–66; Rossabi 1975:119–20, 171–73; Millward 1998:34–36; *ECCP* 68.

34. *QSL-TZ* 35:43–44, 44–45; *Huidian shili* 1899:1033:174212; M. Wright 108–10.

strengthen the siege were particularly antiforeign and eager supporters of the Boxers.³⁵

We have no evidence that mosques in Peking served as centers for Muslim political activity during times of crisis, but they probably did. The existence of relatively clearly defined and exclusive communities, their location in spatial proximity to the mosques, the educational and political role played by mullahs elsewhere in the Islamic world, and the relative autonomy granted them by the Qing authorities all suggest a capacity for political organization far greater than that of ordinary Chinese temples.³⁶ Elsewhere in the empire, these potentialities gave rise to organized opposition; in Peking, it seems that force majeure kept them in check.

Peking's Christian communities—Catholic and Russian Orthodox—although much smaller than the Muslim ones, were likewise distinctive in their worship of foreign gods and in the mixed congregations of local and foreign believers that formed around their churches. Not long established in Peking, these Christians were precariously dependent on imperial sufferance and the presence of foreign clerics.

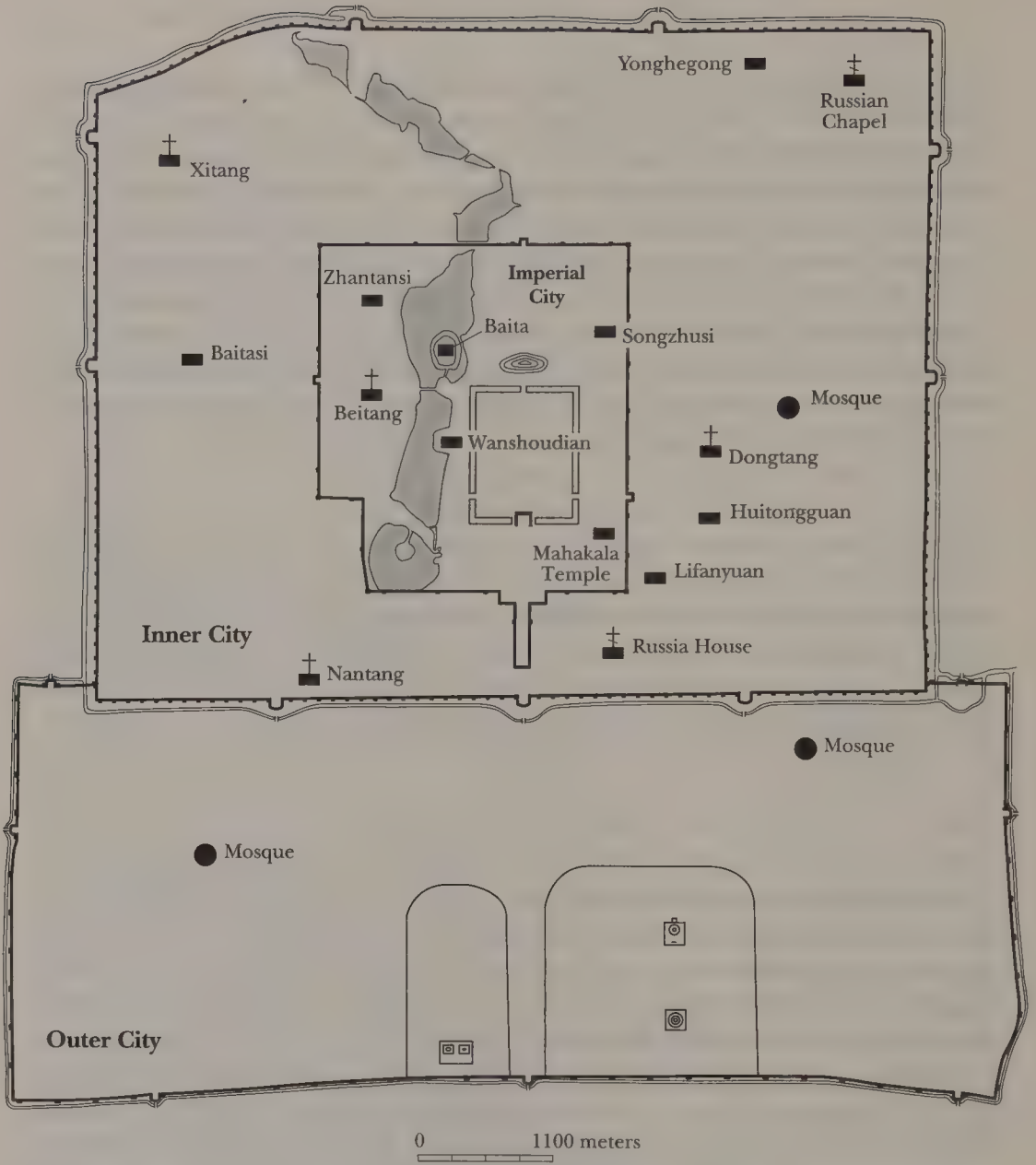
CHRISTIANS

Peking's Catholics were converted by foreign missionaries beginning in the late Ming. By 1700, there were three Catholic churches, all in the Inner City. (See Map 15.1.) Two had the name-plaques and tortoise-borne stelae that were public testimonials of imperial patronage and support: the South Church near the Xuanwu Gate, which dated back to Matteo Ricci's time, and the North Church, constructed inside the Imperial City in the 1690s with Kangxi's blessing. The third, the East Church, had been built in the Shunzhi reign with donations from Chinese converts, then rebuilt in the 1670s after the persecutions with help from prominent Banner converts and patrons. A fourth, the West Church, was initiated in 1723 by the Lazarist Theodorico Pedrini, who purchased property in the northwest corner of the Inner City as a residence and then built a church there.³⁷ (Like the summits for Bixia, these geographical designations were more convenient than precise.)

35. Esherick 1987:292. I have been unable to learn more about the 1885 event. *LSJN* 249.

36. Mosques housed schools in the twentieth century, if not sooner. Fischer 1924:87; Mosques 1938a:35, 1938c:46, 1938d:40, 44. Also *BJTB* 81:192–93.

37. The present North Church is not at the same location as the original one. East Church: Pfister 1:23; Crossley 1999:86; *ECCP* 792–94. West Church: *Mémoires de la Congrégation* 1:274–75; Planchet 1923; Devine 73.



Map 15.1. Centers of Christianity, Tibetan Buddhism, and Islam

These church complexes were primarily residences for foreign Catholic missionaries. In the course of the Qing, more than one hundred missionaries came to live in the capital.³⁸ The dream of fraternization with scholar-officials that had been partially realized by Jesuits in the late Ming and early Qing slowly faded. Adam Schall took full charge of the Bureau of Astronomy, was a mentor and friend to Shunzhi, and had frank discussions with Kangxi, but as fear of Catholicism increased, the clerics were kept on an ever-shorter leash.

In the eighteenth century under Yongzheng and Qianlong, the missionaries—Lazarists having amplified the ranks of the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits—became almost exclusively employees of the Imperial Household. They were used for a variety of technical tasks, as astronomers, clock-makers, mathematicians, interpreters, architects, mapmakers, painters, gardeners, and engineers. In 1741 there were twenty-two Jesuits in Peking; those in special service to the emperor had residences near the summer palaces. Like the religious complexes associated with Muslims, Mongols, Tibetans, and Russians, Catholic churches were permitted to house embassies, but only those from the Holy See, not European missions.³⁹

And what of Chinese Catholics? Elite converts had been essential patrons in the early Qing, and the location of the churches in the Inner City expedited contacts with the Banner community nearby. As late as the 1720s, Manchu princes were still being converted and building small chapels within their princely mansions.⁴⁰

After 1724, when overt missionizing was more strictly forbidden, sub-rosa proselytizing in and near the capital continued among more ordinary folk. Antoine Gaubil reported that they had a community of three thousand adult converts in Peking in 1726, of whom only a handful were educated men, the rest “poor people”; their flock had supposedly grown to four thousand by 1728 and was described in 1736 as three hundred families. (In that same year, Qianlong issued an edict specifically prohibiting Banner people from following this religion, another indication, perhaps, of who some of these converts were.) The missionaries were also baptizing two to four thousand infants a year—abandoned children, many of whom died before adulthood.⁴¹

The church complexes and the foreign priests were the essential core of

38. In the card catalogue for the Peking Library rubbing collection, I counted 38 inscriptions for tombstones in the Zhengfusi cemetery for men who died between 1730 and 1812, and 67 between 1654 and 1785 in the Zhala cemetery. See *BJTB* passim for some.

39. Devine 65; Beurdeley 45–48; *Mémoires de la Congrégation* 1:103. They also trained Bannermen as translators of Latin: Widmer 109–10.

40. I refer to the sons of Sunu. Witek; *ECCP* 692–94. The East and South Churches were included on the map of Peking in the 1739 “Gazetteer of the Eight Banners”: *BQTZ* 2:2–10.

41. Gaubil 1970:127, 163, 202, 386, 445; De Groot 1904:124–25; Devine 81–82.

this faith, protecting and nourishing the dispersed converts. The buildings were funded by their communities (both local ones and those in Europe): all suffered damage in the earthquake of 1730 but were eventually repaired or reconstructed. Most also owned separate income-generating property in the city.⁴² Religious services continued to be held through the eighteenth century—men and women in separate rooms. Activities in the capital sustained proselytizing farther afield and gave essential coherence to the religion, but the danger of arrest meant that conversions had to be secret and rituals kept very private.

Many of these Chinese Catholics—more of them with time?—lived outside the city. They quietly visited the intramural churches to attend mass, receive the sacraments, worship the images, and seek instruction. Because the churches also served as libraries and publishers, believers came to Peking to acquire copies of sacred scriptures, openly at first, then covertly. Converts from near and far were looked after by Chinese preachers trained by the Jesuits through the eighteenth century. Louis Fan, for example, was a Shanxi man who came to Peking in 1725 after a visit to Europe; he proselytized in Zhili and the Northeast and was buried in the capital when he died at the age of seventy-one.⁴³ Given the current state of research, it is hard to say what this Christianity actually consisted of and how it differed from Chinese Catholicism elsewhere in the empire.⁴⁴

There were supposedly five thousand converts in the capital in the 1790s, including Banner people and civilians, Chinese and Manchus, men and women, and even members of the imperial lineage (descendants of early Qing Manchu converts). Some seem to have been people with whom the missionaries worked on a regular basis, such as the men trained to maintain the Western-style clocks and watches of the palace and palace community.⁴⁵

Catholic churches were incorporated into the life of nonbelievers as strange sights. Tan Qian came to the South Church in the winter of 1654, talked with Schall about Catholicism, and inspected the foreign objects and paintings (“They make offerings to a painted image of Yesu that from a distance looks [as three-dimensional as] a sculpture”). Both Chinese and Korean visitors found much that was unusual: the architecture, frescoes, images of another Holy Mother, chiming clocks, telescope and organ, hard-

42. Gaubil 1970:265; Devine 44. A special dispensation in 1750 permitted clerics in service at court to buy Banner land. *BJTB* 70:138; Staunton 2:8; Devine 33–34, 75, 162.

43. Gaubil 1970: 546–47, 720–21; Witek 269; GZD-MM 779:8; De Groot 1904:391; Pfister 2:607–8; Brandt ##1–25, esp. #18, #21, #22; Bretschneider 1876A:97. For Fan: Dehergne #282.

44. But see Bays.

45. Cranmer-Byng 102; QSLJQ 142:33–36; Timkowski 364–65; De Groot 1904:387–86; Dunne 362; Cumming 2:257.

covered books, and the arbors for growing Central Asian grapes (for mass).⁴⁶

Like other temples, these buildings were the focus of regular (probably increasingly muted) rituals and holidays (at Christmas and Easter), but it was at the lunar new year that Catholic churches established a place for themselves in the city's annual calendar. The North Church was particularly crowded with visitors, and the sounds of organ and carillon rang out all day.⁴⁷

Catholic services were unusual, and curious neighbors were said to climb on adjacent buildings to watch the rites. A rare painting, circa 1700, showed a voyeur's view of an elaborate ritual in the interior courtyard of the North Church, with its European gardens and massive stone facade; several hundred people were in attendance, some of them black-robed Jesuit fathers. Public activities attracted even more interest, of course: the occasional founding of a new church or the procession that accompanied an imperial visit or the arrival of an imperial gift.⁴⁸

Processions without permission were dangerous, but funerals were a common and acceptable public spectacle, and Catholics copied local custom. When Ferdinand Verbiest passed away in 1688, his silk-draped coffin was carried Chinese-style, accompanied by musicians, a large cross, an image of the Virgin Mary with Jesus, mourners wearing white, and fifty horsemen. In 1741, when Dominique Parrenin died after forty years in Peking, his encoffined body was likewise carried through the city to the graveyard. A banner proclaimed his name in Chinese, Qing officials walked with an imperial eulogy written on yellow satin, converts carried images of Mary and St. Michael, and crowds came out to watch all along the way. The body was buried, with Catholic prayers and rites, and the sound of weeping ("cris et pleurs").⁴⁹

Cemeteries themselves were another node in Catholic Peking. The first graveyard had been created in 1610 for Ricci outside the western wall of the Inner City. Best known in the West as the Zhala (Shala, Chala) cemetery, it was used steadily through the eighteenth century, providing a resting place for seventy-two European and sixteen Chinese Jesuits. A small church dedicated to the Virgin Mary was built here in 1660. After Schall's adjacent but separate Chinese-style graveyard (complete with an avenue of tomb-guarding animals) was incorporated in 1708, the place had a distinctively hybrid look:

46. Tan Qian 1656:45–46. See also *Wanping xian zhi* 1:38–39; Ruan Kuisheng 459. Giuseppi Castiglione did paintings and frescoes for both the Nantang and the Dongtang. Baddeley 1:150; Hong Taeyong 315–16; Kim Kyöngsön 1035; Du Halde 1:101; *JWK* 49:779; Wu Changyuan 7:125–26.

47. See previous note.

48. *Mémoires de la Congrégation* 2:118–19; *Travels* 201. The painting is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. See Verbiest fig. 43 for the argument that it showed the North Church.

49. Verbiest: Edkins 1870:378. Parrenin: Gaubil 1970:548–50; Dehergne #611.

large vault-shaped brick tombs topped with crosses, stone stelae with epitaphs in Latin and Chinese, and a long avenue set amid neat rows of tombs leading to a permanent stone altar. Like the churches, it too became a local tourist sight.⁵⁰

A second Catholic graveyard was created with imperial permission in 1732 in the northwest suburbs (also from the property of a Ming eunuch-endowed temple-cum-grave). More convenient to the summer villas, it was used by the French Jesuits who worked for the Imperial Household. Here were found the tombs of de Mailla, Benoist, Amiot, Attiret, Gaubil, Incarville, and Gerbillon—illustrious Jesuits of the Qianlong court. A third much smaller cemetery was located just opposite Zhala, and was used by Franciscans and the fathers associated with the West Church in the eighteenth century.⁵¹

Another place associated with the missionaries was the Observatory, located atop the east wall of the Inner City near the examination hall. This Platform for Viewing the Heavenly Bodies (Guanxiangtai) and its bronze instruments had been here since the Yuan and was already a local curiosity in the late Ming. In 1673, as Ferdinand Verbiest and his colleagues resumed charge of the Astronomy Bureau, they installed an impressive set of new instruments. The Observatory became well known in Europe through the engravings of it published by Verbiest, and over the centuries it was visited by interested Chinese and Koreans as well as Europeans.⁵²

Despite intermittent feuding, their relative isolation encouraged the Catholic fathers to view themselves (and be viewed) as a single community. The names of their churches by points of the compass emphasized this interconnectedness. Few in number but distinctive in their foreignness, Catholic churches were harbingers (though none realized it) of the aggressive Western presence to come in the nineteenth century.

While European traders and missionaries were coming to southern China by sea in the seventeenth century, Russians were making their way eastward across Asia by land. In the 1680s, Cossacks from Albazin and other Siberian outposts along the Amur River switched their allegiance from the czar to the Qing emperor. They were formed into a separate bondservant Banner company, brought to Peking (and Shenyang), and given designated housing in the quarter of the Bordered Yellow Banner (to which they were assigned)

50. Planchet 1928:23–25; Cordier 1028–36; Pak Chiwŏn 25; *JWK* 96:1609–10; Malatesta & Gao. The name came from *zhalan* (barricade); also known as the Portuguese cemetery.

51. This was the so-called French cemetery at Zhengfusi (Tcheng-fou-sse). Peking Library #2249; Cordier 1035–36. West Church: Cordier 1031–32; Planchet 1928:35–37.

52. The Observatory was said, incorrectly, to have been built by Yelu Chucai. Cao Xuequan j. 1; Xie Zhaozhi 2:146–47; Tan Qian 1656:94; *JWK* 46:721–22; Verbiest 250–51, fig. 13.

in the northeast corner of the Inner City. They served the throne as bow-makers and guardsmen. Among them was a Russian Orthodox priest, Maksim Leont'ev. In 1683 the community was formally given a temple in their neighborhood that they converted into a chapel, dedicated to St. Nikolas, and opened to believers.⁵³

This chapel served as one pole of the Russian community in Qing Peking. Official visitors were the exclusive constituency for the second center. Like Muslims and Catholics, the Russians were allowed the reinvigorating visits of a stream of co-religionists. At first (ca. 1670), so that members of Russian trading caravans might worship when they reached Peking, their fellow Christians at the Catholic South Church housed Orthodox icons for them in a small chapel.⁵⁴ In 1694, after the Treaty of Nerchinsk (concluded with the translation assistance of Jesuits in 1689) had stabilized the northern frontier, a hostel near the Six Ministries was given over to the Russians and became known as the Russia House (*Russkii dom*, *Eluosiguan*). Russian Bannermen assisted the visitors as local guides and middlemen. Once they discovered the Banner chapel, emissaries and merchants who came to trade Siberian furs for Chinese silks attended services there.⁵⁵

After the 1728 Treaty of Kiakhta, caravans were not allowed to cross the border, but priests sent from Russia were permitted to reside in Peking and serve the Banner Christians. Thereafter, a succession of prelates, each coming on a "mission" and staying about ten years, brought fresh energy to the increasingly assimilated Albazianians. The chapel was rebuilt by its Banner community after the 1730 earthquake (with government assistance), and intermittent financial help was offered from home through the Russian prelates. Nevertheless, by the early nineteenth century this compound was "in such a ruinous state that it seemed ready to fall," according to a foreign visitor.⁵⁶

After 1728, the Russia House became the primary residence of the ecclesiastical missions and existed to serve them and other Russian visitors rather than local believers. A chapel was built there, known as the *Sretenskii* church (the *Jiejiaotang*); within its enclosing wall were rooms for clerics, a kitchen, a barn, stables, a bell tower, and a garden planted with grapevines. The much larger hostel for visiting emissaries was immediately adjacent and

53. Icons from a demolished church in Albazin were installed. S. Meng 31; Widmer 4, 15, 20, 24, 32; Foust 4-7.

54. Baddeley 1:202; Bredon 484; Widmer 24.

55. Widmer 21-23, 88-90, 94; Cai Hongsheng 1; J. Bell 139. Russian textiles were increasingly traded for Chinese teas, tobacco, and cottons. Foust 344-60.

56. Timkovskii as quoted in Widmer 96. Thirteen missions were sent between 1729 and 1859. S. Meng 33; Widmer chap. 2; Foust 50-51. In 1866 an English observer pronounced the Albazianians "Chinese in everything save in the matter of their religion." Freeman-Mitford 212.

housed a school for Russian students of Chinese and Manchu.⁵⁷ Nearby was the Imperial Household school where first Albazinians and then members of the ecclesiastical mission taught Russian to Bannermen, training them to be translators. The community had its own cemetery, in use from at least 1734; it was outside the walls, beyond the northeast corner of the city, and convenient to the Albazinian church.⁵⁸

Like the Jesuits, the Orthodox archimandrites received a stipend from the Qing, but they were understood to be providing services for the Russian Bannermen and tribute missions; the Lifanyuan referred to them as “lamas.”⁵⁹ Although the Chinese often viewed them as dissolute and troublesome, these Russian clerics were not active proselytizers and largely remained free of the stigma of purveyors of heterodoxy that would encumber the Catholics. They tended their flock in a desultory fashion, assisted the trading caravans, acquired urban property for which they were lackadaisical landlords, and bought books. Some were serious students of Asian history and culture, and through their expertise superior libraries in Mongolian, Manchu, Tibetan, and Chinese were amassed in Russia.⁶⁰

The Orthodox and Catholic communities in Peking in the eighteenth century had distant but not uncordial relations,⁶¹ and when the position of the Catholics became increasingly desperate in the early nineteenth century, their Russian colleagues proved helpful.

Although Catholics in Peking were given special dispensations, their fate was still determined by imperial policy toward missionizing elsewhere in the empire. Swings of fortune were common and terrifying. Between 1661 and 1669, the Jesuits in the capital were imprisoned and their churches closed and missionaries elsewhere were arrested; then these harsh measures were reversed by Kangxi. After the simmering and well-known controversy about whether Catholic converts would be permitted to perform ancestral rites came to a boil in the first decades of the eighteenth century, the ban on proselytizing was reaffirmed. In 1724, all “Men of the Western Ocean” were or-

57. Cai Hongsheng 18; Banno 302; Widmer 97–98, 112–13.

58. This was the Eluosiwenguan. S. Meng 41; Widmer 105–8; *JWK* 62:1024. I counted twenty-seven rubbings of tombstones (written in Chinese, Manchu, and Russian) for the period 1718 to 1870 in *BJTB* (e.g., 67:86). Lange 1872:10; Fortune 370; Fischer 1924:36.

59. Widmer 100–102; Cai Hongsheng 38–41, 47–59. The chief cleric, the archimandrite, was called a *da lama*. S. Meng 24, 26.

60. Foust 32, 50–51; Parry; Widmer chap. 6, 157–66; Vassiliev (I am grateful to Vladimir Uspensky for this reference).

61. E.g., Foust 51, 128, 155.

dered to leave for Macao. Only those missionaries serving the throne in Peking were excepted.⁶²

Qianlong continued this two-pronged strategy of relying on Jesuit technical skills in the capital and banning the religion in the empire at large. The teachings of the White Lotus and of Jesus (Tianzhu, the Heavenly Lord) were outlawed in the same breath. Officials in Peking were enjoined to see that residents of the capital (especially Bannermen) were not tempted by this foreign religion.⁶³

After the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773, fewer new men (Lazarists now) arrived in Peking, and as the older priests died in the 1810s, the position of the court missionaries steadily weakened.⁶⁴ Sectarian-inspired millenarian rebellions of the 1770s and 1790s heightened imperial concern about religion, as did the Muslim disturbances of the 1780s. “I hear,” said a worried Qianlong emperor in 1784, “that the men of the Western Ocean and the Muslims [Hui] originally belonged to the same religion.”⁶⁵

In 1805, government attention and suspicion focused on Peking. A Cantonese convert was intercepted as he carried away maps and papers on behalf of an Italian missionary. When many people of the local Banner community were found to have converted—including members of the imperial lineage—prohibitions against Catholicism were again promulgated. This time, the churches in Peking were searched and their scriptures seized and sent to the emperor; inspecting the contents, Jiaqing found much to be distressed by: “If Buddhism and Daoism are not to be believed, how much more so the Western Ocean religion?”⁶⁶ The European ships calling importunately at Canton and Macao heightened imperial agitation, and by 1811, the emperor was ready for sterner measures.

Abandoning his hope that people would refuse to convert and “the chapels they have erected will disappear of themselves,” Jiaqing heeded a censor’s advice and removed the protection extended to Catholics in the capital. Now, only those employed in the Astronomy Bureau were to remain; the rest were to be expelled from the empire. The West Church was torn down and, after a fire in 1812, the East Church was leveled. During the Eight Trigrams scare of 1813, the remaining churches were put under the authority of the Gen-

62. Dunne 316–39, 360–68; Oxnam 146–51; QSL-KX 31:4–5; De Groot 1904:273; QSL-KX 272:8; QSL-YZ 14:1 (January 11, 1724).

63. QSL-QL 13:20–22; *Huidian shili* 1899:1038:17459; Devine 81–82.

64. Standaert 9; Devine 88.

65. QSL-QL 1221:3–4; Willeke, doc. #9. Fukang’an tried to reassure him of the differences—Catholics eat pork, recite the Ten Commandments, and do not know Islamic scriptures.

66. QSL-JQ 142:33–36; SYD 59, JQ 10/5/5; De Groot 1904:391–94. Devine 94 said that soldiers were posted at the churches in Peking and the separate chapels for women were closed.

darmerie; the North Church property was confiscated in 1826. When the last missionary died in 1838, the South Church was sealed and the cemetery caretaker banished. Through these decades, arrests of Catholics in Peking continued.⁶⁷ Authority over the South Church was given to the Russian prelate, and its library was moved to the North Lodge in the Albazinian quarter.⁶⁸ Thus, until foreign armies entered Peking in 1860, public Christian institutions disappeared and only Russians remained. Peking, which once housed more Europeans than any other city in the empire, found itself with almost none just as the Westerners were demanding entry on entirely new terms.

TIBETAN BUDDHISTS

Like mullahs and priests, Peking's Tibetan Buddhist monks and lamas served a delimited community of visitors and local believers. Under the Qing, as under the Ming, the spread of Tibetan Buddhism to the Chinese lay community was discouraged; in fact, as the Yellow Sect became dominant in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century among the Mongols and the Tibetans, and as power was concentrated in fewer and more powerful monk incarnations, the religion became more distinct from Chinese Buddhism and more sectarian. During the Qing, its clerics were more likely to be called by the foreign word "lama" than referred to as "monks from the west" (*xiseng*) or "Central Asian monks" (*fanseng*). As a result, Tibetan Buddhist temples became more distinct and more isolated, even as they grew large and rich.⁶⁹

Like the Jesuits, lamas were foreigners who entered the empire with imperial permission, resided in the capital by imperial sufferance, and were supported there by the throne. Like the Jesuits, the monks were permitted to have their own religious communities; within the palace, where believers were many, eunuchs were enlisted to perform rites in the halls given over to this faith.⁷⁰ Efforts to limit the numbers of foreign lamas in Peking in the early Qing gave way to a warmer welcome. Encouraged to remain permanently by generous support, these clerics were subjected to the controls and restrictions of the Agency for Imperial Dependencies. They could not travel as ordinary monks could, were not to take up long-term residence in the home of private patrons, and should not own property. Appointments were handled by the Central Buddhist Registry, but initially stringent attempts

67. QSL:JQ 143:32–33; Devine 96–99; Planchet 1923. For converts among members of the imperial lineage as late as the 1830s: De Groot 1904:525.

68. This library was later shifted to the Beitang. Bredon 484; Planchet 1923.

69. Lamaseries such as the Yonghegong were not open to the general public. *DMJL* 1845; Bredon 155–68.

70. *Cultural Relics* 14.

at licensing (1736–1774) were abandoned. In the nineteenth century, both control and support diminished.⁷¹

How many lamas were there in Peking during the Qing? Of the Yonghegong, which probably had more than any other lamasery, a Korean visitor said there were “at least several thousand” in 1766; European guesses in the period 1860–1900 ranged between one and two thousand; a 1908 survey reported 550, and the 1941 survey 315. Two temples were officially said to have (together) two thousand lamas in 1780, but most of the others had perhaps a tenth as many.⁷² Might we estimate that there were between four and five thousand under Qianlong?

Of the fifty-three Tibetan Buddhist temples in greater Peking (as of the late eighteenth century), thirty-one were outside the imperial domain, equally split between the Inner City and suburban locations. None were in the Outer City Han Chinese domain. Although the overwhelming majority (86 percent) received formal imperial patronage, they also had private support—from Central Asians and Mongol Bannermen, Manchu nobility, and imperial family members in Peking.⁷³ Monks were usually cremated, so separate graveyards were unnecessary. Bodies were sometimes first mummified in large wooden caskets, kept in a special hall, and later burned; the ashes were stored in bags hung on the wall.⁷⁴

The caravans from Central Asia encamped in the northern suburbs formed a natural community for the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries that were built there in the early Qing. The Agency for Imperial Dependencies' Outer Lodge (Waiguan) for visiting delegations, a lively marketplace, and workshops for the production of ritual images and vessels all further concentrated devotees in these northern suburbs. Banner exercise yards were nearby, and some of the military examinations were held at the Heisi.⁷⁵

In the early 1720s, when Qing influence in Mongol and Tibetan lands of

71. *Huidian shili* 1899:501:11748–49; QSL-SZ 68:24–25; YFD 18–19, QL 2/7/18; *NWF Kuaijisi* 4:78.

72. Twentieth-century surveys counted between 500 and 1,000 in the whole city. Survey 1908; *Huabei zongjiao nianjian* 197–98 (764 lamas and 1,734 monks). Yonghegong: Hong Taeyong 338; Michie 38–45; H. Norman 205; *Huabei zongjiao nianjian* 197–98. Edkins's specificity (between 1,300 and 1,500) may indicate more than a wild guess (1870:344–45). For others: *NWF qingdian* 1:14–15.

73. My figures. For surviving ones: Huang Hao. Bredon 158 reported that a “fixed tribute” was paid to the Yonghegong by the Mongol banners (probably for support of student monks, according to Vladimir Uspensky); Uspensky 1996; Chapter 10.

74. Ogden 11; Bredon 224–28. Stupas could be built for prominent lamas. Thomson 1909: opp. p. 111.

75. Zhenjun 8:545; *Beijing luxing zhinan* 230; *JWK* 107:1786–89.

Central Asia momentarily crested, Mongols themselves initiated a wave of patronage that built up the Tibetan Buddhist temples in Peking. Different lamas competed for influence and favor.⁷⁶ In 1721, Kangxi granted a petition that came jointly from the Jebtsundamba Qutugtu and a long list of “grateful” Khalka Mongol princes and dignitaries for another lamasery in the northern suburbs (the Zifuyuan, adjacent to the Heisi), one that could provide spiritual support for the delegations that would be coming regularly in tribute. The following year, just prior to his death, Kangxi also gave in to what he described as repeated requests by those same Mongol nobles to restore the venerable Huguosi in the Inner City so that they could pray for him there. The Mongols provided the funds and materials, and the emperor graced both temples with large stelae in four languages. In 1723, a similar group requested permission to restore the Huangsi (where the fifth Dalai Lama had stayed) and to present to it images of the Buddhas of the Three Eras, an eight-sided stupa, and a copy of the Tibetan Canon—acquired by their impressive joint contributions of forty-three thousand ounces of silver.⁷⁷

In the subsequent century, private donations to the land endowment of the Zifu lamasery came from dozens and dozens of Central Asian visitors. Prince Guo (Yongzheng’s brother) wrote, collected, and published scriptures in Tibetan and travelled to see the Dalai Lama in 1735.⁷⁸ The multilingual Rolpay Dorje (1717–1786), the second Jangjia Qutugtu, promoted the religion energetically in Peking, supporting everything from translation and teaching to rituals, god images, and buildings. To celebrate Qianlong’s sixtieth birthday (in 1770), unnamed (and uncounted) “inner and outer high officials” contributed to the newly constructed Tibetan-style Ten Thousand Buddha Hall in a corner of the Western Park.⁷⁹ For Rolpay Dorje’s seventieth birthday, lamas came from all over the Inner Asian world to join the emperor in presenting him with gifts.⁸⁰

The pageant and pomp of these many events became a commonplace feature of capital life. When the sixth Panchen Lama came to Peking in 1780, he lectured at the Huangsi not only to pious Mongols but also to ordinary Buddhist clerics. When, to the horror of his hosts, the youthful lama suddenly died of smallpox (“distressing to me beyond all expression,” exclaimed the emperor), Manchus and Mongols in the capital turned out in force to mourn him; Qianlong expended vast sums to escort the body back

76. Uspensky 1997:8–18.

77. *BJTB* 67:133, 67:153, 67:141, 69:1–2; *JWK* 107:1787–88. The Jebtsundamba Qutugtu had been given authority over Mongol believers by Kangxi in the 1690s. X. Wang 257, 267–85; *JWK* 53:846, 107:1790.

78. *BJTB* 69:1–2, 70:201–2, 73:128–29, 74:132–33, 78:35–36; Uspensky 1997.

79. *JWK* 28:401; Prip-Møller 63.

80. Bartholomew; X. Wang, esp. 289; *JWK* 107:1786–89.

home in a golden stupa and to construct another stupa of beautifully carved white marble on the grounds of the Huangsi. (It is shown in Figure 15.2.) Many joined the emperor in seeing off the funeral cortege when it left that temple for the seven-month journey back to Tashilhunpo.⁸¹

The Songzhusi complex, rebuilt in 1711 for the Jangjia Qutugtu in the Imperial City, was a center for the production and sale of religious books in Mongolian and Tibetan. Rolpay Dorje lived here, and when he lectured on the dharma, Peking lamas and visiting Mongols came by the dozens to listen. Because he had administrative authority over Tibetan Buddhist temples in Rehe and nearby Mongol territories as well as Peking, he had a natural constituency among these lamas.⁸²

These communities of lamas had their own exclusive calendars and rites, a few of which became part of the wider world of Peking. Important rituals were concentrated in the winter months, convenient for Central Asian visitors. On Manjusri's birthday (10/25), lamas at both the White Stupa inside the Western Park and the White Stupa Temple (Baitasi) west of the palace circumambulated the stupas with a noticeable display of horns, conches, and lanterns. On the eighth day of the twelfth month, commemorating when Shakyamuni became a Buddha, lamas at the Yonghegong (like clerics in many city temples) distributed huge quantities of gruel to the poor, financed by the donations of Mongol princes and members of the court.⁸³

Large-scale Tibetan Buddhist ritual-dramas were performed just before and after the Chinese new year. Presided over by one of the important incarnate lamas resident in the capital, these rites lasted several days and were intended to reenact the triumph of Buddhist doctrine over the powers of evil, as well as to expel the old and welcome the new.

During the morning, wearing their ochre robes and crested, feathered yellow hats, lamas sat in rows and intoned sutras in their characteristic deep hypnotic bass growl. In the afternoon, an elaborate dance-drama was performed in the courtyard. Some lamas wore brightly colored animal and monster masks or dressed in skulls and skeletons symbolic of carnivorous demonic powers. Some represented lost souls, stumbling blindly; others enacted the

81. Zhenjun 8:4; X. Wang 250–53; Markham 132, 208. For images of this lama: *Cultural Relics* fig. 11; *Zijin Cheng* 57 (1990) cover. If Qianlong worried about being blamed, it was probably justified. In the nineteenth century, stories circulated that the jealous emperor had poisoned the cleric. Thomson 1899:250.

82. This complex included the Songzhusi, Fayuansi, and Zhizhusi. *JWK* 39:616; Edkins 1870:341; Heissig 1966:152–53, 159; X. Wang 70, 117, 127; Jagchid 147–48.

83. Pan Rongbi 35–36; Douin 3:220–21; Miao Zhou 1937b; Ranglian 10; Lessing & Montell 6.

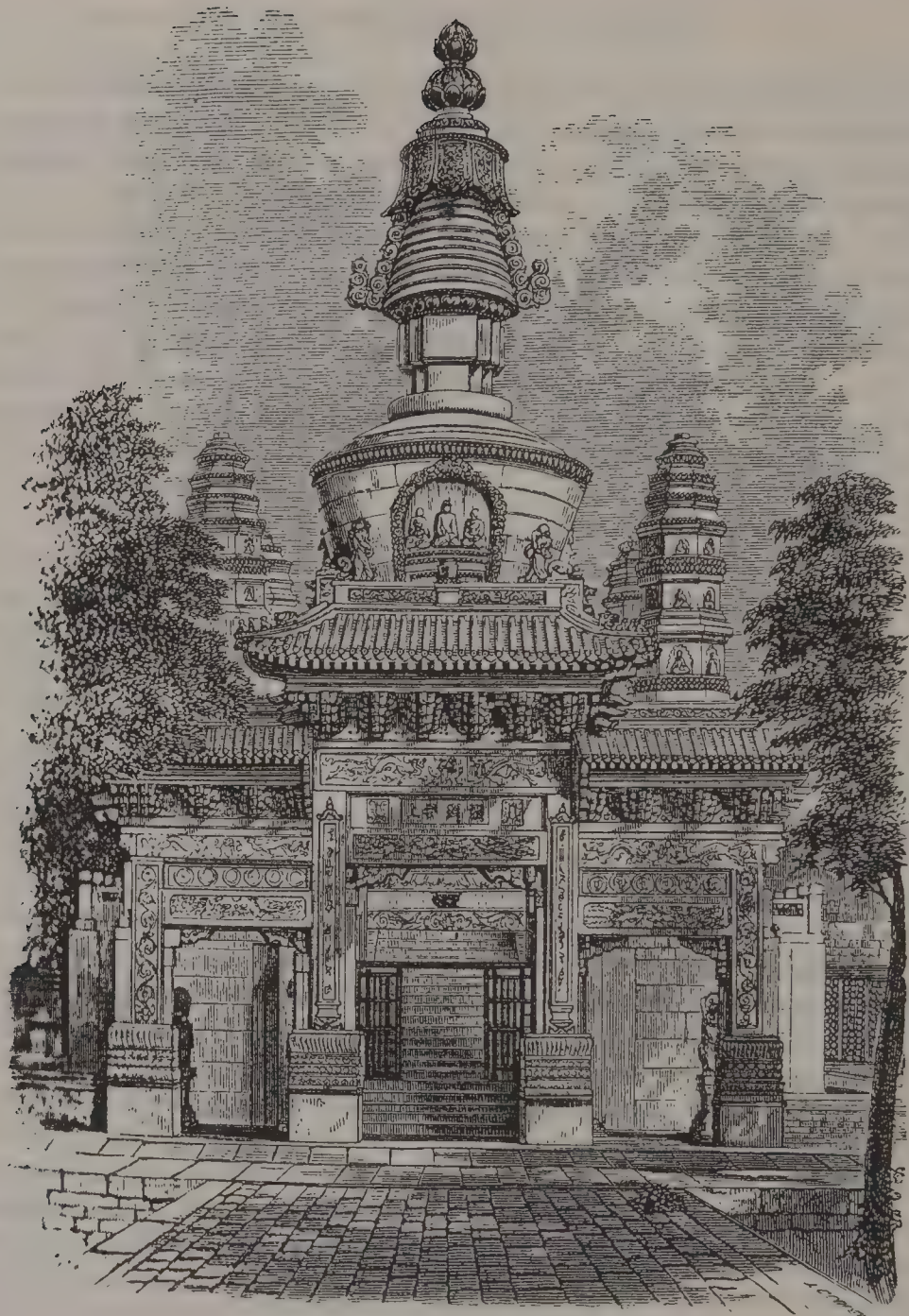


Figure 15.2. White Marble Stupa in the Huangsi
SOURCE: Michie 42.

taming forces of religion. These scenes of exorcism, accompanied by the deafening din of horns, drums, cymbals, and conches and punctuated by fast-paced whirling chases when the monks would charge at the crowd waving their whips, culminated in the appearance of a high lama before whom all submitted. A realistic human effigy (made of flour and dyed red) was then stabbed and disemboweled. Pieces were eaten or tossed to the crowd, who seized them as tokens of good fortune; the remnants were taken in procession outside the temple and burned. Money was thrown in the fire for a final cleansing. The following day, an image of Shakyamuni was carried in a sedan-chair by the lamas, to the accompaniment of chants and music and followed by the now submissive demons, to inspect the temple grounds (“the Buddha makes a procession,” *fo chu xun*).⁸⁴

Noticed by the public by at least 1700, by midcentury these “ghost beating” rites were performed at the Zhantansi and Huangsi on separate days during the first month; a century later the Huangsi and Heisi rites were best known; and in the early twentieth century, those at the Yonghegong were the most popular.⁸⁵ The performances attracted a varied audience that could become quite unruly when food and money were scattered to the crowd. In 1783 four women were trampled to death at the Heisi.⁸⁶

The early Ming prohibition against Chinese (*Hanren*) who studied Tibetan Buddhism seems to have been rescinded, and imperial attempts to keep lamas housed in the large monasteries and prevent unseemly contact with lay people may not have been very successful.⁸⁷ Wealthy Manchus and Mongols usually invited troupes of lamas to chant at family funerals along with ordinary monks and daoists, and these clerics were a familiar sight in funeral processions in the Inner City.⁸⁸ The high incarnate lamas who lived in or visited Peking were familiarly spoken of by residents as “living buddhas” (*huofo*), treated as potent beings, and thus given a place in local religion and society.⁸⁹

Under imperial sponsorship, the Sino-Tibetan style in art that had its ori-

84. For a few of many descriptions: *Caozhu yi chuan* 16–18; *Jinwu shili* 9:8; Ranglian 3–4; Bouillard 1922a:205–9; Dun Lichen 10–11; Conger 1909:211–12. And Chapter 3 n.113.

85. Yuan Jing; Pan Rongbi 8–9; *Jinwu shili* 7:71; Favier 358–60; Dun Lichen 10–11; Little 1904:50. Boxer destruction of Zhantansi apparently prompted the shift to the Yonghegong (where rites do not seem to have been held prior to 1900).

86. *Jinwu shili* 9:8. This case was invoked in 1851, suggesting that it had been the most serious incident in the previous seventy years.

87. QSL-QL 47:11; QSL-SZ 68:24–25; *Yanjing za ji* 123.

88. Astley 4:94–95 (describing the funeral of one of Kangxi’s brothers); Lowe 2:112–13; Bogan 83, 91.

89. Xiangyun Wang 296–97 quoted Zhaoyi’s statement that “men and women” in Peking would put handkerchiefs on the road to be run over by Rolpay Dorje’s carriage and so bring them good luck. Were they Mongols and Manchus?

gins in the Yuan period was actively promoted and could be seen in the architecture, decor, and images of many of the capital's lamaseries. Their halls and altars included Chinese gods and were adorned with rich Chinese silk hangings and expensive cloisonné vessels from the workshops of the Imperial City.⁹⁰ And yet much was distinctive: white scarves draped on the images, prayer flags on the trees, silken carpets from Ningxia on the floors, densely painted multicolored tankas hanging on the walls, and ritual implements made of skulls and human bones on the altars. Inside and out, the look of these temples and their inhabitants reflected an admixture of Central Asian and Chinese culture.⁹¹

This Peking style associated the capital with Tibetan Buddhism in the minds of visitors and residents, as did Tibetan and Mongol sacred sites replicated in Peking. The huge tetralingual marble stelae set up by Qianlong may be taken as convenient symbols of how the throne tried to subsume these various worlds: the text in Chinese faced north; in Tibetan, west; in Mongolian, east; and in Manchu, south.⁹²

Many of the older lamaseries in the Inner City and suburbs did not advertise their foreignness; instead, they served the populace much as other temples did. Markets important to the life of the Inner City were held in three Tibetan Buddhist temples quite independent of their lama inhabitants. On their normal outings, people stopped in at the Western Hills Fahaisi in the spring and climbed onto the roof of the Wutasi on the ninth day of the ninth month to admire the view.⁹³ The 1758 "Famous Sites in the Annual Calendar of the Capital" named eight Tibetan Buddhist temples in the annual calendar, and nineteenth-century guidebooks routinely mentioned five.

Chinese who came to the capital from elsewhere in the empire viewed the temples and clerics of this religion with some suspicion, and even the Manchu Zhenjun could call their god images "strange" (*qi*).⁹⁴ A more general anticlericalism encouraged accusations that the lamas drank, ate meat, acquired property, took mistresses, and fathered children; in some quarters they were seen as even more dissipated than Han monks. Korean and European visitors were both attracted and repelled.⁹⁵

90. Bartholomew; Berger 114–17; Lessing 91–94; Lessing & Montell. Guandi had been identified with the Mongol hero Gesar. Crossley 1999:chap. 6; Rawski 1998:259. A Tibetan liturgy was prepared for rites to be performed to Confucius in the Yonghegong. Lessing 91–94.

91. But it was a mixture produced mostly in Peking—most especially the gilt-bronze images, ritual utensils, paintings, and sutras.

92. Hevia 1993; X. Wang 109.

93. For the markets at the Baitasi, Longfusi, and Huguosi, see Chapter 16. Pan Rongbi 19, 31–32.

94. Zhenjun 1:17; he meant the Mahakala temple. "Strange" also implied "interesting." See Zeitlin.

95. Hong Taeyong 338; Astley 4:21; *Yanjing za ji* 123; QSL-QL 47:11; also GZD-R 417.

Because the lama communities could count on only limited patronage from the Peking public, they remained fundamentally dependent on the throne. As imperial patronage became more infrequent and less extravagant after the Qianlong reign, their endowments became inadequate and poverty undermined the monastic order. In the nineteenth century, the lamas had to scramble for income. In the 1870s, for instance, lamas at the Baitasi tore down the imperial travel-palace attached to their temple, sold off the wood, planted the site with revenue-producing fruit trees, and built a new wall to incorporate the orchard. Their entrepreneurial spirit was not admired, however, and charges that these and other clerics had substituted cheap stones for the valuable gems in their god images, pilfered from the rich offerings, and sold off their property may not have been entirely without foundation. At the end of the dynasty, lamas were forceful in pressing visitors for donations and some even turned up at soup kitchens looking for handouts.⁹⁶

SECTARIANS

Voluntaristic sects whose beliefs made them a different kind of minority religion also survived on the legal and social margins of Peking. Ming sectarianism of this White Lotus sort did not stop in 1644, nor did state repression. For the next two centuries, in a changeable atmosphere created by the central government's combination of distracted neglect and aroused hostility, these religious organizations survived and intermittently flourished. As worship in temples became dangerous, believers were forced to use homes and private spaces instead. They formed communities around lay preachers, had no clergy, and transmitted their teachings through printed scriptures and word of mouth. They were to be found in and around Peking, an invisible but characteristic element of capital society.

Government prohibitions against sects were promulgated immediately after 1644 and repeated thereafter in countless edicts. Occasional discoveries of particularly extensive networks and the crises prompted by their millenarian rebellions (in 1774, 1796, and 1813) led to progressively harsher and more specific laws. Ming statutes were revised and amplified, and punishments were fine-tuned for believers and for officials. Authorities in Peking were repeatedly admonished to "prohibit and stop" these kinds of "heterodox sects" (*xie jiao*).⁹⁷

What the government labeled as heterodoxy was not always clearly demarcated from ordinary practice, but in the hands of zealous officials the

96. *Peking Gazette*, December 17, 1878, June 1 & 8, 1880; QSL-GX 114:16.

97. Boulais ##364-65, #470; De Groot 1904:139-47; QSL-SZ 9:20, 26:18, 104:12-13; *Huidian shili* 1899:1038:17458; *Da Qing lüli* 16:9.

laws could be used to draw artificially sharp lines and to isolate believers. More and more sect names were added to the list of illegal groups. Possessing unusual scriptures, forming networks of masters and disciples, gathering followers, and assembling by night could all be labeled as suspect. Even chanting scriptures, making charms, reciting incantations, doing meditation, using a planchette, being a vegetarian, burning incense, or collecting donations could, in combination with other behavior, become grounds for prosecution. Revisions to the Code in 1821 even made beheading an optional penalty for the leaders who hoodwinked others with “heterodox” ideas, independent of more dangerous behavior.⁹⁸

Such draconian laws were only intermittently enforced. The foundational texts handed down through chains of teachers and pupils, many of whom traced descent from late Ming patriarchs, carried these religions into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Nevertheless, the necessity for a low public profile shaped the structure and nature of Qing sectarian belief and organization and hampered the development of permanent and public religious institutions. Ties between teachers and pupils were vulnerable to rupture, older scriptures were steadily depleted, and core beliefs were subject to uncontrolled emendation and elaboration. And yet, whenever and wherever government scrutiny was relaxed, institutional roots could be sunk. Scattered evidence, pieced together, reveals a picture of the active, partially underground sectarian communities in and around Qing Peking.⁹⁹

The graves of late Ming patriarchs were potent symbols of continuity and unconventional loci for assembly, and there were a number in the capital region. Patriarch Luo Qing’s descendants tended his grave in Miyun county (northeast of Peking), while clerics and lay people elsewhere still worshipped his image. In 1768, officials discovered the family and punished them, confiscating the sermon hall (*jiang tang*) and its images and leveling the graves.¹⁰⁰ Until the 1810s, when the dangers became too great, believers from Peking travelled to the stupa of Patriarch Jingkong in Shunyi county (fifty kilometers away) to make offerings. The ancestral tablet and grave of Madame Mi, another late Ming patriarch, were still being maintained after

98. De Groot 1904:146–47. For thoughtful reflections on how the Qing handled sects in general during the eighteenth century: Gaustad 30–38.

99. Although the teachings spread to other parts of the empire, the oldest lineages and texts came from northern China.

100. YFD 308–13, QL 11/7/26; JJD-NM-SS 23:4; SYD 215, JQ 21/2/20; JJD-NM 2770:3; Naquin 1985: 256 n.2. In 1816 Luo’s still-identifiable descendants had moved to Peking. Is it a coincidence that in the early twentieth century there was, on the street where they had been living, a Luo-family-temple? See Fengkuan 50.

twelve generations in Gaocheng county (central Zhili), and people from near and far came to make offerings. The many descendants of Patriarch Wang Sen and his rebel son Wang Haoxian were still transmitting the sect from their home two hundred kilometers east of Peking at Stone Buddha village in Luan county in the 1820s. The family had their own home temple nearby and networks of disciples in many provinces; only a concentrated beam of imperial attention in the 1810s resulted in widescale arrests.¹⁰¹

In rare instances, sectarians were able to use temples as places for assembly. Imperial patronage permitted the survival of the Baomingsi, the nunnery in Peking's suburbs where Guiyuan had written her scriptures in the late Ming. Oral and written traditions advised believers to "go to Huang village [where this temple was located] to present money and grain," and the resident nuns may have encouraged these covert links with sectarian adherents. We know that a man called Zhang Yin came here in the 1720s to found an assembly; he returned many times over the next decades, introducing his daughter to the Baomingsi and to his pupils in the Peking suburbs. She took over the group after his death and made repeated visits from southern Zhili in the next three decades. In the 1750s, followers of the Way of Yellow Heaven and the Single Stick of Incense sects also came to this temple to make offerings, as did followers of Patriarch Mi in the early nineteenth century.¹⁰²

Boatmen who worked on the fleets that brought tribute grain from central China to Peking were followers of Luo Qing, and at first they congregated in sectarian halls (*fo tang*)—in Peking, and at the southern end of the Grand Canal where the boatmen spent the winter. A Zhang family (also named in several late Ming scriptures) lived in the Outer City, near Hufangqiao, and were associated with a sutra-printing establishment that since the early seventeenth century supplied believers with sectarian scriptures. They also had a "religious hall"—presumably innocent looking—where boatmen followers of Patriarch Luo came every summer to burn incense and give money.¹⁰³

The Hongyang sect seems to have been particularly popular in Peking. Its late Ming scriptures continued to circulate (copied and recopied), and painted images of Patriarch Piaogao were worshipped. Chinese Banner people joined this sect rather readily, taking it up as quickly as they did other religious activities in Peking. A number of women who accompanied their

101. Jingkong: JJD-NM 2299:2, 2463; JJD:JQ 51998. Patriarch Mi: *Na Wenyigong zouyi* 41:28–31; GZD-NY 712:3. Wang family: Naquin 1982, 1986:227–39.

102. T. Li & Naquin 170–81; *Na Wenyigong zouyi* 39:31–37; SYD 165–67, JQ 22/6/17. Gaus-tad 73–121 has looked at this sect in great detail. Also: GZD-MM 481:1; JJD-NM-S 318:1; JJD-NM-SS 53:9; GZD:QL 14624; GZD-NY 712:3.

103. Kelley chap. 2, esp. 88, 99, 120–21; GZD-MM 477:1; JJD-NM 2771:5, 2290:11. Scriptures: GZD-MM 261:6; JJD-NM 2300:1; GZD:QL 47408.

Banner sons and husbands from the capital to the Canton garrison in 1682 brought with them its sectarian scriptures, images, habits, and ideas. Despite waves of arrests, the sect survived in and near Peking, finding new converts and reviving the interest of former ones. In the 1750s, for example, a Chinese Banner bondservant contacted the descendants of men who, like his own grandfather, had previously joined the Hongyang sect, and together they revived the assembly. In 1817, another man was able to list the twelve teachers that linked him back two hundred fifty years to Patriarch Piaogao.¹⁰⁴

What distinguished these Hongyang (and similar) groups from their Peking neighbors? Superficially, nothing special, except the lack of their own temples. They were vegetarians, made offerings to “buddha” images, recited scriptures, and had assemblies several times a year. Some teachers cured illnesses; others were called in by their nonsectarian neighbors to chant sutras at funerals. Most transmitted the Hongyang name and its scriptures, performed these innocuous activities, and met privately generation after generation. Their most unusual ideas and images of their special deities were kept private.¹⁰⁵

It may be helpful to compare these sects with the temple and pilgrimage organizations described in Chapters 12 and 14.¹⁰⁶ For each, participation was not automatic but the result of a personal decision (although pressure on other family members to join was surely present). These groups all collected money, met at intervals, and had names for themselves. But there were also important differences. The temple was the central focus of the celebratory religious organization, the object of solicitous attention, and the goal of anxious pilgrims; without it, *shenghui* could not exist. And these were temples with a much wider community of supporters.

White Lotus sects, by contrast, had developed without a public place for their activities. They may not have been secret societies, but Qing laws encouraged them to be private ones. The *jiao* was their focus. Because a *jiao* was both a “teaching” and a “sect,” it was beliefs and organizations, doctrine and networks of teachers and pupils, that were central, not a place. The act of acknowledging a teacher became a key ritual, and belonging took the form of a living network and commitment to some kind of belief, represented in the form of oral chant or written scripture.

This independence from a permanent public place of worship was, in my opinion, more a matter of necessity than design, a consequence of “hetero-

104. Edkins 1886:251; JJD-NM 2585:1; GZD-MM 490:24.

105. For a sampling: GZD-MM 454:28, 490:1; Waijidang JQ 22/10/18, DG 5/11/28; JJD-NM 2746:1, 2299:2.

106. I have based these generalizations on information in Qing archives about sects in Peking and Zhili in the middle Qing; most had branches in adjacent provinces. E.g., *Na Wenyigong zouyi* 42:6–12.

dox” status. In the face of government scrutiny, a secretive and diffuse mode of sectarian life was sensible, often essential. Blending in had many advantages. Some sects gathered in small groups each evening at a believer’s home to meditate and chant sutras; others did so twice a month, or three times a year on 1/15, 7/15, and 10/15. One group only met to set their scriptures out in the sun on the sixth day of the sixth month, just as was done in Buddhist monasteries. Days when other ritual activity was taking place were less conspicuous. Some groups gathered on the death days of teachers, blending sect rites with family or pilgrimage ones. In other cases, itinerant preachers would arrive irregularly once a year to be feted by their followers.¹⁰⁷

And yet, Qing sources show that these groups had a discernible preference for their own places of worship, where images could be kept, offerings made, and sutras stored. We find examples of groups who added rooms off their homes, covertly used existing temples, or constructed their own. Such buildings, when discovered, were confiscated and converted to a public purpose (poorhouse, refuge, granary, school).¹⁰⁸ Similarly, although these sects were able to manage without physical images of their deities—deities whose identity might mark them as heterodox—when left to their own devices, they preferred to have them. Images of Patriarchs Luo, Piaogao, and others, and of the Eternal Mother herself, were not uncommon.¹⁰⁹

The unusual events of the autumn of 1813, when sectarians calling themselves the Eight Trigrams staged a rebellion in north China, provide us with a window into sectarian belief and organization in the capital in the early nineteenth century.¹¹⁰ The Peking part of this uprising, organized by a charismatic ne’er-do-well turned religious leader named Lin Qing, involved more than six hundred people from the capital area. They had no temple headquarters. Most were villagers, some from the south suburbs, and others from as far as a hundred kilometers away. Lin had made contacts with and drawn together different teachers of groups with various names, all of whom recognized a shared faith in this religion of the Eternal Mother. Through chains of teacher-pupil ties, loosely divided into groups named for the eight trigrams, these believers organized for rebellion. In coordination with other sectari-

107. E.g., Wajjidang JQ 19/5/11; JJD-NM 2496:6, 2826:1; *Na Wenyigong zouyi* 41:42–47; GZD-MM 490:20, 731:2.

108. JJD-NM 2927; GZD-MM 497:1. See Kelley 164–68 for the general stiffening of Qing policy under Qianlong.

109. Here too, my examples are from Zhili. Wajjidang DG 2/2/1; JJD-NM 2746:1; GZD-MM 446:5, 480:18, 497:1, 731:2; *Na Wenyigong zouyi* 70:4047; JJD-NM-S 278:1; De Groot 1904:22–23.

110. I have described these events in some detail in Naquin 1976.

ans in southern Zhili and adjacent Henan and Shandong, Lin prepared for the transition to a new era that only believers would survive. As a reincarnation of the Maitreya Buddha, he would seize the capital.

The people whom Lin Qing had drawn into his sect reflect a slice of Peking life not often visible in the sources used for this book, and they show the ways in which such a religious net, when cast across the complicated world of this city, could connect disparate individuals and types. For example? Many peddlers and hired laborers whose work took them from village to village. A thirty-year-old man who lived in the countryside a dozen kilometers west of Peking but sold fruit in the city at the East Four-Arches. A mother and daughter-in-law who made hemp twine in a suburban village. The official tax-grain measurer in suburban Majuqiao. A villager who put on shadow-puppet shows in the city. An innkeeper whose hostel was in the uncongested southeastern section of the Outer City. Several families from the Cock-Fighting-Pit neighborhood outside the Xuanwu Gate, including one who ran a household-goods shop there. The manager of the Qinglong theater at Xianyukou outside the Front Gate. A copyist in a government office. A supernumerary Banner soldier. A Bannerman bow-maker. A middleman who collected rents from tenants on Banner lands. An imperial bodyguard. Many bondservants of the Plain Blue Banner attached to the household of Prince Yu, some resident in the countryside, some in the city. A Bordered White Manchu Bannerman who worked as a bodyguard for a princely household. A Plain Yellow Chinese Bannerman and his son, both then on active military service. Several Plain Yellow Banner members of the imperial lineage.¹¹¹

Many of the Bannermen and Manchus had been part of one discrete network of Hongyang believers that included husbands and wives and masters and servants, reaching up to an imperial prince of the fourth blood and down to the couple who kept watch over a family grave. The involvement of a half dozen eunuchs was crucial to the success of this enterprise. They provided the inside knowledge of the palace that gave Lin Qing confidence in a dubious plan, and their knowledge of court life may have whetted the appetites of men who had lived most of their lives on the fringes of the imperial world.¹¹²

Even though they were overwhelmingly residents of the countryside, almost all of these people had connections inside walled Peking. By preference, they convened in private homes, but they sometimes used the city's inns and teahouses to talk over their plans. They met in a temple in only one instance. One of their recruits was the monk Xuqian, a cleric from Shan-

111. Naquin 1976:66-72, 158-60, 302-3, 308-9; *Gugong zhoukan* 211:2, 213:1, 223:1-3, 224:1-2, 225:3; SYD 161-63, JQ 21/12/26.

112. At least fifteen eunuchs were involved: Naquin 1976:72-77, 308-9; *Jiaofei* 4:3-5.

dong who had been in Peking for more than twenty years and part of the (very respectable) Guangji monastery since 1798. He maintained connections with sectarians from Shandong, and they came to that monastery to discuss the uprising with him.¹¹³

The rest of the story is quickly told. Peking's rebels were immediately overwhelmed. Princes, directors of the Imperial Household, palace eunuchs, and Bannér and Gendarmerie commanders rallied with alarmed energy to restore order within the Forbidden City. By the end of the day (the fifteenth day of the ninth month in 1813), most sectarians had been killed or seized. Their connections elsewhere were zealously and carefully unravelled.¹¹⁴

The ability of the Qing state to restrain this sectarianism rapidly eroded in subsequent decades. Although the capital remained well policed, elsewhere the government's military monopoly was seriously encroached upon, and ordinary lawbreakers began to be armed with muskets and mounted on horses.¹¹⁵ In the middle of the nineteenth century, an explosion of popular mobilization from all levels of society openly defied state control, and the fusion of secret brotherhoods and White Lotus sects, militias and armies, confused the distinctions of earlier eras. The apocalyptic Christianity of the mid-century Taiping rebels gave heterodoxy a new meaning altogether.

Despite their latent capacity for millenarian violence, many sectarian groups seem to have tried to become more legitimate in the late Qing. This process meant having their own buildings. The phrase "living according to doctrine" (*zai li*) became the designation for a cluster of religious practices involving behavior usually seen as admirable: abstinence from meat, alcohol, and smoking (tobacco and opium). This Zaili sect, as it came to be known, found a niche in Peking and northern China; the grave of an important Qing patriarch in Tianjin was the focus for annual pilgrimages. Its members were at pains to establish their aboveboard, law-abiding, orthodox character. In 1883, when a censor complained that they were really "White Lotus sectarians," Li Hongzhang, then the powerful governor-general of the province, investigated and defended the group on grounds of their opposition to the "poison of foreign opium." In time, these believers became established elements of Peking society, and their halls could be found everywhere in the city.¹¹⁶

As we shall see in more detail later, the confusion and distractions of the late Qing diverted government attention and altered priorities and thus made

113. JJD-NM 2527; *Jiaofei* 21:28–32, 22:30–33.

114. Those in Henan and Shandong had rallied many more followers, and it was three months before their rebellion was suppressed.

115. E.g., the incident along the Henan-Anhui border in 1822, or the Shanxi uprising of Cao Shun in 1835.

116. Shek 1980b; Naquin 1976:44; Zhao Dongshu 201–6; *Beijing zhinan* 3:3.

it possible for many organizations—not just sectarians—to shift from a more private into a more public style of operation.

Before turning to a different sort of highly focused temple community, we might pause to reflect on those discussed so far. They were made up of foreigners, religious professionals, or celibate men and women, people who were few in number and marginal in status. Some of their buildings—mosques, suburban lamaseries, and legations—formed the core of neighborhoods; others were nodes for wider, often more-dispersed groups of co-religionists, fellow believers, or devotees. To survive, most of their buildings depended either on endowments raised from donations or from steady funds from abroad. Many of these communities relied on the throne and were thus subject to its strictures and limitation. They had, in effect, substituted a few dedicated private patrons for larger numbers of more desultory ones. In doing so, their identities became more sharply defined and their local presence more identifiable, even as they struggled to maintain their small niches in Peking society. For the groups to whom we shall now turn, the path was much easier.

HUIGUAN

The native place and occupational *huiguan* (lodge) was a late Ming development that came into full flower in the Qing. Not banned by the state like White Lotus sects or reluctantly tolerated like religious associations, *huiguan* were accepted as legitimate forms of social organization. The population displacement of 1644 interrupted their development, but once sojourners had relocated to the Outer City, *huiguan* replanted their roots and began to grow. In the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these lodges multiplied and diversified, pioneering in Peking this important and new urban social formation.¹¹⁷

The history of Peking's lodges illustrates how private organizations first used temple spaces to strengthen their own solidarities and create independent centers of assembly, and then, in the late nineteenth century, became part of a wave of secular and activist urban organizations.

It is important to keep in mind the difference between *hang* (which I call "guilds") and *huiguan* (which I call "lodges"), a difference that has been often blurred in the English-language secondary literature. *Hang* were for men

117. More scholarly energy has been spent collecting primary sources on Peking's *huiguan* than analyzing them. In addition to the invaluable 1942–1944 surveys of Niida, Imahori, et al. and the rubbings in the Peking Library (much to be preferred over those few published in Li Hua), I examined the stelae collected at the Wutasi. I have also consulted thirteen twentieth-century *huiguan* histories. Secondary literature on *huiguan* in Peking includes Gamble 1921;

of the same occupation; *huiguan* could be so, but did not have to be. Guilds had a long history stretching back to the medieval era and achieved legitimacy because they mediated between government and the manufacturing and business communities; they were urban associations of both natives and outsiders. Lodges, by contrast, were new in the Ming period and were intended for sojourners only. Although some *hang* created *huiguan*, not all did, and most lodges (in Peking) were not based in guilds. Both groups relied on ascribed solidarities and defined themselves by simultaneous inclusion and exclusion. Collective worship was essential to the constitution of both. A guild was an organization; a lodge was both an organization and a place.¹¹⁸

We shall begin by examining the lodge in the Qing period—its extent, variety, and general history—and then turn to the complicated and intertwined relationship between guilds, lodges, and temples. These relationships can be seen as another thread in the story of social and religious institutions in Peking. The lodge created and focused collective identity, as did community and voluntary associations in the same period, but those activities—as we saw in Chapters 12 and 14—primarily involved the residents of the Inner City and the suburbs; here we will be concerned with the Outer City, where Chinese resided.

Like families and monastic communities, Qing lodges defined themselves by creating clear boundaries between those who belonged and those who did not. The grounds for inclusion could change, but membership was ascribed and selective rather than voluntary and open to all. Lodge premises were private and intended for exclusive use. *Huiguan* thus represented a new mode of exclusivity at the same end of the spectrum as minority religions and private donors.

Scholarly literature that insists on finding a simple origin or single essence of the *huiguan* organization is, in my opinion, misguided. It is far better to think of this as an institution that was put flexibly to a range of uses. We should not be puzzled by the fact that the term was employed inconsistently by groups that were of different sorts. That was precisely the strength of this organizational mode. Similarly, the relationship between *huiguan* and temples cannot be summed up simply; it was quite varied, extending beyond the use of temples as the location for a *huiguan* and the placement of shrines in *huiguan* buildings.

Katō 1942; Burgess; N. Niida; Dong Li; Li Hua; Fu Gongyue; Belsky. For recent and substantial treatment of *huiguan* in other cities in English, see Rowe 1984:chaps. 8–10; L. Johnson 1995:chap. 5; B. Goodman chaps. 3–5.

118. The English word “lodge” conveys (though imperfectly) these two key elements. Many authors have rendered *huiguan* as “guild.” *Bang* (gang) and *gongsuo*, common in other Qing cities, were rarely used in Qing Peking. For the range of terms elsewhere: Rowe 1984:254–55; L. Johnson 1995:123–24; B. Goodman 38–46. I find Goodman’s approach the most congenial.

A brief look at the other institutions called *guan* provides valuable clues to the status of the *huiguan* in Peking life—and reminds us of the spectrum of public and quasi-public places in this city. A *guan*, usually used in compound words, was a kind of building. On the one hand, it was the suffix in the names of certain prestigious government offices, especially those connected with record keeping: the Shuchangguan (Study Office), Guoshiguan (Dynastic History Office), or Qijuzhuguan (Imperial Diary Office)—all three part of the Hanlin Secretariat—and the Fanglueguan (Military Archives Office) attached to the Grand Secretariat. These offices were part of the government but closed to the general public.¹¹⁹

On the other hand, *guan* was used as a suffix for inns, restaurants, theaters, teahouses, and wineshops, buildings that were open to consumers, where one could walk in and stay for a while. The vocabulary for these establishments was highly varied, perhaps a reflection of real changes in their function and nature during the Qing period. The terms *liyanguan* and *yuanguan* were used to mean theaters. Wineshops could be called *jiuguan*, and teahouses *chaguan*. In 1833 Kim Kyōngsōn was taken for an elaborate banquet in Peking at the spacious Donglaiguan (Eastern Herbs *guan*), “a very famous eating establishment.” Inns had a variety of names, of which *keguan* was one. That such places were only partially respectable (and potentially dangerous in the eyes of the state) can also be seen in the use of the *guan* suffix for brothels and gambling and opium dens.¹²⁰

This term was also employed for the “lodges” and “residences” where tributary emissaries stayed while in Peking. The main Envoy Residence (Huitongguan) and various branch lodges were responsible for housing and managing foreign missions, including an Outer Lodge (Waiguan) in the northern suburbs, and a North Lodge (Beiguan) and South Lodge (Nanguan, a.k.a. the Eluosiguan) in the Inner City for the Russians. Inns where officials on government service lodged were called *gongguan* (government lodges), and stables for government horses were called *maguan*.¹²¹

In all these usages, we can see a core meaning: a building where people temporarily stayed or worked. A *huiguan* was thus clearly a physical place. It was something to be “established” (*chuangli*), a secular space, sometimes respectable, sometimes not, possibly run by the government, possibly by a pri-

119. B & H #201, #204, #205, #139. Did these offices share, in their origin, a common provisional quality? Morrison 1:661–62 listed a number of other usages connected with schools that I cannot attest in Peking. It is a measure of the importance of this suffix that it became common with the new institutions of the late Qing reforms. B & H #150, #174, #331, #597, *passim*.

120. Theater: Pan Rongbi 14, 33. Wineshop: JJD-NZ 329, QL 3/10/12. Teahouse: *Caozhu yi chuan* 2. Restaurant: Kim Kyōngsōn 1070–71. Inn: Niida 6:1155. Dens: Morrison 1:661.

121. Residences: B & H #498; *Huidian* 1899:68:712. Inn: Guignes 2:220. Stable: B & H #425B.

vate party. The philanthropic organization, religious association, and guild were, by contrast, organizations of people who did not usually have such a permanent headquarters.

The *hui* of *huiguan* could function both as a noun (an assembly) and a verb (to assemble); a suffix or prefix specified whether the assembly was more or less dangerous. (See discussion in Chapter 7.) *Huifei* (bandits) and *xiehui* (heterodox associations) were bad; *shanhui* (philanthropic associations) and *yihui* (charitable associations) were good. A *huiguan* did not carry with it the taint of either selfish private-mindedness or heterodox antigovernment activity. The beauty of the term—from the point of view of those searching for ways to come together in the sphere outside the family and the state—was its respectability and flexibility. In 1683, establishing (*jian*) a *huiguan* could be described as “an appropriate [*yi*, righteous] thing to do.”¹²²

Gongsuo, a term whose differences and similarities to *huiguan* in meaning have been inconclusively debated in the secondary literature,¹²³ was most commonly used in Qing Peking to mean a “public building,” often a generic one in official parlance. I can, however, also attest that in 1712 it meant a shrine where men from one area could assemble—that is, it referred to a place like a *huiguan*.¹²⁴ (As we shall see in Chapter 16, it was also used for some of the new organizations of the late Qing.)

Participation in a *huiguan* was determined by one of two narrow ascriptional characteristics: native place and shared occupation. Of these, native-place sentiment provided the more potent legitimizing rhetoric. The emotive term *tongxiang* (same native place) invoked familiar norms and warm sentiments: “The establishment of our lodge is on account of the heartfelt friendship among fellow natives [*lianxiang qing*]. Friendship is one of the Five Relationships. Within the four seas, as regards the rightness of mutual assistance, all are brothers.”¹²⁵ Of course, quoting Confucius on friendship and noting that going to one’s *guan* was “just like going home” could be excellent cover for less defensible and more selfish motives.¹²⁶

The commonest clichés about Peking called attention to the fact that it

122. Niida 5:857–58. For a sustained discussion of “secret societies” under Qing law, see Ownby chap. 5. He asserted that the use of *hui* to refer to illegal assemblies began in the seventeenth century.

123. E.g., L. Johnson 1995:123 and the literature cited there.

124. The Sacred Edict was to be read in a *gongsuo* in the Outer City. *Huidian shili* 1899:1033;17415. Local officials were often commanded to convert confiscated sectarian halls or Catholic churches into *gongsuo*. QSL-YZ 14:14; YFD 276–80, QL 11/7/16; Niida 1:93–95.

125. Niida 2:153–54, also 5:857–58.

126. HG Shaoxing 8–13, quoting an 1826 stele.

attracted people from all over the empire: it was “the hub for the five directions” (*wufāng fucou*); “a concourse for fame and profit,” where “people are densely gathered” and “the hundred occupations assemble.”¹²⁷ Those who came here were not immigrants but sojourners, men whose stay in the capital was intended to be temporary. Outsiders who shared a native place or an occupation (or both) formed the early lodges.

It is unfortunately impossible to know how many sojourners there were in Qing Peking or where they were from. An educated guess is one hundred thousand sojourners at the end of the Qing, 10 to 15 percent of the city’s population of perhaps a million. Earlier in the dynasty, when the Banner-Chinese separation was sharpest, such sojourners were concentrated in the Outer City. Is it possible that there might have been as many as fifty thousand of them, a third of the Outer City’s Chinese population?¹²⁸

In any case, both sojourners and immigrants were a relatively small portion of Peking’s residents by contrast with Hankou, Shanghai, or Yangzhou.¹²⁹ Scholarly work on such places should not, therefore, generate the only models for sojourner organizations. Peking may not have been more typical than these cities, but was it less so?

As compared with cities that were primarily economic centers, the capital attracted a set of diverse visitors among whom examination and official outsiders were numerous and important. Sojourners were a mixture of provincial officials who returned for an audience every few years, exam candidates who stayed six months, merchants or metropolitan bureaucrats who spent most of their life in Peking, and peasants who came and went daily and blended into the city population. Perhaps because it was a capital where differences were supposed to be transcended, perhaps because Banner and non-Banner were the real operational categories, the rhetoric used to discuss Peking did not emphasize a distinction between insider and outsider, host and guest, or native and sojourner.¹³⁰

With these issues in mind, let us turn to the *huiguan* in Peking and ex-

127. *JWK* 43:672, 50:797–98; Niida 5:1021–22.

128. Figures from 1936 indicate that some 200,000 “residents” (out of 1.5 million, or 13 percent) had come from beyond Peking or Hebei province. Significant numbers came from—in descending order of magnitude—Shandong (86,000), Shanxi, Liaoning, Jiangsu, Henan, Hubei, and Zhejiang (10,000). It is not so obvious how to use these figures to recreate an earlier situation, but I have incautiously extrapolated backward. See also Chapter 12 n.87. The Outer City in the 1770s was more than half its 1912 size (perhaps 180,000), so I have halved the 100,000 sojourners. This reasoning is fragile; caveat lector. Do such guesses represent an upper limit? Do they confuse sojourners with immigrants? (Except for the Banners, Peking experienced only small-scale in-migration in the Qing.)

129. Rowe 1984, 1989; B. Goodman 14; L. Johnson 1995; Finnane 1993.

130. When a word was needed for sojourner, “guest” (*ke*) was most often used. E.g., *BJTB* 73:16 or Pan Rongbi 22.

amine the principles and processes that underlay their development into influential urban organizations.

Although the rupture caused by the partitioning of Peking in 1644 has made the early history of the *huiguan* difficult to recapture, at least forty-five *huiguan*-like lodges were known in the Ming capital.¹³¹ As sojourners cautiously returned, they scrambled to reclaim lost property, find new places to live, and reestablish their networks of clients, connections, and compatriots. Being (mostly) single men whose resources were primarily back home, these outsiders may have had an easier time than the local residents, but even after the agonizing decision had been made to accept Manchu rule, elite sojourners were still forced to find quarters in the noisier, dirtier, newer, humbler Outer City. In the years that followed, they regrouped, and small clusters were formed by tapping the native place and occupational solidarities that shaped the contours of sojourner identity. *Huiguan* reemerged.

The main story of these lodges in the Qing is one of popularity and success. *Huiguan* were reestablished slowly at first (about one every three years), then after about 1720 more frequently (one every two years, then one a year). By 1788, the "Sketches of the Imperial Enclosure" could list 181 lodges in Peking.¹³²

Nineteenth-century guidebooks routinely provided lists of lodges that showed the even more dramatic growth of the late Qing: 329 in the 1864 edition of the "Short Account of the Capital," a figure that indicates an addition of about two per year after 1788. The increase continued: 366 lodges in 1872, 395 in 1886, and 510 in 1929.¹³³ For this fifty years, even allowing for the spurious precision of these numbers, almost three *huiguan* were being added each year. Parallel processes of amalgamation, fissure, and abandonment accompanied this growth, but the number of lodges had grown at a steadily accelerating rate between 1644 and 1929. These numbers put the capital far ahead of any other city in the empire. In Shanghai, by contrast, there were only twenty-six lodges before 1840, and the gap did not decrease over the next half century.¹³⁴ Peking was unquestionably the pioneer in the development of this institution.

Huiguan were created by Chinese sojourners, and so were necessarily lo-

131. See Chapter 6 n.105 for Richard Belsky's better figure of seventy.

132. Wu Changyuan 9:180-81, 10:213-14.

133. *DMJL* 1864, 1872, 1886:3:1-35; *Beiping zhinan* 5:31-44. A 1906 survey, less complete but perhaps more reliable than some of these lists, counted 275 *huiguan* in the Outer City. Survey 1906:33. Also Belsky 59-64.

134. And only 62 in 1930. B. Goodman 223; also L. Johnson 1995:147. There were 41 *huiguan* in Hankou before 1856. Rowe 1984:277.

cated in the Qing Outer City.¹³⁵ They were concentrated in the area outside the Xuanwu, Zhengyang, and Chongwen Gates, with slightly more on the western than eastern side. (Temples used as *huiguan* could be, as we shall see, in the Inner City.) The occupational groups that created lodges represented a range of professions, from actors to awning-makers, bankers to barbers; some were natives of the greater capital area, but most came from farther away. The sojourners who founded lodges were, as they had been in the Ming, varying combinations of craftsmen, businessmen, officials, and examination candidates from every province.¹³⁶

Just as some of the occupations that formed the basis for *huiguan* were long-established trades and others reflected the widening world of Qing imports and the benefits of new imperial connections, so the long-term changes in active native-place groups between Ming and Qing and across the Qing reflected shifting centers of status and financial capital in the empire. Table 15.1 shows that the provincial basis of native-place lodges changed between the Ming and the Qing.¹³⁷

Jiangxi men continued to create the greatest number of lodges in the first half of the Qing and maintained that predominance to the end of the dynasty.¹³⁸ The presence of businessmen and manufacturers from Shanxi and Shaanxi was predictable. Merchants from the northwest had been involved as bankers to the Qing Imperial Household since before 1644; moreover, Peking had rather close economic ties with adjacent Shanxi, whence it imported coal, oil, paint, metals, and dyes.

Zhejiang sojourners were as likely to be scholar-officials as businessmen. The province ranked as the number-two producer of *jinshi* during the Qing (second to Jiangsu), but natives also worked as clerks in the metropolitan offices, as dealers in medicine and wine, as tailors and garment workers, and as money-shop owners. Guangdong men were also in the capital on business

135. Banner men were defined by the throne as residents, not sojourners. Their occasional early Qing use of the native-place marker "San Han" (referring to Liaodong) seems to reflect an affiliation with the Northeast that was ultimately rejected in favor of Peking. I have seen this term used five times (once in 1655, three times in 1672, and once in 1726). For one example: *BJTB* 63:5. Or might these men have been genuine migrants from the Northeast?

136. Wu Changyuan 9:180–81, 10:213–14. Belsky has provided an excellent analysis of "scholar-official" lodges by separating them from other sorts. In my more superficial approach, I have found such clean distinctions harder to make and have lumped all *huiguan* together.

137. There is no reason to think that the regional distribution was systematically distorted in either the 1788 or 1886 lists.

138. I am not entirely clear why. Although they did well on the examinations, Jiangsu and Zhejiang consistently ranked higher. Bielenstein 16. Some of the men who organized lodges were clearly book dealers, but the others were so eager to assert their respectability that their trade was never mentioned.

TABLE 15.1 Provincial Origins of Peking Lodges

Lodge	Date		
	Before 1644	1788	1886
Jiangxi	6	33	64
Shanxi	4	17	36
Shaanxi	1	17	26
Zhejiang	7	15	34
Fujian	9	13	20
Hunan	3	13	17
Anhui	6	12	35
Guangdong	2	12	32
Hubei	1	11	24
Miscellaneous	2	11	8
Jiangsu	0	9	26
Zhili	0	3	12
Shandong	1	3	8
Guizhou	0	3	7
Henan	1	2	13
Yunnan	2	2	10
Guangxi	0	2	7
Sichuan	0	1	14
Total	45	181	395

SOURCES: Ming: my own count. 1788: Wu Changyuan 9:180-81, 10:213-4. 1886: *DMJL* 1886:3:1-35.

as importers of silks, brocades, medicines, fruits, fine woods, and foreign goods. In the nineteenth century, wealth from overseas trade translated into increasing examination success. Men from Anhui, especially Huizhou prefecture, likewise included merchants and scholars. The changing fortunes and ambitions of these and other groups mirrored changes in the empire, but it is perhaps characteristic of Peking that the presence of many sojourning groups with different bases for local influence prevented any one from becoming dominant.¹³⁹

One of the most respectable of the publicly articulated justifications for *huiguan* in the Qing (as in the Ming) was the need—real, not rhetorical—

139. Niida 5:973-74; Bielenstein 18, 80-81. The links between Peking's lodges, their places of origin, and comparable institutions in other cities, although important, are beyond the scope of this book.

to accommodate men who came, year in and year out, to take examinations. Although Peking had a great many inns and hostels, there was no easy system of reservations, and finding suitable accommodations—especially for elite men—was apparently a constant struggle. People of such unquestioned respectability, who spoke the same language, preferred the same foods, and had common networks back home, hardly needed to defend their desire to not only find rooms but find rooms together.¹⁴⁰

Men from Canton (Nanhai county) explained that after the long journey for the exams, those lucky enough to pass still had to stay in Peking to await appointment; rather than renting rooms all over the place, sojourners “wanted to bring our countrymen together in one permanent hall.” The “All Zhejiang” *huiguan* was restored in 1829 as a kind of private hotel for men from that province who currently held government posts.¹⁴¹ The fact that those who founded lodges were indeed only men—probably married men—only enhanced the respectability of this institution.¹⁴²

Although most lodges were named after geographic units, they served as a legitimate umbrella for fellow natives—especially well-to-do ones—who were engaged in business in Peking. The *huiguan* for Linfeng and Xiangling in Shanxi (Pingyang prefecture), for instance, was restored in 1743 with donations from 307 shops and firms. These included thirteen rich oil merchants, and wineshops, paper sellers, and fabric merchants.¹⁴³

Justifications could also be phrased in the language of innocent sociability and normal gratitude toward a patron deity: “The appellation *huiguan*, what is it for? It is the place where neighbors [*liren*] who are away on business make offerings and gather for banquets.” “At the beginning when this lodge was established, it was for periodic offerings to the gods and prayers of thanks; then fathers, brothers, sons, and pupils banqueted together and talked; these activities strengthened local sentiment and reinforced reliable behavior.”¹⁴⁴ Enhanced privacy and control over the menu (and the cooks) were surely other private motives that made entertaining

140. Niida 6:1155; Chai Sang 14. For cautionary thoughts about the availability of regional cuisines in Peking lodges, see Belsky 144–47; for a contrary view, see B. Goodman 22.

141. Canton: *BJTB* 80:84; Niida 6:1155. Zhejiang: *BJTB* 79:155. In the Ming, Hubei had an all-province *huiguan*, and Zhejiang used this format from 1734. No others did.

142. I know of no women’s names on a guild or lodge stele. The 1908 survey of *huiguan* made a distinction between visitors and other residents (probably employees); in the latter category, there were about two women (and three men) in each lodge. Survey 1908: *Huiguan*; also Belsky 67–69.

143. Niida 2:154–57. The oil merchants donated twenty ounces of silver; the others donated only two. The size of the organization grew (to 690) by the next restoration in 1803, then shrank to 300 in 1873. Niida 2:157–62, 2:166–69.

144. Niida 5:973–74, 5:979–81.

on one's own property preferable to holding celebratory meals in a fancy restaurant.

As an institution, the *huiguan* was responsive to change and readily encompassed diverse groups. The discussion of sojourning in Chapter 6 emphasizes that Chinese identity was neither single nor immutable, but multiple and situational. Accordingly, Peking's sojourners frequently redefined the communities around which their lodges were organized. Inclusiveness was reinforced by exclusiveness, and lines were constantly being drawn and redrawn. Literati tried to exclude merchants; prefectures tried to kick out component counties; businesses squeezed out their rivals. One group tried to abandon the *huiguan* name so they could claim that, as "private individuals" (*siren*), they could reject some fellow natives. Ambitious men sometimes took control of the property for their own private use, and protracted disputes could and did easily arise.¹⁴⁵

Provinces with fewer sojourners began by forming provincial-level lodges, distinguished from one another by the prefixes North or South, New or Old. In 1807 officials from Hunan and Hubei amalgamated to create the even-broader Huguang lodge, named after the political unit that encompassed the two provinces. Less powerful counties might ally with one another under the banner of the prefecture.¹⁴⁶ Some lodges began by catering to examination candidates but came to include more and more merchants. Others started with officials or merchants and expanded to include scholars. Some were initiated by an occupational group from one area but then grew to include sojourners from other places.

However, the long-term trend was toward greater diversification. If an alliance proved unstable—as, apparently, they often did—there could be division: separate residences might be created, or an entirely new lodge formed.¹⁴⁷ As people from a certain area or occupation became successful, their numbers grew, and the group as originally defined often became too large or the site too small to be accommodated in one institution. Such a *huiguan* might split into smaller units. Moreover, as the lodge proved a legitimate mode of organizing people, it became increasingly popular. Although some groups

145. Some examples: HG She xian A:16, B:26–27; HG Minzhong 3, 4; Sun Dianqi 273; Niida 5:984–96; *BJTB* 69:80, 84:149.

146. HG Huguang 4:1–2. Other examples: *DMJL* 1886:3:24; Shoudu Library #1745; *BJTB* 85:37.

147. Shanxi men were in charge of the dyers guild *huiguan* in 1810, but the group later expanded to include men from Shandong, and then from Zhili. Niida 3:357–78. The first *huiguan* for Canton city was for *shidafu*, but a second was built exclusively for merchants in 1715. Niida 5:965–90. Other examples: *BJTB* 68:58; Niida 5:851–62; HG Hejian preface, 35–36.

failed, the proliferation that we see in the later Qing resulted from the creation of *huiguan* by ever more finely differentiated groups

Individuals may have had some choice about how to affiliate.¹⁴⁸ Class often warred with localism as the best grounds for association. Would it be better to affiliate with men of the same profession, or to stay in the native-place lodge? Would the latter mean a chance to associate with one's betters or undesirable proximity to inferiors? What level promised the best accommodations and connections—county, prefecture, or province? Was it better if the group had its own temple?

Huiguan with substantial corporate resources could have long institutional lives. More than a dozen lodges can be reliably documented from the late Ming through the end of the Qing.¹⁴⁹ The hundreds of late Qing lodges were upstarts by comparison. The physical manifestations of *huiguan* were more short-lived. Many groups moved, borrowing halls in different temples or renting more suitable properties. Purchasing a new self-contained building was a much bigger and more infrequent step; it was desirable but necessitated good leadership and a critical mass of people and resources—easily five or ten thousand ounces of silver.¹⁵⁰

These *huiguan* came in a variety of shapes and sizes. Most were very urban buildings, fronting on the street and immediately adjacent to their neighbors on three sides. Thanks to the survey work by Niida Noboru and his colleagues in the 1940s, we can see that those surviving lodges were of modest dimension, as compared with a temple or a showy princely mansion; they had unostentatious front gates and were of a piece with the smaller and more tightly spaced buildings of the Outer City's commercial sector. (A diagram of a lodge is shown in Figure 15.4.) Most lodges were evidently not intended to house large numbers. Indeed, a 1908 survey of the lodges in Peking indicated that as many as sixty-two persons might be temporarily in residence, but the average was well under ten.¹⁵¹

148. A very close study is needed to sort out the changing participation of individuals or firms in the different associations with which they could potentially be involved. I would also like to know what membership—if this is even the right word—actually entailed.

149. I can count 19, and another 20 whose Ming existence was only a claim; Belsky used a total of 38. I can attest 198 *huiguan* prior to 1886.

150. One of the Canton lodges was rebuilt in 1861 in order to improve the geomancy of the property. Niida 5:982–83. The Huguang lodge, one of the largest, was 40,000 square meters. Dong Li 151. The (Hunan) Changsha prefectural *huiguan* was about 1,600 square meters in 1922. HG Changsha 1: map opp. p. 6. The portions of the Hunan *huiguan* that survived in 1987 on Lanman Alley were as deep as a small temple, but narrower. The (Zhejiang) Shan-Gui lodge of a hundred rooms cost five thousand ounces of silver. HG Shaoxing 8–13. Other costs: *BJTB* 80:84, 80:108.

151. Survey 1908: *Huiguan* (I saw this document in the First Historical Archives some years before it was published). See the photographs in Niida *passim*. The layout of Peking's lodges was discussed in Belsky 133–39 at some length.

In Peking, *huiguan* included enough people of such wealth and status that large sums could be raised when needed. There were 250 donors to a 1796 restoration of the lodge for Macheng county in Hubei, for instance, most of whom held *juren* degrees and gave two ounces of silver each—not a lot by *huiguan* standards. More typically, the new Huguang lodge was built in 1830 with five thousand ounces of silver raised from prominent natives in the capital and in the provinces whose donations ranged from ten ounces up to three hundred ounces each.¹⁵²

As they increased in number, lodges became—like other institutions discussed in this book—more sophisticated and varied in their organization. Managerial responsibilities were complicated by the fact that the component units of *huiguan* were sometimes “firms”—business units that produced, distributed, or marketed goods and services.¹⁵³

The corporate resources of *huiguan* (especially land and buildings) were in the care of managers seemingly appointed by the richer and better-connected members. Some were permanent; others served in rotation.¹⁵⁴ Autocratic behavior was natural in cross-class organizations in which prestige and wealth were unproblematic qualifications for leadership and in which assistance and control were hard to distinguish.¹⁵⁵ The reader should not doubt that these organizations were both exploitative and protective, that their members were both dominated and helped, and that their leaders were both magnanimous brokers and resourceful and greedy self-promoters. Such institutions were by their very nature always in tension (though not always a tense tension) between these various potentialities, sometimes showing one side, sometimes another.

Collectively formulated rules and regulations (*guiyue*, *guitiao*, *tiaogui*, *guizhang*, *zhangcheng*) could have the effect of constraining the behavior of managers and members alike. Occupational guilds had customarily written such regulations, and we can see the impetus to put them permanently on view in the Zhejiang money guild, which had their rules carved on stone once they built a shrine for their collective use (in 1721).¹⁵⁶

Huiguan did not begin to display their rules and regulations on stone until the early nineteenth century. When the medicine guild turned itself into a lodge in 1817, it had its regulations put on a stele.¹⁵⁷ Thereafter, the prac-

152. *BJTB* 77:4; HG Huguang 4:1–2.

153. It is difficult to be sure what these institutional donors were. I have translated such-and-such a *hao*, *jia*, *zhai*, *lou*, *pu*, *dian*, *yuan*, and *fang* as a generic “firm.” Niida 2:154–57.

154. Niida 5:984–86.

155. For such internal politics in Hankou: Rowe 1989:chap. 10.

156. Their rituals were spelled out, required contributions for incense were specified, renting the hall to outsiders was forbidden, and so forth. For 1721 and 1733: Niida 1:95–96, 97–100.

157. Li Hua 93–94. For other early examples: Niida 2:322–24 (Shanxi); *BJTB* 79:150–51 (Yunnan). But there were supposedly stelae with regulations dated 1753 from the (Anhui) Xiuning lodge. HG Xiuning.

tice became more general and was commonplace in the twentieth century. These itemized rules usually summarized the history of the institution, named its principal deities, listed its buildings and property, specified the amount members were to contribute, stipulated the dates for meetings and worship, described the duties and responsibilities of the managers, prescribed punishments, and announced who could and could not use the facilities. Such rules were acknowledged as formally agreed upon (*gong yi*) and publicly announced.¹⁵⁸

Did *huiguan* form the core of sojourner neighborhoods in Peking, as they sometimes did in Shanghai and Hankou?¹⁵⁹ Apparently not. There were relatively few concentrations of fellow natives in the city even in Ming times, and the Qing relocations made the perpetuation of older neighborhoods difficult. Moreover, many of Peking's sojourners were too transient to build contiguous communities. Rather than neat neighborhoods of sojourners settled around their lodges, we find mixtures of sojourners—adjacent streets along which were arrayed a great many lodges from different places.

Certain sections of the Outer City, set off the main thoroughfares and slightly removed from the most intensely commercial districts, proved quite suitable for *huiguan*. Such was the case on the eastern side of the city, for instance, on the four parallel side-alleys of Changxiang (Long Lane), and on the ten side-alleys of Caochang (Fodder Yard). At Caochang in 1788, there were twenty-nine lodges on nine alleys. Six provinces were represented and intermixed; seven others were from Hubei, and five from Hunan. (This neighborhood is shown in Figure 15.3.) On the west side of the Outer City in 1908, there were lodges on three streets running south off Luomashi (Mule and Horse Market) Main Street: eight on Panjia Alley, seven on the street to the west, and eight on the one to the east.¹⁶⁰ Rather than clusters of establishments from adjacent administrative areas, we find a disparate mix.

Frequent turnover also undermined the creation of solidarity through proximity. In 1788, along the rather short stretch called West Jewelry Market Entrance, there were eight lodges from the following provinces (some provincial level, some prefectural, and some county): Shanxi (three lodges), Jiangxi (two), Zhejiang (two), and Fengtian (one). In 1886, there were still eight lodges, but two had been replaced. In 1905, there were ten lodges, representing more (rather than fewer) provinces.¹⁶¹

And yet, there were some concentrations. Shanxi men, for instance, took

158. Some examples: HG Henan; HG Hejian; HG She xian; Niida 2:322–24, 2:326–27, 3:364–65, 3:366–67; Li Hua 93–94; *BJTB* 79:150–51, 88:76.

159. Rowe 1989:77; B. Goodman 16–17.

160. Survey 1908: Huiguan. Belsky 121–26 argued that scholar-official lodges were concentrated outside the Xuanwu Gate, but he did not offer much evidence.

161. Wu Changyuan 9:180–81, 10:213–14; *DMJL* 1886; *JWK* 61:998; *FXZ* 7:15.

an interest in (and probably tried to dominate) the area outside the western gates of city, through which they naturally passed en route into Peking and where they appear to have had shops, probably warehouses, a cemetery, and a temple with a resthouse.¹⁶²

Informal relations among guilds and lodges run by and for men from one prefecture or province, which doubtless existed, are invisible at the level of analysis pursued in this book. Formal relations do not seem to have existed; they were probably too dangerous. Competition among native places, when not manifested as examination or commercial rivalries, may have taken the form of a search for larger, handsomer *huiguan* premises and the cultivation of a reputation for expensive banquets, talented theater troupes, and intimacy in the seats of power. Competition did not take the form, as far as I can tell, of public processions or display.

From their Ming beginnings, the Qing *huiguan* thus developed and proliferated. It spread both as a new form of organization and as a new kind of place. Many lodges had their beginnings in temples, and to these relationships let us now turn.

GUILDS, LODGES, AND TEMPLES

It is difficult to make clean distinctions between Qing temples, guilds, and lodges. The categories sometimes overlapped, and the relationships changed over time. Some native-place and occupational groups used temples for their lodges or for their cemetery worship; others had one or more shrines within their lodges; some guilds congregated in temple halls for meetings and worship and others constituted themselves as *huiguan*. Because most of the literature on guilds and lodges has tended to downplay or ignore the role of religion, it seems useful to explore here the range of possible connections.

Temples, like lodges, were places, and they had long performed many of the functions taken up by *huiguan*: short-term housing for visitors, halls for gods, and space where people could gather. It was common practice for men of the same occupation or same native place to worship collectively, to join together as donors, to solicit the services of monks in praying for the dead, and to acquire informal proprietary rights over temples. Moreover, religious worship involved a suitably fraternal language of charity and good deeds that testified to the unselfish motives of the donors.¹⁶³ The use of temples by sojourners was thus hardly surprising.

Many of the groups of temple patrons discussed in Chapters 12 and 14

162. 1738 (QL 3/4) stele in the Wutasi.

163. E.g., Niida 5:919, 5:1069-70.

were lodges and guilds. I know of eighty-five temples to which they were donors in one way or another, mostly in the Outer City.¹⁶⁴ Given the general absence of imperial—and to a lesser extent Banner—patronage in this part of the city, such activities were extremely important in maintaining the religious infrastructure and shaping the public life of the Outer City.

Sojourners and natives whose work defined their identity joined guilds and prayed to patron gods. Some guilds had to create new temples for their deities. The metal smelters (primarily from Shanxi) had built one to the Furnace-god, commemorated it with the language of good deeds, and then used the occasion to construct a lodge next door. But temples to many of these patron gods already existed and were natural places for collective worship. At the Stove-god temple in the Outer City, for instance, the cooks guild took charge of the annual birthday.¹⁶⁵

Temples were expensive, however. Those who could not build a new one and did not have one ready-made often appropriated a hall of an existing establishment. There, usually on their god's birthday, they made collective offerings to express their thanks, asked for protection from the god, and defined the group through ritual. Many guilds used the side-halls of larger temples as their ritual arenas and places of assembly, but only some formed religious associations in order to do so.¹⁶⁶

Consider the Jingzhongmiao (Temple of Exemplified Loyalty). It was founded sometime in the Ming and dedicated to the Song dynasty epitome of loyalty, Yue Fei. Badly damaged in the great earthquake of 1679, it was restored by four different occupational groups, each of whom had its separate space for worship. Just inside the main gate was a freestanding stage; further off to the left (south) of the courtyard was the original hall to Yue Fei; an attached side-hall was dedicated to Patriarch Lu; and on the right side of the courtyard was a three-storied hall, each floor of which was dedicated to a different deity.

Actors were the earliest occupational group to patronize the Jingzhongmiao and had done so since the Ming. The temple served as one of their *huiguan* after at least 1672. Their rites took place in a second-floor room dedicated to their patron, Xishen (the Pleasure-god), and were performed by daoists invited in from the nearby Medicine-king temple.¹⁶⁷ This hall was gradually shared with others. The third floor held an altar to Sun Bin, patron of the leatherworkers; after 1786 the bootmakers guild worshipped and held

164. Seven in the Inner City, forty-eight in the Outer City, and twenty-nine in the suburbs.

165. Smelters: Niida 5:1063–86; also N. Niida 182–97. Cooks: Dun Lichen 68; Grube 82.

166. E.g., *BJTB* 73:83 versus 74:66.

167. Zhang Jiangcai 1934:4:2181–86; Niida 4:572, 577, 578–83, 585–94.

their biannual meetings here. As of 1869, the first floor was dedicated to Lu Ban, patron of many craftsmen, and managed by the oil paint guild. In 1848, another hall to Patriarch Lu on the main courtyard was taken over by the tile and the wood guilds (mostly men from different counties of Zhili) who organized a Lu Ban Shenghui. (These guilds were active at the Dongyuemiao, where there was also a hall that they patronized.) The stage made it possible to hold operas on each of the gods' birthdays. The main hall to Yue Fei, by contrast, simultaneously served an entirely different clientele.¹⁶⁸

The actors were not alone among the *hang* that began by using a temple for collective worship and then shifted to a more private lodge. The medicine guild first used a Medicine-king temple, but in 1817 the guild founded an independent *huiguan*, not only acquiring a new building but also setting up rules that defined their identity. Shanxi scholar-officials maintained both a temple and a lodge.¹⁶⁹

Other guilds preferred to constitute themselves as religious rather than professional associations. A blind man took the lead in restoring an abandoned Inner City temple in 1869, converting it into a center for blind story- and fortune-tellers (Bannermen, it seems). They called their group a Three Emperors Religious Association (Sanhuang Shenghui), after their patron deities, and used the *shenghui* institution both to legitimate their patronage and to restrict membership.¹⁷⁰

Some occupational groups formed guilds that were *huiguan* in all but name. The ceremonial cakes *hang*, which acquired a graveyard in 1709, used the office of "association leader" to manage the affairs of the Horse-god temple that they patronized and used as headquarters, and they had their own regulations on dues, fines, and improper behavior (loafers and drunks were to be expelled).¹⁷¹

Other sojourners monopolized temples as if they were their *huiguan*. Men from Ningbo and Shaoxing in Zhejiang had a temple to Duke Zhang, Pacifier of the Yangtze, in the Ming Northern City. Which they lost in the partition. In 1679, as a substitute, Shaoxing gentry (*shenshi*) restored a Wenchang temple in the Outer City, effectively taking it over, and added a shrine to Duke Zhang. In the early 1820s, a number of *tongxiang* from Ning-Shao, together

168. *BJTB* 75:60–61; Niida 4:572, 577, 585, 598–99, 605–12, 613–49, 662–23; Burgess 189. For the Dongyuemiao: Niida 4:716–18. The hall to Yue Fei had stelae by eminent officials and was admired by Koreans. *BJTB* 66:69; Pak Saho 894; Wu Changyuan 9:176; Kim Kyöngsön 1038.

169. The Shrine to the Three Loyal Ones (Sanzhongci) was built in 1624 in the Outer City to commemorate the Shanxi men who died in the campaigns in the Northeast; after 1667 they built a lodge at a different location. *JWK* 59:951–53; *BJTB* 73:131–32, 79:73. For 1817: Li Hua 92–94.

170. *BJTB* 83:207–8; Burgess 102–6, 117–18; Constant 51.

171. Niida 5:1011–35; Li Hua 130–51.

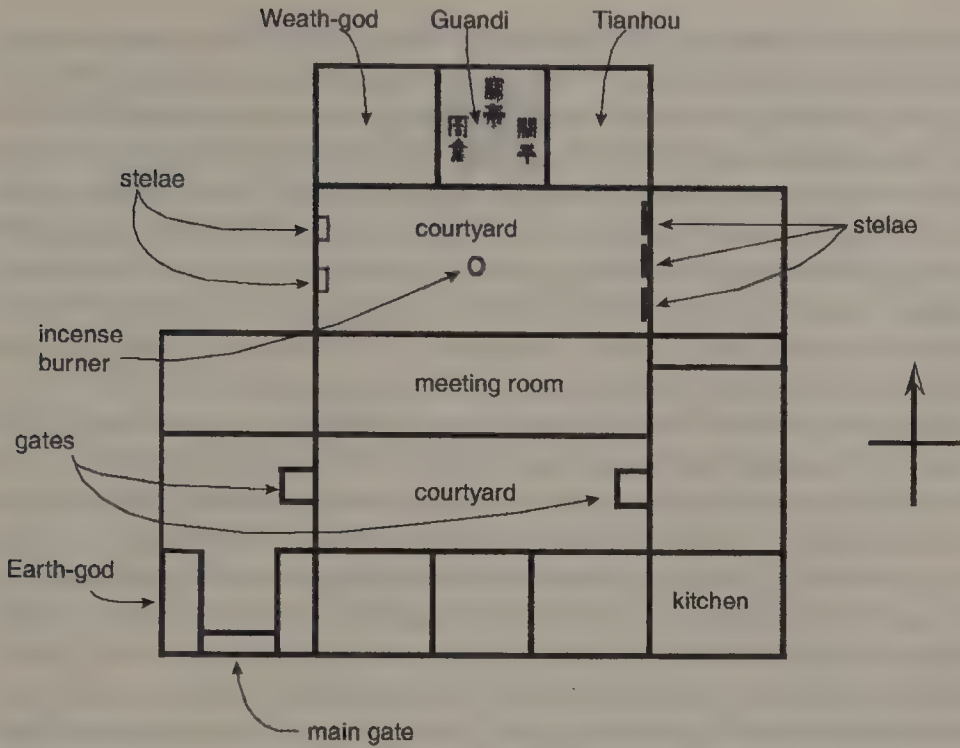


Figure 15.4. Layout of the Xiancheng Lodge

This ground plan of the Xiancheng *huiguan*, the lodge for merchants from Canton, was made by Niida Noboru in the summer of 1943. The *huiguan* was founded at this location, just off Zhengyang Gate Outer Main Street in the Outer City, in 1713 and restored in 1809 and 1862.

SOURCE: Niida 5:968.

with money-shops run by fellow natives, restored it and started calling it Ning-Shao Regional Shrine (this term, *xiangci*, seems to have come into use in the Qing).¹⁷² Although such shrines were not called *huiguan*, their space and their rituals appear to have been privately managed in a *huiguan*-like manner by the natives of this rich and influential area of central China.

For lodges that had their own private or rented buildings, it was essential for one or more rooms to be devoted to religious worship. Take the Xiancheng *huiguan* established by men from Canton and shown in Figure 15.4. In 1943, it was on a small street near the Front Gate. One entered through a side door and turned right into the first courtyard; behind lay a large meeting room, with a second courtyard (with stelae) behind that, and at the rear, three rooms used as shrines. The principal deity was Guandi, who took the place of honor, but separate rooms on the east and west were devoted to Tian-

172. *BJTB* 64:45, 80:25; Wu Changyuan 10:205; Shen Bang 19:203; *FXZ* 2:18. At the same time, they began to reclaim the Inner City temple, shrewdly dedicating it to Guandi.

hou and the Wealth-god. Small rooms around the courtyard were used as library and reception rooms.¹⁷³ (Were the sleeping rooms upstairs?)

A few of the lodges had the luxury of a stage on the premises.¹⁷⁴ The one in the Huguang lodge was in a room big enough for four hundred people, but most stages were probably freestanding structures on the other side of the courtyard from the rooms with the god images.¹⁷⁵ Like banquets, the construction of stages within *huiguan* represented a kind of useful exclusivity. Would such well-appointed rooms not have been very suitable for celebrations by fellow natives when talented local men succeeded in the *jinshi* exams?

Sojourners, whether from within the empire or abroad, needed graveyards to inter the bodies of those who had died far from home, a duty replete with filial, religious, and fraternal sentimentality. “Ah, this is where our people’s bones are buried!”¹⁷⁶ Ideally, cemeteries had small temples attached to them where a monk or daoist might perform the necessary rituals, usually on *qingming* and the fifteenth day of the seventh month, receiving a small stipend for “incense expenses” and his own meager upkeep.¹⁷⁷

Philanthropic purpose was embedded in the various synonyms for such “charitable cemeteries”—*yizhong*, *yidi*, *yitian*, *yiying*, and most often *yi yuan*—a genuinely charitable service by the group as a whole for its poorer members. But here too, inclusion was a narrowly guarded privilege that defined the community in death as in life. The cemetery had to be policed, lest others secretly bury, or encroach on the perimeter of the property. “Nonguild members [*hangwairen*] are not permitted to be buried here!”¹⁷⁸ (Compare the public graveyards discussed in Chapter 16.)

Men from Anqing prefecture (Anhui) had had a cemetery in Peking ever since the Ming, and they used the Guandimiao attached to it to make offerings. Shandong men from Dengzhou and Laizhou prefectures bought grave land in the southwestern part of the Outer City in 1742; there was a nearby temple in which sick fellow natives could recuperate and coffins could be stored.¹⁷⁹ Keeping coffins from collapsing and the bones from becoming

173. Niida 5:967–70, 988. There were no major restorations recorded after 1862, so the site described by Niida may have retained its Qing shape. It was located on Wangpi Alley.

174. I know of eleven.

175. The Huguang theater has been restored and is being used for performances. For others: Niida 5:1040; Zhou Huabin figs. 30–33, 115–51.

176. *BJTB* 86:63. Cemeteries were also an important first step in the formation of lineages. Naquin 1986.

177. Niida 5:1017–18. See Niida 2:327–30 for a suit by the lodge against its cleric.

178. HG She xian B:3–9; Niida 5:996–98. The Yunnan lodge had a generous and finely graded schedule of subsidies for officials and exam candidates who died in Peking. *BJTB* 79:150–51.

179. Zhang Jiangcai 1934:3:1680–81; *BJTB* 79:88–89; also Niida 5:991–1008.

exposed was a manifest duty and justified “restoration” and enlargement of the graveyard.

Huiguan and sojourner guilds acquired and used graveyards. In the Outer City, I can attest the presence of twenty-six cemeteries during the Qing, and thirty-six in 1926.¹⁸⁰ (Others were in the suburbs.) Some graveyards were small, some large. Successful sojourning could mean more bodies to bury and necessitate new plots. We can see the pattern of such growth in the case of the (Anhui) She county lodge. In the late Ming, they had slowly acquired twenty *mou* in small increments of a few *mou* each; by 1785 their fifty *mou* were inadequate and thirty-four more were purchased. Another guild gradually acquired three hundred *mou* of grave land over the course of a century and a half; a third guild had to add more rooms to the adjacent temple to accommodate all the coffins. The metals guild had three cemeteries and rotated burial in them on a fixed schedule.¹⁸¹

Successful groups of coworkers or fellow natives thus came to have multiple properties: a lodge in town, a graveyard on the periphery, and a hall in a nearby temple; property arrangements could become complex.¹⁸² The merchants who sold second-hand clothing (initially, all from Cixi county in Ningbo prefecture, Zhejiang) established a lodge in Peking in (or before) 1744; within it were halls for worship of their patron gods. In 1788, that *huiguan* constructed a Wealth-god temple next door, turning for assistance to residents of the neighborhood and to merchants (sellers of wine, and of boots) who were their fellow provincials. The temple continued to be supported by this diverse group of merchants. The immediately adjacent lodge remained the preserve of those in the clothing business, who, through time, came less exclusively from Zhejiang.¹⁸³ Within this one complex, we can thus see the shifting constellation of native-place and occupational foci, the adaptability of both temple and lodge to changing patronage, and the fluid combinations of openness and exclusivity.

The Outer City had twenty-four temples that were used primarily by a single native-place lodge. (There were another four in the Inner City, and four

180. *Beiping zhinan* 5:31–44. Japanese maps showed them scattered across the periphery of the Outer City (e.g., Map 1939).

181. *BJTB* 75:41; HG She xian B:passim. Three hundred *mou* in three places: Niida 1:110–11, 5:919–28. Coffin storage also proceeded on such a schedule. Niida 1:103–9.

182. Actors not only used the Jingzhongmiao but also had a graveyard in the Taoranting area (from at least 1732). They used a hall in the densely settled theater district and brought in daoists from a nearby temple for services. In the 1880s, they acquired another property in the same part of town, which they called their *gongsuo*. Zhang Jiangcai 1934:3:1671–73, 4:2181–2259; Niida 6:1113–18. In the early twentieth century, they also patronized a hall in the big Dongyuemiao. Niida 4:753–56.

183. Shoudu Library #1383; Niida 2:257–61, 265–70.

in the suburbs.) Such establishments were sometimes shrines to heroes from back home (like the Three Loyal Ones), and sometimes to hometown gods (like Duke Zhang), and they thus provided Peking with lone outposts of distant cults. Paper merchants from two different prefectures of Fujian, for example, used worship of Tianhou (Empress of Heaven, the popular south China deity) as a framework for founding a joint *huiguan* in 1836.¹⁸⁴

Shrines to local worthies seem to have had a long-lasting and renewable power to mobilize sojourners (of a certain class), but were also liable to co-optation by the state. The martyred Wen Tianxiang and Yu Qian were both potent symbols to men of their native places (Ji'an in Jiangxi and Hangzhou in Zhejiang), but such sentiments were diffused when their shrines were made part of the state religion in the Ming. In the Qing, these men became convenient foci for more acceptable native-place affiliations. A new shrine to Wen had been constructed in the Outer City by the end of the eighteenth century and was used by men from Ji'an. The one to Yu Qian was rebuilt on its original site in the 1880s and became a lodge for examination candidates from Hangzhou.¹⁸⁵ Such particularistic associations probably reduced the possibility that such heroes would be used to mobilize people on a wider basis.

As the lines between the Banner and Chinese quarters became more permeable, ostensibly religious purposes made it possible for Outer City sojourners to gain or regain influence at Inner City temples. The Ming dynasty Ning-Shao regional shrine in the Inner City was restored in the 1670s–1680s by a respected capital official. In the 1820s, Ningbo men who ran moneyshops raised donations from their fellow natives to restore it again; they had to use connections in the Outer City to find a monk to be resident cleric.¹⁸⁶ Shandong water carriers paid for the restoration of a Dragon-god temple at a well with especially sweet water in the Inner City in 1778.¹⁸⁷

Although temples, guilds, and lodges were connected in many different ways, long-term trends favored the more secular institutions. Reliance on temples did not increase in the nineteenth century; indeed, there were only thirty-two religious buildings being used by lodges in 1880, of which twenty-four had been built before 1800. By contrast, the hundreds of new lodges created after 1880 were located in private buildings and focused narrowly

184. HG Minzhong 3.

185. *DMJL* 1886:3:24; Zhenjun 2:25. The sources disagreed about the other figure in the shrine to "Two Loyal Ones" from Ji'an. Wu Changyuan 9:165; Dai Lu 5:131–32; HG Jiangxi 4.

186. That official, Yu Chenglong (d. 1684), was surely acting at the instigation of Ning-Shao natives. He called the temple the Ning-Cao Guandi temple. ("Cao" referred to the grain transport links between Peking and the Lower Yangtze.) *ECCP* 937–38; *Qingdai beizhuan quan ji* 331.

187. *BJTB* 74:18.

on native place, the expression of a seeming drive to have ever-more counties and prefectures represented in the capital.¹⁸⁸

Did Qing *huiguan* heighten native-place consciousness among sojourners to the capital? Travel and displacement to a new environment will do this of themselves, of course, and the organizational scaffolding provided by the new lodges did encourage native place as a defining criterion for identity and affiliation. At the same time, the fact of long-term sojourning, cross-cutting occupational identities, and the frequency of mutation across levels of native place worked to dilute the force of any one unit of identity, as did the lack of linguistically or culturally distinct neighborhoods.

Unlike proselytizing religions, guilds and lodges rarely attempted to form communities outside the premises of their halls and cemeteries. They organized no processions, and they participated in the celebration of local festivals only as one of many donors. Peking natives were, moreover, tacitly excluded from guild- or lodge-sponsored operas for a god's birthday in a temple.

Lodges—like customary strategies of sojourning, the household registration system, and examination identity—discouraged the transformation of outsiders into natives. Peking in particular not only sharpened a sojourner's sense of his distant home (by being so distant from it) but also exposed him to the national history and culture embedded in the structures of imperial government. These two levels of identity competed with any attachment to Peking itself.

Some *huiguan* became more deeply connected to the life of Peking than others. As with foreign religions, rooting took time, and we would expect greater local activism among the older lodges.¹⁸⁹ Outsiders who occupied vital niches in the service economy and were in effect permanent sojourners, continuously linked with and replenished from home, had a tighter connection with the city than the handfuls of men from a single county who participated in the examinations, stayed in a lodge, but were not the advance guard of substantial in-migration.¹⁹⁰

Whether in lodges or temples, *huiguan* encouraged sojourners to turn inward, to emphasize their separateness, and to move to different rhythms. Buried within Peking's annual cycle of festivals were the celebrations for the birthdays of occupational and native-place gods. These included the festiv-

188. Richard Belsky has argued that they were intended primarily for scholars and officials.

189. As happened in Shanghai. B. Goodman chap. 3.

190. Sojourning workers from the region could be even more readily assimilated.

ities on 1/5, 3/15, 7/22, and 9/17 for different manifestations of the Wealth-god, on 5/7 for Lu Ban, and 5/13 for Guandi. Book dealers observed Wenchang's birthday on 2/3, Fujian people feted Tianhou on 3/23, and Shandong men recognized Confucius, their fellow native, on 8/27.

Nevertheless, natives outnumbered sojourners, and by the mid-Qing, the capital had an unmistakable local culture with which outsiders could identify if they chose. As we have seen, many sojourners were important consumers of this more local Peking—its goods, services, and tourist sights. They were the readers of the new genre of nineteenth-century guidebooks that by 1872 provided long lists of the names and addresses of the *huiguan* themselves.¹⁹¹ And they were the leaders of a variety of new welfare activities that we will examine in Chapter 16.

Peking's lodges lived in the shadow of the state, and it is remarkable that they flourished as they did. This success is a testament to the respectability of those who pioneered the institution and to their considerable prudence. Before 1860, *huiguan* were not involved in public matters, nor did they have much overtly to do with the government. Unlike Hankou or Shanghai, Peking's guilds and lodges were not major public buildings, and their halls did not dominate the landscape—they could scarcely be noticed. Although they needed its acquiescence, *huiguan* were able to develop their identity as private organizations during the Qing precisely because they kept the state at arm's length. Lodges and guilds were both expected to police their own members, and when it came to keeping population registers, *huiguan* took responsibility just as households, temples, inns, and theaters did.¹⁹² And they turned to the legal system as necessary to adjudicate disputes with outsiders. But lodges received no imperial visitors and no imperial patronage, and their relations with local and metropolitan officials were usually veiled.

These informal ties to the state were crucial. They not only ensured the survival of the *huiguan* as an institution but also made possible countless small benefits and advantages to the well-connected. In 1822 Shanxi men arranged to have one of the Five Borough censors issue a warning against those who infringed on guild regulations, and in 1836 someone from Huizhou (Anhui) used his contacts to produce a similar warning—later carved in stone and set up on the spot—against encroachment on their suburban cemetery. These two incidents should be understood as rare public examples of the countless invisible acts of government assistance that *huiguan* were able to

191. See the preface to *DMJL* 1872.

192. *Huidian* 1899:1033:17416–17, 17420; *QSL-JQ* 277:25–26.

get through dense webs of private connections. The more highly placed their natives were, the better the chance for such help.¹⁹³

The attitude of the Qing throne toward Peking's lodges is more difficult to discern. *Huiguan* were not part of the Banner world, and it is unlikely that any Qing emperor ever entered one, before or after ascending the throne. But lodge members served the emperor at the highest reaches of government and undoubtedly made sure that *huiguan* were understood inside the Forbidden City. Consider the following incident. A zealous Borough censor arrested people for gambling in the Sichuan *huiguan* in 1751; the lodge manager protested that they were merely celebrating the success of native sons in the recent metropolitan examinations; the Qianlong emperor called the censor "reckless" and dismissed the case.¹⁹⁴

It may be that the proliferation of minutely subdivided lodges had the effect—highly desirable from the point of view of a jealous throne—of dispersing the energies and particularizing the loyalties of the sojourning elite. Hot-headed young exam candidates would thus be supervised by their more prudent elders, the ambitious tamed by the successful, and any chance of collective action much reduced. Similarly, the ever-increasing number of lodges may have made it difficult for any single lodge to grow disproportionately powerful.

Respectable, well funded, organized, and possessed of legitimate places for collective action and accepted reasons for meeting, Peking's *huiguan* had organizational potential. Although—like religious institutions—they were detached from family and state, we cannot call them public in function. In the period before 1860, exclusion and privacy were more important considerations. In the middle and late nineteenth century, however, as we shall see in the next chapter, private power became the basis for wider action.

193. Niida 5:1073-74; *BJTB* 80:104. Both official statements came from the South City censor. The She county graveyard had first received such a stele in 1769. *BJTB* 73:7. For more on such efforts, see Belsky chap. 4.

194. *JJD:QL* 6646.

Temples and Public Purposes

Temples—and mosques, churches, lamaseries, monasteries, and nunneries—were part of a wide array of places for meeting and socializing in Qing Peking. In previous chapters, we have seen ways in which Peking people used family, neighborhood, native place, Banner, and religion as selective bases for association. In this chapter, we will consider the city as a whole. Important aspects of capital society were manifested in places that were open to an undifferentiated and unorganized public: tourist sights, soup kitchens, temple fairs, poetry clubs, marketplaces, shops, theaters, and benevolent halls. These accessible places and the activities they hosted helped create a homogeneous and distinctive local culture, one in which imperial Peking slipped from foreground to backdrop. We will concentrate on the temple-based activities that helped constitute a broader Peking—shopping, entertainment, welfare relief, and politics—but will set them in the context of the markets, restaurants, inns, and theaters with which they shared many characteristics.

Although these activities were open to all, participation stratified the public by class and sometimes by gender. Markets emphasized and articulated purchasing power: consumers demonstrated their wealth by what they could afford to buy and their taste by what they wanted to buy; gender often determined where one shopped. Entertainment was likewise graded. High-class salaried actors, who were predominantly male, played in fancy theaters that charged admission. Street performers put on shows outdoors, hoping to be tossed a few cash; the poor could watch for free. The men, women, and children who asked for handouts at soup kitchens advertised their poverty. It was men with money and managerial ability who founded, endowed, and controlled these charities. In politics, the class and gender gradients were even steeper. Only officials were formally empowered to discuss national politics. Even those men whose demonstrable interest immediately distinguished them from others with

more parochial concerns could not enter the halls of power and were relative outsiders. The great majority of people were not encouraged to care at all. All of these activities thus helped constitute Peking's shared urban culture while simultaneously making its class and gender distinctions more obvious.

In considering each of these different kinds of activities in turn, the following discussion draws up the strands of the developments of the early and middle Qing but concentrates on the changes of the last half of the nineteenth century. By that time, temples were increasingly bypassed by an exponential growth in secular organizations dedicated to Peking's wider community. In the rest of this book, we will thus move Peking's story forward through the late Qing, arriving at 1900 and pointing the way into the twentieth century.¹

Let us begin with marketing and consumption.

MARKETS

Peking was a voracious consumer of goods and services from both the immediate region and farther afield. The Imperial Household had a great appetite (as well as the means to satisfy it) and oversaw immense construction projects during its heyday (bridges, buildings, tombs, temples, dikes). By the eighteenth century, a wealthy nobility hungry for the pleasures of conspicuous consumption had emerged from the Bannermen of the conquest period. The capital necessarily catered to the expensive tastes of sojourning elites from the other cities of the empire. Approximately one million inhabitants of the city not only labored to meet these demands, but also had themselves to be fed, clothed, housed, and entertained.²

The city was an energetic producer of raw materials and finished goods. Imperial Household workshops manufactured a great variety of luxury items out of wood, ivory, precious stones, and jade; it produced cloisonné, lacquerware, glassware, and paintings, cast cannon, and minted coins by the millions. Even in the nineteenth century, as the Neiwufu retrenched, commercial workshops carried on for elite consumers on a reduced scale.³ Peking and the immediate area also continued to produce earthenware vessels, bricks, tiles, coal, lime, and granite. Flowers and trees were raised for sale, as were crickets, songbirds, pigeons, fighting quail, pet dogs, and goldfish. Artificial flowers and toys of all sorts were made and sold.

The capital offered unique shopping opportunities for those with money

1. Much more documentation for Peking's history is available after the middle of the nineteenth century, and the presentation here is relatively sketchy in comparison to what is possible. I leave the in-depth study of the topics raised in this chapter to others.

2. Peking's twentieth-century reputation as a city without factories and therefore without productive capacity has been projected backward rather too casually. I have drawn the material for the following paragraphs from a wide variety of scattered primary sources for Peking before 1911.

3. See, for one example, Brown & Rabiner 31 on the glassworks.

and aspirations to elite status. It was the place to buy official apparel, new and used, from hats to belts to boots. One could purchase scriptures that were printed in the city's temples and handsome and expensive sets of books written, designed, and printed by the Imperial Household.⁴ Here old goods changed hands and in the process came to be defined as antiquities: jades, bronzes, paintings, calligraphy, rubbings, rare books, ink sticks, and seals. Here one could establish one's taste and elegance through one's acquisitions.

From the surrounding countryside, Peking drew the foods that helped create a hierarchy of comestibles, from welfare porridge to gourmet cuisine. These foodstuffs included mutton, beef, pork, duck, chicken, cabbage, nuts, turnips, beans, peaches, pears, apples, apricots, melons, and persimmons.⁵ Locally produced sorghum, millet, and wheat (the preferred staple), even though probably more expensive than the tribute grain available inside the walled city, were also fresher. From the wider region came salt, fresh and dried fruits, sesame oil, fish, crabs, and the raw powerful distilled liquor that eased the pains of life. And, of course, the city devoured male and female labor from the countryside.

Because it was the capital, Peking also imported goods from very far away: furs of sable and ermine, green tea, exotic fruits, and rare pearls; the sweet wines, high-grade porcelain, and silk varieties of central China; southern hardwood furniture; Central Asian jade and turquoise; beans for animal feed; and rice in huge quantities. Many of these goods were monopolized by the Imperial Household and distributed by it to the finely graded palace community and thence, downward and outward, to others with the right connections. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, there were even European and American goods for sale to those with interest and knowledge: medicines, clocks, kerosene lamps, and matches.

Peking also imported and manufactured culture. As the premier urban area in the region, it provided many special services undertaken to a high level of skill for those who could afford and appreciate them: scroll mounting, stelae carving, cooking, tailoring, and book production. As the capital, it catered to a cosmopolitan elite and probably provided a more diverse range of goods and services than any other city in the empire.

Peking's goods were distributed through a range of mechanisms, and its residents were differentiated accordingly. The finest objects were given or sold privately, the good ones were available in stores, and those of lesser quality could be purchased from stalls or on the streets. Peddlers were essential to

4. For a smattering of sources: Heissig 1954:passim; Planchet 1923; *BJTB* 73:168–69, 74:52, 86:4; T. Liu 105.

5. For a more serious discussion of trade in north China: Kwan chap. 4.

urban life (especially for house-bound women) and, with characteristic calls and noisemakers, they announced to the general public the availability of everything from children's shoes to betel nuts. Up and down the lanes and alleys they walked, offering to tell a fortune, skin a pig, sharpen a knife, or repair a broken bowl. And it was on the streets that one could have one's teeth pulled or head shaved, a letter written or money changed. But of course there were also stores, some concentrated in commercial quarters, some scattered in residential neighborhoods. In shops, means governed access. The best stores were fronted by richly carved gilded wooden columns and paper-lined lattice windows. Outside, a complex code of symbols advertised the goods offered; within, respectable customers were served tea and given concentrated attention. An elaborate network of financing and procurement underlay and connected these different levels of distribution.

Although the Inner City began as a residential district only, commercial establishments soon reestablished themselves in rooms rented or purchased from debt-ridden Bannermen. As the illustrations of Kangxi's sixtieth birthday procession show us, there were shops for tobacco, tea, lumber, incense, medicine, grain, and money by at least 1716; the street that ran through the West Four-Arches was appropriately known as Great Market Street. By 1756, the Gendarmerie had reconciled itself to the existence of more than seventy shops and inns in the Banner city so long as they were registered and in good order. They tried (ineffectually) to prohibit others. At that time, most stores were located in the northern part of the Inner City. By the early nineteenth century, many more streets were lined with stores, some of them quite elegant, and by 1851 there were fifteen thousand registered shop households (*puhu*) in the Banner city.⁶

In the Outer City, shops were most dense outside the three great gates, and most particularly outside the Front Gate in the maze of alleys known as Dashalar. Many goods were still sold like-with-like along certain streets and at certain intersections: the Fresh Fish, Flower, Jewelry, Mule, Melon, Rice, Hat, and Horse Markets.⁷ One could also visit the Great Eastern Market, Black Market, Beggars Market, Dawn Market, and so forth. Warehousing lay at a distance, often in the open space along the outer walls.

State policy toward Peking's economy was a mixture of direct intervention, limited taxation, and a free hand. Complicated and thinly researched, these policies can only be sketched out here in the simplest of fashion. Imported tribute grain was distributed by the state to Bannermen and officials, and grain prices and the market in copper coin were regularly monitored.

6. *Jinwu shili* 3:41–47, 6:15–18; Hyacinthe 15–16.

7. *FXZ* passim. There were twenty-seven shops selling pork on Pork Market Main Street in 1756. *Jinwu shili* 3:42. Dashalar: Pan Rongbi 10; *Yanjing za ji* 121; Deveria 238.

Close to a thousand sojourning and local merchants paid fees for brokerage licenses in a number of designated (and especially profitable) businesses, including pawnbroking, wine, grain, textiles, metals, and medicines. There was a transaction tax for the buying and selling of buildings (and real estate generally?) in the city.⁸ Transit taxes were assessed on goods entering the city for sale, including livestock; the head office was at the Chongwen Gate, but taxes were collected at all the gates. The intended targets of these assessments were wholesale and luxury-good merchants; peddlers and small boats were formally exempted (although liable to illegal exactions), as were any goods leaving the gates of Peking.⁹

Although perched on the edge of the north China plain, Peking's role as imperial center gave it disproportionate control over resources. Thus, while economic ties with the wider region became closer as population and commercial activity increased, their impact seems to have been greater on the immediate hinterland than the wider region. Tongzhou was closely bound to Peking through the tribute grain traffic, and wineshops, distilleries, and inns dotted the road between the two cities.¹⁰

Tianjin was farther away, but its transformation in the late Qing had dramatic effects on the capital and the region. This commercial town half the size of Peking was located 110 kilometers to the southeast. It had been the headquarters for the local salt monopoly since the late seventeenth century, was the home of rich salt-merchant families, housed an important tax office, began to produce significant numbers of degree-holders in the late eighteenth century, and supplanted Baoding as the seat of the provincial government in 1871. Tianjin entered a new phase of economic growth after the settlement with the foreign powers in 1860 opened it up as a treaty port. Directly exposed to Western culture and power, it began to follow a course very unlike Peking's. Links between the two cities became tighter, especially after the telegraph was connected in 1884 and a railroad was built in 1897. Cultural competition and connections complemented economic ones.¹¹

Temple fairs played a special role in tying Peking together and linking it outward. Salesmen and entertainers accompanied religious festivals, promot-

8. Mann 1987:48–49, 227; *Tongkao* j. 32 passim but esp. 5151; *STFZ* 1885:51:1912. Fragmentary evidence indicates that in the Outer City a tax liability was incurred when a new building was constructed and when cemetery land was purchased. Niida 1:11–13, 5:919, 5:996–98; *BJTB* 80:124.

9. *Huidian* 1899:jj. 23, 234, 236 passim; Xie Lin.

10. For G. W. Skinner's North China macroregion: 1977:211–49; also Kwan chap. 4; *Dudgeon* 1895:317.

11. Kwan; Bernstein 1988; Hershatter; Dennys 1866; Rasmussen 283–88. Chapter 14 describes the involvement of Tianjin people and money in Peking religious life. Tianjin elites also

ing cultural as well as economic integration, even as they created and reinforced social distinctions. These fairs generated a kind of excitement that children and visitors remembered and associated with Peking life, but by the end of the dynasty, they were increasingly marginalized and gradually replaced by newer kinds of markets and entertainment.¹²

Qing Peking's periodic marketing operated on both yearly and monthly cycles. The foundation for the annual rhythm was the sequence of gods' birthdays shown (as of the nineteenth century) in Table 16.1. These birthdays advertised the generous and indiscriminate openness of temples to a wide public, and the presence of larger-than-normal crowds in turn attracted vendors and performers. In some cases, the celebrations spilled over into several adjacent days, or even an entire month (as at the Dongyuemiao), or even longer (at the Ten-li Guandi temple).

The lively gods' birthdays of the Ming never returned to the Inner City. These big once-a-year fairs were relocated in the Outer City and the suburbs; the only exception was the City-god temple. Many (but not all) of the suburban temple festivals continued after 1644. Outer City celebrations, by contrast, had to develop almost from scratch. The expectation that a god's efficacy might vary from one manifestation to another provided a framework that made such sudden shifts of public attention understandable in religious terms.

Annual temple fairs (*miaohui*) were almost all concentrated during the first half of the year and were only partially commercial events. At Miaofengshan, only pilgrimage-related goods were for sale; at the Central Summit, because of its location near Fengtai, flowers were marketed; at the Shanguosi fair, held on the occasion of the monks' annual airing of the sutras, only a few goods seem to have been for sale. Other annual holidays, including private family-oriented ones, were established occasions for consumption and gift giving and so were more than a little commercialized, but both they and these god's birthdays came too infrequently and were too ephemeral to affect seriously the distribution of goods in Peking or to serve as major occasions for shopping.

The fairs at the new year were another matter. Although the displays associated with the two-week lantern festival in the first month had been shifted to several locations in the Outer City, this holiday remained a protracted period of consumption of food, goods, and entertainment. A fair was gradually reconcentrated at Liulichang, the site of a nearly abandoned tile-production workshop for which the area was named. Although "a hundred goods gathered like clouds" and performers were everywhere, this new year's

hired prestigious Peking opera troupes for celebrations and Tibetan lamas from capital temples for funerals. Kwan 333, 348.

12. For a different and visually very interesting approach to Peking's markets, using many of the same sources, see Hwang 102-13.

TABLE 16.1 Important Gods' Birthday Celebrations in Nineteenth-Century Peking

<i>Date</i>	<i>God or Temple</i>	<i>Location</i>
1/2	Five-Wealth-gods	Southwestern suburbs ¹
1/19	Baiyunguan	Western suburbs
2/1	Sun-god	Outer City ²
3/1-3	Pantaogong	Outer City ³
3/28	Dongyuemiao	Eastern suburbs ⁴
4/8	Bixia Yuanjun	Miaofengshan and other suburbs
4/28	Medicine-king	Southern suburbs ⁵
5/1-10	City-god	Inner City ⁶
5/13	Guandi	Outer City and southeastern suburbs ⁷
6/1	Bixia Yuanjun	Southern suburbs ⁸
6/5-6	Shanguosi	Outer City ⁹
8/1-3	Stove-god	Outer City ¹⁰
9/17	Five-Wealth-gods	Southwestern suburbs ¹¹

1. Zhenjun 9:3.

2. Kim Ch'ang'öp 206-7; Pan Rongbi 13-14.

3. Pan Rongbi 16-17.

4. Pan Rongbi 17; Dun Lichen 28-30.

5. *BJTB* 71:8, 72:187-88, 84:108; *DMJL* 1886.

6. *Bei shang beilan*; Dun Lichen 46-48; Zhenjun 10:12.

7. *BJTB* 78:83-84; *Bei shang beilan*.

8. Pan Rongbi 25; Bouillard 1923c:394.

9. *Bei shang beilan*; Ranglian 7; *FXZ* 8:34.

10. Ranglian 8; Dun Lichen 68; *FXZ* 7:24; Lowe 2:22-23.

11. Zhenjun 9:3.

fair was best known for its status-making antiquities and books—goods for whom buyers were both sufficiently rare and sufficiently numerous to sustain this kind of once-a-year occasion.¹³ (See Figure 16.1.)

Several temples in the Liulichang area took advantage of the new year holiday and opened their courtyards to vendors (for a fee). Stalls selling jewelry and precious stones were located in a small Fire-god temple, thoughtfully restored in 1776 by the Gendarmerie because of the dangers of fire in this crowded quarter. An Earth-god shrine rented its space to book and antique dealers. Booksellers from different parts of the empire prayed and gave thanks at the nearby Wenchang lodge, named after their patron.¹⁴ By the 1860s, the location of the first-month fair was beginning to be called Chang-

13. *Wanping xian zhi* 1:17, 6:80; Pan Rongbi 9, 10, 22; Map 1750:XII:7-8.

14. *BJTB* 73:183; Kim Kyöngsön 1070-71; Douin 2:124; *DMJL* 1886; Sun Dianqi 273-82.



Figure 16.1. Returning from a New Year's Temple Fair

SOURCE: Lowe 2:171.

dian (Workshop Yard). Increasingly secularized and commercialized by the turn of the century, this quarter remained the site both of permanent shops and of an annual fair into the Republic era. Brightly colored late Qing woodblock prints celebrated (and advertised) these spaces.¹⁵

A different schedule of interlinked, citywide, monthly “temple markets” (*miaoshi*) emerged during the Qing, one in which the balance was also tipped away from religion and toward merchandising.

Although the transition was not as smooth as it might have looked a century later, by the time the situation stabilized in the eighteenth century, there were two Outer City monthly markets. One was held in an Earth-god temple outside the Xuanwu Gate, and by at least 1713 it took place “on the threes” (that is, the third, thirteenth, and twenty-third days of the month). The other was on the eastern side of town, not at a temple but at the Flower Mart intersection (Huashi). When Kim Ch’ang’ōp visited it in 1713, he found goods spread out on the ground along streets packed with people.¹⁶

15. *Caozhu yi chuan* 16–18; *Bei shang beilan*; Lowe 2:174–79. Prints: Yan Chongnian 251; Lin Yan et al., color plate #3. Part of this site was cleared, sanitized, and further commercialized in 1918 to make a park known as Haiwangcun where the fair was partially consolidated. Survey 1937:27; Wang Zhuoran. The area was entirely rebuilt and prettified yet again in the 1980s.

16. In the 1650s, there was an attempt to hold a monthly temple market and the lantern market in the large Lingyougong north of the Altar to Agriculture, but neither lasted. Tan Qian

A pair of major temple markets dominated the less commercial Inner City. The Huguosi had been restored in 1721, and Longfusi in 1725; their markets were well established by the 1750s and continued to be very active into the twentieth century. Huguosi in the west held its temple market on the sevens and eights of each month; Longfusi in the east held its market on the nines and tens. For the Banner population, these were essential shopping centers. It was presumably the dearth of commercial establishments that initially made these markets so important; neither was far from a major intersection and gate. (Both were shown on eighteenth-century maps.)¹⁷

The Dongyuemiao—just outside the Chaoyang Gate in the eastern suburbs—helped fill out the monthly cycle with a market on the first and fifteenth. In the eighteenth century, merchants, the well-to-do, and scholars of “a hundred ethnicities” (*bai zu*) congregated on these same days at the Medicine-king temple market (north of the palace). Neither seems to have come anywhere close to the great east and west temple markets in popularity.¹⁸

Other temple markets convened on regular but not monthly schedules. Within a decade of 1644, the fair once held at the Northern City City-god temple was relocated on the same three days of each month (first, fifteenth, and twenty-fifth) at the Baoguoosi, a substantial temple in the western section of the Outer City. Although Qianlong cooperated by restoring the temple in 1756, its market gradually declined in vigor, bypassed by rivals.¹⁹ In the meantime, a new Outer City City-god temple had emerged (as we saw in Chapter 12) and hosted a fair three times a year.

Consumer demand amplified the commercialization of the new year holiday. By the late eighteenth century, the Chongyuanguan (a temple in the northwest corner of the Inner City) had developed a market from the first to the fifteenth day. So had the suburban Dazhongsi (from the first to the tenth). In time, shops once more competed with displays of lanterns during the lantern festival at the former Dengshi intersection at the East Four-Arches

1656:88, 334; Zha Shenxing 3. Tudi: Zha Shenxing 1; Pan Rongbi 22. This may have been the “Chenghuang” temple visited by Tan Qian in 1655 (1656:122–23).

17. *BJTB* 67:153; Pan Rongbi 22. See Chen Zongfan 2:339 for the suggestion that the Huguosi market had originated at the West Four-Arches, moved to the nearby Guangjisi, and moved again when that temple was renovated (in 1699). Also see Survey 1937. Sections of the Huguosi were still standing in 1987. A department store occupies the Longfusi site. Both temples housed lamas, received imperial patronage, and probably had few visitors; neither had previously housed a fair. Wu Changyuan, maps; *BQTZ* 2:2–10 maps.

18. *BJTB* 67:104; Survey 1937:40–46; Pan Rongbi 22; Dun Lichen 23. The Dongyuemiao may also have had a market on the second, sixteenth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-sixth: *DMJL* 1845, 1872; *Bei shang beilan*.

19. Tan Qian 1656:334, 92; Wang Shizhen 1704:1:7–8; Wang Hongxu 1:529–32, 2:660, 2:673; *JFTZ* 1735:51:1; Pak Chiwŏn 25; Sun Dianqi 290–303; *JWK* 59:963–68; *FXZ* 8:31–33.

and the north gate of the palace—all in the Inner City.²⁰ The new year was also the time when tributary missions crowded the capital. Lamaseries in the northern suburbs catered to Central Asian visitors, and Korean ginseng vied with Mongol goods at a market in the vicinity of the Inner City Envoy Residence.²¹

The effect of this combination of markets was that both buyers and sellers in Peking were provided with regular, periodic venues for commercial transactions large and small. There was a market somewhere within the walls of either the Inner or Outer City every day of every month except the twos and the sixes. By the 1920s, these gaps had been filled.²² And each of the first eight months of the year had at least one birthday fair as well.

The Longfusi had its fair six days each month (on the nines and tens). A sketch from a survey in 1936 showed that stalls were set up not merely in every central and side courtyard, but also up and down the street that ran in front of the temple. (The layout of this temple is shown in Figure 2.4.) At that late date, it had more stands (946) than any other periodic market. Clothes, jewelry, and food sellers were the most numerous, but one could buy furs, fish, flowers, potted plants, antiques, watches (even in the eighteenth century), snuff bottles, and little dogs. Although the temple suffered a major fire in 1901, a few lamas returned, and the fair continued. Western visitors were especially fond of it, despite (or perhaps because of) the eager vendors like the dentist who advertised in English, “Insertion false teeth and eyes, latest Methodists.”²³

These cycles helped knit the city together. The system—and it does seem to have been a system—helped define an undifferentiated urban community as those who relied on these markets, while, as tourist sights, the fairs also helped distinguish Peking and its culture in the minds of outsiders. For vendors, the inhabitants of the Inner and Outer Cities may have been different constituencies, but all were customers. The openness of these markets likewise created times and places when and where people of all kinds could meet and mix, even if their purchasing power varied greatly. Knowledge of the market schedule, familiarity with the goods supplied, expertise about the best bargains, memories of the best snacks—these defined insiders. No wonder nineteenth-century guidebooks disseminated such information to first-time visitors.

Behind this neat structure of supply and demand was constant jockeying

20. Wu Changyuan 8:161; Kim Kyōngsōn 1094–95; Dun Lichen 6–9, 12–14.

21. Dennys 1867; Bredon 44–45, 457–58; Rennie 2:101–2.

22. Ogden 14.

23. *Caozhu yi chuan* 4; Survey 1908; Chen Zongfan 2:289–91; Bredon 458–61; Hong Taeyong 318; Candlin 195; and many other visitors. For Wang Yuchang’s valuable study: Survey 1937:43, 49, 56–58. (The Huguosi was also surveyed.)

for advantage; struggles over good spaces within a market, rivalry between markets, competition with the permanent stores on the one hand and peddlers on the other, subtle and strong-arm tactics by sellers to fix prices, devious attempts by buyers to circumvent such moves, and the surreptitious sale of stolen or restricted goods.²⁴ Consumers were no more secure: status was constantly challenged, tastes were in flux, and it was too easy for appetites to exceed resources.

The general trend during the Qing was not only for commercial activities to spread to the Inner City and to increase over time, but also for buying and selling to shift from temples to entirely secular premises. The Dashalar district burned during the Boxer uprising, and after 1900 new markets were set up by the reform-minded Qing state in new, exclusive, permanent spaces. The Eastern Peace Market (Dong'an Shichang), a kind of covered permanent bazaar, was created in the old Lantern Market area east of the palace, a district dense with places to dine, shop, and be entertained. The West Arch Market (Xidan Shichang) was inaugurated at the same time on the opposite, less commercialized side of the Forbidden City. By 1911, a night market had developed outside the Front Gate. In 1914, a new shopping area was cleared north of the Temple to Agriculture. The coming of the department store meant yet another competitor to the market fair. As the twentieth century brought regularized sites, new governments tried to standardize prices, ensure the authenticity of goods sold, and shift the remaining periodic markets onto the solar calendar.

Temple markets survived into this vastly different era and even intensified their schedules, but their place in the city had changed. New markets and department stores had "modern" goods and attracted younger customers; temple fairs and markets, by contrast, sold more handicrafts and Chinese goods and now seemed old-fashioned.²⁵

Parallel processes of secularization and commercialization that permitted the survival of more traditional arrangements also affected the entertainers who were an important feature of temple celebrations.

ENTERTAINMENT

At temple fairs and markets, entertainment vied with commerce for the attention of the visitor. Indeed, it should be obvious to the reader by now that temples provided the space and occasion for concentrations of performers of all kinds. Alternatives were surprisingly few until the second half of the

24. These struggles are almost invisible before the late nineteenth century.

25. Official Guide 61; Yang Fayun & Zhao Yunqiu 23–27; Lynn 88; Survey 1937:27, 59, 64–65; *Beijing lüxing zhinan* 104–5; Shi 120–21, 203; Hwang 105; Dong chap. 2.

Qing, when there was an increase in places that were dedicated entirely to entertainment, charged admission, and appealed to affluent consumers.²⁶

At the pilgrimages and festivals of the Taishan cults, organized groups of entertainers were invariably present. Although many were highly skilled and had been performing for many years, they seem to have been serious amateurs. That is, they made their living other ways but stood ready to participate in these celebrations on a regular basis. At Miaofengshan, these troupes came as pilgrims, giving their services to the god; at other temple fairs, they may have received a small payment from the temple managers.²⁷ It is unclear to me how stable these troupes actually were. They certainly had no regular place of performance. Spectators who enjoyed the Yangge stilt dramas, the lion-dances, acrobats, and other feats of strength had to anticipate and arrange to attend one of the temple festivals.

Some of the same sorts of entertainers performed at Peking's monthly fairs. They used a bit of clear space in temple courtyards or a nearby street to put on their show and asked for contributions from the crowd. One could see professionals not common to pilgrimages—shadow-puppeteers, blind musicians, or cockfighters, for example.²⁸ At regular *miaohui* there were also people who appealed to children with toys, magic, and performing animals (bears, monkeys, mice) and to adults with feats of extreme dexterity and more serious games of chance. These professionals, probably individuals or small family groups, usually performed on the streets and surely had a regular schedule and suitable spots to which they had customary claim. Especially skilled entertainers might be hired to put on private shows within the homes of the rich, or—even better—be put on permanent retainers.

A few professionals had regular buildings where they could perform. By the early twentieth century—and surely earlier—storytelling took place in teahouses and in establishments dedicated to the purpose (*shuguan*). Drum-singing, a Banner custom, similarly found its way into teahouses and became associated with “singing girls.”²⁹

Horse racing was a common diversion, especially among the Manchu and palace nobility in the Qing. Temple fairs and the new year provided the occasions for equestrian competitions: near the Pantaogong on the eastern edge of the Outer City, and by Dazhongsi, Baiyunguan, and the Southern Summit in the north, west, and south suburbs. In the late Qing, this activity

26. Sources for popular entertainment in the very late Qing and early twentieth century are numerous, and the subject deserves serious study.

27. Grube 111; Gamble 1954:330; Xu Ke 1:9–10; J. Johnson 52; Lao She 1985:30, 151–52. Grube said that the lion-dancers were ordinarily roofers and potters.

28. Freeman-Mitford 224; Kim Ch'ang'öp 207; Cumming 2:257.

29. Grube 101; Official Guide 51; Stevens 9, 61–65, 81; Li Jiarui 1933:4–5; Crossley 1990:91; *Beijing minjian fengsu bai tu*.

became more specialized. By 1870, the Europeans converted a dried-up riverbed west of the city into a race course. Riding Mongolian ponies, they created a racing season each spring that attracted large crowds of Chinese and foreign spectators. Betting undoubtedly enhanced the excitement, and in time there was even a grandstand (burned in 1900 and rebuilt).³⁰

In this world of popular culture, the blending of Manchu, Banner, and Chinese culture was easy, differentiation by class was relatively slight, and the exposure of the general populace to different genres made mixing reasonably painless. A Peking style in entertainment emerged from a blend of Manchu, Northeastern, and local customs, with a dash of Lower Yangtze.

Organized, systematic theatrical performances (*xi*) were most common at celebrations of gods' birthdays. At one end of the spectrum, temporary bamboo stages could be lashed together for this purpose in a temple courtyard, and a troupe could be hired for several days. A few temples had permanent brick or stone stages. (One is shown in Figure 3.2.) The stage in a Fire-god temple in the western suburbs just outside the Fucheng Gate was built by donations from twenty-one shops nearby; for the performances themselves, money was solicited from each shop.³¹ We might expect that at such small temples, despite their theoretical openness to a general public, it was primarily people of the neighborhood who attended. The bigger the temple and broader its social base, the larger the public that would be likely to come and watch.

Lodges also put on theatrical performances. Some used the stages at "their" temples, such as the Jingzhongmiao, and might have an audience of many hundreds. Others preferred to hear performances in their native tongues and to avoid mixing with the *hoi polloi*; these held shows within the private confines of their lodges. The throne, the Banner nobility, and the very rich could afford to have stages in their mansions. This kind of privatizing might have been encouraged by imperial tirades against "temples in the Five Boroughs where monks and nuns clear spaces and have dramas performed" such that wives and concubines would attend. How shocking.³²

Unhappy that Bannermen might waste their time with such frivolity, Kangxi banned the construction of theaters in the Inner City in 1671. Such prohibitions notwithstanding, the Qing imperial family (like the Ming one) had its own troupes on the payroll of the Imperial Household; Qianlong was himself an ardent fan and encouraged the shift from eunuch-actors to troupes imported from Anhui. The extravagant birthday celebrations of

30. Dun Lichen 12–14; Kim Kyöngsön 1108; Bogan 15–16; *Yanjing za ji* 115; Wang Shizhen 1701:6:6–7. Europeans: Dennys 1866:59; Freeman-Mitford 237; Weale 34; *Beijing lüxing zhinan* 198.

31. Tanaka; *BJTB* 82:173.

32. Pan Rongbi 14; Zhou Huabin 101–15; Lynn 52; *Huidian shili* 1899:1038:17458–59.

Kangxi, Qianlong, and Qianlong's mother each involved the importation of performers from many places in the empire and the construction of dozens of stages on the city streets. Literati and merchant sojourners regularly brought with them to Peking a diverse combination of regional styles. Encouraged by imperial resources and interest and a ready audience of locals and visitors, opera flourished in Peking.³³

Even as theatrical performances continued to take place in temples and lodges, commercial theaters (*xiguan*, *xiyuan*, *xizhuang*, *xilou*) appeared. They were concentrated in the Dashalar district of the Outer City, and in no time Bannermen were among their most devoted patrons.³⁴ These establishments were exclusively dedicated to socializing, consumption, and pleasure, and they encouraged a stratification of taste by appealing to well-to-do connoisseurs.

At first, the troupes were famous, but by the end of the eighteenth century, it was the theaters and the stars. These theaters (fewer than ten) were privately owned establishments open to the public for a fee. Billboards announced the rotating appearances of the different troupes. Plays were performed all afternoon; different grades of seats accommodated a range of patrons; customers ate and talked during the performances, occasionally calling out praise; and actors were at liberty to wander offstage to visit their fans.³⁵

The mania for opera in the city was such that in 1800 monks and daoists were accused of performing Kunqu rather than religious rituals.³⁶ Although the throne succeeded, it seems, in discouraging evening performances, sanctimonious rhetoric could not eliminate "lewd songs and seductive tunes." By the middle of the nineteenth century, shows were put on at night. Plays were even performed at Inner City theaters disguised as teahouses and "entertainment centers" (*zashuaguan*). By the end of the century, the first theater had opened that boldly permitted women to attend (with separate seating).³⁷

In the early nineteenth century, out of a complicated interplay between imperial taste and the dominant regional styles of the northwest and the Lower Yangtze, "capital drama" (*jingxi*) emerged, a new amalgam that became closely associated with Peking. Female impersonators, prominent in this the-

33. *Huidian* 1696:161:7784; Mackerras 1972; Darrobers.

34. Dennys 1867:505; Deveria 231. Here, as elsewhere, I give only terms that I can attest in Qing Peking.

35. Guan Shiyuan; Mackerras 1972:207–11, 1983:chap. 4; Favier 415; Freeman-Mitford 347–55; Tanaka 51–53. A 1785 stele listed only eight theaters in that year (Zhang Jiangcai 1934:3:1675–76); Mackerras 1972:206 assembled information on nine; and Darrobers 254 noted a dozen or more in the nineteenth century. Survey 1906:23 found seven theaters (*xiguan*) in the Outer City, performing nearly every day of the year; although some were larger and some smaller, each performance averaged more than five hundred customers.

36. GZD-R 417.

37. QSLJQ 42:3–4; Zhang Jiangcai 1934:3:1622, 3:1625–26; Buissonnet 50–52; *Huidian shili* 1899:400:10386; Yang Zhangsheng 425. Women: You Huansheng 12; Zhou Huabin 154–73.

atrical style, began to be famous in the late Qianlong reign. Referring to them, one book about the city printed in 1818 claimed flatly, “The capital’s handsome young male actors [*you tong*] are the best in the empire. . . . They become famous at thirteen or fourteen, stop at seventeen or eighteen, and by twenty start playing older women.” (Most of these opera stars came originally from the Lower Yangtze.) Passionate fans attended their performances, argued about their relative merits, and wrote poems to and about them; a lucky few made them protégés and lovers.³⁸ (It is no wonder that the actors’ *huiguan* were so well funded.)

Peking opera rapidly became an obsessive preoccupation and the subject of specialized books.³⁹ The 1804 “Viewing the Flowers in the Precincts of the Throne” supplied biographies of (and poems about) ninety current stars: “Golden Treasure. Surname Yang, 14 years old, from Yangzhou. Formerly with the Qingfang, now with the Jinyu troupe. . . . Face like a gourd, pale white skin, downy brown eyebrows. “The Daoguang-era novel “Precious Mirror for Judging Flowers” (*Pin hua bao jian*) began with the line, “Theater is more flourishing in the Capital than anywhere in the empire” and took the contemporary Peking world as its subject.⁴⁰ As the new guidebooks to the city began to appear, theaters, companies, and stars were listed prominently.

“Precious Mirror” was an important landmark in the development of place-specific fiction in the Qing, for it was set not only in the present but also in a city that was recognizably Peking of the 1830s. Written by Chen Sen, a Jiangsu sojourner, it openly celebrated the theatrical culture of the capital (and the homosexual relationships at its emotional core).⁴¹ The fact of this novel and its distribution suggest to me an embodiment of Peking culture that both reflected and helped coalesce an important aspect of local identity, one that was shared by Bannermen, Chinese natives, and sojourners. By midcentury, colorful woodblock prints with dramatic scenes from celebrated operas were being manufactured in Yangliuqing near Tianjin; at the turn of the century, famous stars were immortalized in photographs.⁴²

As “Precious Mirror” showed, there were in nineteenth-century Peking a variety of places where the general public could eat, drink, talk, and be en-

38. *Yanjing za ji* 127; Mackerras 1972; Morache 129–33; Darrobers chap. 4. All of the actors’ ages in this discussion (as with ages throughout this book) are actually Chinese *sui*; they were one year younger by a Western count.

39. Zhang Jiangcai 1934:1:passim; the earliest work reprinted here was from 1785 and gave biographies of forty-six performers together with many poems.

40. Zhang Jiangcai 1934:1:240 (quoting an 1803 text); Chen Sen 1984:1.

41. Cheng 2–15; Chen Sen 1984:preface, 1990:introduction.

42. It is also significant that in the 1850s–1860s a Manchu Bannerman named Wenkang wrote—in the colloquial language of Peking—*Ernü yingxiang zhuan* (The gallant maid), another

tertainers, places that formed another part of the broader context within which temples and theaters operated. Although their fame set them apart, theaters were places for socializing and should be seen on a continuum with the smaller and more numerous teahouses (*chayuan*, *chaguan*, *chafang*, *chashe*) (which could have entertainers), wineshops (*jiuguan*, *jiuzhuang*, *jiuyuan*, *jiupu*, *jiulou*), restaurants (*fanguan*, *fanzhuang*), and inns (*kedian*).⁴³ But how to characterize a place where plays were performed and friends invited to banquet, or the “publick house” that John Bell visited in 1721 that sat eight hundred people, had long tables for eating (and gambling), and, on one side of the room, a stage on which performances took place during and after dinner?⁴⁴ Some less-exclusive teahouses were set up on the street, their space shaded by matting and full of tables and chairs. One could bring one’s own tea and sit and snack there all day. There might be storytelling (especially in the Inner City) or music. Some restaurants concentrated on take-out food; others prepared only banquets.⁴⁵

Brothels were another place for sociability. Some were exclusive, served food, drink, and (as the end of the dynasty approached) opium, and made available women who—in the courtesan mode—could sing and make conversation; some simply provided the basics and were open to all comers. Other establishments dealt in boys.⁴⁶ Formally banned in the Inner City, the best-known brothels were in the suburbs, on the west side of the Outer City, and (only) after 1900 on the “eight great alleys” outside the Front Gate.⁴⁷ Brothels shared with temples an association with pleasure, eroticism, and decadence not only in the popular imagination but also sometimes in practice.

A new place for pleasure that developed in the late Qing was the “opium house” (*yanguan*). In 1813 the Jiaqing emperor had discovered that members of the imperial bodyguard were using opium, and by 1838, as the Qing was about to go to war with Britain over the drug, it was learned that three Manchu nobles and quite a number of others had taken their concubines to sing songs and smoke opium to celebrate a nun’s birthday at a temple along the canal in the eastern suburbs. (All were severely punished.) By the 1880s, smoking had become more professionalized (and less

novel loosely based on real people active in the capital but in this case projected back a century in time. Lu 337–40; *ECCP* 444–45, 853. Prints: Rudova; Fujii.

43. For plays in *chayuan*: *Caozhu yi chuan* 10; Zhang Jiangcai 1934: 1:525. For differences between theaters and wineshops: Yang Zhangsheng 424.

44. Pan Rongbi 33; *Huidian* 1899:1033:17416; J. Bell 158–59.

45. Freeman-Mitford 140; Dudgeon 1895:282–83; Linqing 3:55–56; Fu Gongyue et al. 241; *Bei shang beilan*; Lowe 2:70.

46. Dudgeon 1895:318; Morache 123, 125, 129.

47. *Yanjing za ji* 129; J. Bell 183; Staunton 2:334; Xu Ke 1:124; Kidd 121; Survey 1906:34b; Swallow 35–36. Dudgeon 1895:320 said that they were licensed establishments.

convivial?), and the number of dens dedicated exclusively to opium had skyrocketed.⁴⁸

A 1906 survey can give us a general idea of the number of establishments dedicated to entertainment, sociability, and pleasure in the Outer City of Peking in that year: 699 opium dens, 308 brothels (*changyou xiachu*), 301 inns (*lüguan*), 247 restaurants (*jiufandian*), and 246 teahouses (*chaguan*). All of these commercial establishments allowed private socializing. Some appealed to a regional clientele with performances in a local language or the food and the women of a particular region. But most were open to a wider public and, to make the point that is central to our concerns here, vastly outnumbered not only lodges (275 by that same survey), but also temples (265).⁴⁹ Numerical comparisons with earlier periods are not possible, and I cannot demonstrate my impressionistic conclusion that there was a trajectory toward more permanent structures for these kinds of entertainment from the Ming to the twentieth century, accompanied by a decreasing role for temple fairs.⁵⁰

GOVERNMENT SERVICES

A different Peking public was defined by welfare services. Far fewer in number and more closely connected with the state sector than any of the establishments we have discussed so far, the places and mechanisms for urban relief likewise underwent important changes in the Qing. The dynasty began by relying on ad hoc imperial intervention, several permanent government institutions, and a large number of temples. Private initiatives tended to be harnessed to government institutions (such as orphanages and soup kitchens), funded by the throne, and managed by local officials. In the mid-nineteenth century, newer private institutions (such as fire brigades and benevolent halls) appeared in the Outer City, but the state also intervened to contribute to and supervise them. As welfare came to encompass public security and as such institutions spread to all of Peking, the role of temples shrank, but a wider community was served. The provision of emergency services was an arena in which the statuses of generous donors and needy recipients were continuously negotiated and redefined, and government and

48. QSL-JQ 271:12; Qu Xuanying 348–49; QSL-DG 314:6–7; Yang Naiji 1986; Chongyi 19; QS 164:5150–53; LSJN 248–49; Cumming 2:287.

49. Survey 1906:33–34. I have found little information about bathhouses during the Qing. Were they important? See Strand 169, 325. My own figure is 338 temples (which included churches and mosques); insofar as a much higher number of lodges was also given elsewhere, one suspects this survey to have undercounted.

50. I have exercised caution in using post-1911 materials for the late Qing. The differences were considerable, and many of the famous “old” establishments of the Republican era turn out to be rather recent.

local leaders both cooperated and competed. It was not an arena easily understood as an autonomous public sphere.

Under the Ming, government welfare services were not extensive and local elites were not demonstrably active. The early Qing solutions were not so different. The pose and reality of imperial concern for the population of Peking created merit for the dynasty and eased acceptance of it. Initially, such concern was not evenly extended. The “sons and brothers of the Eight Banners” (*Ba Qi zidi*) were the special responsibility of the Qing ruling family, and an unusual range of paternalistic social services reflected imperial concern for their welfare. Indeed, these services demonstrated the perimeters of the Banner community and defined the strata within it.

In the first half of the Qing, when the distinction between the Inner and Outer Cities was sharp, institutions comparable to the penetrating bureaucracy of the Banners did not exist for the Chinese *min*. Instead, the throne made some resources available and expected the needy to come forward. These welfare activities were directed toward—and here too helped to define—a general non-Banner Peking public of the suburbs and Outer City. The language used for these actions was old and powerful, shaped by Confucian political philosophy. The objects of government concern were the people (*min* or *min-ren*) of the capital city, but especially starving people (*ji min*) and poor people (*pin min*, *qiong min*). The emperor took care of “our people” (*wo min*); he grieved over their hardships and wanted to help them. Being poor was treated as a temporary condition that could be remedied by relief and employment.

At the beginning, the throne relied on temples and templelike buildings, taking advantage of their physical openness and association with “doing good deeds.” As we shall see, these activities were later often relocated to new permanent buildings dedicated for the purpose; the government supplied the means (grain or money), and private citizens (monks and elites) served as managers.

Indigent and homeless Chinese were an immediate problem in the spring of 1644. Qing authorities responded by issuing food or money to those identified as needy. The new regime then made use of Ming poorhouses to handle “impoverished people who were widowed, orphaned, or sick,” but, because these *yangjiyuan* were located in what was now the Banner city, they could not be used for the Chinese population. Officials recognized that charitable gifts were attractive and habit-forming, and the first of many discussions soon ensued about how to restore the needy to gainful employment and send outsiders back home.⁵¹ Any relief measure necessitated drawing

51. QSL-SZ 41:13, 5:17; MQDA A2-12, A30-25; QSL-KX 89:14.

lines between the needy and nonneedy and around the perimeters of the community of Peking.

For the first half century, the throne concentrated on ad hoc acts of imperial benevolence to meet local needs. Record books surviving from 1653–1654 reveal what some of these emergency actions looked like. Because of serious flooding in those years, Empress Dowager Xiaozhuang initiated a series of good deeds by donating eighty thousand ounces of silver from her own (manifestly considerable) resources for assistance to both the Banner and the Chinese population (*Man Han bing min*). In 1654, using these funds, the West Borough gave relief to more than fourteen thousand people, all residents of the capital save for some two thousand transients (mostly from Shanxi). Each person's name, age, and residence were painstakingly recorded (most were in small family units), and each was given 0.17 ounce of silver; those aged seventy or older were also allotted one length of cloth. Two high Manchu officials were put in charge, assisted by six translators and more than a hundred cavalymen. (We do not know how much stigma was attached to taking such money, nor precisely how or where these distributions were made.) In 1655, other funds were donated for the Banner population, and in subsequent years, the throne gave hundreds of thousands of ounces more.⁵²

These imperial gestures—whose unpredictability may have been meant to discourage the unworthy—continued to be a common solution to emergencies in Peking. After the 1679 earthquake, the young Kangxi emperor transferred one hundred thousand ounces of silver to the Ministry of Revenue to be used for rebuilding “inside and outside the capital city.”⁵³

By the Yongzheng reign, even though a more regular system of relief was already in place, gestures of imperial generosity were still routine. Yongzheng responded to the 1730 quake that struck the northwest suburbs by immediately ordering a survey of the damage and by allocating thirty thousand ounces of silver to each Banner. On the second day, he instructed the city censors to survey the rest of the population and estimate what was needed. Twenty thousand ounces were made available for the areas “near” Peking, and an additional thirty thousand was distributed to the Banners. Later that year, Wanping and Daxing counties were given extra funds for their budget, and in the winter, stored grain was sold off in Peking to bring down the market price.⁵⁴

These actions reveal which local people were understood to have a claim on Peking's resources. Within the walled city and in its immediate suburbs

52. QSL-SZ 77:6, 79:2–3, 82:10–12, 89:9, 103:8–9; 113:20; HC-Ce 2405 (the aged made up 5 percent of the total), 2411, 2412; Tan Qian 1656:65.

53. *Zhongguo dizhen mulu* 102–3; QSL-KX 82:13–15.

54. QSL-YZ 97:11–12, 97:13, 98:1–2, 99:15–16, 101:5–6.

(*Jingcheng nei wai*) were the bifurcated Banner and non-Banner communities, automatic and unchallenged beneficiaries. In addition, the throne felt a special responsibility toward people from Daxing and Wanping counties and even from “places near the capital,” a loose designation differently specified depending on the circumstances.

These imperial measures utilized no permanent sites and were effective only as long as members of the imperial family were so inclined and their private purses were full. In the eighteenth century, the throne was more likely to give grain from the capital granaries than silver, but emergencies could still be met with cash.⁵⁵

Permanent institutions were another obvious way to deal with the chronic needs of the Peking citizenry. In the Ming, the court had used temples as distributions points for food, while county officials managed several poor-houses and community graveyards. The Qing built on and expanded this foundation.

The floods of 1653 had prompted the emperor to call for the building of twenty-room vagrant homes (*qiliusuo*) in each of the Five Boroughs of the Outer City. These homes were dedicated to taking in and caring for transients (*liumin*), the sick and homeless of the city streets, and people who had no one to take care of them and could not take care of themselves. Six homes were created from scratch and managed by locally recruited citizens who were responsible to the boroughs. Grain and money were budgeted by the borough censors for maintenance, and each resident was given grain, warm clothing, bedding, and money for firewood, as well as medical attention, a coffin, and burial at state expense. These homes aided relatively few people, but they seem to have remained functional through at least the middle of the nineteenth century.⁵⁶

The seasonal needs of large numbers of the urban Han Chinese poor as well as refugees from the nearby countryside were normally to be met by soup kitchens (*fanchang* or *zhouchang*). These were permanent institutions that every year during the winter months dispensed boiled porridge (made of millet or some inferior grade of rice) free of charge. These centers could be opened for longer or shorter periods of time, their numbers increased or decreased, their locations shifted, and the amount of distributed grain amplified or cut back.⁵⁷ In keeping with this temporary and fluid nature, existing rather than new structures were pressed into use.

55. As during the floods of 1806: *Huidian shili* 1899:1036:17436.

56. *LSJN* 190; *Huidian shili* 1899:869:15837, 1036:17438; *Huidian* 1899:69:718; *Jinwu shili* 8:57. There were two in the needy West Borough.

57. *Huidian shili* 1899:1035:17430–36, amplified by *STFZ* 1885:12:318–22.

These were entirely government operations, supplied by the Ministry of Revenue with grain and with silver for the purchase of firewood, managed by the Five Borough censors, and staffed with government employees. This generous funding soon became a kind of entitlement for the natives and a notable feature of the capital in the eyes of outsiders. Moreover, the kitchens (like granaries and rice stations) were a public demonstration of the throne's commitment to feeding the residents of the capital.⁵⁸

Soup kitchens began to be set up in 1650 and were in place by 1652. Initially there were ten, two for each of the Five Boroughs; of these, six were in the Outer City and four were in the suburbs immediately outside gates to the north, south, east, and west. Other centers were added as they were needed: in 1726 at other suburban gate areas; in 1759, temporarily, in the Inner City itself; and intermittently after 1762 in four or five villages within a ten-kilometer radius, mostly south of Peking.⁵⁹ (The nineteenth century will be considered shortly.)

The steaming vats of these kitchens were in operation every winter for four and a half months, from the first day of the eleventh month until the twentieth day of the third month; after 1780, they were open for an additional month. They were usually allotted two *shi* of grain per day, some three hundred *shi* per season. (Enough to feed two thousand people a day.)⁶⁰ In years when a flooded countryside, drought, poor harvest, high grain prices, or large influx of refugees necessitated it, the centers were opened earlier and closed later, and the regular allotment of grain was increased.

Temples were used for soup kitchens throughout the dynasty. They were suitable not only because their layout was both spacious and conducive to controlled access, but because the state had few alternatives. More than two-thirds of the known soup kitchens were located on temple premises. Not just any temple could be so commandeered. Welfare activities would entirely occupy the courtyards of most ordinary-sized temples; distribution itself might last only part of the day, but the storage and guarding of grain required a government presence continuously for the four or five months of winter relief. It is thus not surprising that, of the ten temples initially designated for food distribution, only one seems to have been a place with an active community life. Most were instead in the quasi-abandoned state that was a normal stage of a temple's life cycle; moreover, once chosen as loci for winter relief, these places reclaimed their religious purposes only with difficulty.⁶¹

58. This point has been persuasively argued in L. Li & Dray-Novey.

59. The places where the kitchens were set up in 1759 were not named and appear to have been one-time-only. QSL-QL 599:10.

60. The calculation is from L. Li & Dray-Novey.

61. One exception was the Outer City Anguosi but even it was described as mostly empty in 1833. Kim Kyöngsön 1065.

These temples seem to have been picked for their location within the city (poor neighborhoods?), for the size of their premises, and because there was no nearby or resident community to object. In the nineteenth century, as the need for more public spaces increased, many of the temples pressed into temporary use were already host to community activities and thus were taken over less permanently.⁶² In the course of the dynasty, at one time or another, fifty Peking temples were used as soup kitchens.

Figure 16.2, which shows the distribution of relief during a flood in 1890, can give some idea of how temple space was used and how the needy were publicly defined. The recipients were first herded into the rear and side courtyards though a side gate (front right); they then went single file past the incense burner in the central courtyard under watchful official eyes; they were given their porridge (center left), and then urged forward into the front courtyard and out the front doors.

An informative description of a similar procedure may be found in an account from the first decade of the eighteenth century of two Jesuits who were given money by the emperor with which to buy and distribute poor relief.

They caus'd Furnaces and large Kettles or Boilers to be provided; then Bought up a Quantity of Rice, large decent China Dishes, Roots and Herbs salted up after the Manner of the Country to correct the Insipidness and Want of Relish in the Rice. Upon the setting up of a signal, the Poor came in without any Disorder, and stood all together, the Men on one side, and the Women on the other. Then they were made to file off through a narrow Passage, and there each of them had a Portion of Rice and Herbs, which he carryd to a Place appointed, where they all rang'd themselves, till the Dishes were empty, when they were gather'd up and washed, and then the other Poor were serv'd in the same Order as the first had been.⁶³

Guidelines set down in 1876 specified that cooking started just after midnight and distribution began at dawn, that people brought their own bowls, and that once tallies had been given to each person the gates were closed and no one could enter, “not even Banner people.” Coordination was important: all soup kitchens opened at the same time so that double-dipping would be impossible. Those who were able-bodied and decently dressed were told to go find work; “If they are stubborn and will not leave, or if they argue or deliberately cause a disturbance, whether Bannermen or not, take them away and deal with them.” Soldiers were present to maintain order.⁶⁴

These soup kitchens were part of an unusually successful system of en-

62. *STFZ* 1885:12:320–21.

63. *Travels* 213. For less-detailed accounts in Chinese: *JJD-NZR* 5, GX 2/11/25; *Huidian shili* 1899:1036:17437–38.

64. *JJD-NZR* 5–6, GX 2/11/25; *Jinwu shili* 11:19; Lockhart 1864:6.



Figure 16.2. Flood Relief at the Little Southern Summit in 1890

Although entirely surrounded by water, this well-built suburban temple to Our Lady of Mount Tai protected the crowds of flood victims who took refuge in its courtyards. Borough censors and city benevolent halls supplied porridge to the refugees.

SOURCE: ZNQT#24.

sure that Peking residents had affordable food.⁶⁵ It was administered by the Five Boroughs but often specially funded by the throne. Soup kitchens were supplemented by “rice stations” (*michang*) used for the discounted sale (*pingtiao*) of government grain in years when prices were high. By 1722 there were five such stations in the Outer City and its suburbs. A wider public was served as the number was doubled in 1730, and the 60:40 ratio of intramural to extramural reversed by the nineteenth century. These sales did

65. For details: L. Li & Dray-Novey.

not occur every year and might not be necessary for decades at a time, but their numbers could be immediately increased for temporary emergencies. Government buildings, not temples, were initially employed for this function, but from late in the Qianlong reign some of these responsibilities were apparently shifted to city grain shops—more convenient venues for such business.⁶⁶

Local officials were also charged with giving out other forms of emergency assistance. During the summer of 1743, when more than ten thousand people were said to have collapsed from the crippling heat, Qianlong issued one thousand ounces of silver to each of the city gates (double that amount to the busy Front Gate); Gendarmerie officers were to use these funds to distribute ice water and medicines to the people of the city. Temporary “tea-stalls” were set up at eighty-one urban intersections as points of distribution.⁶⁷

In addition to the vagrants homes, in time Peking had a homeless shelter, a mercy shelter, and an orphanage. These institutions had begun as pious private good works but were eventually put under the jurisdiction of the Shuntian prefects, overseen by the Five Borough censors, funded by the throne, and still managed by private citizens. They were envisioned as replacements for the Ming poorhouses and were sometimes so designated. This pattern of bureaucratization is similar to that found by Angela Leung in the Lower Yangtze (and the empire in general) in the Yongzheng and Qianlong reigns but is much more consistently typical of Peking across the entire Qing period.⁶⁸ It does not seem useful to argue about whether such institutions were “public” or “private.” They were both.

The Homeless Shelter (Pujitang) began in the private sphere and was then partially appropriated by the throne. In the 1690s a monk in a small temple outside the western gate of the Outer City sought patrons to provide assistance for those manual laborers who were hired to work on the government road that led to Lugou Bridge but were reduced to beggary each winter. In 1697 he persuaded a “gentleman” (probably a merchant who did business in that suburb) to buy a building that could be used “for those poor and sick people who came and went without any place to stay.” There the workmen were given food, shelter, clothing, and medical care; those with contagious diseases were separated from others, and coffins and burial were provided for the dead. The building was designated the Road Repair Benevolent Shelter, and most of its clients came from the western suburbs. The following

66. *Huidian shili* 1899:1034:17423–29; Dunstan 1996a.

67. QSL-QL 194:1; *Jinwu shili* 12:52. Gaubil 1970:625 said that 11,400 people had died during the middle ten days of July.

68. Liang Qizi 1997:chap. 4.

year, other patrons' gifts permitted an expansion of the facilities, and a retired scholar added prestige to the endeavor.

After a few more years, seeing the shelter's success, one of the Shuntian prefects reported it to the emperor. Kangxi donated a plaque in his own hand and a stele praising the Buddhist piety of the donors; it was renamed the Pujitang. Yongzheng, who as a prince had donated one thousand ounces of silver to the shelter every year, gave it a generous regular income in money and grain after he took the throne in 1723. Subsequent managers may have been eunuchs, although Shuntian was given formal responsibility and made the conduit for imperial funds. In 1805 another imperial gift was used to create an endowment fund. Each winter the shelter also distributed porridge, and in the summer, tea and ice. The use of the term *tang* (hall) distinguished the complex from an ordinary temple and hid its Buddhist beginnings, but—as in sojourner lodges—one room was given over to altars.⁶⁹

The Mercy Shelter (Gongdelin) in the north suburbs outside the Desheng Gate had a similar origin, perhaps inspired by the success of the Pujitang. Here, another monk had set up a poorhouse with donations he had raised, giving out food each winter and dispensing tea and medicines in the summer. As soon as the Yongzheng emperor took the throne, a city censor petitioned for imperial gifts and succeeded in obtaining one thousand ounces of silver annually. The empress dowager gave a land endowment and money for a rebuilding. In 1736, like the Pujitang and various soup kitchens, it was awarded grain for winter relief. The institution was managed by monks until the 1870s.⁷⁰

Peking's Orphanage (Yuyingtang) grew out of private charitable activities in the early Qing Xizhaosi, a temple in the eastern part of the Outer City. These good deeds (initially burying bodies and restoring the temple) were first sponsored by a local man together with a high official from Jiangsu, and later by various well-placed metropolitan officials. In 1697, for instance, it was a group of Tianjin merchants (those involved in the salt trade?) who formed an association that supplied thirty ounces of silver each month. Although increasingly detached from the temple, it had halls with altars for offerings.⁷¹

69. *BJTB* 69:179–80; *JWK* 92:1550–51; *STFZ* 1885:12:316–18; Pan Rongbi 16.

70. *JWK* 107:1774; *STFZ* 1885:12:318–19. Yongzheng made these gifts by allocating income items of the Imperial Household to these purposes. The Pujitang money came from the customs office; the Gongdelin money came initially from Yonghegong rents and then from the Chongwenmen customs office. In the late Qing, the Gongdelin was turned into a prison, and in recent times it housed a Public Security Bureau. *JWK* 92:1550; *STFZ* 1885:12:318–19; Guo Zhenjun.

71. *JWK* 56:909–11; Mao Qiling 2:1313–24. It seems to have begun in 1662 (slightly later than in the Lower Yangtze) at the initiative of Jin Zhichun (Suzhou) and Hu Zhaolong (Da-

It was to this Yuyingtang that a bullock cart brought abandoned infants that it gathered up on its rounds through the city (a practice often discussed by missionaries concerned about infanticide). The living were to be turned over to the orphanage, to be nursed and raised by a paid staff of wetnurses. The dead were put in a vault across the street and later buried in nearby mass graves.⁷²

In 1724, having just done the same for the two shelters, the Yongzheng emperor took over the orphanage by donating money, supplying a regular income, and giving the prefects supervisory power; day-to-day management was again left in private hands. In keeping with the official-cum-private nature of the institution, imperial funds were combined with donations from eighteen others—ministry presidents, prefects, and magistrates (average donation, 160 ounces). In time, land was acquired to secure an endowment. Yongzheng was so pleased with this institution that he ordered each county in the empire to create a comparable one.⁷³ This general pattern of partial co-optation was repeatedly followed in Peking and stifled the more fully developed private institutions sometimes found elsewhere in the empire.⁷⁴

The state also understood itself to be responsible for the prompt and proper burial of abandoned bodies. For the victims of natural disasters, makeshift pits were hastily dug and monks invited to chant sutras.⁷⁵

In 1741, the first state-sponsored charity graveyard was created in the Outer City. In that year, seventeen plots were acquired in order to dispose of the bodies of (Chinese) adults and children who died on the streets or in the shelters or the Orphanage. Eventually, twelve cemeteries were provided for the Chinese *min* of the Outer City, and five were for those in the suburbs.⁷⁶

Relief was a gift, not a right, and it was limited to residents of the capital

xing), and was continued by Feng Pu, Gong Dingbi, Yao Wenran, Zhao Zhifu, and Wang Xi. Jin and Gong were both admirers of Adam Schall. *ECCP* 160, 243, 431, 890; Jin Zhijun 10:26; *STFZ* 1885:12:325; *GZDZZ-YZ* 25:501-2; Liang Qizi 1997:71-77. For halls to Guandi, Wenchang, the Earth-god, and the founder: *BJTB* 66:4-5.

72. Dudgeon 1865:29-31; Morache 119-21.

73. *BJTB* 68:29-30; *GZDZZ-YZ* 25:501-2; *JWK* 56:909-11. The manager in 1869 was the third generation in his family to have this responsibility. Someone came to inspect from time to time. Morache 119.

74. Liang Qizi 1997:chaps. 5-6; but R. Lum esp. 16-17, 88-91, 131-32.

75. *Huidian shili* 1899:1036:17443; Dudgeon 1865:36. *ZNQT* #29 showed mass burials in a charity graveyard following a flood.

76. Zhang Jiangcai 1934:3:1671-73; Shoudu Library #1776; *BJTB* 69:33. Private burials were still not permitted within the walls. *FXZ* 10:32; Dudgeon 1872:29; *Huidian shili* 1899:1036:17443. Sojourners had begun to acquire Outer City land for graveyards in the 1730s.

(however defined). The authorities were not pleased to discover in 1762 that more than forty hungry people from the nearby countryside of Tong department had not only travelled to Peking to get food from the Outer City soup kitchens but also dared to enter the Inner City to beg the Shuntian prefects for money so that they could (they said) return home.⁷⁷

We can see the combination of permanent institutions, ostentatious imperial largess, and a weak private sector in Peking's response to the floods of 1801. In the sixth month of that year (mid-summer), protracted rains drenched the fields and the silt-clogged waterways all around Peking, caused the Eternally Fixed River (Yongdinghe) southwest of the city to rupture in four places, and inundated the southern and southwestern suburbs and the countryside beyond. Eventually, more than ninety counties required relief.⁷⁸

The emergency measures that were standard responses to such disasters throughout the empire were implemented here with special thoroughness. The Jiaqing emperor had the breaches in the dikes immediately repaired (and the waterways later dredged); flood victims were encouraged to go to the dike reconstruction sites and earn money by working. He assigned men to survey the affected area and then give out money and grain, as appropriate. He also reduced or cancelled land taxes in flooded areas and diverted tribute grain for relief. He looked after the Banner community by sending grain to residents of the flooded Nanyuan, authorizing an extra month's ration, allowing princes advances on their stipends, and permitting urban Bannermen to repair their homes without receiving Gendarmerie approval first.

In the meantime, the Shuntian prefects and Five Borough censors had set up soup kitchens in the flooded southwestern suburbs, added extra grain at five new food-stations established at a greater remove from the city, made relief available straight through into the winter, and arranged for the dead to be buried. The city's soup kitchens were allocated additional food and kept open later in the spring. Extra money was given to the city shelters.⁷⁹ The emperor decided that warm padded clothing should also be handed out to the needy at the existing borough food-distribution centers; this practice soon became part of the repertory of winter relief.⁸⁰

77. JJD-NZ 316, QL 27/10/25.

78. *Qinding Xinyou gongzhen ji shi* passim. I am indebted to the published (1992) and unpublished (1979) work of Lillian Li on this subject.

79. *LSJN* 225; *JFTZ* 1884:4:213-28; *QSL-JQ* 84:passim; *Huidian shili* 1899:1035:17433-34, 17436-37.

80. After 1822, money was handed out instead. *Huidian shili* 1899:1036:17436-38.

Temples played an essential role in this emergency. In the countryside, peasants took refuge from the swirling waters in several of their walled and sturdy compounds, including the Central Summit, which was said to have housed a thousand people. Monks organized rescue missions, stored grain, and fed the refugees.⁸¹

Jiaqing, who had been running the empire for only twenty-seven months since his father's death, became personally involved in these efforts. As a public gesture of humility and sincerity, he went to the Altar to Soil and Grain to pray for dry weather. He based his decisions about relief in part upon his experiences as a prince ("I often saw beggars") and on what he witnessed travelling between the palace and the Yuanmingyuan. As Lillian Li has argued, his personal involvement helped overcome the structural fragmentation that normally impeded concerted wide-scale bureaucratic action. It is reflective of the imperial dominance of this relief effort that a specially commissioned record book of the relevant memorials and edicts, the "Imperially Issued Account of the Relief Work in 1801," commemorated these successes.⁸²

In the early and middle Qing, the throne was thus willing to delegate responsibility for relief as long as it maintained some control; private initiatives were received with ambivalence.⁸³ In 1744, following the aforementioned summer of crippling heat, the Gendarmerie sent in a proposal: "Having officials take care of the people," it argued, "is not as good as having the people take care of one another." Merchants and wealthy people congregate at the capital, and some like to do good deeds. Why not instruct the Shuntian prefects to call for assistance? Anyone who wanted to donate money to help the poor would be encouraged to do so by the promise of a token reward or a commemorative plaque. A willing patron could give money to Daxing or Wanping counties, or the Five Boroughs, or one of the existing institutions, or they could build a temporary structure in an empty spot as a shelter or make use of an existing temple to distribute medicine.⁸⁴ This plausible proposal was set aside and not acted on.

Did imperial resistance come from Qianlong's nervousness about private mobilization or from bureaucratic unease? During the flooding of 1801, officials argued that citizens should be forbidden to give money for relief, but Jiaqing stated plainly that, on the contrary, he thought the more private aid the better. And yet, although this emperor wanted donors to be en-

81. *JFTZ* 1884:2:20–21, 4:216–17, 4:223.

82. L. Li 1980; *Qinding Xinyou gongzhen ji shi*.

83. In 1704, Kangxi had empowered and funded Catholic missionaries to feed refugees, but he expected them to contribute a share and use their cemetery as a distribution center. He gave 2,000 ounces; they gave 500: *Travels* 212.

84. *JJD-NZ* 311, QL 9/4/26.

couraged and be rewarded with plaques or tokens, it would still be another half century before significant private initiative was actually permitted.⁸⁵

By the mid-Qing, relief thus included seasonal soup kitchens, permanent shelters, and a repertory of emergency measures. Both the throne and the local government expressed a sense of responsibility for the capital and helped define a greater Peking that extended into the countryside. Although these welfare services were deemed important, the buildings through which they were administered were not. Sometimes specified in the administrative statutes, sometimes not, sometimes temples, sometimes vaguely specified buildings, these loci for welfare were rarely indicated even on maps of the city.

Given the ambivalent signals sent out by the state prior to the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that private supplements to state measures were spotty. Some communities organized to provide for their own on a more permanent basis. As we saw in Chapter 15, sojourners, eunuchs, and monks, as well as followers of minority religions, made special provisions for their aged or deceased members. Various kinds of private but collective cemeteries, endowed with private funds, served as old age homes and places for coffin storage, burial, and ancestral offerings.

Private individuals pitched in during crises, making modest or ostentatious displays of merit. The long-abandoned Taiqingguan in the southern part of the Outer City was restored in 1801 by a Tianjin man shaken by a dream of drowning people. He solicited donations from three friends but contributed most of the needed funds himself for a major restoration, graveyard, annual clothing for the poor, and burial of the dead.⁸⁶

These sorts of activities could shade off into group efforts and more general nourishment for the poor. The monks from the Guangjisi—their professional responsibilities clear—gathered bodies from the battlefields during the dynastic transition, braving the ghostly cries, and performed masses for the souls of the dead. There were two religious associations formed at the Dongyuemiao who set out bowls of tea and nourishing drinks four days each month all year along. Sojourner groups more rarely extended similar services. The tea-stall for any thirsty passerby in front of the Guandimiao outside the western gate of the Outer City (built, like the temple itself, by Shanxi merchants) was unusual.⁸⁷ If such activities became extremely successful, it appears that the state would be tempted to step in.

The welfare needs of a city as large and important as Peking were great. Private efforts were discouraged to an unusual degree by the willingness of

85. *JFTZ* 1884:4:213; *QSL-JQ* 84:26–28, 84:37.

86. *BJTB* 78:72.

87. *Guangji zhi* 99–111; *BJTB* 70:18–19; Peking Library #979. Tea-stall: *BJTB* 69:30.

the throne to intervene, its commitment to providing adequate and affordable food on a regular basis, and its ability to do so. However, as the throne became less willing and able to do the job, private initiatives revived, and Peking's experiences converged with those of other cities in the empire.

PRIVATE CHARITY

The proliferation of private institutions dedicated to the general welfare was a slow process in Peking. Tolerated only on a modest scale in the eighteenth century, such institutions were eventually nourished by the crises of the mid-nineteenth century.

Peking's late Qing benevolent halls and welfare bureaus were responses to both local emergencies and empirewide trends. They were very much a part of what Mary Rankin characterized more than a decade ago as an explosion of nineteenth-century elite activism in the cities of the Lower Yangtze, a manifestation of "organizational capacity" expressed through "elite-managed, quasi-governmental local activities."⁸⁸ Not enveloped by the war and famine that devastated central and northwestern China between 1850 and 1880, the capital had access through its sojourning elites to the organizational repertory being developed elsewhere (and vice versa), and outsiders readily assumed the role of local leaders.⁸⁹

In Peking (as in many cities) these late Qing institutions had an intimate and complicated relationship with the state better captured by Bryna Goodman's "partial autonomy, interpenetration, and negotiation" than any tidy division between "public" and "private."⁹⁰ As I suggested in Chapter 7, because government took an expansive—not to say invasive—view of what constituted the public domain, it may be most useful to emphasize the weakness of the private sphere (the nonfamilial private sphere, that is). Moreover, the social service institutions we will examine here were about not merely the state and managerial power but also the creation of social status and the differentiation of the givers from the takers.

Let us begin with the two vehicles for privately initiated charity that became important in the nineteenth century: the bureau and the benevolent hall. Both were simultaneously organizations and places, institutions that could

88. Rankin 1986, and since elaborated by her and many others. For Qing Hankou: Rowe 1989. For Shanghai: B. Goodman chaps. 4–5; Rankin 1986:chap. 3. For Canton: Rankin 1990; Wakeman 1966:63–65, 152; R. Lum. For Tianjin, where even more closely parallel and contemporaneous developments were taking place: Kwan chap. 10.

89. An integrated empirewide study that gave close attention to timing, contacts, and influence should clarify the precise relationship between seemingly parallel developments in the nineteenth century in Shanghai, Tianjin, Hankou, Canton, Peking, and elsewhere.

90. B. Goodman 304.

be transformed to serve a wider public and that invoked, variously, the language of government service, Buddhist merit, and Confucian respectability.

The term “bureau” (*ju*) was already in common use for highly specific government agencies that procured supplies for the throne. In the Ming, eunuch-run bureaus served the imperial household—the Bingzhangju (Armory) or the Jiucuju (Wine and Vinegar Bureau). The most important government bureaus in Qing Peking were probably the mints (Baoquanju and Baoyuanju). Rice bureaus (*miju*) were created by the throne between 1728 and 1753; twenty-six of them (in buildings allocated by Banner unit in the Inner City) were run by the Imperial Household with funds from the Ministry of Revenue as places where grain was purchased from Bannermen and then resold. These bureaus were similar to the government rice stations (*michang*) in the Outer City and suburbs run by the Five Boroughs, where rice was also sold off to lower its market price. The term *ju* thus had a pedigree as a place for legitimate official business.⁹¹

The *shantang* (literally, hall for good deeds) drew on other precedents. These benevolent or philanthropic halls had been shaped by the Buddhist and Confucian traditions of the private charitable association (*shanhui*) and of the government-funded welfare building (*tang*). Fuma Susumu, Angela Leung, and Joanna Handlin Smith have exposed to view the roots of this institution in the Lower Yangtze in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁹²

It is therefore not surprising that the earliest *shantang* in Peking was set up by sojourners. The Guangyu (Broadly Nourishing) Benevolent Hall was founded (in the Outer City near Liulichang) in the Qianlong reign (probably in 1790), in connection with a privately run soup kitchen located in the Shoufo temple and with a society for gathering up paper with writing on it; all appear to have been charitable activities carried out by men from Jiangsu. The hall continued to be active in the 1830s, when it cooperated with the borough police in managing a home for widows.⁹³ Two other early *shantang*

91. Wu Jianyong 1989:179, 181; YFD 147–58, QL 16/3/1; QSL-YZ 66:13; QSL-QL 827:9–10; L. Li & Dray-Novoy. *Ju* was also sometimes used in the names of private businesses (as in *BJTB* 70:23, 78:66–67). Rice bureaus and quilt bureaus set up as private profit-seeking imitations of government charity stations were made illegal. Qu Xuanying 348–49; QSL-DG 408:1–2.

92. Fuma; J. Smith 1987; Liang Qizi 1997; R. Lum chap. 4 (for Canton). My earliest attested use of the term *shantang* in Peking (outside the lists in the *STFZ* of 1885) is in 1811 (*BJTB* 78:74); others appear in the 1870s. Rowe dated the appearance of this institution in Hankow to the 1820s (1989:92, 106).

93. *STFZ* 1885:12:320, 325, 327–28; Wu Changyuan 10:185; *BJTB* 75:163. It had a relationship with a 1774 “Lodge for Cherishing Written Characters” (Xizi Huiguan). *STFZ* 1885:12:328, 62:2207. For its Lower Yangtze connections: Liang Qizi 1997:132–55.

were created in the Jiaqing reign, also on the western side of the Outer City. One was begun in 1818 by a Henan man then between positions in the ministries; other sojourners contributed, and a manager was hired. This hall took in the old and sick each winter—from the neighborhood?—fed, clothed, and (when necessary) buried them.⁹⁴

The crises of the mid-nineteenth century turned a few institutions into a trend: first slowly, then rapidly, charity and relief were transformed into a range of public services and accompanied by a burst of local activism by Peking elites. In addition to chronic poverty, unseasonable weather, high rice prices, and drought and flooding in the countryside, the capital confronted epidemic disease, serious domestic disorder, and unprecedented military threats. Traditional measures seemed inadequate, and in Peking as elsewhere, the state met these challenges by permitting, even encouraging, greater private initiative in finding solutions.

Peking's first crisis of the nineteenth century was a minor one: the rebel invasion of the Forbidden City in the autumn of 1813. Because the emergency lasted only a few days, the fighting was confined to the palace, and no general mobilization was necessary, the shock was primarily psychological. Jiaqing tightened security at the palace and city gates and initiated a wave of household registrations.⁹⁵

In 1821, Peking experienced its first full-scale epidemic since the 1640s. Cholera, which had spread from south and southeast Asia, swept northward from Canton to Amoy to the Lower Yangtze, and reached the capital via the Grand Canal late in the seventh month of that year. It found its first victims in the eastern part of the Outer City, and then advanced west, and north, into the Inner City. At the same time, disastrous floods left the southwest suburbs under more than a meter of water.⁹⁶

The traditional Chinese medical repertory offered only modest measures against epidemics.⁹⁷ In 1679–1680, for example, when drought had swelled Peking's transient population with hungry refugees who lived off the food in the soup kitchens all winter, illness had spread through the crowds at the centers. Kangxi had ordered the Imperial Physicians' Office (Taiyiyuan) to prepare medicines for distribution and sent thirty doctors to each of the Five

94. *STFZ* 1885:12:322; *FXZ* 8:34; Gong Zizhen 187–88; *Nianbiao* 1:653, 659; *Qingdai beizhuan quanji* 39:211–12; *BJTB* 78:74. The other one began in “early Jiaqing”; was it connected to the floods of 1800–1801?

95. The removal of more people from the Banner rolls also came in the wake of this rebellion. See Chapter 11.

96. Wong & Wu 214, 824; *QSL-DG* 21:34–35; Hao Yixing 1:9–10. Floods: *QSL-DG* 21:26–27.

97. Rogaski 1996:31–55; Benedict chap. 4.

Boroughs to examine and tend to the sick.⁹⁸ It is not clear how much good they did.

The Daoguang cholera epidemic was much more serious. In the summer of 1821, new (but temporary) government bureaus were set up to hand out medicines and coffins.⁹⁹ Prompt attention to burials was undoubtedly beneficial, as was postponing for two months the autumn Shuntian exams to avoid the crowded conditions that would spread the disease. Private measures such as pricking the tongue and palate and eating betony pills, washing the eyes in medicinal water, setting off firecrackers to scare away pestilential demons, chanting scriptures, or consulting a shaman were probably of greater psychological benefit.¹⁰⁰ In the end, the disease worked its way inexorably through the population before moving on to Central Asia and Europe.

Privately sponsored smallpox vaccination bureaus (*niudouju*) appeared in Peking in the 1820s, languished, and reappeared in the 1860s. The second wave was inspired by the Jennerian techniques used at Peking's London Mission Hospital (from 1861) and perhaps prompted by a more virulent than normal outbreak of the ugly disease in 1869–1870.¹⁰¹ There were apparently two vaccination bureaus in the Inner City, and two in the Outer.¹⁰² But prayer continued to be the most common response. When the Tongzhi emperor contracted smallpox in the eleventh month of 1874 at the age of eighteen, Cixi prayed (in person?) at Miaofengshan, and elaborate and expensive offerings were made (on a temporary altar, it seems) outside one of the palace gates to Doumu, the goddess of smallpox. To no avail.¹⁰³

Peking was not attacked during the Opium Wars (1839–1842), when the fighting was confined to the coast of south and central China, but it did witness one harbinger of Qing vulnerability at sea. British ships sailed to the mouth of the river near Tianjin in the summer of 1840 and lingered on the mud flats in inconclusive negotiations. Although Shanghai was the north-

98. Those sent to the East Borough stayed in the Dongyuemiao and went daily to nearby soup kitchens; some later stayed in a Guanyin temple on the other side of town. QSL-KX 89:14, 90:17; *BJTB* 63:149.

99. I have no more information, but the term suggests they were modeled on the rice bureaus. *Qijuzhu* DG 1; QSL-DG 21:34–35.

100. QSL-DG 22:3; SYD 167, DG 1/8/16; SYD 307–8, DG 1/8/26; Zhaolian 1986b:4:497; Hao Yixing 1:9–10.

101. Liang Qizi 1987:250–52; Ball 704; Dudgeon 1871, 1877:43; J. G. Cormack 519; Y. Leung 50; Wong & Wu 273–301.

102. Wong & Wu 286–87. One of the latter was set up by the Anping *shuihui* (see subsequent discussion), and the other was set up by the Zhongyi bureau, which moved to rooms in a Huoshenmiao in 1874. *STFZ* 1885:12:326, 328, 329; Imahori 54, 114–20.

103. Dudgeon 1870:103, 1875:14–15; *ECCP* 730–31; Xu Ke 1:9. One of Bixia Yuanjun's attendants was a smallpox deity.

ernmost treaty port created in the eventual settlement of that war and the north did not experience direct foreign presence for another two decades, the possibility of foreign invasion from the sea had taken all too concrete form.

The 1830s and 1840s were a period of social unease in Peking. Opium, though banned, was already being secretly imported in bulk from the south for sale in the city in 1815, and in 1838–1839, local magistrates in the Peking area were found to be addicts, and hundreds of dealers were arrested in the capital itself. As Alison Dray-Novey has described in some detail, thefts and robberies were on the increase, and the Gendarmerie was less well funded and less effective. For the Banner population, the Daoguang emperor dedicated more of his own resources, approving more policemen and enhanced patrols at night; by 1851 the Inner City was guarded by an additional eight hundred men.¹⁰⁴

The nongovernmental answer to the fraying of the social fabric came from what seems an unlikely quarter: firemen. Although the use of stone protected some of Peking's buildings, many neighborhoods were very vulnerable, and firefighting was a service long provided to Peking residents by the state. Fire brigades (*huoban*) were the responsibility of the Five Boroughs in the Outer City, of the Gendarmerie in the Inner City, and of the Imperial Household in the Forbidden City and summer palaces.¹⁰⁵ As new firefighting bureaus (*shuiju*, literally "water bureau") appeared in the Outer City, they followed those precedents but marked an important stage in the assumption of public responsibilities by private organizations.¹⁰⁶

The first steps came in the 1840s. The Taiping (Great Peace) Water Bureau was set up in 1845 by the (surely merchant) residents of a street near the Front Gate in the Outer City.¹⁰⁷ The Gongyi (Publicly Decided) Water Bureau was created in 1848 by merchants from Anhui, also in the congested district near the gate.¹⁰⁸ (See Figure 16.3.) Like the *shantang*, these bureaus were thus tolerated and in place by 1850 and, together with the soup kitchens and shelters run by the government, formed the foundation for the expansion of public services in the latter part of the century.

104. Dray-Novey 1981:302–28; Waijidang JQ 20/1/10, JQ 20/6/28; Howard 92. One ounce sold for 700–800 strings of cash. *JFTZ* 1884:5:368.

105. *Huidian shili* 1899:1036:17442, 1163:18703, 1202:19082; Dray-Novey 1981:265–71.

106. The definitive work on fire brigades is Imahori. For Tianjin: Kwan 360–64. For Hankou: Rowe 1989:163–68. Anyone familiar with the significantly better-organized firefighters in the Tokugawa capital of Edo in this period (see Kelly) would not be surprised at their importance in Peking.

107. The most active merchants on this Damochang were from Shanxi. *STFZ* 1885:12:329; Imahori 79–80; *BJTB* 72:174, 85:126.

108. Imahori 23–27; *STFZ* 1885:12:328.



Figure 16.3. Peking Firefighters, 1897

These firefighters are wearing special uniforms and carrying an identifying banner. Their pump and water reserves are in the center. This woodblock was included by Father Alphonse Favier in his comprehensive book *Peking: Histoire et description*, published in Peking in 1897. Long a resident of the city, Favier was one of the most visible defenders of the North Church during the Boxer siege of 1900.

SOURCE: Favier 411.

The crises of the 1850s, when national calamities became local problems—first the threat from the Taiping rebels, and then the British-French invasion of 1860—stimulated organizational elaboration and an expanded sphere of action in Peking.¹⁰⁹

The armies of the Celestial Kingdom of Great Peace (Taiping Tianguo) from south China, forces of a massive Chinese Christian rebellion intent on discrediting and toppling the dynasty, seized Nanking in the second month (March) of 1853. They massacred the Banner armies there, proclaimed it their Heavenly Capital (Tianjing), and immediately sent forth a northern expedition to capture Peking. During the summer and fall of 1853, these armies raced across Henan, north into Shanxi, then northeastward across Zhili toward the Qing capital. The titles assigned to their commanders, in themselves a bold challenge to the dynasty, charged these men variously with subjugating, eliminating, conquering, destroying, and extinguishing the Manchu barbarians.

109. Compare the stimulus to collective action in Hankou by rebels in the 1880s in Rowe 1989.

By the end of the ninth month of that year, weakened by resistance en route, the rebels reached the outskirts of Tianjin. There their advance was abruptly halted, and for three months they were trapped by Qing armies; in the first month of 1854 the rebels finally broke free but abandoned their attack on Peking and returned south. Their reinforcements had reached only Linqing (a city on the Grand Canal in Shandong) before being likewise driven back. A combined defense of Banner, Green Standard, and militia forces had been able to prevent a rebel occupation of the northern provinces and may have saved the dynasty.¹¹⁰

The Taiping capital was not retaken until 1864, and even in defeat the effect of their challenge on Manchu authority and the distribution of power in the empire was considerable. As these and other rebels organized to oppose the dynasty, officials committed to the Qing—as most were—encouraged the formation of local militias to assist the resistance. Mobilization of many types took place on a broad and unprecedented scale throughout the empire. Groups usually deemed dangerously independent were now permitted to become legitimate social actors, armed, funded, and organized.

Although Peking had remained safe from the fray, the effect of the Taiping advance was palpable. In the summer and fall of 1853, thousands of people fled the city in panic. Garrison soldiers stationed nearby were called up for active duty. Demands on central government funds increased as more armies had to be provisioned and sent into action; when raw copper failed to arrive from Yunnan, the capital mints began issuing inferior coins and then bills to make up for the lack of specie and money-shops closed down. Merchants were pressed to make donations to state coffers in return for official ranks.

The discovery of spies sent north by the rebels led to tighter security at Peking's gates, along the moat, and within actively barricaded urban neighborhoods.¹¹¹ One of the existing fire brigades took immediate advantage of this emergency to expand its activities and organize men to patrol the streets, and three new firefighting bureaus followed this precedent and were formed by other groups of Outer City shop-owners in that year. During the next decade, as we shall see, in keeping with the more liberal policy toward such mobilization, officials began drawing on and cooperating with, and thus both legitimizing and influencing, these community organizations.¹¹²

Western pressure for treaty revisions mounted in the 1850s—even though the Taiping held much of central China—and included the demand that for-

110. Jen 169–94; Michael 1:map 6, pp. 93–94.

111. Qu Xuanying 352–53; *LSJN* 233; *QSL-XF* 85:9–10; Jen 181; Scarth 173–78. Scarth quoted a Five Borough censor's memorial saying that thirty thousand households from the Outer City had fled.

112. *STFZ* 1885:12:328–29; Imahori 30–35, 82–83, 95–99, 114, 157.

eign diplomats be permitted to reside in Peking. When this pressure began to materialize as another military threat in 1858, capital soldiers were again called up for duty, others were transferred in, and local militia were organized. There was panic buying of foodstuffs in expectation of a siege by foreigners, and prices skyrocketed; hysteria was exacerbated by news that the court had requisitioned five hundreds carts for possible flight. Three Manchu princes were appointed to defend the Inner City (first things first).¹¹³

In the spring of 1858, representatives of the Western powers (Britain, France, Russia, and the United States) sailed again into the Bohai Gulf, occupied the Dagou fort that guarded the river to Tianjin, and then forcibly cleared a route into that city and negotiated a new settlement there in June of that year.

When the foreigners returned one year later to take up residence in the capital as promised by that treaty, Qing forces withdrew their welcome and repulsed them at Dagou. Thus it was that in the summer of 1860 the British and French came one more time, now in open hostility. During the month of August, they seized Dagou and then Tianjin, and in early September marched toward Tongzhou and Peking. The defense of the capital was again put in the hands of the Mongol general, Senggelinjin. Soldiers on both sides stood ready.

With negotiations intermittently breaking down, the European armies engaged Qing forces east of Peking, bested them, and marched toward the capital. On 8/8 (September 22), the Xianfeng emperor panicked and fled from the Yuanmingyuan to the distant summer residence at Rehe. In early October, when the Qing not only still refused to submit but seized the representatives sent to negotiate, the allied forces angrily attacked. They broke into and looted the suburban summer villas (on October 6), set up camp in the north suburbs, and threatened to storm the nearby Anding Gate. Neither side appears to have been anxious for a battle, however, and on October 13, Qing authorities surrendered to the Europeans without a fight.

The French and British commanders decided to punish the Qing by destroying the summer palaces. These extensive imperial villas were thus, infamously, put to the torch on October 17–18 (9/4–5). Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were then permitted entry into the walled city, and a new treaty was signed in late October. For a few days, foreign soldiers roamed Peking and the palace at will, but unlike 1900 (when allied armies would occupy Peking), they soon pulled out. The Xianfeng emperor remained at Rehe until his death the following summer.¹¹⁴

Peking's defenses had been coordinated by trusted Manchus out of a new office (*chu*, also called a *gongsuo*) set up incongruously in the Inner City

113. Zhou Yumin 412.

114. Qu Xuanying 236–40; *ECCP* 380. There are many Western accounts of this infamous campaign.

Fahuasi, a spacious Buddhist temple a short distance from the Imperial City.¹¹⁵ Prince Gong, the emperor's half-brother, had been put in charge, and he had moved from his villa near the ruined summer palaces to the Tianningsi, a temple-cum-pagoda west of the city, whence he entered Peking to sign the treaty articles.¹¹⁶ Lord Elgin had meanwhile set up camp in the mansion of Prince Yi (who had also fled to Rehe) on the eastern side of the Inner City, and Baron Gros took over the Xianliangsi (a shrine not far to the south).¹¹⁷ The 1859 treaty with the Russians was formally signed in the Russia House, a convenient remnant of their long-standing diplomatic contact. The Conventions of Peking with Britain and France were signed in the Ministry of Rites building in October 1860; the Fahuasi was used for a reception for the foreigners.¹¹⁸ (The government's lack of appropriate sites for these unprecedented events is obvious.)

The consequences of these treaties for the Qing were enormous: the empire was now opened in force to foreign economic and cultural power. The north in general and the capital in particular, hitherto spared a direct encounter with Westerners, now felt the change. Tianjin became a treaty port and began the transformation that would turn it into the major commercial center of north China. Peking was shaken as it had not been since 1644. In the spring of 1861, when British and French ministers arrived to set up their new legations in the city, a century of a permanent Western presence began.¹¹⁹

The destruction of the "emperor's summer palace" has today been transformed into such a powerful symbol (of both callous imperialism and Chinese weakness) that we must be careful not to read back too much into the 1860s.¹²⁰ And yet, the bare facts leave little doubt of the importance of this brutal act for the history of Peking. The Yuanmingyuan and the Kunming Lake buildings were burned, and the day-to-day imperial presence in this area was practically eliminated; Chinese access suddenly became possible.¹²¹

Daoguang would turn out to have been the last (relatively) strong emperor the Qing would know. After 1860, power at the center was held by shifting coalitions of imperial relatives, among whom one of Xianfeng's concubines would, as empress (then empress dowager), provide what measure of continuity there was. In this era of the so-called Tongzhi Restoration, the

115. Zhenjun 3:19–20; Zhou Yumin 412–13; *ECCP* 668, 853.

116. Qu Xuanying 239; *ECCP* 381.

117. *LSJN* 239; *ECCP* 924.

118. Morse 612; *Bradshaw's* 325; Zhenjun 3:19–20.

119. Morse 589, 593–612; *LSJN* 239; *ECCP* 380–81.

120. Hevia 1994. For an 1871 Chinese perspective: Lo & Schultz 311–16 (Wang Kaiyun's poem).

121. Lockhart 1866:147. When the empress dowager rebuilt in the 1880s, she concentrated on the lake.

court relied closely on Chinese officials in the provinces even as it tightened ties among Manchus near the throne.

As for Peking, local mobilization continued during and after the invasion, as did the prosaic need for new offices. In July 1860, Wenxiang and three other members of the Manchu nobility had been put in charge of a Military Reserves Office (*Xunfangchu*) located in the Fahua temple (now effectively taken over by the throne). Although the reserves never engaged the enemy, Wenxiang and others were actively involved in the peace negotiations and remained in charge of security in the city. In late August 1860, Prince Gong approved a proposal that metropolitan officials be asked to keep an eye on the neighborhoods in which they resided, that civilian militias be encouraged to patrol along with the police-soldiers, and that more firefighting associations (*shuihui*) be established. Foreigners arriving in Peking in 1861 found armed militias active at night against local bandits.¹²²

Once firefighting bureaus had received official blessing, they quickly increased in number and expanded in scope. Official praise for associations that were “privately financed and privately run” (*min juan, min ban*) was genuine encouragement to men who wished to distinguish themselves with worthy gestures. But private donations were combined with public funds, and the Ministry of Revenue guarded its powers of authorization and control.¹²³

New firefighting associations thus came into existence in the Outer City. Many eventually (sought and) received wooden plaques from the Five Boroughs as official reward and commendation for their services. And then, in recognition of the mixing of population and jurisdiction in the former Banner preserve, similar fire brigades were set up in the Inner City as well; these were to be used to train militia (*tuan fang*) and to be put under the supervision of the boroughs.¹²⁴ These versatile “water bureaus” were obviously becoming multipurpose neighborhood security organizations. Their new powers made them dangerous—and not just to the state—because they could extort “donations” by withholding their services and had the muscle to challenge their rivals and beat up their enemies.

Finding suitable permanent space for these organizations was not easy. The Public Righteousness Water Bureau began operating out of a pawnshop in 1853 and only acquired an office (*gongsuo*) in 1865. The Publicly Decided Bureau began in 1848 inside the Wuhu lodge, moved once, and then raised the money to build their own premises. Temples were inconsistently and decreasingly em-

122. Zhou Yumin; Zhenjun 3:19–20; ECCP 668, 853; QSL-XF 325:10–11; *Huidian shili* 1899:1032:17413–14; Li Hua 157–58; Rennie 1:49.

123. Imahori 157.

124. Imahori 30, 36, 46, 106; *Huidian shili* 1899:1032:17413.

ployed. Only eight out of the seventeen *shuihui* whose histories were researched by Imahori Seiji in his invaluable 1940s study were located in temples.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, all of these bureaus—like homes, shops, and lodges—had halls or altars on their premises set aside for worship.¹²⁶ They also hung wooden commemorative plaques on their walls and gates, displays of public favor and private merit like stelae in temple courtyards.

By contrast with sojourner lodges, these organizations were initially formed in neighborhoods and derived their justification from the security concerns of that territory. (I have been unable to learn much about their leaders.) The Chengshan (Completed Philanthropy) Water Association was created sometime before 1871 by the shop owners who lived along a stretch of Hufangqiao, a major thoroughfare in the Outer City (southwest of the Front Gate). This area seems to have been its primary responsibility, and an Earth-god temple became its headquarters. One hall was for the worship of the Fire-god, and another was a meeting room.¹²⁷

Once formed, these water associations often branched out to aid a wider area and provide even more services than security patrols at night and putting out fires: they set up new soup kitchens or provided guards, made vaccinations available, managed shelters, collected and burned paper with writing on it, gave out winter clothing, helped capture locusts during an infestation in the south suburbs, and supplied emergency assistance during floods.¹²⁸ This expanded list of activities paralleled the fire brigades' enlarged spheres of responsibility from one neighborhood to the city at large. A number of firefighting groups helped put out the 1888 fire at the Taihe Gate in the Forbidden City and the 1889 fire (started by lightning) at the blue-domed Qianian Hall within the Altar to Heaven, thus displaying their "merit"—and were rewarded with money and commemorative plaques. For these services, the traditional language of public service was still appropriate: "To Do Good Is the Greatest Happiness."¹²⁹

Managed by elites, these *shuihui* worked in close cooperation with the government. Theirs was not a sphere free of state involvement. Their activities required official authorization, they were supposed to report to the Ministry of Revenue every three years, and the ministry attempted to limit their numbers; borough censors and police chiefs subscribed to their projects and is-

125. Imahori 33–34, 95, and 21–22, 26–27. I see no pattern to the temples employed; the two suburban *shuihui* also used temples. Imahori 166.

126. Imahori *passim*. Information on gods worshipped cannot be securely attested before the 1940s.

127. Imahori 121–27; Li Hua 157–58; *BJTB* 84:45. The *STFZ* 1885:12:329 entry is, as Imahori showed, incorrect.

128. Imahori 23–24, 55–57, 79–80, 85, 115; *STFZ* 1885:12:321, 12:329.

129. Li Hua 157–58; Imahori 23–24, 33–34, 52, 79–80, 125–26; Edkins 1891:2–4.

sued rewards. When militias were revived in 1883 for use in policing the streets of the Outer City, they too were given a regular official budget.¹³⁰ This relationship allowed the government to have a wider and deeper effect than its limited personnel ordinarily permitted without losing its paternalistic moral authority or control over local elites.

In 1876, Peking confronted yet another disaster: the great north China famine. Mary Rankin has seen this protracted crisis as a stimulus to elite activism, as indeed it was, and in Peking activism followed in established grooves.¹³¹ The famine was the result of several years of unrelieved drought, and by 1876 it had affected Shanxi, Shaanxi, Shandong, Henan, and Zhili. Starvation peaked in 1877–1878, and by the time the tragedy had run its course in 1880, an estimated nine million to thirteen million people had died. Tianjin attracted managerial philanthropists from the Lower Yangtze and became the distribution center for grain imported from central China and the headquarters for a relief committee formed by foreigners.¹³² Peking was on the periphery of the disaster area and not on the supply routes to the affected areas, and its special grain lifelines were not interrupted. The city's major problem was to deal with refugees without jeopardizing its own food security.

The demand for grain had become insistent in the early 1870s, despite new facilities added by the government in and near the capital almost every year in response. Because the dikes of the (now poorly maintained?) Yongding River gave way regularly, floods southwest of the city were an annual event between 1867 and 1873. In the summer of 1875, as the young Guangxu emperor took the throne, Peking was already feeling the effects of the oncoming drought. The fifteen existing soup kitchens, which had already stayed open two extra months (until 5/20), now became operational three months early (from the seventh month).¹³³

By the summer of 1876, as people fled from the drought-stricken countryside in search of sustenance, refugees began arriving at the gates of Peking, knowing that grain was available. As their numbers grew, grain prices rose in the city; new soup kitchens, benevolent halls, fire brigades, shelters, and orphanages became active, and large amounts of discounted grain were sold off in a struggle to keep the price down. Guangxu (then only six) prayed for rain in the summer of 1877.¹³⁴ As the refugees poured in, the soup kitchens

130. Imahori 23–24, 26–27, 73, 79–80, 118; JJD-NZR 5, GX 7/2/15; *Huidian shili* 1899:1032:17413, 17417–18.

131. Rankin 1986:142–47. Also Rowe 1989:28.

132. Unless otherwise noted I have relied on Bohr. See also Rogaski 1996:93–100, 1997.

133. Qu Xuanying 361–67; *LSJN* 242–44. JJD-NZR 5, GX 1/3/18.

134. *STFZ* 1885:12:319–26; *LSJN* 246; JJD-NZR 5–6 passim; Qu Xuanying 367–69.

could not keep up, and there were more beggars, more robberies, and more corpses. Militias were brought in to keep the long lines of refugees outside the soup kitchens in order. By the winter of 1878, twenty-five centers were desperately distributing food.¹³⁵

Relief of the larger famine was accomplished not only by familiar and tested government measures but also by substantial and unprecedented donations from the private sector. Calls for aid in the major cities were effective (through articles in newly established newspapers in the Lower Yangtze, for example), and an emphasis on shared humanity helped create a sense of wider community that extended to overseas Chinese (“We are the same men as they and live under heaven”). This community even involved foreigners, for they too organized and raised money (“Everywhere such heart-rending sights are to be seen”). By contrast with a major famine of a century earlier, this regional disaster was thus met by the intertwined efforts of officials and private citizens from a wide area.¹³⁶

In Peking, the measures of 1876–1880 were based on close cooperation between sojourning elites (officials and merchants) and the city’s officials (prefects and censors). Gentry (*shenshi*) had founded the new institutions and served as managers, but these managers in turn petitioned the officials for recognition and resources; money donated by philanthropic citizens to the government for relief was then given by the censors to the bureaus to distribute.¹³⁷ The hesitancy of the Jiaqing period was gone, but the impulse to control was still strong.

In 1878 merchant-official sojourners in Tianjin secured the support of Governor-General Li Hongzhang for creation of the Guangrentang (Hall for Spreading Benevolence), a widow and orphan home that would be jointly and regularly funded by the state and private donors.¹³⁸ Four Jiangsu men imitated this procedure in 1880 in Peking and constructed a similar hall in the Outer City. The next year they petitioned the Shuntian prefects for supplementary government assistance and received a grant of three hundred *shi* of grain; they were given the same amount in subsequent years, just like other similar bureaus, soup kitchens, and refuges.¹³⁹

The Guangren facility was a large, newly purchased building of eighty-

135. JJD-NZR 5, GX 4/2/13; JJD-NZR 5, GX 4/2/25; QSL 67:21; Imahori 23–24.

136. Bohr 51, translating an announcement on a subscription box in Shanghai in 1878, and 21, quoting an 1878 illustrated fund-raising book published in London; Rankin 1986:145–46; Will, esp. 314–17.

137. JJD-NZR 5–6 passim.

138. Rogaski 1996:chap. 2, 1997:67–80.

139. STFZ 1885:12:323–25. The 1882 *Jingdu Guangrentang zhangcheng* described the hall and its activities in considerable detail. The four founders, Yuan Shan, Zu Baisui, Feng Guangxun, and Ji Bangzhen, had all earned the *jinshi* degree. *Jinshi suoyin* 1:640, 765, 2:1071, 1353.

four rooms along three courtyards (it had been the residence of a Qianlong-era grand secretary). The abandoned children (five to fifteen years old) were fed and clothed, given instruction, and taught useful skills. Widows who were judged firm-willed and of good parentage could receive a monthly stipend. (Moral judgments were of course relevant.) Small children and the elderly were also taken in and given housing. More than four hundred people were in residence in the summer of 1881. The next year, the hall replicated itself and set up schools for orphans in Wanping, Tongzhou, and other counties in the vicinity.

The organization took a stand against infanticide, piously touted the virtues of self-improvement (“one more worker, one less vagrant”), and specified in minute, controlling detail how the orphans were to be cared for. New bedding every three years, new winter clothing every two years, and summer clothing every year; shoes every three months, haircuts twice a month, a bath every five days in summer. Thirty pieces of toilet paper each month, a chamber pot in every room to be emptied by the boys each morning; so-many slaps for peeing in the room or in the well; a basin of water in the school room so that hands could be washed after going to the bathroom and before books were handled. And so forth. The managers reported their accounts at the end of the year to the Shuntian prefects, borough censors, the Tianjin Guangrentang, and those gentry who had contributed. All went to the Front Gate Guandi temple to burn incense as testimony to their honesty.

This sense of responsibility to a wider public was also directed toward education. As a result, Peking finally began to have schools. Three charity schools (*yixue*) had been founded in the Outer City in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Six more were started in the Inner City between 1864 and 1875, and then another seven before 1883. In those same twenty years, seven other schools were set up in the Outer City and fourteen in the suburbs. Temples were judged inappropriate by both Confucian and Western-minded educators, and most schools were located in new buildings.¹⁴⁰

These initiatives were both official and private. Fully half of the schools were built in 1882 and 1883 by Zhou Jiamei, the prefect. Zhou was, in fact, broadly active in this zone of linked private and public charity. Nine of the Inner City *yixue* were, by contrast, funded by the generous patronage of a Bannermen named Wang Hai, and they show clearly how Banner people followed the sojourners’ lead in philanthropy. Wang set up his first school in 1869 in the Inner City and the following year endowed a soup kitchen on a road outside the Xibian Gate; he then spent tens of thousands of ounces of silver on other charity schools over the next dozen years—in both the Inner

140. *STFZ* 1885:62:2205–8. There were thirty-eight nineteenth-century *yixue*.

and Outer Cities. For these efforts, brought to imperial attention by the borough censors (ever anxious to curry favor in both directions), he was rewarded with official rank (not a position).¹⁴¹ Wang's vision of the community toward which he had a responsibility was notable for its lack of parochialness.

Peking's minority religious communities were also stirred to public action. Two soup kitchens were run by Muslims for the members of their community and, like others, officially supplied with grain after 1878.¹⁴² It seems clear that the state thought of them as a self-contained constituency (as they did themselves).

Even sectarians were emboldened. By at least the 1880s, members of the Zaili sect had begun setting up halls in Peking for their meetings. They too used the language of both secular and religious benevolence for their centers: the Office of the Hall of Loving Good Deeds (Leshantang Gongsuo), the Office of Jointly Cultivating Blessings and Good Deeds (Fushan Tongxiu Tang Gongsuo), and so on. A sympathetic description of the sect around 1900 indicated that most halls had a few hundred members, men and women, met regularly, and inveighed against alcohol and opium. Armed with a claim to legitimacy, believers combined welfare with proselytizing, hoping to attract the physically addicted as well as the spiritually lost.¹⁴³

In the meantime, the presence of foreigners grew more noticeable. They formed an exclusive community within the city but brought with them institutions concerned with the collective good. The Russians quickly reestablished themselves after 1860 and made the Russia House compound the seat of their new legation.¹⁴⁴

Ministers Frederick Bruce and Alphonse de Bourboulon arrived in March of 1861—Madame de B. and her maid may have been the first Western European women to reside in Peking. These diplomats were permitted to rent two princes' mansions not far from the Russian compound, whose location anchored the emerging legation quarter. This district just east of the Six Ministries had long been a quasi-official neighborhood. Over the next four decades, the Americans, Germans, Italians, Dutch, Spanish, Austrians, Belgians, and Japanese invested in accommodations here for diplomatic staff.¹⁴⁵

141. *STFZ* 1885:12:321, 62:2205–6.

142. *STFZ* 1885:12:322–23; Peking Library #7890; *Huidian shili* 1899:1035:17435.

143. Zhao Dongshu 201–6, 209–10; Douin 3:149. Twenty years later a local guidebook discussed this religion openly and listed fifty-nine halls. *Beijing zhinan* 3:3.

144. Freeman-Mitford 210–12; Widmer 96; Banno 41–42, 130.

145. Rennie does not seem to have considered the Russians, but noted that the first women to visit were the provisioners for the French army in 1860. Rennie 1:chap. 1. Initially the foreigners were to pay an annual rent in perpetuity. For the British legation, with illustrations, see Markbreiter; also S. Meng 29.

Although not living in a formal enclave like that of a treaty port, Peking's foreign residents were protected by extraterritoriality and formed a self-contained community.

New buildings were Western in their appearance and functions—hospitals, banks, churches, post office—and became identifying features of foreign life. For new kinds of diversion, dedicated spaces were required. By the late 1870s, there was a billiard room, theater, and a skating pond.¹⁴⁶ (Only after 1900 did this quarter become walled.)

Most of the older European cemeteries were also reclaimed in 1860. British soldiers were buried in the Russian graveyard north of the city wall, their deaths marked with a substantial monument, while the French used the already consecrated ground at Zhala. The French Zhengfusi graveyard was restored, and in the 1870s the British created a new cemetery outside the western walls and moved their graves there.¹⁴⁷

Missionaries arrived and needed churches. Having been abandoned for two decades, in 1860 the South Church was “a ruin, with great rents in the roof, grass growing on the floor, stripped of everything inside, the courtyard outside occupied by hawkers.” The “Te Deum” performed here in October was commemorated as a symbolic moment of return in one of the earliest photographs of Peking. In time, each of the Catholic churches was reclaimed and restored and Chinese converts cautiously reemerged. Russian prelates moved to the old Albazinian church, and the Jesuit library that they had protected was installed in the Beitang.¹⁴⁸ The days of dependence on imperial goodwill were over. New churches, many of them Protestant ones, could now be built and opened to all.¹⁴⁹

In these churches, Christian charity was soon at work and demonstrating a generalized sense of public responsibility for schools, dispensaries, hospitals, soup kitchens, and orphanages.¹⁵⁰ In September of 1861, William Lockhart, surgeon for the British legation, opened a small hospital next door under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. In the spring of 1864, he was succeeded by John Dudgeon, a Scot, who purchased “with difficulty” a fair-sized Fire-god temple in the same quarter of the city. The relocated clinic saw some ten thousand out-patients a year but had beds for only a few dozen. William Murray, another Scot, began teaching blind children in 1871

146. Simpson 1877:141.

147. Rennie 1:94; Irisson 400; M'Ghee 26; Fischer 37.

148. Devine 160, 168; Thiriez 1994:60; Lucy 7; Rennie 1:44–45; *BJTB* 86:109–10; Planchet 1923; Widmer 96.

149. In the 1860s, these were sponsored by the London Missionary Society, Church Missionary Society, Methodist Episcopal Church, American Board Mission, and American Presbyterian Mission. Gamble 1921:378; Broomhall.

150. Prohibitions against foreign orphanages were ineffective. Dennys 1866:47; Girard 46; Edkins 1870:364; Rochechouart 233; Bouinai 284, 286; Birch 5–6; Devine 162, 174, 185.

and eventually, with mission funds, set up a small school for them. In 1879, the American Presbyterian Mission began with a dispensary attached to their church, and then built their own hospital in 1886. By 1900 there were at least eighteen Christian churches in the city and a considerable variety of secular and religious activities under missionary direction, providing models for activism for those who chose to notice.¹⁵¹

Between 1860 and 1900 a great array of government and private offices were set up in Peking to deal with urban problems: soup kitchens, bureaus for selling grain, fire brigades, winter shelters, orphanages, inoculation bureaus, benevolent halls, charitable schools, churches, and hospitals. This was also, the reader should remember, a period when the number of lodges was exploding at the rate of three a year. Although temples were still used as headquarters for new organizations, they were increasingly bypassed. Armed with the approval of the state, new institutions no longer needed to take shelter beneath the charitable aura of a temple but could use openly secular buildings. These bureaus, halls, and offices nevertheless still took care to surround themselves with advertisements of their public-mindedness.

The disastrous summer floods of 1890 provided another challenge for Peking's relief agencies, this one successfully met by coordinated private and official efforts. The illustrated volume commemorating these efforts presents an instructive contrast to the imperially commissioned account of the imperial-led relief for the 1801 flood. This modest "Fully Illustrated Account of the Flood Relief in the Capital Region" (*Jifu zhenni quan tu*) of 1892 consisted of thirty-six woodblock drawings of the flood and the relief, each with a short explanatory text. Sponsored by the sojourners who had taken charge, and intended to honor their actions, its first preface was written by Pan Zuyin, a Shuntian prefect and a man from a Suzhou family who had been born and spent nearly all his life in Peking.¹⁵² The book allows us to examine emergency relief at the end of the century in some detail.

The Yongding River had continued to flood intermittently in the 1870s and 1880s, but several weeks of steady rain in the late fifth and early sixth months (July) of 1890 (following hard on a dry spring) turned Peking's sub-

151. Cumming 2:221–26; Gordon-Cumming; Atterbery 114; Ruoff 46. Lockhart's hospital was on busy Chongwenmen Inner Main Street. According to Dudgeon, the cleric received permission from a superior (?) and moved "to a small temple on an adjoining lane"; the god images had to be relocated secretly at night. Dudgeon 1865:1–2; Cumming 2:288–316; Atterbery 113; Lockhart 1864.

152. *ZNQT* first preface; *ECCP* 608–9. Pan had composed the texts for stelae for at least six Peking temples in the 1870s and 1880s and for one religious association at the Dongyuemiao in 1868 (*BJTB* 83:132–34).

urbs into marshland and provoked a large breach in the dikes southwest of the city. The southwestern suburbs from the Southern Park right up to the city walls were immediately flooded: in flower- and shrub-growing villages, fields became lakes and houses disintegrated. Bridges over what were normally small streams in the countryside—and even across the southern stretch of the moat—were submerged or destroyed. Residents of the streets outside the city gates had to climb into trees or onto their roofs. Villagers sought higher ground, scrambling hastily onto brick walls and stone buildings or clinging to floating furniture or livestock. Initially, the wall of the Nanyuan kept the water out of the park, but as its base was washed away, that area too became inundated. North-south traffic was interrupted, but fortunately the marble Lugou Bridge stayed open (it had seen worse). Even north of Peking, houses were awash in a meter of water, and families lived on their brick *kang*.¹⁵³

Because Peking itself was not flooded and still had a secure supply of food, the crisis was an ideal occasion for a display of urban public-mindedness. Once the throne had reports on the situation, Guangxu put the matter entirely in the hands of Prefects Pan and Chen. He approved their recommendations for new soup kitchens, and fifteen thousand ounces of silver were supplemented with a special gift of fifty thousand from the private funds of Empress Dowager Cixi. Because the crisis soon became a regional one, extra grain was imported to keep prices low; the breach in the Yongding River was to be repaired, and Governor-General Li Hongzhang took charge. Guangxu's twentieth birthday was dampedly celebrated in subdued fashion.¹⁵⁴

The prefects concentrated on the Peking area and created new relief bureaus (*zhenfuju*), one housed in a suburban charity school and the other in a Guandi temple near the You'an Gate, where grain was stored for further distribution. Following long-established procedures, refugees were registered and then given food. In accordance with precedents set during the great famine of a dozen years earlier, officials relied on both their own funds and private donations and welcomed the efforts of the city's relief organizations. Benevolent halls were "urged" by officials to help distribute relief and issued government grain for the purpose.¹⁵⁵

These benevolent halls used a language of concern for others that was now to be found across a wide range of groups and activities, from pilgrimage associations to sectarians to native-place lodges to fire brigades to homes and shelters: *shan* (good deed), *yi* (righteous), *pu* (universally), *tong* (together), *an* (peace), and *ji* (assist). It makes no sense to ask if such words were Buddhist or Confucian or what.

153. ZNQT; Imahori 23–24; Minjun 9:5, 7–11; Malone 203; LSJN 244–52 passim.

154. QSL-GX jj. 285–86 passim.

155. ZNQT, esp. #14, #20, #22–#25, #36.

The “Illustrated Flood Relief” mentioned or illustrated the efforts of six gentry-run benevolent halls.¹⁵⁶ They brought grain to the edges of the disaster area, sometimes using camels for transport. They obtained the grain, steamed breads, and pickled vegetables from a distribution center outside the Yongding Gate, put them on boats, and took them out to disaster victims who had found some place to roost. They sent out men in boats and rescued those isolated by the floods; they ferried people across the moat at the washed-out You’an Gate bridge. During the period of high water they used long, shallow-draft skiffs, powered by poles or haulers, suitable for carrying many large sacks of grain or up to two dozen people. Prominent flags identified each organization by name. These *shantang* also set up soup kitchens within the flooded region, repairing the buildings when necessary, and fed people there through the winter and spring, giving away padded clothing (donated by capital sojourners) during the cold months. In these efforts, brick and stone temples survived rather well. Some, such as the Little Southern Summit, were havens from the water (it is shown in Figure 16.2); others were used for soup kitchens.¹⁵⁷

As the flood waters receded, the benevolent halls manned one shelter (*nuanchang*) inside the You’an Gate and another inside the Guangqu Gate; there were other separate refuges for women and for men. The halls gave money to refugees so that they could return home and purchased grave land where victims could be buried. They paid people to search the imperial Southern Park and arrest those who were trapping its animals or cutting down its trees. Prefectural staff supervised the militiamen who were patrolling villages and seizing looters. The *shantang* hired men to dredge the moat and level the road on the east side of the Outer City, and in the spring to clear the roads and streams and repair damaged bridges throughout the disaster area. They constructed a large granary in the Outer City (the first one in that part of Peking).¹⁵⁸

According to the “Illustrated Flood Relief” and poetic accounts by Minjun, a Manchu who was involved in the rescue mission, the sight of such human suffering was extremely moving, and the manifest gratitude of the hungry, orphaned, and destitute very satisfying to the donors. The leaders of these Outer City charitable halls were not acting on behalf of or for the benefit of the small neighborhoods that had created them earlier in the century. They were acting for Greater Peking as a whole. And they gained prestige not only from their conspicuous generosity but also because of their working rela-

156. The Pushan Water Bureau was particularly singled out. For its history: *STFZ* 1885:12:329, 321; Imahori 84–87.

157. *ZNQT* #5, #14, #22–#26; Minjun 9:10. The Tongshan Benevolent Hall had a painting made of the Central Summit scene to hang in their hall. Imahori 52, 56–57. See also Figure 3.2.

158. *ZNQT* #27–#36; Minjun 9:10.

tionship with city officials. They benefitted, Peking benefitted, and the Qing state benefitted. At least in the short run.

The activism that linked Bannermen with sojourners and put private efforts on a par with official ones might be seen as symbolic of the weakening of imperial Peking and the coalescence of both a city government and a city elite. As its cultural and social segmentation was disappearing, the political fragmentation created by the Ming and early Qing rulers was also being overcome. The city had come into its own.

The explosion of city services in the late nineteenth century can also be understood as a reflection of the organizational potential already present in Chinese society. Many factors caused the change in scale in the late Qing. The challenges from within (the Taiping) and without (the foreigners) were life-threatening to the dynasty, and the central government no longer controlled directly the resources that it needed. Intellectual, financial, and organizational reserves lay outside the state, and they were brought into play through this elite managerial sphere just as they had been mobilized to suppress the rebellions of midcentury.

In the case of Peking, it seems to me essential that the state gave its blessing to these new organizations. They could not otherwise have existed in such numbers. At the same time, from the elites' point of view, this was a new arena to dominate, a natural if sometimes frustrating way to gain status and enhance their power. Moreover, these institutions allowed sojourners to act like residents of the capital, to show their concern for the city, and to play the part of local leaders.

And yet, for all their numbers, late Qing service organizations were not very independent or even especially strong. Although it is difficult to judge on the basis of their relatively short history between the 1870s and 1900 (after which the context changed radically), in Peking they seem to have been only slightly more long-lived and secure in their leadership, funding, or right to exist than the religious associations we have studied. Absent government support, their corporate resources and scope for action were quite modest.

Moreover, the array of different late Qing organizations, the combination of examination- and business-based groups, and the lack of any one overwhelmingly dominant group may have further discouraged citywide coordination. There were no collective structures before 1902, when the first chamber of commerce and other professional organizations were formed, and these embraced only some of the city's groups. Before newspapers (in 1901), a broadly based sense of common purpose was difficult to forge.

Furthermore, because of the need for funding and legitimacy, most organizations seem to have eagerly sought not only government approval but also government assistance. As David Strand has insightfully observed, "As

plants grow toward sunlight, modern Chinese organizations grew toward political authority." And not just modern organizations. Indeed, similar principles were at work in the economic arena. The idea of official supervision and merchant management (*guan du*, *shang ban*) guided many of the so-called self-strengthening initiatives of the late Qing.¹⁵⁹

Impulses toward independence were also held in check because the public domain was prestigious and private activities were not entirely respectable. By the turn of the century, the emerging idea of the "nation" had changed the terms of this debate by becoming a new object of loyalty and source of power. In the process, political action and political organizations were transformed. The still-heavy hand of the state meant that this revolution was imperfectly accomplished in Peking. Gradually, painfully, the capital yielded political center stage.

POLITICS

National politics changed during the Qing in ways familiar to historians of China but much too complex to discuss here. Suffice it to say that by the nineteenth century, Chinese Bannermen had long since ceased to be bureaucratic middlemen, competition for degrees and positions had become depressingly, almost hopelessly fierce, and the intense factionalism of the eighteenth century had been overlaid by serious disagreements about policy, especially as regarded the outside world. By midcentury, openly articulated anti-Manchu ideas encouraged the isolation of the court, while fear for the dynasty's survival drew Chinese and Manchu officials together.

For the first century and a half of their rule, the Qing seem to have been successful in keeping politics in the capital unorganized and private (that is, confined to official buildings or private homes). As the reigning emperors became progressively less strong-willed and crises mounted, attempts to restrict political participation by limiting the circulation of information and discouraging expressions of opinions from anyone outside government became ever less effective. Just as the proliferation of laws on banditry, heterodoxy, and rebellion did not prevent popular uprisings, and just as criticism of theaters did not put an end to performances, so strictures against factions could not eliminate the conditions that encouraged alliances and debate.

One legacy of the Qianlong reign was a conviction inside and outside of government that the state was becoming ineffective and needed reform. When foreign policy issues had involved the northern and northwest fron-

159. Perhaps it is time for such initiatives to be reappraised. Cf. Feuerwerker 1–30. Strand 285.

tiers, it had been easier for the emperor and a handful of (mostly Manchu) officials to monopolize decision making. As new sea-borne crises began to affect the cities of the southern and eastern coast in the nineteenth century, more people (many of them quite well informed) became concerned and wanted to be involved. The multitude of problems that threatened the survival of the imperial system from within and without after 1840 only heightened and broadened elite political consciousness, and the appearance of newspapers in coastal cities in the 1870s intensified this process. But critics and would-be officials were still not allowed to congregate or organize, especially not in Peking.

In the early Qing, private elite gatherings took place in the homes and villas of wealthy families, in scenic temple courtyards, or at the Pavilion of Merriment (Taoranting) in the Outer City. Because native-place was a particularistic, and thus dangerous, ground on which to base broader forms of association, and because the politically active had to insist on the unselfish nature of their concerns even in the nineteenth century, temples provided a neutral venue that bespoke good deeds and public interest.

In the wake of the rivalries of the late Qianlong reign and mounting frontier crises in the first decades of the nineteenth century, we see the beginning of literati mobilization in Peking. It took the form of the Xuannan Poetry Club, named, with an old-fashioned term (*shishe*), after the Ming ward that lay south of the Xuanwu Gate. This association—informal, of course—created intellectual and patronage ties among officials and literati in the capital (prominent among whom was Weng Fanggang) who shared a hope for bureaucratic reform and revitalization. James Polachek has argued that “careerist” goals were as important as the “aesthetic fellowship” implied by the name *she*, but it was still as poets that these ambitious and concerned men met, in small groups, on the birthdays of admired men of the past. Some of their meetings were in the Pavilion of Merriment.¹⁶⁰ Although its members remained in contact, the Xuannan group’s tentative organization was, alas for them, matched by its political ineffectualness, and it did not endure for long.

Remnants of the poetry club joined with other young critics and reformers (associated this time with Pan Shi’en) to form a “gathering” that Polachek has translated as the Spring Purification group (Zhanchunji). In the 1820s and 1830s, they met at the Chongxiaosi in Peking, a temple in the southwestern outskirts of the Outer City. Not nearly so well known as the Tao-

160. Sometimes called the Guanyin temple’s East Garden. Polachek 39–40, 46–50, 226–27; Ye Mingfeng 12–13.

ranting, it was also a place where literati could gather, free of either vulgarity or the stigma of associating in the homes of the powerful. Such meetings often took place during the months and years of major examinations when the capital was full of eager young men whose emotions raced from exalted dreams to anger, disgust, and depression.¹⁶¹

In 1829 the Zhanchunji rallied in the Songyun temple in order to protest what they judged a government policy in Xinjiang that was much too quick to give in to foreigners. This Outer City Temple of the Pine and Bamboo had become a place for sojourners to reside as early as the 1680s, but it was restored in the 1780s as a shrine to Yang Jisheng, Ming martyr (and City-god).¹⁶² In the 1830s and 1840s, Manchu and Chinese censors (designated critics of imperial policy, after all) used the premises for discussions, and—perhaps to legitimate their presence—also arranged for regular offerings there.¹⁶³ During the years before and after 1840, these men were supporters of Lin Zexu and advocates of a militant and morally upright intolerance of opium imports.

In the winter of 1843–1844, spurred by the humiliating defeats of the Opium Wars, yet another contingent of officials and scholars, some of whom had been part of the Spring Purification circle and others who opposed what they saw as another imperial capitulation to foreigners, came together for ostensibly private but actually rather public purposes. (Their “public” was the officialdom of the empire.) Zhang Mu, He Shaoji, and others used as their framework a desire to honor the seventeenth-century Han Learning scholar Gu Yanwu; they selected the neglected grounds of the Baoguosi (often called by its older name, the Cirensi) where Gu was said to have stayed. There they built a small shrine, hung his portrait, and met several times a year. Tablets for like-minded scholars were set up in the shrine, and over the decades it became a place that visiting scholars eagerly sought to visit—a place where, under the guise of aesthetic interests, they could with some freedom meet and talk, plan and calculate.¹⁶⁴

And yet, precisely because of their public premises and diverse patrons, temples were poor platforms for more effective or better organized political action. It was much easier for the state to co-opt a temple for public pur-

161. Polachek 83–85, 315–16.

162. These foreigners were the Kokandese. Polachek 219–20, 224, 349. Members of this group also contributed to the restoration of the temple in 1847. Wang Shizhen 1691:17:401–2; *Guangji zhi* 33.

163. *ECCP* 333; *BJTB* 75:77, 75:78, 76:29, 76:165, 77:20, 81:143; Zhaolian 1986a:9:296; Dai Lu 7:180–82; *Beijing luxing zhinan* 137–38; *Nianbiao* 4:3173, 3245.

164. Polachek 217–25. Sources not consulted by Polachek include *BJTB* 82:122; Zhenjun 7:25; *FXZ* 8:33. Gu had visited in 1668. There was also a tablet for the scholar Yan Ruoju that was later removed to the (Shanxi) Taiyuan lodge. The shrine was restored in 1856. The temple survives today (1999); the shrine is closed.

poses than for concerned citizens to do so. In the early 1880s, the Songyun temple was turned into the headquarters for the compilation of the Shuntian prefectural gazetteer and restored by officials of Zhili province.¹⁶⁵

Native-place lodges, by contrast, transcended their particularism with even greater difficulty. In the early 1840s, Zong Jichen of Shaoxing (Zhejiang)—himself associated with the Spring Purification group—turned a secondary *huiguan* into a shrine to two fellow natives who had died in the Opium Wars. Although he emphasized the noble ideals of loyalty and righteousness by further honoring two well-known Ming loyalist martyrs, and although he named the shrine the Right Spirited Belvedere (Zhengqiige), complex and passionate sentiments about the recent war were also being expressed. Nevertheless, sympathetic fellow natives could assemble to make offerings, but not a more broadly based group.¹⁶⁶ (As we suggested at the end of the preceding chapter, one might view Qing tolerance of *huiguan* as a clever device for dividing and fragmenting the loyalties of these elites.) It was much more typical for a lodge to be used to mobilize for purely local business, as did the men of Luzhou prefecture in Anhui in 1852 and 1853, when Taiping rebels attacked their native place. Those sojourning in the capital, including Li Hongzhang and his father, gathered anxiously at their lodge before deciding to return home to organize militia.¹⁶⁷

The Qing recognized that talk was dangerous and warned against discussing politics in public places—hence the signs in teahouses that read “Don’t discuss national affairs”¹⁶⁸—but the printed word was a far more potent instrument of mobilization and community formation. In the 1870s, new and more efficient means of communication began to threaten the Qing monopoly on information and to provide the means for the creation of communities not through face-to-face contact but through the shared reading of rapidly circulating newspapers and magazines.¹⁶⁹

In the early and middle Qing, selected edicts were printed daily in Peking and circulated to officials in the capital and the provinces.¹⁷⁰ Nonofficials had no such public media and could only rely on talk and letters. Most cities

165. *STFZ* 1885:16:510; *BJTB* 87:133–34.

166. *FXZ* 9:4–5; Polachek 221, 328, 349; HG Shaoxing 1. The Ming men were Ni Yuanlu and Liu Zongzhou.

167. *BJTB* 82:71. Two decades later, now Zhili governor-general and his loyalties at a higher level, Li composed the inscription for a new Anhui provincial lodge in Peking. *BJTB* 84:17; Li Qiao; also Belsky 209–16.

168. Weale 36. Weale was writing about the period circa 1900. What did the Chinese text actually say: “dynastic business”?

169. These are Benedict Anderson’s “imagined communities.”

170. The “Capital Gazette.” Wang Shizhen 1691:4:75; Astley 4:257; Lin 1936:77–78.

seem, however, to have been familiar with anonymous pamphlets, posters, handbills, and broadsides (called by various names in Chinese; these do not survive, and one hardly knows what English word is correct). Sometimes transcriptions of funny or vulgar verse circulated orally; these could be employed to mock and criticize government, but they were far too dangerous to be common in Peking. And they were too ephemeral—and perhaps too crude—to have lasting political impact.¹⁷¹

Newspapers, a genuinely revolutionary innovation introduced by Westerners and first known in Hong Kong and the treaty ports, came very late to Peking. In Shanghai (since 1872) and Hankou (since 1873), the new medium and its new consciousness transformed local and national politics.¹⁷² (The Shanghai *Shen bao* had, for instance, been very important in raising money in the south for the northern famine of 1877–1878.) This heightened political sensitivity and concern about a larger community (the empire? China?) was cautiously imported to Peking, and it was not until after 1900 that the capital finally had its own papers.

In the 1890s, the basis for politics was changing rapidly but the problems of where and how to organize remained almost the same. It was thus still at the Songyun'an in the spring of 1895—in the interval between taking the *jinshi* exams and hearing the results—that the ardent reformers Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, perhaps remembering that Yang Jisheng supposedly wrote his remonstrance against the eunuch Yan Song there, assembled their fellow candidates to protest what they saw as the humiliating terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki.

The disastrous defeat the Qing had suffered at the hands of a newly modernized Japan was unexpected and hard to bear, and from it followed calls for change—radical, moderate, reformist, and conservative. In a fury of dedication and high ideals, Kang and Liang drafted the “Ten Thousand Word Petition” with its long list of momentous proposals—including abandonment of Peking and relocation of the capital inland at Xi'an! Six hundred men signed the memorial, which was copied for private circulation and formally presented to the Censorate. It was not forwarded to the throne.¹⁷³

Undaunted, and now a *jinshi*, Kang Youwei then used his minor position in one of the ministries to send other memorials to his superiors, for them to send on to the throne; in the meantime, he and his colleagues continued to agitate, feeling strongly the need to organize new societies on a nationwide basis. Kang succeeded, briefly, in starting a newspaper (“Chinese and

171. Some unsystematic references to such materials: *Huidian shili* 1899:1038:17452; *Da Qing lili* 23:7; Lin 1936; Polachek 215; *K'ang Yu-wei* 65; *Beijing minjian fengsu bai tu*; Morse 371–72.

172. Rowe 1989:24.

173. *Beijing lixing zhinan* 137–38; *K'ang Yu-wei* 64–65; Spence 1981:8–9; I. Hsu 367.

Foreign News”) by persuading the publishers of the “Capital Gazette” to issue a supplement for which Liang Qichao and others would provide the articles. In the summer of 1895, Kang, Liang, and increasing numbers of others began meeting at the Songyun’an, and there they formed the Reform Club.¹⁷⁴ By the end of the year, however, disillusioned with the difficulty of action in Peking, Kang left the city.

In the summer and fall of 1898, as students of modern China know well, Kang Youwei returned to the capital, was able win over the Guangxu emperor to the cause of reform, and for a brief, famous hundred days attempted a broad-gauge restructuring of the Qing state. A national university, new schools, new government offices, newspapers, railroads, “beautification of the capital,” and even permission for Manchus to take up business were among the decrees issued thick and fast—before the empress dowager rallied, seized power from the emperor, and for the moment brought a halt to change.¹⁷⁵ Thereafter, as power at court was held increasingly narrowly by Cixi and her intimates, Peking confirmed its reputation as the stronghold of conservatism.

In the meantime, anti-Manchu sentiment became a potent force. The trend had begun in midcentury in south China but inexorably affected Peking. The solidarity of the Taiping rebels was founded in frontier Hakka communities, people who knew about being different but had never seen a Manchu. Ignoring the complex category of Bannermen, they identified the Qing rulers as Manchus, singled them out as the source of the empire’s ills, and vilified them with ugly energy and impassioned language. The Manchus were called *hu* (an old term for northern barbarians) or *yao hu* (barbarians with demonic powers), and the Peking area was now referred to as the “demon’s lair” (*yao xue*). In Taiping publications of 1854, the enumerated crimes of the Manchus were specific. They had altered Chinese dress and appearance, they gambled and smoked opium, they were lazy and idle, they “reversed the positions of high and low,” and they had “robbed the Chinese of their empire.” The Manchus were “hoodlums and bullies,” “a pack of dogs and foxes. As these men have become demons, how can their dwelling place be called a capital.”¹⁷⁶

This kind of bold, graphic, and public language was not only powerful enough to incite mass murder of Manchus by the Taiping, it also broke the two centuries’ old taboo on frank discussions of difference. The throne could no longer control and contain such talk; rebels, rulers, and loyal officials alike were now living in a world where dimly remembered resentments were encouraged and stale ethnic stereotypes given new energy. The Taiping

174. *K’ang Yu-wei* 67, 72–73; Lin Keguang 251–55; I. Hsu 367–68; H. Chang 61–62.

175. I. Hsu 275–76. Kang now proposed moving the capital to Shanghai. *K’ang Yu-wei* 122.

176. Michael 2:276–94; Chinese original in *Taiping Tianguo yin shu* 2:439–52.

threatened the entire imperial social, economic, and cultural order, and Chinese local elites and provincial officialdom sided—as is well known—with the Qing in finally suppressing them. But the revolution in discourse was irreversible.

The fact that the dominant power at court from the 1870s through the end of the century was a woman ate away at official loyalty to the throne and revived the kind of inner-outer politics characteristic of the Ming, in which bureaucrats tried to separate the emperor from the interference of women and eunuchs. Although Cixi worked closely with provincial officials such as Li Hongzhang to rescue the dynasty from dissension within, the Qing ended as it began—with decision making concentrated in the hands of a small number of imperial princes.

Sun Yatsen, a Hakka from south China who had lived many years abroad and was an admirer of the Taiping, had also come north in 1894. A man entirely outside the bureaucratic structure, he too had tried to submit a petition to Li Hongzhang, also urging radical reform. Like Kang Youwei, he was rebuffed. Sun then seems to have gone from Tianjin to Peking. There, as the war with Japan was beginning, he would have seen—instead of hard-headed crisis management—the grandiose preparations for Empress Dowager Cixi's sixtieth birthday.¹⁷⁷ Although the celebrations were aborted when the war was lost, the requisition and diversion of resources from national to local and personal concerns struck many Chinese as very wrong. Sun's views and actions became increasingly revolutionary, and he would later be credited with bringing down the dynasty in 1911. Certainly, he brought politics into the streets.

The empress dowager's priorities contributed to the growing association of Peking with what appeared to many to be foreign, conservative, and possibly even traitorous rulers.¹⁷⁸ A demon's den, indeed. Within the city, relations between Chinese citizens and their Banner neighbors were not so simple. As we have seen, separate jurisdictions had become hopelessly confused, many ordinary Bannermen had long since disappeared from the imperial rolls, the Inner City was a socially mixed and commercialized area, and cooperation in the provision of citywide services was not uncommon. But the perceived distinctions between "Chinese" and "Manchu," heightened since the Qianlong emperor's attempts to recharge the sense of Manchuness, were still (or again) present. Western visitors, with their own hostile sentiments toward the "Tartars," were quick to see such differences, and perhaps they

177. Chen Xiqi 73–74; B. Martin 45; *ECCP* 298.

178. In fact, much less was being spent on the capital than in the days of Qianlong: Imperial Household expenditures for road and sewer maintenance were cut in half in 1831 and then halved again; outside the walls, only the roads to and from the summer palace area were being maintained. *Jinwu shili* 4:9–12; Shi 151.

were right.¹⁷⁹ Bannermen had vanished into the sea of humble city residents, but the Manchu nobility survived, there for all to see. These contradictions between ethnic and local identities would be resolved after 1911 in surprising ways.

We do not see in Peking the forced confrontation with Western culture that was taking place in Shanghai, Tianjin, and other treaty ports, much less the radical disjuncture resulting from a serious engagement with Western culture experienced in Edo Japan during the nineteenth century. Indeed, before 1900 the debates about the “nation” and “modernity” that would dominate the twentieth century still took place mostly off the stage of Peking.

179. Dennys 1866:24; Crow 256; Candlin 190. Women’s white face-powder and elaborate hairstyles, visible markers of Manchu distinctiveness, seem to have been fashions of the late Qing, not earlier. See Werner 23; Thomson 1909 opp. p. 150; Ledyard 1974:19; Staunton 3:296–97.

EPILOGUE

In Search of Old Peking

The invasion of Peking by peasant insurgents and foreign armies in 1900 stunned the Qing court and prompted last-minute reforms that actually hastened the demise of the dynasty in 1911. Under the Republic of China, Peking was stripped of its status as capital and remained the home of only a deposed emperor. Its relation to the rest of the emergent nation utterly changed and the central features of its identity gone, the city struggled uncertainly to redefine itself. For many people, the answer was to associate Peking with its past. In the 1910s–1930s, Manchus redefined themselves as custodians of genuine Peking Culture, the Ming-Qing city was pronounced the quintessential Old Capital, and temples, festivals, and urban life were turned into sentimental emblems of Chinese Tradition.

1900 AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The Boxer debacle burst on Peking with unexpected suddenness. Although powerful Taiping armies had reached the vicinity of Tianjin as recently as 1853, the coalescence of scattered bands of martial artists in the 1890s took most people by surprise. Even more unlikely, given the Qing state's long-standing hostility to religious movements, was the court's hesitant decision to take the side of these rebels.

Groups of martial artists, many drawing on the same sectarian tradition that had fueled the rebellions of 1774 and 1813, emerged in an activist and militant mode in Shandong in the 1890s, responding to a combination of economic disasters, political weakness at the center, intensified foreign encroachments, and aggressive Christian missionizing.¹ Suppression by provin-

1. Zaili sects had rebelled in the Northeast in 1891. Shek 1980b. For the Boxers: Esherick 1987; P. Cohen; I see closer sectarian links than Esherick did.

cial armies grew increasingly ineffective in 1898 and 1899, in part because of some official sympathy with the antiforeign rhetoric and goals of these “Boxers United in Righteousness” (Yihequan).

Occasional attacks on foreigners in Peking in the autumn of 1898 foreshadowed the troubles to come. Robert Hart, the venerable inspector-general of the Imperial Maritime Customs, reported a rumor that on the ninth day of the ninth month of that year “all foreigners in Peking are to be wiped out and the golden age return for China.”² Potent language in an era when many feared for the empire’s dismemberment. In the next year and a half, boxing organizations, practices, and beliefs multiplied and mutated in the fertile soil of north China, while the response of the government was increasingly vacillating and ambivalent, and diplomatic protests grew more and more vehement.

Whether to eliminate foreign influence, seek imperial support, or protest the failure of the Qing to protect local religion and bring an end to the crippling drought, these disconnected Boxer groups were drawn north toward the triangle of Baoding, Tianjin, and Peking where foreigners were to be found. They were drawn especially toward the capital.³ Events came to a head in the fifth lunar month (May and June) of 1900. Although the relationship between the inhabitants of Peking and Boxer outsiders is still a mystery (did local people join? give passive support?), the major events of the spring and summer are well known.⁴

In the fourth month, it had become increasingly common to see young men on the streets of the capital wearing red sashes and armed with large knives. Makeshift altars (*tan*) were set up as ritual and organizational centers, and temple courtyards were borrowed to drill and teach the arts for which the Boxers were now famous. Their goals were varied and changing, but religious concerns were consistently important. “On account of the Protestant and Catholic religions, the Buddhist gods are oppressed and our sages thrust into the background,” one proclamation from early in 1900 maintained.⁵ This anxiety focused on foreigners and Chinese Christians.

As Boxers came into Peking from the countryside, bringing violence with

2. Quoted in Esherick 1987:182.

3. See Esherick 1987 and the concerns articulated in the Boxer placard of early 1900 (cited p. 282).

4. The account that follows is based on secondary sources and a cursory look at the testimony of eyewitnesses, none of which tell us enough about the practices of the Boxers themselves: *Boxer Rising*; Liu Yitong; Oliphant; Esherick 1987; P. Cohen. A session with Paul Cohen at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C., in March 1996 was helpful to my thinking.

5. *Boxer Rising* ix-x, 8. Boxers made some Peking temples into their headquarters. Esherick 1987:231; Hooker 7; *Boxer Rising* 69; Oliphant 16, 211. Their appearance in Peking may have begun as early as the spring of 1900.

them, many residents, especially those with property, left the city or retreated behind the walls of their shops and homes. On 5/1 (May 28), Boxers burned the new railroad station at suburban Fengtai and disabled the tracks; on 5/9 (June 5), rail links with Tianjin were cut off; on 5/15 (June 11), a secretary at the Japanese legation was killed; and the following day, the telegraph lines to Kiakhtha (and thus Russia) were cut. Frightened missionaries from the vicinity of Peking had been gradually taking refuge in the capital, bringing Chinese converts with them. Now they moved directly onto the better-secured legation premises.

On the sixteenth (June 12), showing the kind of familiarity with local society that one would associate with Peking natives, Boxer bands began to burn the homes and property of Chinese converts in the Outer City and southwestern suburbs. Over the next three days (June 13–15), such attacks were extended to other foreign homes, churches, hospitals, and schools inside the city walls, and even to the legations themselves. Fire, a cheap and powerful weapon of the weak, was used repeatedly and effectively. On 5/20 (June 16), blazes intended to burn foreign-run businesses outside the Front Gate flared out of control. Chinese firefighters were helpless against the huge conflagration that quickly enveloped this commercial and entertainment quarter, destroying thousands of houses and stores and consuming sections of the great gate itself.⁶ On 5/24 the German minister, Baron Clemens von Ketteler, was shot by a Qing soldier.

By 5/25 (June 21), the foreign community was concentrated in two Inner City locations: the North Church compound just west of the palace, where nearly a hundred French Catholic priests and nuns and more than three thousand converts were surrounded by hostile crowds of Boxers; and the legation district, its loose perimeters now secured and defended, where a thousand foreigners and twenty-five hundred Chinese had taken refuge.

These besieged communities now concentrated on the battle, wielding weapons, magic, and belief: fire, swords, spears, muskets, mines, cannon, rifles, and field guns; paper charms, incantations, trance, and prayer. Lanterns, fans, banners, urine, naked women, pubic hair, lights in the sky, winds, these also became Boxer weapons. Their placards, printed in Peking, were pasted on the walls, and wild tales raced through the city. Ordinary citizens lived in a sea of panic, not knowing which stories to believe, which side to take, whether or where to run. Sectarians, aroused by the crisis, predicted a great turn in the kalpa and recruited new followers for their teachings.

During all this, the local constabulary held back. By June 21, the throne had formally aligned itself on the side of the Boxers. Newly organized government armies—one stationed at the Southern Park under the Manchu

6. Oliphant 16–17; Imahori 23–24; P. Cohen 122–28.

Ronglu, and one deployed northeast of the city under Dong Fuxiang (and consisting of Muslim soldiers from Gansu)—seem to have taken charge of the siege of the legations. A Boxer force, supposedly drawn together under imperial leadership, focused its attention on the North Church. There, the (Boxer) Holy Mother of the Golden Sword and her female followers attempted to counter the power of the black-robed, white-bearded “Ghost King” (Bishop Alphonse Favier). Woodblock prints and many stories would later commemorate this protracted and emotionally charged battle—probably more important to Boxer believers than the legations.⁷

By July, these two sieges, increasingly stalemated, were the principle “Boxer” activity. In the meantime, outside relief was mobilized, and an allied army began fighting its way to the capital. The beleaguered foreigners held out (heroically, as they thought), and after two months an eight-nation expeditionary force arrived from Tianjin. The legion siege was lifted on August 14 (7/20).

This foreign assault had a powerful and enduring impact. The day after the foreigners’ victory, both the emperor and empress dowager fled to the city of Xi’an in Shaanxi and did not return for fifteen months. Peking was taken over by the allied armies. The Inner and Outer Cities and the suburbs were divided into zones, each the responsibility of one of the powers. Not until nine months later, in May of the following year (1901), did the Americans leave, and the full occupation was not ended until September. The Boxer Protocol, a kind of treaty settlement that was the culmination of the year’s negotiations, was signed September 7, 1901 (Guangxu 27/7/25). Cixi and Guangxu finally returned to Peking on January 7, 1902 (27/11/28).⁸

During this long occupation, Peking existed in a strange limbo. For more than a year “Peking has been turned inside out, like the fingers of a glove.”⁹ Was it still the capital? How could regular imperial rituals be performed with the court absent and the altars turned into foreign encampments? How could the business of the metropolitan government be carried on with its offices occupied and documents burned?

Local people adjusted by variously collaborating with, pandering to, and profiteering from the foreigners, resisting, co-opting, and defying them as circumstances required and conscience dictated. It is no wonder that two 1906 romantic novels, “Stones in the Sea” (*Qin hai shi*) and “Sea of Regret”

7. For one print: P. Cohen 140; a copy is in the Alexeev collection in the Hermitage. The North Church was referred to as the “Xishenku” (West Ten Warehouses) from its new (1880s) location.

8. *ECCP* 299; also I. Hsu 399–401.

9. A. Smith 1901:162.

(*Hen hai*), used the panic and disruption of the Boxer-cum-occupation period as the dramatic backdrop to their stories.¹⁰

Nor is it surprising that urban elites turned their attention toward the new center of power—the allied commanders. As Michael Hunt has shown, the American occupiers were happy to rely on members of the sojourning elite for assistance in governance, deliberately and entirely bypassing the proper authorities. Seemingly at the encouragement of the grandson of Zeng Guofan (Hunanese hero of the Taiping wars), the Americans used the Hunan-Hubei lodge as their headquarters.¹¹ In March 1901, “several thousand representatives of the Chinese City” assembled at this lodge and petitioned the United States on behalf of more than ten thousand local people (“gentry, merchants, bannermen, and common people”), asking them not to leave!¹² Although this interlude of foreign rule and local empowerment ended with the return of the court ten months later, it followed naturally on the developments of the previous half century—and could not have been easily forgotten.

During May, June, July, and August of 1900, great damage had been sustained by the Western-owned banks, stores, hotels, schools, and homes in Peking, as well as by the dozen Christian churches, the customs office, and the graveyards. The East Church had been burned on June 13; the South and West Churches were set afire on June 14, and the former was pulled down stone by stone. The Russian church in the northeast corner of the city had been blown up (the icon providentially saved by the priests). The neighborhood around the North Church had been leveled when the great trenches and earthenworks were built, but the cathedral with its twin spires still stood. Five Protestant churches were destroyed. The gravestones of the casualties of the 1860s’ campaigns and the cemeteries of the Xitang and the Zhengfusi were all vandalized. The stones in the British cemetery had been toppled and the graves opened, the small church burned, and the trees and surrounding wall torn down.¹³ Nonreligious buildings also sustained damage, especially those near the centers of fighting: the Hanlin Secretariat, mansions of imperial princes, the Ministries of Personnel and Rites, and the shopping area outside the Front Gate. Peking’s traumas also included the flight of clerics before and during the siege and the looting of temple valuables thereafter. The

10. Hanan. Lin Yutang did the same in *Moment in Peking*.

11. I have relied here almost entirely on Hunt, whose information concentrated on the Outer City. The policies of the foreigners were only loosely coordinated.

12. Hunt 521–22.

13. Arlington & Lewisohn 142, 177, 237; Planchet 1923; Bredon 487–88; Weale 364; Mumm 104; Steel; Hubert 34:125; Devine 215; Sandhaas 15–16; Broomhall; Oliphant 9–10; Conger 1909:164.

statues of Guan Yu upbraiding Yao Bin for stealing his horse, a rare earthenware Guanyin, and the famous Sandalwood Buddha in the Zhantansi were gone forever.¹⁴

Responsibility for these damages is not easily sorted out. One temple stele declared vaguely that “in the autumn of Guangxu *gengzi* [1900], there was a military emergency in the capital and many temples were attacked and burned.”¹⁵ The jade guild *huiguan* was occupied by “foreign soldiers” (*yang bing*) for more than a year and sustained considerable damage, as did the Huguang lodge. Guandi protected the Dongyuemiao, it was said, by making any foreigners who tried to stay there sick. Despite Western anger at Muslim Qing soldiers, no mosques seem to have been attacked, but many other temples were harmed and never rebuilt, a number in the hills west of the city where the Boxers supposedly camped.¹⁶

For the foreigners, the occupation was an opportunity, quickly grasped, for surveying and mapping the city and for photographing the once-inaccessible imperial domain.¹⁷ The private Manchu Tangzi was destroyed as part of what James Hevia has called the “symbolic warfare” of the occupation. Foreigners camped in and carelessly enjoyed the full run of other sacred premises, especially the Altars to Heaven and to Agriculture.¹⁸ Imperial Peking never recovered its full dignity and ritual power.

Christian churches and associated charitable activities—orphans, schools, and hospitals—reemerged with greater vigor. The battered Beitang was soon restored, the Nantang rebuilt by 1904, the Dongtang by 1905, and the Xitang in 1912. The Russian church was likewise reconstructed on enlarged grounds. For their casualties, the Germans, Austrians, and Italians were given a new cemetery; other graves were moved to the North Church complex in the city.¹⁹

Government recovered. The holes blasted in the Forbidden City walls were resecured, offices were reclaimed, and business resumed. Stores were restocked. Manchu nobles negotiated rent for the residences still occupied by

14. Deng Zhicheng 4:6; *Jiu du wenwu lue* 7:16; *Beijing lüxing zhinan* 145–46.

15. *BJTB* 89:24.

16. Niida 1:18–20; HG Huguang 1:3; Hunt 511–12. For foreign graffiti on a lodge stele: *BJTB* 87:190. Guandi had also assisted the flight of the empress dowager. Gamble 1954:420; Mosques 1938a:36. Although one stele claimed that “Half the [city’s] temples were burned” (*BJTB* 88:172), I know of only twenty that were harmed.

17. Ogawa; Okuyama; and many maps.

18. The British in the former, Americans in the latter. Hevia 1990, 1999; A. Smith 1901. For the Tangzi: Arlington & Lewisohn 118–19 (one would like to know more). For a Chinese map showing the occupation zones: #23–4–4 in the Museum für Volkekunde, Munich. For a German one: *Tsingtau* 37.

19. J. Liu 159–61; Hubert 34:125; Devine 215; Bredon 487–88; Field Museum #1984; Planchet 1923.

diplomats or missionaries. The wooden stalls in the examination hall (plundered for firewood) were rebuilt. Foreigners no longer picnicked with impunity on Coal Hill and the Altar to Heaven.²⁰

Some changes were permanent. Once the Protocol was signed, a “Legation Quarter” was formally removed from Qing jurisdiction, rebuilt with clear perimeters, and openly defended by foreign soldiers. As a monument to the perceived injustice of the siege, a bold, ugly stone arch was built across the street where von Ketteler had been shot.²¹ A reconnected railroad line was brought in through the Outer City right up past the Altar to Heaven and around to just outside the Inner City. Peking became the hub of a railway network that went south to Baoding and beyond, north to Nankou pass and Zhangjiakou, west to the coal mines, and east to Tianjin and Shanhaiguan.²² In 1901, the capital finally had its own newspapers: the every-three-days *Shuntian shibao* (Shuntian daily) and the twice-monthly *Beijing xinwen huibao* (News magazine of the Northern Capital).²³

In retrospect, 1900 was an important moment in the history of Peking, insufficiently appreciated and decisive enough to justify bringing our story to an end at this point. The rough handling of the city and the ruling house deflated imperial authority, and urban elites had a taste of a new order. Almost immediately upon her return to Peking, the empress dowager embraced the cause of reform. The changes introduced by these new policies in 1902–1906 were revolutionary and far-reaching and opened up a new era for Peking and for the fast-disintegrating empire.

Under the hand of the freshly established Ministry of Civil Affairs (Mingzhengbu), the governance of Peking became more intensive. As Mingzheng Shi has shown, a self-consciously modern urban infrastructure was installed: sewers, running water, and electric lights. Improved road surfaces and new modes of transportation and communication began to make the city smaller: trains, trams, rickshaws, and a few automobiles and bicycles; telegraphs, telephones, and a postal system. The Gendarmerie began to be converted into a police force, firefighters were centralized and reorganized, and new armies were put in position.²⁴

20. A. Smith 1901. The hall hosted only two more *jinshi* exams.

21. Sabatier 1; Bredon 56–57. This Chinese tribute to German sacrifice was moved to Central Park in 1918 and given a new inscription; it is still there. Arlington & Lewisohn 150.

22. Conger 1909:187–88; *Beijing lüxing zhinan* 82; A. Smith 1901; Cook 1913; Official Guide; *Beijing zhinan*; Shi 355–60.

23. A kind of journal, the “Record of Things Seen and Heard East and West” (*Zhong Xi wenjian lu*) was apparently published in Peking between 1872 and 1876. Lin 1936:92.

24. Steel 89; You Huansheng 14; Shi 100, 284, 353; Birch 4; Strand; Hubert 33:121; Wang Guangyue; Wakeman 1995:19–20. Many of these innovations had been anticipated by Cixi

Chambers of commerce (*shangwu zonghui*), an organizational form introduced by Westerners, were officially authorized by the Qing throne in 1902 in order to draw together the producers and distributors of goods and thus (in theory) to both empower and control them. Shanghai and other cities moved quickly to create these institutions, and in 1907 Peking followed suit. The headquarters of Peking's Chamber of Commerce was a new building in the traditional business district outside the Front Gate. Linking and coordinating preexisting organizations (primarily guilds and individual firms), it would become an important force on the local scene.²⁵

The new policies failed to convert the Qing polity into a state that was viable in a twentieth-century world. Following upon the heels of the defeat by Japan in 1895 and the abortive reform movement of 1898, they hastened the unravelling of the Qing state. Cixi and Guangxu both died in 1908, leaving an irreversible vacuum at the heart of the now much-vilified dynasty. In October 1911, the infant Xuantong emperor was made to abdicate, and after two hundred sixty-eight years, Qing rule and the imperial system itself were at an end.

THE OLD CAPITAL

The four decades after 1900 brought further shocks, humiliation, and rapid change not only to the nation but also to Peking. When the Manchus and the imperial system were identified as the cause of China's backwardness, the capital itself was discredited. Between 1911 and 1927, Peking became the seat of an unstable government, national in name only, with the new (ominous?) designation of Beijing (*Northern Capital*). In 1927 Chiang Kaishek, leader of the forces of the Nationalist Party, fulfilled the dreams of countless southerners and moved the capital of his Republic of China to Nanking. In June 1928, Peking was formally marginalized and renamed Beiping (*Northern Peace*). In 1937, Japanese armies occupied the city and revived Beijing (*Pekin*) as its name.

Other transformations accompanied political devolution. In a story that we cannot follow here, Peking in the twentieth century became quite a different city.²⁶ Many of the more dramatic changes were in the use of public space. New governments extended deeper into society and needed buildings. Campaigns to eliminate "superstition" provided ample justification for the confiscation of temples, which became government and army offices,

within the imperial domain. The Western Park had had electric lights and a small railroad since 1888. Shi 315-17; Yang Naiji 1982a; also Birch 4.

25. Ruoff 57; Strand 99-101; B & H #465, #774, #938; Gamble 1921:461-62; B. Goodman 177-78; Strand chap. 5.

26. Among many works, see Y. Dong; Shi; Strand.

schools, police stations, dormitories, and the headquarters for new associations.²⁷ Other institutions and emblems of urban modernity (long familiar in places like Shanghai) were created in Peking: public parks (*gong yuan*), a zoo and botanical garden, libraries, art and natural history museums, schools, and universities. As David Strand has shown, new mass politics soon turned the city streets into venues for demonstrations and protests of an unprecedented sort.

In the pages that remain, we shall examine only a small part of this story and concentrate on how Peking's Ming and Qing past was understood in the imagination and experience of visitors and residents. As we shall see, domestic and foreign tourism, photography, history, and popular fiction combined to inflect the twentieth-century city with both a heightened sense of its imperial past and a manifest affection for its local culture. Having redefined itself once more, Peking survived its years in the wings and was ready to claim the stage as a worthy capital of the People's Republic of China in October 1949.

Abroad, the Boxer siege of the legations became the subject of instant books that capitalized on popular curiosity. Dozens appeared during the subsequent decade. By contrast with accounts of 1860, this readership extended beyond England and France to the United States, Germany, and Japan, and by 1902, the emerging Western tourist industry was ready for China. Susan Conger, the wife of the U.S. minister, noted that, far from being repulsed by a country that had treated their fellow citizens so badly, Americans were "insane about coming to Peking, yes, insane to get to Peking and see."²⁸ And they were not alone.

The British firm of Bradshaw's, an established authority on travel itineraries, already had a handbook for India in the 1870s, but in 1903 added twenty-two pages on "the China Route" in its *Through Routes to the Capitals of the World and Overland Guide to India, Persia, and the Far East: Hand Book of India, Colonial, and Foreign Travel, With Itineraries of the Principal Railways, Ocean-tracks, River-ways, Post Roads, and Caravan Routes*, claiming that "since 1900 the town [that is, Peking] is more accessible to sightseeing foreigners." In 1904, Claudius Madrolle published the first of his French guides to Asia, *Chine du nord et de l'ouest, Corée, le Transsibérien* (144 pages).²⁹

27. Duara 1991.

28. Conger 1909:230. Accounts of the siege are too numerous to list here; see the bibliography in P. Cohen.

29. *Bradshaw's* 325; OED/2 "Bradshaw"; it advertised itself as "Established under the auspices of the late East India Company." In the discussion that follows, information sufficient to locate these guidebooks in the Bibliography is provided either in the footnotes or in the text.

Thomas Cook provided more than guidebooks. His company organized the first round-the-world tour in 1872, including Australia and India in that decade and the next. The agency aimed its reassuringly comprehensive services at people of relatively modest means, and it seems to have coined the phrases “tourist office,” “tourist agent,” and “tourist route.” Steamship travel to China was now common, and railroads soon connected Peking not only with south China but also with Korea. In 1910, when their first guide to China was published, Cook’s had offices in Hong Kong and Yokohama and could offer excursions to “Peking, Tientsin, Shan-Hai-Kwan, Mukden, Dalny, Port Arthur, and Seoul,” “something different, something new—yet ancient, a unique change.” New editions of their guidebook appeared rapidly.³⁰

In the 1890s, the Japan Mail steamship company (Nippon Yusen Kaisha) began publishing handbooks in English for their passengers in Asia.³¹ A variety of handsomely photographed books about Peking (with captions in English, Chinese, and Japanese) were published in Japan in the first decade of the twentieth century, and a gazetteer of Peking was compiled at army headquarters in China in 1908.³² Also in that year, the Imperial Japanese Government Railway (energetically laying track) initiated its five-volume, pocket-sized *Official Guide to Eastern Asia: Trans-Continental Connections between Europe and Asia*; volume 4, on China, was published in 1915 in English, intended for the multinational travellers “who are yearly attracted to China in ever increasing numbers.”³³

Other guidebooks followed thick and fast; English seems to have been the preferred lingua franca, although Chinese characters were regularly printed in the texts. By Lieutenant Boy-Ed in 1906. By Emil Fischer in 1909, second edition 1924. By Hans Bahlke (“General Merchant, Peking, Hata-men Street”) in 1909. New editions of Cook’s *Handbook* in 1913, 1917, 1920, and 1924. A new Madrolle in 1911, and in 1912 in English. In 1914, the first Baedeker came out, concentrating on the overland route, *Russia, with Teheran, Port Arthur, and Peking*. Carl Crow’s 1913 *The Travelers’ Handbook for China* included a section on Peking, of course, and went through four more editions (1915, 1921, 1925, and 1933). In 1920 Juliet Bredon published in Shanghai her very substantial *Peking: A Historical and Intimate Description of Its Chief Places of Interest*, an enlarged edition of which appeared in 1922.

As more information about Peking entered the public domain, this tourist literature became ever more specialized: Maruyama Kōichirō’s *Pekin* in 1921;

30. Pudney; OED/2; Cook 1910:7.

31. *Handbook of Information*; later editions were variously titled *Glimpses of East Asia*, *Glimpses of the East*, and so on.

32. Yamamoto 1901 (first edition published in the autumn of 1899); Fujii (first edition in 1902); Ogawa; *Pekin shi*.

33. *Official Guide*, preface.

Nakano Kōkan's *Pekin hanjōji* (Sketches of Peking life) in 1922–1925; a handy *Peping Pocket Guide* in 1929; and English guides produced by local newspapers in the 1930s.³⁴ In 1935, L. C. Arlington and William Lewisohn published *In Search of Old Peking*, and the United States Armed Forces prepared *Notes on Sightseeing and Shopping in Peking* for their personnel in China.³⁵ A full-scale Japanese-language guidebook was edited by Murakami Tomoyuki in 1934, *Hokuhei* (Beiping), and in 1940 his *Pekin saijiki* described the annual calendar in the city.

Chinese-language guidebooks kept pace. The handy *Dumen* genre lived on into the twentieth century—the 1910 edition of a “Newly Amplified ‘Short Account of the Capital’” was nearly seven hundred pages, updated again in 1917, but ultimately replaced by new Western-style guidebooks. Following Japanese and European models, in 1910 the Peking-Fengtian railroad (that went to the northeast) published a guide to the sights on its route (215 pages, illustrated). The Peking-Suiyuan line (running to the northwest) did the same in 1922, as did the southern Peking-Hankou line in 1923. A substantial “Record of Tourist Sights from Peking to Hankou” appeared later.³⁶

Chinese works also claimed Peking for the new nation. In 1912, the first year of the Republic, the Commercial Press in Shanghai started publishing guidebooks to what was now “China,” and it put out new editions annually.³⁷ That press also published pictures of “Famous Sights in China” (1912), “Views of the Winter and Summer Palaces, Peking” (1917), and “Famous Sights in Zhili” (1920).³⁸ Its 1919 guide (*zhinan*) to Peking was the first for that city and one of several that were city- or site-specific.³⁹ Beginning in 1929, the China Travel Service issued its own idiosyncratic guidebooks to sights—The Capital (now meaning Nanking), West Lake, Shanghai, Kunming, Hangzhou, and only very belatedly Peking (in 1947).⁴⁰

The 1919 “Practical Guide to Peking” quickly went into “amplified” editions. Others followed: a 1929 *Beiping zhinan* and a “Simple Guidebook to Sightseeing in Peking” in 1932. By the mid-1930s, a number of similar and substantial versions of the “Tourist Guide to Peking” were in print.⁴¹ Clearly influenced by both the traditional and the Western genres, these books were

34. *Guide to Peking*; Vetch.

35. Ogden. The research for this book has taught me that Arlington and Lewisohn plundered earlier works in a careless fashion and their book cannot be trusted. Of comparable English works, Juliet Bredon is absolutely to be preferred.

36. This was the undated *Yan Chu youcanlu*. RR Guides.

37. *Zhongguo lüxing zhinan*; at least thirteen editions were printed (through 1925).

38. *Zhongguo mingsheng*; *Zhili mingsheng*; *Beijing gongyuan mingsheng*.

39. *Beijing zhinan*. Subsequent editions were in 1923 (the third), and 1926 (the fourth).

40. *Beiping daoyou*. For Hangzhou, see Liping Wang's essay in Esherick 2000.

41. *Shiyong Beijing zhinan*; *Beiping lüxing zhinan*; *Beipingshi zhinan*; *Beijing lüxing zhinan*; *Zuixin Beijing zhinan*.

small, illustrated, full of highly detailed and useful information, and cheaply produced. And there was a certain consistency in their content. As texts, quite independent of actual tourists, they combined to solidify an “imagined” Peking.

China was thus integrated into a nationwide and worldwide network of tourist sights, served by steamships, railroads, tourist agencies, banks, and hotels.⁴² Behind the all-China guidebooks were nationalist and capitalist concerns. Railroads were promoted as the sinews of the new nation, and sights new and old were marketed as symbols of China that could be consumed vicariously or in person. This literature also facilitated the reconceptualization of Nanking as the new capital and publicized new identities for Peking. Behind the networks of international travel lurked empire. Bradshaw’s had envisioned Peking as part of “the China Route” to India. In the 1910s, Madrolle’s series expanded to cover Southern China, the Philippines, Indochina, Japan, and Hawaii in English; and Hanoi, Yunnan, “Annam central,” “Chine du Sud, Java, Japan, presqu’île Malaise, Siam, Indochina, Philippines, ports américains” in French. Japanese publishers situated Peking not only squarely in the world of “transcontinental connections between Europe and Asia” but within the emerging Japanese empire.⁴³ Tourism was intertwined with foreign economic power, political influence, and colonial designs.

The commercialization of travel was manifested in advertisements for stores (“the best cloisonné ware in Peking”), photography studios (“Kodak Developing and Printing”), wine merchants, and hotels: “Grand Hotel des Wagons-Lits of Peking. Only Hotel inside Legation Quarter and in the Centre of Legation Street, since early days the Rendez-Vous of Diplomats, of Hommes de Lettres, the Military, Concessioners, Business-Men, Globe Trotters, Etc.” “The North Dawn Palace [Hotel] is the biggest! cleanest! quietest! most comfortable! most convenient! disciplined! familial! Christianized! place to stay.”⁴⁴

An appetite for Peking was both satisfied and whetted by pictures. The Japanese produced expensive and elegant books of photographs immediately following the Boxers. The Imperial Museum in Tokyo sponsored Ogawa Kazumasa’s splendid limited edition of pictures of the palace in 1906. Osvald Siren’s monumental photographs of Peking’s walls (1924) was in the same tradition, and Donald Mennie included sixty-six photographs in his *The Pageant of Peking*, handsomely printed in 1920 and two subsequent edi-

42. Careful lists of routes, schedules, and fares were published at the same time.

43. Their *Official Guide* of 1915; later guides included Manchuria and Chosen (Korea), Southwestern Japan, Northeastern Japan, China, and the “East Indies.” In the 1940s, during their occupation of China, they issued guides to Peking printed in that city (such as *The Peace of Peking; Beijing jingguan*).

44. Fischer 1924. *Beiping lüxing zhinan* English-language advertisement.

tions. Heinz von Perckhammer's photos had captions in German, English, French, and Spanish. These were all large, beautiful, expensive books, more suitable for the armchair than the suitcase.⁴⁵

The cheaper pictorial genre of "view books" seems to have originated in the United States, but the photographic studios of Sanshichirō Yamamoto may have pioneered them in China. Having published his photographs of the Sino-Japanese War of 1895 (and later many similar photographic books about Japan), Yamamoto produced the multilingual "Picturesque Views of Peking" (1901) and "Pekin meishō" (Sights of Peking) (1909). Each consisted of photographs with short captions, usually in Japanese, Chinese, and English. Postcards with scenic views seem to have been developed in the West circa 1900, and they begin to show Peking in the early part of the twentieth century.⁴⁶

Books with captioned pictures of Peking were published in great variety in subsequent decades: *Scenes in Peking* (1915); *Scenic China: The Western Hills* (1919); and the *Peking Art Series* of the 1920s. *Views of the Chinese Empire* and like titles were similar bilingual souvenir books of photos published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai for visiting foreign groups (sports teams or chambers of commerce), and these usually began with several dozen photographs of Peking.⁴⁷

Although the books mentioned here provided information useful to someone who wanted to see and understand the sights of Peking, they differed in their size, length, price, detail, coverage, practicality, sources, distribution, language, and audience. Taken collectively, however, they not only show an unmistakable explosion of multilingual literature on Peking but also reveal varying and sometimes competing attempts to redefine what the city was, now that it was no longer the Jingshi, the current imperial center. In this process, Peking emerged in the 1930s as the *gu du*, the "old capital," a city of past imperial glory, a city with a special traditional culture. This essentialized past thus became a haven for those who wished to escape the modern world that pressed upon Peking. At the same time, a consolidated history helped create (and substantiate) a local identity that would be compatible with a place in the new nation.

Part of this transformation involved preserving and advertising Peking's identity as the home of emperors. One might have expected that the violation of the Forbidden City by foreign armies in 1900, the disappearance of

45. Also H. White; *Shina Pekingjō kenchiku*.

46. OED/2 "Postcard"; and n.32 above. Nancy Norton Tomasco has generously shared her expertise and her collection of China guidebooks (some of which are cited here).

47. Also *Views of Historic Peking & Neighborhood*.

the imperial government in 1911, and the flight of the last emperor from the palace in 1924 would have deflated the value attached to imperial Peking. Not in the least. Faded imperial glamour had certain appeal, even though it was now attached more narrowly to the court and the throne; moreover, the Qing empire as a whole had been claimed and subsumed by the new nation.

The allied occupation, seen as humiliating on all sides, had the paradoxical effect of enhancing Peking's imperial allure. The anti-Chinese sentiment generated among foreigners by the Boxers was followed—in some quarters at least—by a condescending enthusiasm for the Qing imperial institution. Christian forgiveness, Cixi's about-face, the promise of the New Policies era, and Western self-confidence contributed to a brief era of cordiality.

Much of this warm feeling seems to have been generated by the sudden access to Empress Dowager Cixi given to the women of the foreign community between 1902 and her death in 1908. (Was it relevant that Queen Victoria died in January 1901?) Susan Conger, who lived through the siege, visited “the real Forbidden City” in September of 1900 and was dazzled by it. After Cixi returned to Peking, Conger was often invited to the palace and the Yiheyuan, for which she shared a general enthusiasm with her fellow Americans. In 1903 she arranged for Katherine Carl, the sister of a customs official, to paint Cixi's portrait for display at the World Exposition in St. Louis in 1904.⁴⁸ Carl's book, *With the Empress Dowager of China* (1905), Conger's published letters (1909), and Isaac Headland's *Court Life in China* (1909, based on the accounts of his wife, who served as doctor to Cixi's natal family), each provided “intimate” portraits of a woman whose greatness, they argued, had not been fully appreciated.

In response to this infatuation with the Qing court, a pseudoscholarly account of Cixi's life was written by J. O. P. Bland and Edmund Backhouse: *China under the Empress Dowager: Being the History of the Life and Times of Tzu Hsi, Compiled from State Papers and the Private Diary of the Comptroller of Her Household* (1910). The glamour of palace life from the inside was likewise detailed in 1911 by “Princess Der Ling” in her *Two Years in the Forbidden City*.⁴⁹ Carl, Der Ling, and Bland and Backhouse were all promptly translated into Chinese, and other similar biographies appeared in English and French. Most were generously illustrated with photographs for which Cixi readily posed: Her Majesty in Her One Hundred Butterfly Robe, Her Majesty in One of Her Boats on the Lotus Lake, Princesses of the Court, and so forth.

The abdication of Puyi in 1911 took the vitality out of the imperial insti-

48. Conger 1909; Carl; Cortinovis. This was China's first participation in a world's fair; a nephew of the emperor was in attendance.

49. She was actually the daughter of a well-placed Manchu diplomat, educated abroad, and “lady-in-waiting” to Cixi in 1905–1907. Der Ling foreword.

tution and turned it into interesting history, the last of China's dynasties. The term "Man-Qing" was created in this era of active nationalism as a new designation for the "Manchu Qing dynasty" and used frequently in subsequent decades. This label equated Qing with Manchu and, by emphasizing its foreignness, degraded it by comparison with past dynasties.⁵⁰

And yet, even works that used this term were reclaiming the Qing for "Chinese" popular culture. From 1913 on, Shanghai publishers produced books in a "secret history of the Qing court" genre. Stories of the escapades of emperors and empresses, full of palace gossip and political intrigue, were published in small volumes and repeatedly reprinted: "The Secret History of the Court of the Thirteen Rulers of the Manchu Qing," "A Secret Account of Kangxi's Southern Tour," "Shunzhi Becomes a Monk," and the like.⁵¹ By being placed in the longer sequence of intimate palace histories, the Qing was naturalized as a legitimate part of a nationalist Chinese history.

In the 1920s–1930s, Der Ling wrote (in English) *Old Buddha, Kowtow, Lotus Petals, Golden Phoenix, Jades and Dragons, Imperial Incense, and Son of Heaven*, each of which capitalized on her alleged imperial intimacy; some were translated into Japanese and most into Chinese (and are still in print in that language). More biographies of the empress dowager in the next decades, many fictionalized, fed an apparently considerable public appetite: *La femme qui command à cinq cents millions d'hommes*; "The Secret History of the Empress Dowager." Reginald Johnston's memoir of his unusual experience in 1912–1924 as the tutor of Puyi, the closeted last emperor, was also part of this wave.⁵²

These and many other successful publications helped convert Peking's imperial past into a marketable commodity for both foreigners and Chinese. The city was not written off, as well it might have been, as an irrelevant remnant of an unpleasant past. On the contrary, this literature contributed to an equation between Peking and the Qing court, and between the Qing dynasty and China. Against the backdrop of mounting nationalism and hostility toward foreigners and the past, a reading public seems to have been ready to claim for modern China this glamorous imperial legacy—and with it, Peking.

The post-1911 tourist trade echoed and promoted this essentialized imperial Peking and deepened the redefinition of the Qing city as a Chinese

50. It may still not have conveyed the same gulf that the English phrase "alien rulers" does.

51. *Kangxi nan xun mi ji*; *Man Qing shisan chao gongwei mi shi*; *Shunzhi chu jia*; and many more in the *Man Qing bai shi* series of 1914.

52. An interested reader can search for books in various languages by the following authors (not cited in the Bibliography): Charles Pettit; Daniele Varè; George Lancing; Maurice Collis; Bluebell Matilda Hunter; Pearl S. Buck; Dongfan; Yuan Shiwen; Ouxiangshi Zhujun. Johnston 1920, 1934.

capital.⁵³ The altars of the state religion were among the earliest imperial spaces to be turned over to the public and opened to visitors, and they were instantly embraced as historical sights.⁵⁴ The empress dowager's summer palace, already partially open, became enduringly popular.

For a decade after the revolution, the Forbidden City could not entirely satisfy tourist hunger. Its halls were described in guidebooks, but most of them were off-limits. Young Puyi still lived in reduced and surreal circumstances in a section of the palace until 1924. Several smaller exhibition halls in the southern section had been opened occasionally to the public, and in 1925 the Forbidden City was converted into the Gugong Bowuyuan, the "Museum of the Old Palace." Although many buildings remained closed, the magnificent ceremonial halls and the residential northern sections of the Great Interior were, for the first time, accessible and ready to stimulate popular voyeurism and fuel conservative nostalgia.⁵⁵

It was the Tiantan that was most eagerly visited by foreigners. The Altar to Heaven was quickly perceived as "by far the most beautiful as it is the most important of the many interesting places to be visited in Peking" and was endlessly photographed and raptured about: "beautiful," "impressive," "sublime," "grand," "magnificent," "this symbolic center of the world, in this great Temple whose walls are Space, whose towers are Infinity, on this great Altar, canopied with Heaven itself."⁵⁶ Within the grounds, the blue-domed Qiniandian hall surpassed the terraced altar as the symbol of the Tiantan, and it was quite appropriate that Bredon selected that hall for the cover of her 1920 book. (See Figure 17.1.)

But not only foreigners became attached to the Altar to Heaven. The Qing and its successor governments used it as a symbol of the state.⁵⁷ It was featured on commemorative stamps when Xuantong took the throne in 1909, when Yuan Shikai established his (short-lived) dynasty in 1916, and when a new constitution was adopted in 1923.⁵⁸

53. Two and a half million tourists visited Peking's sights in 1939; 55 percent were Chinese, 41 percent were Japanese, and only about one hundred thousand were Westerners. *Shi zheng tongji nianjian* 80.

54. Beginning with the Sheji and Xiannong altars in 1915. Shi 194–98; *Beijing zhinan*.

55. Crow 277, 279; Kôster; *Beiping lüxing zhinan*; Arlington & Lewisohn; Kates.

56. Cook 1910:25–26; Carl 246. It had been open to foreigners but not Chinese before the revolution. Liddell 133, 143.

57. As early as 1878, the Imperial Customs bureau had begun to issue postage stamps on behalf of the Qing. The first stamps were marked "Da Qing" in characters and, in English, "China"; they showed at the center a coiling dragon, long a symbol of the emperor, and thus equated the two. By 1894, the term *Da Qing Guo* was used. Ma Zung-sung 1, 14ff.; Bland & Backhouse frontispiece (banner).

58. The same Qiniandian was juxtaposed with a peasant in the fields for a stamp in 1913 and also used for the label for Shandong's Tsingtao Beer, where it can still be seen today. Ma Zung-sung 78, 95, 103, 117.



Figure 17.1. Qianian Hall at the Altar to Heaven

SOURCE: Poussielgue 1864:48.

This conversion of parts of the imperial domain into “sights” through a body of memoir and tourist literature—and the visitors themselves—encouraged the reduction of Peking to its imperial past, a continuation of a familiar process. But not everyone saw the city so narrowly. Late Qing books about the city’s history, temples, festivals, and foods described a much more

broadly construed urban culture, one to which guidebooks, newspaper articles, scholarly research, and fiction then also contributed. Here too, Chinese and foreign views intermingled, reinforced, and hybridized one another.

With its current status much diminished, Peking sought prestige in its past and kept that past alive. Although they had come to be at the center of Peking life by the late Qing, few Bannermen had published books about the city. In the last decades of the nineteenth century this changed; as the dynasty tottered, Manchus took up their brushes to write about their home of more than two centuries. In the 1890s, Zhenjun began jotting notes about Peking that he eventually turned into a substantial book, “Hearsay from Close to Heaven” (*Tianzhi ou wen*). In the early spring of 1900, Dun Lichen, another Manchu, finished a shorter text describing the annual festivals of Peking as he knew them in his lifetime.⁵⁹ Although these works were begun before the summer of 1900 by men of only middle age, they both reflected the unsettled political atmosphere and an anticipatory nostalgia for the past.⁶⁰ In this threatened past, the throne played an important role, but so did daily life and culture.

Dun focused on urban life and told his readers that he was recording the customs, sights, products, and local talents that books such as the (imperial) “Ancient Accounts” had ignored. As I have argued elsewhere, this was not a book for tourists, and Dun paid little attention to their interests or activities.⁶¹ The book was suffused instead with information catalogued for the Peking aficionado and insider—local foods, local flora, local products, and local holidays. It enumerated Peking’s specialties with loving care: a dozen kinds of crickets, three dozen different types of pigeons, and one hundred thirty-three kinds of chrysanthemums. Zhenjun’s approach was more conventionally organized around the usual places, but it concentrated disproportionately on the Inner City and famous residences and offered comments both general and personal.

It is not hard to understand the late Qing desire of Manchus to record a world they saw threatened by revolutionaries and undermined by events.⁶²

59. In 1900 Zhenjun was forty-three years old and Dun was forty-five. Dun’s work was published in 1906, translated into English in 1935 (and published in Peking), and then into Japanese in 1941 (and published in Tokyo). See also Ranglian’s 1899 “Essay on the Customs of the Capital.”

60. In his 1903 preface, Zhenjun recounted the disasters that he thought had affected the dynasty and the city since 1860 and had led to a time when “the capital is becoming less of a capital.” Zhenjun 10:25–27. Dun’s work was also affected by tensions between progressive and conservative Bannermen. Dun Lichen vii; Crossley 1990:chap. 6.

61. Naquin 1994.

62. See Crossley 1990:188–89 for similar impulses in the Bannerman Jinliang.

Nor should we be surprised to find that what Dun Lichen described with such warmth and affection was the vanishing world of the Bannermen. If “The Record of the Annual Calendar of the Capital at Yan” had the effect of equating Banner culture with Peking culture, this was not a phony equation.

From inside and out, the complexities of Qing ethnicity were swept aside. Manchus had become the hard residual core of the Banner elite, and the simplifying fervor of turn-of-the-century Chinese nationalism transformed them into the enemy.⁶³ It may thus have been very appealing to the Manchus of the capital to emphasize their local identity rather than an ethnic one. These Manchu Bannermen were not foreigners, and their self-presentation as *Beijingren* (Pekingese) required no sleight of hand. After 1911, they were readily recognized as the ideal teachers of the national spoken language and the authorities on “traditional” Peking culture.⁶⁴

Attempts to preserve the Qing capital in word were hardly a Manchu monopoly. The city’s Chinese sojourners also sensed an impending loss. As part of the provincial-gazetteer project of the 1880s, Zhu Yixin and Miao Quansun had walked the city streets to study the surviving sights, and when Liu Chenggan edited and published their notes in 1904, he invoked the vanished capitals of the Song era. These Lower Yangtze men, distraught by recent developments, wrote in a long tradition of admirers of Peking. In a preface to this “Gazetteer of the Wards and Lanes of the Capital” (*Jingshi fangxiang zhi*), Liu sorrowfully noted the many changes in Peking since 1900—not merely the “military ravages,” but also the recent reorganization of government—and likened his account to the record of a dream.⁶⁵ The appearance of fiercer foreign enemies and the collapse of the Qing in 1911 seem to have made it easier for Manchus and Han Chinese to find a common bond in cherishing the remembered glories of the bygone imperial era.

Tourists were encouraged to be conscious of Peking’s long history.⁶⁶ Foreign guidebooks emphasized that the city was simultaneously ancient and eternal, its splendors age-old and bygone, its dignity immortal. The faded robes of monks, dusty altars, broken stones, crumbling walls, and old trees; the deserted silences, the calm, the atmosphere of infinite leisure and repose; the dignity, grandeur, mystery, and charm. The photographs that most visitors took were of older buildings and traditional practices, not the new and current.⁶⁷

63. E.g., Crossley 1990:179–82, 194.

64. Douin; Constant; Lin 1939:342.

65. *STFZ* 1885:preface to 1987 reprint; *FXZ* prefaces to Taipei and Peking reprints. Also Miao Quansun’s account of Liulichang’s bookstores.

66. There were many accounts of Peking in the 1910s–1930s. A sampling: Werner; Webster; Kinoshita; Grantham; La Motte; Naba; Collins; Danby 1930; Casseville; Kates; Blofeld; P. Lum.

67. E.g., Mennie; Gamble 1925 Photographs *passim*.

In the 1920s, 1930s, and early 1940s, research on the city's monuments deepened Peking's history, stimulated perhaps by the 1926 discovery not far away of the genuinely ancient bones of a hominid promptly named "Peking man." Foreigners joined Chinese in this work. Father Jean-Marie Planchet did careful studies of the Catholic churches and cemeteries in the city; Oswald Siren photographed and measured the city's palaces and walls. Casting his inquiring eye even more broadly, the railroad engineer and extraordinary mapmaker Georges Bouillard carefully studied, drew, and described the tombs, temples, and buildings of "Péking et ses environs."⁶⁸

By the 1920s, Chinese and Westerners had decided that the "customs" of the capital were the worthy remnants of a threatened culture, special for being "traditional" not modern, and one of Peking's "picturesque features." Jean Bouchot's *Scenes of Life in the Alleyways: Sketches of Peking Customs* (1922) was one of many semischolarly investigations of festivals and holidays.⁶⁹ Other people studied marriage and funeral customs, folksongs, and street peddlers. Chinese and Manchu scholars and students did fieldwork on temple fairs. Temples, stelae, and pilgrimages were also investigated and surveyed.⁷⁰ Contemporary practice stood in for the past. In 1939, Luo Xinyao (a.k.a. H. Y. Lowe), another Manchu, described for the foreigner "the everyday life of a typical Chinese family in Peking," serialized in English in *The Peking Chronicle*.⁷¹ (The author's illustrations can be seen in Figures 14.3 and 16.1.) The popularity of the opera star Mei Lanfang after 1913 within China and abroad helped recast the theater of Peking not only as "capital drama" (*jingxi* or *jingzu*), but as "national theater" (*guoju*), and encouraged intense study of the genre.⁷²

Short articles about Peking turned up regularly in Chinese-language news-

68. Planchet 1918, 1923, 1928. Siren 1924, 1926. Bouillard 1921–1924 (fifteen series); also 1929; his splendid 1:25,000 map-set of the immediate Peking area, 1923e, and a 1925–1926 1:100,000 series as well.

69. Grube; Douin; various Bouillard articles in *La Chine* 1922–1923; Aoki; Nakano; Zhang Jiangcai 1936a, 1936b; Derk Bodde's 1936 translation of Dun Lichen; Eder 1943, 1948; Li Jiarui 1937.

70. Customs: A. Cormack 1923; Bogan. Songs: Li Jiarui 1936; Luo Changpei; K. Johnson. Peddlers: Constant. Fairs: Fengkuan; *Hebei miaohui diaocha baogao*. Surveys: Xu Daoling; Yu Qichang. Temples: Oyanagi; Xu Daoling; Survey 1943. Stelae: Liu Houzi; Zhang Jiangcai & Xu Daoling. Pilgrimage: Gu Jiegang 1928; also see Naquin 1992:356.

71. The text was published as a two-volume book (1939–1940) and translated into Japanese in 1943 (see Lowe). Luo Xinyao (1908–1992) made himself known to Derk Bodde after the English version was republished in 1983. When I met him in the mid-1980s, he was an exuberant and charming man living in an old house close to the Forbidden City; he had spent much of his life doing scientific translations.

72. For terms used in books about Peking opera, I have relied on library catalogues and D. Yang. In this medium *jingxi* or *jingju* did not become current until the 1920s; *Pingju* (Beiping opera) was used in the 1930s and after 1949 on Taiwan. The English term "Peking Opera"

papers and journals.⁷³ In 1908, a journal in Japanese called *Enjin* (The world of Yan) began publishing (in Peking) short articles about China and its capital, including a regular letter on current events, translations of imperial edicts, essays on Peking customs and famous sights, and travel notes from elsewhere in the empire. *La Chine*, published in the city twice a month between 1921 and 1924 in French, provided other foreigners with illustrated articles about Peking festivals and sights. Between 1927 and 1954, the China Travel Service published a monthly called the *Lüxing zazhi* (English title, *China Traveller*) for Chinese readers. In local periodicals, Gu Jiegang and other intellectuals analyzed and praised local “folklore” in the mid-1920s.

Chinese and Western authors also discovered the works on Peking written in the Ming and Qing; in the 1920s, a few scholars began to reprint these hard-to-find primary sources. None were as energetic as the indefatigable Zhang Jiangzai. He edited and republished an immense volume of primary sources on the late imperial capital: on local drama (1934), the annual calendar (1936), and the amusements of Tianqiao (1936), as well as four collectanea with a variety of sources (1937, 1938, 1939, and 1943). Under the Japanese occupation (from mid-1937) other surveys were carried out: of stone inscriptions, the annual calendar, *huiguan*, temples, and neighborhood organizations.⁷⁴

Peking came to have a special appeal to Western aesthetes. The works of Pierre Loti and Victor Segalen about the late Qing court appealed to readers who sought an intensely different experience, and some—George Kates, Osbert Sitwell, Harold Acton, and John Blofeld, among others—came to live in Peking for months and years, slipping into the luxurious calm of the (partially imaginary) life of a Chinese scholar. They learned (some) Chinese and surrounded themselves with (parts of) the city’s past and with supposed connoisseurs of it (often Manchus). Other Westerners composed novels about the expatriate life, written against a backdrop of the venerable city.⁷⁵

Peking began to be referred to not only as the former capital (*jiu jing* or *jiu du*), but also as the old, the ancient capital (*gu du*). *Gu du*, like *gu gong* (“old palace,” meaning the Forbidden City), implied a positive, transcendent, and enduring antiquity better conveyed by English phrases such as “Old Peking” or (in an American context) “the old south” or even “old money.” With some of the emotive power of *gu xiang* (old home, or native place), *gu du* insisted upon the continuing importance of a valued past, the fact that Peking was old but still alive. Other literature similarly emphasized its un-

(like “Opéra de Pékin”) came into common use after 1949, when it was used officially by the government of the People’s Republic. Also Darrobers 6.

73. E.g., *Chen bao* and *Yuzhoufeng*.

74. Niida; Lowe; Murakami 1940; Imahori.

75. De Martel & de Hoyer; Bridge; Varè; Acton 1941; Hosie.

changing nature, languorous and serene, “the mediievally peaceful atmosphere of Peking.”⁷⁶

The Old Peking described, remembered, and created in this scholarly and literary work included but went beyond the imperial world. This Peking was also a city of ordinary families and ordinary lives, of the small pleasures and great injustices, of the changing seasons, and of houses and temples and festivals. Reference to these well developed and securely rooted aspects of local culture provided a connection backward and a sense of local identity that transcended the change in political status.

Consciousness of Peking culture was very strong in the early Republican era, and some of the most powerful descriptions of it can be found in fiction. Visits to a rather generic capital had been a staple of Ming and Qing stories and novels, but fictional Peking took on a different and much more specific character after 1911.⁷⁷ Surely such portrayals affected as much as reflected a heightened consciousness of daily life.

Much of the action in Zhang Henshui’s novel *Ti xiao yinyuan* (Fate in tears and laughter, 1929–1930), which Perry Link has characterized as “probably the most widely read Chinese novel in the first half of the twentieth century,” took place in the new entertainment quarter of Tianqiao (Heaven’s Bridge).⁷⁸ More influential in literary circles was Shu Qingchun, a Manchu Bannerman who wrote under the name Lao She. Like other Bannermen, his local loyalties were strong, and in the 1920s he began publishing novels and stories set in Peking.⁷⁹ Of these, *Luotuo Xiangzi* (Rickshaw, 1937) became particularly famous in Chinese and English for its wrenching portrayal of the punishing descent into debility and despair of a young, tough, and optimistic rickshaw puller—and for his (and the author’s) ambivalent passion for Peking: “The city paid no attention to death, paid no attention to disaster, and paid no attention to poverty. It simply put forth its powers when the time came and hypnotized a million people, and they, as if in a dream, chanted poems in praise of its beauty. It was filthy, beautiful, decadent, bustling, chaotic, idle, lovable; it was the great Peking of early summer.”⁸⁰

Lin Yutang, a southern sojourner and intellectual, was even more rhapsodic in his 1939 novel, *Moment in Peking*, written in English and published in New York. His was a Peking of the upper classes, a “naturally beautiful”

76. Werner 497. Antique names such as “Yanjing” and “Yandu” (both, “the Yan capital”) were brought back into active use.

77. Zhang Yingjin chap. 2 discussed a number of these novels, suggesting (p. 73) that the city functioned largely as background until the 1920s.

78. Link 34–36. This quarter lay halfway between the Front and Yongding Gates, along the central axis of the Outer City. Zhang Jiangcai 1936a; Y. Dong chap. 5.

79. Wu Huaibin & Zeng Guangcan 984, 1032; some “five and a half” of his novels were set there; also Zhang Yingjin.

80. Lao She 1979:240. First translated (not faithfully) into English as *Rickshaw Boy*, 1945.

city of “grandeur.” Its natives were good-humored and imperturbable, “mild, reserved, peace-loving, and indomitably patient.” Its culture showed “a breadth of human spirit, an understanding of sublimity and grandeur and the amenities of domestic living, paralleled nowhere else.” Calm and leisurely, a home for artists not moneymakers, this Peking was a place that rejected both modernism and radicalism. Writing when the city was under the Japanese, Lin swept away Peking’s real history with breathtaking assurance: “What are centuries elsewhere are but short moments in Peking. . . . Conquered many times, it has ever conquered its conquerors, and adapted and modified them to its own way of living.”⁸¹

These kinds of passionate, romantic visions of Peking had their counterpart in the “in search of Old Peking” tourist literature, with its emphasis on the city’s magic and enchantment. What nearly all these works had in common was a focus on aspects of Peking culture that were associated with the past and with ordinary people. This perspective not only recovered some prestige for a Peking that had lost its political and economic centrality, but also helped distinguish it from rival cities elsewhere in the nation—Tianjin or Nanking or Shanghai. Moreover, in combination with Peking’s stately imperial monuments, a relatively old-fashioned, literary, uncommercial, un-Western local culture seemed all the more distinctive.⁸²

The works discussed here certainly did not reflect the world being studied by contemporary Chinese and American social scientists. The 1921 compendium edited by Sidney Gamble, *Peking: A Social Survey*, set the tone for *that* Peking, the one defined in terms of prices, wages, and the standard of living; of beggars, welfare, disease, and public health; and of food supply, demography, and crime. Nor did Old Peking advertise the new universities and literary movements through which the city was bidding for cultural leadership, much less the contemporary city’s violent political intrigues, international crises, strikes, riots, massacres, corruption, drugs, inflation, and foreign invasion—a world where “tradition” everywhere confronted “modernity,” where Chinese thronged into the new public parks, and where idealistic students, authoritarian parties, warlords, and imperialists fought over power.⁸³ From the anxiety and excitement of this modern city, Old Peking was an escape, welcome or shameful depending on one’s politics.

The city’s Chinese name also reflected disjuncture. The formal name was abruptly changed from “Jingshi” to “Beijing” in 1912, to “Beiping” in 1928, and back to “Beijing” in 1937 by the Japanese. By contrast, the availability of the venerable name “Peking” in foreign languages made it much easier

81. Lin 1939:742, 743, 171, 529.

82. See also Zhang Yingjin 120–25, 135, 141.

83. The stuff of David Strand’s book.

for Japanese, Europeans, and Americans to fuse the city's past and present. Correspondingly, English speakers had been referring to residents of the city as "Pekingese" since at least 1866, but it is less clear when the comparable Chinese term *Beijingren* became current—certainly sometime in the early twentieth century.⁸⁴

After 1949, when the Japanese had been defeated, the Nationalists expelled to Taiwan, and the Chinese Communist Party installed in power, these contradictions remained. For the Republic of China on Taiwan, Old Peking (Beiping) was a convenient and powerful symbol of the Chinese tradition that they saw themselves safeguarding in the face of the revolution on the mainland. They founded their own Gugong (the National Palace Museum), built a smaller replica of the blue-domed Qianian hall (in the History Museum in Taipei), made Peking-based Mandarin the national language, and imported "Beiping duck" restaurants and Manchu teachers of Chinese. The Chinese Communists faced more serious difficulties in determining how to deal with the old capital. The rulers were themselves outsiders, not especially susceptible to the alleged charms of Peking culture, and armed with an ideology that regarded the past as an obstacle to progress. Social, economic, and political problems were attacked directly. The city's monuments, culture, and public places were therefore retained only when they could enhance the power and authority of the new state.

THE SINGULARITY OF PEKING?

In this history of Peking I have placed the city's temples and their patrons at the center and reconstructed what I could of the society in which they were embedded. Amid the changes of five centuries, I have drawn out various themes—the city's cosmopolitanism, the importance of the world of the court, the organized presence of sojourners, the weak position of local elites, and the importance of visitors and tourists. I have also traced various developments—the annexing of the suburbs to the city, the disjuncture between the Ming and the Qing, the transformation of Banner people into natives, the proliferation of temple associations, and the increase in secular institutions and organizations. The reader who has come this far should now also understand more clearly the temples of Peking, their diversity, their versatility, their many patrons, and—above all—their centrality to city life.

I hope that this book has also illustrated the sometimes bumpy transformations of Peking's different identities. Religious life, it should be clear, was an enduring part of the city's complex reputation both among natives and

84. OED/2 "Pekingese." I cannot attest the Chinese before 1902 (and this from a foreigner): A. Smith 1902:135. The *Hanyu da cidian* (2:196) has an entry only for the extinct hominid.

visitors: as the capital of the empire, home of emperors, seat of the metropolitan bureaucracy, center of elite culture, regional metropolis, and hometown. By at least the late Ming, this diversity and juxtaposition of identities had combined to create a distinctive local character that was disseminated through a field of different representations. While documenting the incontrovertibly important influence on the city from the court and the state, I have simultaneously attempted to recover the variety and vitality of ordinary life. Moreover, despite obvious continuities, I have tried to stress change and to make the reader suspicious of clichés about an eternal Beijing.

Thoughtful readers will have realized that, as a history of Peking, this book is still seriously incomplete. Some distortions and omissions have been introduced by the focus on temples and religion; others are the result of the nature of the surviving sources. The reader has learned little about the exciting but treacherous politics with which so many residents of the capital were intensely concerned. Nor have I attempted a serious study of the local economy, of work or labor, of food, shopping, and countless other forms of consumption, of marriages, funerals, or family life. The “human element in the life of Peking” that Lin Yutang praised so passionately has been extracted from the sources with difficulty, and people have been incorporated into this story largely in the aggregate. Even emperors, empresses, and distinguished scholar-officials whose names and lives we know something about have had only walk-on parts.

Perhaps most important, there is a distressing cheerfulness presented by the materials I have used. The reader has had to imagine the ugly underside of Peking life: routine misunderstandings between strangers; lying, cheating, theft, and unrelenting maneuvering for advantage; immense disparities between the comfortable luxuries and easy power of the rich and the bleak hopelessness of the poor; omnipresent desperation and death; daily indignities, built-in inequities, and gross injustices. I hope that someone else will examine other sources and write a corrected version.

This study of religious organizations, public space, and urban identity in Peking has also, I hope, been about more than the history of a single place. In exploring one city, I have tried to expose to view certain processes of wider relevance. The general principles of temple funding, management, and patronage that are introduced in Chapter 3 should have been clarified by the specific examples in later chapters. This study should also amplify the existing historical and anthropological literature on Chinese religion by situating temples in a late imperial and early modern urban society. Models drawn from the more homogeneous communities of China’s villages should, it seems, be applied with caution.

I have, in particular, attempted to expand our understanding of the variety of organizations found in Chinese society before the twentieth century and to reveal the importance of religion and space in forming and sustain-

ing them. Peking had a rich associational life. Monastic communities, neighbors and fellow workers, groups of devout lay men and women, temple and pilgrimage associations, philanthropic societies, poetry clubs, occupational and native-place lodges, and guilds shared resources and drew people together for a variety of purposes. Although vulnerable to government hostility, these organizations used the physical space of temples to create a social space outside the family and the state. If we are to enlarge our understanding of Chinese society beyond these two dominant institutions, this would seem a fruitful arena for future inquiry.

To what extent can we extrapolate from the experiences of this one city? Peking was the dynastic capital for more than half a millennium, and no other place enjoyed this status under either the Ming or Qing. Considering how closely Peking's identity was tied to its status as capital, could any other city be like it? I believe they could, in some ways. Careful attention to these similarities may help us judge how far to reach.

Even as the seat of the throne, imperial Peking was commensurate with a few other cities. Ming Nanking and Qing Shenyang, both secondary imperial capitals, also had imperial household activity, eunuchs, and unusually high levels of imperial investment. For related issues, it does not seem reckless to extrapolate from Peking to them. Imperial patronage of religion in Peking was, moreover, of a piece with such patronage anywhere in the empire and would have involved similar processes of sustaining, interfering, monopolizing, and inducing dependence.

The presence of the throne created in Peking a parasitic local elite whose power and authority depended on imperial connections: imperial relatives, employees of the imperial household, and military commanders selected by the throne. But this court elite was to be found elsewhere as well, albeit in a scattered fashion—at Ming princely establishments, in the Qing Northeast, in Banner garrisons, and at the location of imperial household manufactories. Under both dynasties, court elites relied on income commandeered for and from the throne and had an independence from ordinary government that encouraged their own unconstrained authority. And yet, they used commonplace methods of preserving their power. In and around Peking, they either came from or married into local families, invested in land, educated their offspring, and took on something of the character of local elites found in other parts of the empire.

I have argued that there was more to Peking than an imperial capital. The city housed a heterogeneous population and was closely connected with the countryside. It too had a land- and exam-based local elite, aspiring and successful scholars and officials who shared the culture of a national elite. Peking's local families, marginalized by the even-more prominent sojourn-

ers and powerful court elites, were unusual in their degree of structural weakness but not in the ways it was expressed.

Peking was certainly not alone in having wealthy status-seeking sojourners in quasi-permanent residence. Such people were present, to varying degrees, in most cities in the empire. Suzhou was unusual for its strong homegrown elite; Qing Tianjin, Yangzhou, and even Hankou society were dominated by salt merchant elites; and Canton and Shanghai had more various but also quite powerful sojourning merchants. Like these other cities, Peking had more ordinary visitors and outsiders among its residents, although proportionately fewer than immigrant cities such as Hankou and Shanghai.

The native-place and occupational lodges that began in Peking spread to other cities of the empire and formed a common element in their urban societies. Moreover, the late Qing transformation of Peking city life by new elite-managed institutions was quite similar—and connected—to that shown by Mary Rankin for Zhejiang, William Rowe for Hankou, Bryna Goodman for Shanghai, and Man Bun Kwan for Tianjin.

By housing the offices of government, Peking resembled the more than one thousand other administrative centers in the empire. It attracted examination candidates just as prefectural and provincial capitals did, all cities that found a place in the imagined universe of literati elites. Administrative seats down to the county level were walled, and Peking was different primarily in scale. It resembled even more closely the much smaller number of cities that had two or more sets of nested enclosures. Elsewhere, of course, the government presence was greatly reduced, and other centers of power were less easily intimidated, but as we have seen, even in Peking there were practical limits to state action.

What about size? Peking may have been relatively populous as compared with other cities in the empire, but it was one of several large cities: Nanking and Suzhou in the Ming, and Canton, Hankou, and Suzhou (replaced by Shanghai) in the nineteenth century. The early Qing division into Chinese and Banner cities may have made the scale of governance more commensurate with other places.

Peking participated in nationwide trends that stretched from the fifteenth into the twentieth century: increased commercialization, intensified marketing and urban networks, deepening involvement in a wider world economy and culture, urban growth, the proliferation of social organizations, and the strengthening of the institutions of government. Although I have not dealt with this process here, it led to the creation of China as a nation.⁸⁵

85. I am uncomfortable with comparisons that go beyond China. They can be very stimulating, but it is difficult to be systematic, and I leave this task to others. For one rather successful example: McClain et al.

Importantly, it does not seem to me that the role of temples in Peking life was particularly unusual. In the richness of its associational life, I see no evidence that Peking was different from many other cities in China in this period, except perhaps in the better survival of evidence. Many of the religious activities of the throne were of a piece with the behavior of other residents of the city. Emperors not only worshipped popular gods but championed them in the face of criticisms from bureaucrats. Like other north China cities, Peking was included in the pilgrimage catchment area of Mount Tai, and much of its distinctive religious life was connected to cults familiar to people across this region.

The idea of Peking as the quintessential imperial capital contributed to the overemphasis on the city's distinctiveness. As in other ways, these twentieth-century visions of Old Peking have distorted and misled. The reader should, by now, have a more accurate appreciation of the complexities.

And what of the relationship of Ming-Qing Peking to Beijing, the city of today? What has been the fate of the old city and its temples?

Most of the buildings of Old Peking survived the Communist takeover in the 1950s. The Forbidden City, Western Park, Summer Palaces, and a few other sites in the imperial domain were saved from revolutionary, and then cultural revolutionary, zeal. After some debate, the city's outer walls were torn down and became what is now the second ring road, and the Imperial City vanished as a separate structure.⁸⁶ The local culture that was embedded in temples, markets, foods, festivals, and rituals was labeled "feudal" and "superstitious" and strictly curtailed. Only in the last decade have such practices been encouraged, but present versions of "traditional" behavior are being shaped as much by forces of commodification and homogenization as by the past. The population has increased exponentially, and new housing turned suburbs and countryside into the city proper, but through the 1970s, there were few cars and high-rises, and most of the Inner City and old Outer City retained their pre-1949 look.

The destruction of the last decade and a half has, by contrast, been much greater than any time in this century. We are witnessing rebuilding on the scale of the great reconstruction under Yongle with which this book began. Inconvenient old buildings have few powerful defenders. Some parts of the Inner City retain an earlier look, but the Outer City is being systematically razed. Only the displacement of the economic center of gravity to the western and especially the eastern suburbs may (only may) turn some remnants into a quaint "old city."

86. Samuels & Samuels 215–20; Hou Renzhi.

Scholarship on the history of Peking followed an inverse trajectory. It began, in the Maoist era, with an occasional study of “capitalist sprouts,” workers, and other Marxist-inspired problems in economic history. As urban structures were pulled down in the 1980s, scholarship blossomed. Primary sources were vigorously republished, making available works that had been out of print for centuries. Folktales were collected, drawings and photographs were published, and an historical atlas and chronologies of the city’s history were compiled. With the arrival of large numbers of domestic and foreign tourists came new maps and guidebooks in which the sights of the Western Hills play an important role. Imperial Peking has not lost its marketability, within and beyond China, and handsome photographs of the present palace, the objects in it, and other parts of the imperial domain are widely available. Travelling exhibitions have taken “The Forbidden City” to Japan, Europe, and North America. At the same time, a Chinese language literature has produced easy-to-read books and articles on the city’s old customs, fairs, and temples. Remembering and rediscovering “Lao Beijing” (Old Peking) has become a veritable industry. In 1994, something like a genuine history was finally written.⁸⁷

Religion was a particular target of Communist hostility. Temples were closed and their property confiscated, and clerics were persuaded to take up other lines of work. But Mongol and Tibetan Buddhists and Chinese Christians were handled more gingerly, and even more latitude was extended (for political reasons) to Muslims. Attacks on religion were especially fierce during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), but as the Maoist era came to a close, these policies were gradually relaxed.

In Peking, several dozen temples outside the Forbidden City and Summer Palace survived into the 1980s.⁸⁸ A few are monasteries with limited authority to ordain clerics—the Baiyunguan (daoists), Fayuansi and Guangjisi (monks), and Yonghegong and Huangsi (lamas). Some temples in the northwest suburbs are attractive sites for excursions and tourism—the Biyuni, Wofosi, Tanzhesi, Jietaisi, and Dajuesi. The Dazhongsi has become a bell museum, the Wutasi a stela museum, and the Wanshousi an art museum.

Medium-sized and small temples fared less well. Some were torn down right away (the Capital Tudimiao and Jingzhongmiao), and others later (the Pantaogong); their sites were used for new buildings (hospitals in the 1950s and high-rises in the 1990s). Some were used as schools (the Baoyingsi), private homes (the Changchunsi and Huguosi), and even factories (the Baoguosi). More recently, a few have been reclaimed and restored (the Dongyuemiao). Most are gone, remembered, if at all, as bus stops and street names.

87. *Beijing tongshi*.

88. Counting only those that are working temples or tourist sites.

Three of Bixia Yuanjun's five summit temples were still standing, in ruins, in the 1980s. The temple buildings on Miaofengshan and Yajishan had been leveled, but, protected by their greater distance from the city, they were being reconstructed in the 1990s. Miaofengshan is now not only a healthy tourist site but also the destination of reconstituted pilgrimage associations.⁸⁹

Under the strong hand of a state that is still Communist in matters of culture, the changes over the last fifty years have been dramatic. It is unclear whether today's patched religious fabric will fare any better than the old against the competing loyalties to family and nation—both redefined from Qing times but still very strong.

My research was not begun as, nor is it now intended to be, an exercise in nostalgia, either for vanished temples or for a lost Peking. Indeed, it is intended precisely to historicize the city's timeless past. Nevertheless, if viewed—just for one moment—against the current destruction of the city, this book reminds even me of a “record of a dream of a vanished capital.”

89. Liu Xicheng. I visited Yajishan in 1988 and 1999; its revival has been slower, less well funded, and less well known (possibly a blessing).

APPENDIX 1

Data on Temples

In this volume I frequently refer to specific numbers of Peking temples (in different categories). These figures give a spurious impression of precision. They are not meant to be absolute, but the aggregate seems large and varied enough to indicate general patterns. Although these figures are drawn from every relevant source that I have encountered, ten sources were crucial, and each was a kind of survey in its time. The number of temples named in them ranged from around fifty to more than a thousand.¹

What did I count? I included all religious establishments said to have existed within the walled city of Peking between 1403 and 1911. I kept track of temples in the surrounding countryside but counted them only when there was clear evidence or the strong possibility of patronage from people who lived within the walls.² Temples for which there was only a single unreliable reference were ultimately excluded. My final list totaled 2,564 temples, of which one-quarter (706) were attested only after 1885; for an additional 303, the information was too fragmentary to justify inclusion.

There is evidence that my figures represent a serious undercount. A memorial from the 1470s supposedly reported that 639 temples from in and near Peking had been bestowed names through the Ministry of Rites; I know of only 315 for that date.³ The very detailed map of the Inner and Outer Cities

1. Jiang Yikui (ca. 1603); Shen Bang (1593); *DJ* (1635); *JWK* (1785, including Zhu Yizun 1688); Wu Changyuan (1788); *FXZ* (1905); Survey 1908; Xu Daoling (1936); Survey 1943. See Bibliography for the full references.

2. I took inclusion in the *JWK* as such a possibility.

3. *JWK* 60:986–87; I have not searched for the original memorial. Other poems of the mid-Ming mentioned (hyperbolically?) 400 and 500 temples in the Western Hills alone. *JWK* 106:1757–58.

from 1750 named 1,275 temples; I know of only 586 for that year.⁴ A Gendarmerie survey counted 866 temples in the Inner City in 1851; I have information on 429.⁵ Better surveys of the twentieth century were reflected in an abrupt increase in my count after 1911 from about 1,000 to more than 1,500. Definitions of what constituted "Peking" varied, but the first three comparisons suggest that I have been able to count half of all the temples, and the last implies that I have documentation for two-thirds. It is presumably the small, unremarkable temples that are missing.

4. Map 1750:index 11-26, my count.

5. *Jinwu shili* 6:15-18.

APPENDIX 2

Data on Inscriptions

I know of 2,390 stelae from Ming and Qing temples in Peking, one-third of these from the Ming. (Some inscribed bells and incense burners are included in this number.) There is little or no information about the inscribed texts of one-fifth of these stelae. Texts have been preserved when transcribed (usually only in part), or rubbed, or when the stones themselves survive. I rely principally on the rubbings that I saw in the Peking Library (Beijing Tushuguan) and the Capital Library (Shoudu Tushuguan) in the 1980s. The overwhelming majority of the former collection were published in 1990–1991, although bells were excluded and the published versions are often too small to be readable. In 1987 and 1988 I found surviving stones and bells at a variety of locations in and near the city, some of which are now kept at the Stelae Museum (Wutasi) and Bell Museum (Dazhongsi). A great many of these inscriptions were too badly worn to be read except in fragments. Other texts, especially those connected with occupational lodges, were transcribed by Niida Noboru, Imahori Seiji, and Okuno Shintarō in the 1940s. The 1788 *Rixia jiuwen kao* is another important source of edited and transcribed texts. The 1936 survey of stelae (titles, dates, authors, and size) by Zhang Jiangcai and Xu Daoling is useful, even though it does not include the suburbs, as is Liu Houzi's list from the same year of the stelae in the Dongyuemiao. Information in my notes about stelae to be found at certain sites was correct as of 1990.

APPENDIX 3

Donations to Ming and Qing Temples

Land was measured in *mou* (approximately, a sixth of an acre or a fifteenth of a hectare), or, for large gifts, in *qing* (one hundred *mou*).

The two basic components of the bimetallic Ming and Qing monetary systems were silver and copper. Silver, *yin*, but also sometimes *bai jin* (white gold), or even simply *jin* (gold, or money), was weighed and measured for each transaction in ounces (*liang*) of approximately 37 grams. Copper was minted into circular coins with holes in the middle (*wen*, or cash), strung together in groups of one thousand to form “strings” (referred to as *diao*, or *min*, or *qian*). *Yuan* referred to imported Mexican silver dollar coins. I have avoided the anachronistic Western term *tael*, one ounce of silver as defined in the nineteenth century by the Imperial Maritime Customs.

Theoretically linked at the ratio of one thousand copper cash equivalent to one ounce of silver, the relative values and buying power of silver and copper varied considerably. The economy they helped sustain likewise grew and changed greatly across this five-century period.

oz. = ounce of silver

string = string of cash

thousands = one thousand copper cash

jian = a one-bay room in a building

<i>Date</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Donor</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Source</i>
1424	122 <i>mou</i>	princess	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 52:73-74
1425	82 <i>mou</i>	princess	—	<i>BJTB</i> 52:73-74
1466	10,000+ <i>mou</i>	imperial	—	<i>JWK</i> 59:963-68
1468	200 <i>mou</i>	imperial	founding	Peking Library #5269
1472	600 <i>mou</i>	imperial	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 52:90
1477	200 <i>mou</i>	—	rebuilding	<i>JWK</i> 95:1594-96
1480	64 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 52:152
1480	220 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 52:158
1484	535 <i>mou</i>	eunuch & emperor	founding	Shen Bang 17:182
1485	158 <i>mou</i>	imperial	founding	<i>JWK</i> 97:1621-22
1486	984 <i>mou</i>	imperial	founding	Shen Bang 17:182
1499	676 <i>mou</i>	imperial	founding	Shen Bang 18:182
1500	40 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	—	<i>BJTB</i> 53:78
1503	10,000 oz.	eunuch & emperor	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 53:144
1503	6 <i>mou</i>	individual	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 53:96
1504	6,000 <i>mou</i>	imperial	founding	<i>JWK</i> 107:1778
1507	208 <i>mou</i>	imperial	—	<i>BJTB</i> 53:132
1507	400 <i>mou</i>	imperial	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 53:130
1507	1,154 <i>mou</i>	imperial	—	<i>BJTB</i> 53:132
1507	470 <i>mou</i>	imperial	—	<i>BJTB</i> 53:132
1507	200 <i>mou</i>	imperial	—	<i>BJTB</i> 53:133
1511	180 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 58:93-94
1513	400 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	—	<i>BJTB</i> 54:6
1513	300 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	—	<i>BJTB</i> 54:6
1513	421 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	—	Nara Singde 15:3-4
1513	806 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 54:7
1513	763 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	founding	Shen Bang 17:182
1518	452 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	founding	Shen Bang 17:182
ca. 1521	1,000 white gold	eunuch	founding	<i>JWK</i> 59:968
ca. 1521	2,000 <i>mou</i>	imperial	founding	Tan Qian 1911:5:47
1548	3,000 white gold	eunuchs	founding	<i>JJ wishen</i> stele in Wutasi
1549	300 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 55:144
1551	70 <i>mou</i>	eunuchs	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 55:153-54
1552	500 white gold	eunuch	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 56:60
1557	50 <i>mou</i>	—	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 57:48
1560	200 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 56:48
1563	4,000 oz.	imperial	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 56:93-94
1566	3 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 57:103-4
1572	58 <i>mou</i>	imperial	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 56:192
1573	110 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 57:3
1573	1,500 oz.	empress dowager	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 57:4
1573	1,000 oz.	imperial family & palace people	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 57:4
1574	2,000 oz.	imperial	restoration	<i>JWK</i> 128:2065
1574	600 <i>mou</i>	imperial	endowment	<i>JWK</i> 90:1526-27
1577	550 <i>mou</i>	imperial	founding	Shen Bang 18:183
1578	3,000 <i>mou</i>	imperial	founding	Shen Bang 17:182
1579	420 <i>mou</i>	community	endowment	Shen Bang 18:183
1585	50 oz.	eunuchs	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 57:133
1591	200 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 58:11
1592	397 oz.	Wanping	annual expenses	Shen Bang 14:108-14
1592	26 oz.	Wanping	annual expenses	Shen Bang 14:114-15
1594	50 oz.	imperial	rituals	<i>DJ</i> 4:172-76
1594	250 oz.	group	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 58:53
1594	67 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 58:52
1597	25 oz.	eunuch	—	<i>BJTB</i> 59:31-32
1598	100 gold & 487 <i>mou</i>	imperial	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 58:84
1599	2,700 gold	eunuch	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 58:93-94
1601	100 <i>mou</i>	—	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 58:114
1605	100 oz.	empress dowager	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 58:170-71

(continued)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Donor</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Source</i>
1605	205 oz. (1 to 50/donor)	eunuchs	—	<i>BJTB</i> 58:170-71
1607	77 <i>mou</i>	eunuch, endowment	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 58:199-200
1611	500 oz.	eunuchs	—	<i>BJTB</i> 59:31-32
1613	approx. 30 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	restoration	<i>JWK</i> 55:890
1613	80 oz.	—	land redemption	<i>BJTB</i> 59:62
1613	480 strings	—	school restoration	<i>STFZ</i> 1885:61:2125
1624	1,000 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	endowment	Peking Library #9776
1628	5,000 oz.	eunuch	restoration	<i>JWK</i> 97:1613-14
1642	100 <i>mou</i>	imperial	founding	<i>JWK</i> 90:1530
1645	5 <i>mou</i>	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 61:17
1657	30,000 oz.	imperial	restoration	<i>JWK</i> 66:1098
1657	1,000 oz. gold	imperial	restoration	<i>JWK</i> 60:995
1664	92 <i>mou</i>	—	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 65:82
ca. 1670	33 <i>mou</i>	individual	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 74:162
1670	200 oz.	—	rebuilding	<i>BJTB</i> 62:172
1672	50 <i>mou</i>	three women	—	<i>BJTB</i> 63:10
1678	36+ oz. (12 to 24/donor)	lodge	restoration	Niida 2:313-14
1683	292 <i>mou</i>	individuals	—	Field Museum #1474
1688	83 oz. (1 to 10/donor)	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 64:112-13
1692	10,000 oz.	imperial	restoration	<i>Tanzhe zhi</i> 81-88
1702	300 oz.	imperial	—	<i>Tanzhe zhi</i> 81-88
1704-1717	500 oz./year	empress dowager	—	<i>Tanzhe zhi</i> 81-88
1705	1,000 <i>mou</i>	eunuch	—	<i>BJTB</i> 66:67-68
1708	554 oz.	individual	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 66:105-6
1708	487 oz.	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 66:105-6
1709	80 oz.	lodge	—	Niida 5:1015-16
1710	200 <i>mou</i>	group	—	<i>BJTB</i> 66:148
1713	5,000 oz.	imperial	—	<i>STFZ</i> 1885:24:761
1714	860 <i>mou</i> & 50 <i>jian</i>	—	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 67:23
1716	300 oz.	imperial	—	<i>STFZ</i> 1885:24:761
1717	30 <i>mou</i>	villagers	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 67:62
ca. 1720	1,000 oz./year	imperial	—	<i>JWK</i> 92:550-51
1723	200 <i>mou</i>	imperial	—	<i>JWK</i> 107:1774
1724	2,991 oz. (100 to 240/donor)	imperial & official	—	<i>BJTB</i> 68:29-30
1725	100 oz.	pilgrimage group	land	<i>BJTB</i> 68:32
1725	30 oz.	nun	—	<i>BJTB</i> 68:32
1725	97 <i>mou</i>	—	—	<i>BJTB</i> 68:32
1732	2,784 oz.	bondservants?	—	<i>BJTB</i> 68:112
1734	419 <i>mou</i>	villagers	—	<i>BJTB</i> 68:143-44
1735	500 oz.	Imperial Household	—	<i>GZDZZ-YZ</i> 25:378-79
1736	300 oz.	individual	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 69:1-2
1738	4 <i>mou</i>	individuals	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 69:30
1743	181 <i>mou</i>	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 69:119-20
1744	13 <i>mou</i>	—	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 69:125
1744	200 oz.	imperial	—	<i>Tanzhe zhi</i> 199-203
1746	32 oz. & 10 <i>mou</i>	religious association	—	QL 11/4/8 stele in the Fangshan Yunjusi
1748	4 <i>mou</i>	woman	—	<i>BJTB</i> 70:23
1748	26+ <i>mou</i>	pilgrimage group	—	Field Museum #1585
1748	30 <i>mou</i>	individuals	restoration	Peking Library #2960
1748	220 oz. & 400 strings	two men	endowment	QL 13 stele at Tanzhesi
1751	14 <i>mou</i>	monk	—	<i>BJTB</i> 70:161
1751	122 oz.	pilgrimage association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 70:142
1752	200 oz.	—	repairs	<i>BJTB</i> 70:195
1752	1,000 oz. (25 to 200/donor)	lodge	founding	Stelae in the Wutasi
1753	250 <i>mou</i>	villagers	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 71:11

(continued)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Donor</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Source</i>
1754	250 <i>mou</i> & 15 <i>jian</i>	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 71:36
1755	30 oz.	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 71:56
1756	1,370 oz.	individuals	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 71:78
1756	500 oz.	imperial	—	<i>BJTB</i> 71:78
1757	120 <i>mou</i>	family	—	<i>BJTB</i> 72:15
1757	3,500 <i>mou</i>	imperial relatives	—	<i>BJTB</i> 71:110
1758	52 <i>mou</i>	—	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 71:115–16
1758	200 oz.	—	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 78:35–36
1759	1,666 oz. (4 oz.= largest donation)	religious association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 70:195
1759	195.5 oz. (0.3 to 40/donor)	lodge	—	<i>BJTB</i> 71:145–46
1761	51 oz.	religious association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 71:213
1761	28,852 oz.	imperial	repairs	<i>NWF qingdian</i> 2:13–17
1761	47,515 oz.	imperial	repairs	<i>NWF qingdian</i> 2:13–17
1761	212 <i>mou</i>	religious association	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 71:195
1762	120 <i>mou</i>	individuals	gift	<i>BJTB</i> 72:15
1764	150 oz.	government offices	—	<i>BJTB</i> 72:74
1764	355 oz.	pilgrimage group	—	<i>BJTB</i> 72:48
1766	4 thousands	pilgrimage group	—	Peking Library #10276
1766	21 <i>mou</i>	—	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 72:187–88
1766	150 oz.	—	restoration	Field Museum #1666
1767	270 oz.	lodge	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 72:174
1770	80 oz.	lodge	—	<i>BJTB</i> 73:34–35
1770	625 oz.	religious group	stage	<i>BJTB</i> 73:19–22
1772	457 oz. (4 to 170/donor)	lodge	—	Shoudu Library #1383
1773	900 white gold	neighborhood	rebuilding	<i>BJTB</i> 73:104
1774	1,700+ oz. (6 to 24/donor)	lodge	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 73:131–32, 79:73
1776	5,800 oz.	Gendarmerie	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 73:183
1776	300 thousands	pilgrimage group	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 73:177
1776	100 oz., 300 oz.	individuals	—	<i>BJTB</i> 74:67
1777	65 <i>mou</i>	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 73:177
1777	49 <i>mou</i>	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 73:177
1777	466 <i>mou</i>	individual	—	Peking Library #7275
1778	1,600 thousands	restoration	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 74:18
1778	10,000 oz.	restoration	restoration	<i>QSL-QL</i> 1058:14
1779	206 <i>mou</i>	individual	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 74:48
1779	40 <i>mou</i>	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 73:177
1779	3,900 oz.	imperial	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 74:44
1779	4,000 oz.	pilgrimage group	—	Shoudu Library #708
1782	276 oz.	lodge	—	Niida 2:333–35
1782	10 oz. & 125 <i>mou</i>	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 74:132–33
1784	3,000 oz.	—	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 78:35–36
1786	506 <i>mou</i>	individual	offerings	Peking Library #7275
1787	30 oz.	individual	—	Niida 4:578–83
1788	8,600 oz.	imperial	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 75:93–94
1788	100 oz.	woman	restoration	Fang Junshi 184
1788	20,000 oz.	woman	restoration	Fang Junshi 172ff.
1788	17,000 oz.	woman	restoration	Fang Junshi 172ff.
1788	3,000 oz.	woman	ritual vessels	Fang Junshi 172ff.
1789	12- <i>jian</i> building	group	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 75:135
1789	103 thousands	—	restoration	Niida 5:1044–45
ca. 1790	6 oz.	—	three-day ritual	<i>NWF Zhangyisi</i> 2:25
ca. 1790	63 oz.	—	nine-day ritual	<i>NWF Zhangyisi</i> 2:25
ca. 1790	52 oz.	—	nine-day ritual	<i>NWF Zhangyisi</i> 2:25
ca. 1790	1,150 oz./year	imperial	—	<i>NWF Zhangyisi</i> 2:22–34 <i>passim</i>
ca. 1790	214 oz./year	imperial	—	<i>NWF Zhangyisi</i> 2:22–34 <i>passim</i>

(continued)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Donor</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Source</i>
ca. 1790	15 oz./year	imperial	—	<i>NWF Zhangyisi</i> 2:22–34 <i>passim</i>
1790	30,000 cash capital money	shop owner	lodge	Niida 5:1015–16
1790	200 cash to 35 oz./donor	individuals	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 75:153–54
1790	40 oz.	individual	repainting	Niida 4:589
1790	140 oz.	opera troupe	—	Zhang Jiangcai 1934:3:1675–76
1791	470 <i>mou</i>	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 75:183
1793	792 oz. (12 to 120/donor)	individuals	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 77:29–30
1793	5,582 oz.	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 76:49
1793	172 strings	—	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 76:60
1793	56 thousands	villagers	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 76:63
1794	88 oz.	—	repair flagpoles	<i>BJTB</i> 76:83
1794	20 oz. & 136 strings	eight people	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 76:81
1794	400 gold	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 76:85–86
1795	4 to 40 strings/donor	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 76:73–74
1799	289 <i>mou</i>	imperial	—	Lu Qi & Liu Jingyi 51
QL reign	150 oz.	lodge	—	Niida 2:335
1801	8,000 oz.	four men	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 78:72
1801	35,000 oz. (10 to 250/donor)	officials	rebuilding	<i>BJTB</i> 77:96
1801	4 strings to 100 oz./donor	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 77:88–89
1802	5,000 oz.	imperial	endowment	Qu Xuanying 333–34
1803	2 to 30 thousands	—	—	<i>BJTB</i> 77:142–43
1803	4,000 oz. & 2,500 strings	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 77:137–38
1803	26 <i>mou</i>	—	graveyard	<i>BJTB</i> 77:137–38
1803	14,072 oz.	pawnshops	lodge	Niida 3:411–13
1804	300 thousands	religious association	—	Field Museum #1838
1805	600 thousands	group	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 78:74
1806	2,701 oz.	two lodges	restoration	Niida 4:812–16
1807	4 oz. (maximum gift)	firms	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 78:9–10
1807	1 string (maximum gift)	individuals	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 78:9–10
1807	5,000 oz. (10 to 300/donor)	—	restoration	HG Huguang 4:1–2
1808	500 oz.	group	festival	JQ 13/3 stele at Yajishan
1808	6,000 oz.	individual	—	Oyanagi 145–47
1808	50 to 100 oz./donor	individuals	—	<i>BJTB</i> 78:35–36
1809	2,000 oz.	individual	—	Oyanagi 145–47
1808–1809	45 <i>qing</i>	individual	—	Oyanagi 145–47
1809	300+ <i>mou</i>	imperial	—	<i>BJTB</i> 78:54
1810	1,500 strings	pilgrimage association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 78:64–65
1811	27 thousands	individual	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 78:74
1811	600 thousands	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 78:74
1811	55 strings	individual	—	Shoudu Library #451
1813	5,900 oz.	firms	—	<i>BJTB</i> 78:113
1814	1,700+ oz.	lodge	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 79:73
1818	110 oz.	lodge	graveyard	Niida 5:991–1008
1818	3,610 strings	firms	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 78:174
1820	1,000 oz.	two individuals	—	Qijuzhu DG 1
1822	1,200+ oz.	lodge	restoration	Niida 5:1017–18
1822	72 strings & 400 cash	religious association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 79:24
1822	500 strings	pilgrimage association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 79:28–29
1822	89 <i>mou</i>	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 79:25
1823	200 to 5,000 cash	—	restoration	Shoudu Library #920

(continued)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Donor</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Source</i>
1824	1,800 oz.	firms	—	Niida 4:675-78
1825	7,240 strings	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 79:88-89
1826	6,742 strings	religious association	—	Oyanagi 147-48, 190-91
1826	3,200 oz.	individual	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 80:76
1827	1,800 oz.	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 79:122
1827	400 oz.	lodge	restoration	Niida 5:1015-16
1828	36 oz./year	Imperial Household	—	<i>NWF Zhangyisi</i> 2:34
1829	300 oz.	lodge	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 80:25
1830	3,000 oz.	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 79:175
1831	10 to 50 strings/donor	lodge	renovation	Zhang Jiangcai 1934:3:1681-84
1834	1,366 thousands (1 to 144/ donation) over ten years	religious association	—	Oyanagi 150-53
1835	40 to 200 strings	firm	—	Peking Library #5561
1836	2,321 strings	lodge	restoration	Niida 5:1019-20
1837	714 thousands (20 to 360/donor)	neighborhood	—	<i>BJTB</i> 80:128-29
1837	50 oz.	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 80:143
1837	2,000 strings	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 80:143
1837	100 strings	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 80:143
1837	50 strings	woman	—	<i>BJTB</i> 80:143
1837	3,198 strings	actors	restoration	Zhang Jiangcai 1934:3:1685-86
1838	2,070 oz. (10 to 700/donor)	family	ancestral hall	<i>BJTB</i> 80:170-71
1839	800 strings	ten eunuchs	—	<i>BJTB</i> 80:189-91
1839	10 to 100 strings/donor	bondservants	—	<i>BJTB</i> 80:183
1841	500 oz.	individuals	—	<i>BJTB</i> 81:27
1841	600 strings	woman	—	<i>BJTB</i> 81:27
1842	200 oz.	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 81:95-96
1842	37 strings & 100 cash	lodge	annual rites	Niida 5:1021-22
1842	3,000 strings	eunuchs	—	Peking Library #3442
1844	4,000 strings to 50 oz./donor	—	graveyard	Peking Library #7573
1846	820 strings	lodge	repairs	Niida 5:1015-16
1846	1,400+ strings	lodge	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 81:125
1847	1 oz.	office	offerings	<i>BJTB</i> 81:143
1848	3,300 oz.	neighborhood	restoration	Shoudu Library #172
1848	210 strings	lodge association	—	Niida 4:621-23
1849	3,400 strings (50 to 800/donor)	shops and guilds	—	Niida 2:257-58
late Qing?	1,200 strings to 20 thousands	firms	—	Undated stele at the Cheng'en
1850	170 strings	shop	—	<i>BJTB</i> 81:199
1851	8,000 oz.	—	endowment	XF 1/4/8 stele in the Fangsha Yunjusi
1852	3 strings to 60 oz./donor	firms	—	<i>BJTB</i> 82:49-50
1852	1,946 strings (70 strings = largest gift)	pilgrimage association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 82:39-40
1852	500 to 2,200 thousands	individuals	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 82:51-52
1852	70-80 thousands	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 82:36
1853	200 cash	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 82:57
1854	4,650 oz.	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 82:78-79
1856	60 strings	firm	restoration	Niida 5:1071-72
1857	500 oz.	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 82:123
1859	5 thousands to 2 oz./donor	—	restoration	Shoudu Library #756
1859	2,000 strings	—	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 82:172
1862	1,082 strings	group of firms	restoration	Niida 5:1022-25
1862	1,180 strings & 880 cash	group of firms	restoration	Niida 5:1022-25

(continued)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Donor</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Source</i>
1862	120 thousands	—	founding	<i>BJTB</i> 83:25
1864	4,298 strings (10 to 580/donor)	neighborhood	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 83:46–47, 85
1866	800 oz.	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 83:85
1866	8,018 strings	religious association	—	Peking Library #647
1867	2,500 oz. (0.5 to 120/donor)	—	expansion	<i>BJTB</i> 83:120
1869	2,407 oz. (10 to 630/donor)	guilds	repairs	Niida 2:258–61
1869	202 oz. (0.1 to 3.2/donor)	guild	restoration	Niida 4:607–12
1870	400 oz.	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 83:183
1870	500 oz.	four eunuchs	incense burner	<i>BJTB</i> 83:212–13
1870	1 to 20 oz. (10 to 800 strings/donor)	guild	—	<i>BJTB</i> 83:207–8
1870	50 strings to 100 oz.	—	graveyard	Zhang Jiangcai 1934:3:1690–91
1872	600 oz.	—	repair road	Shoudu Library #759
1872	2 to 100 oz./donor	shops	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 84:37–38
1872	5 to 120 strings/donor	shops	—	<i>BJTB</i> 84:22
1873	10 to 100 strings/donor	individuals	repairs	<i>BJTB</i> 84:48
1873	120 oz.	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 84:45
1873	188 <i>mou</i> & 430 oz.	village	endowment	Shoudu Library #451
1873	1,400 strings	six men	—	Shoudu Library #451
1873	1,161 oz.	five men	—	Shoudu Library #451
1878	50 to 200 oz./donor	pilgrimage association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 84:160
1879	5,000 oz.	benevolent hall	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 84:187
1879	1,000 oz.	—	add rooms	<i>BJTB</i> 84:187
1879	81 <i>mou</i>	—	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 84:187
1879	20 <i>mou</i>	—	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 87:193–94
1880	358 oz. (2 to 500/donor)	pilgrims	restoration	Shoudu Library #711
1880	1,500 strings (40 to 60/donor)	pilgrims	restoration	Shoudu Library #711
1880	8,222 strings	individual	—	Shoudu Library #711
1880	40 oz.	individual	—	Shoudu Library #711
1880	2,400 oz.	Muslim community	—	<i>BJTB</i> 85:23–24
1880	2,135 oz. (50 to 200/donor)	shops	rebuilding	<i>BJTB</i> 85:18
1880	150 strings to 440 oz.	individuals	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 85:19
1880	9,772 strings & 398 oz.	pilgrimage association	restoration	Shoudu Library #711
1882	1 to 10 strings	villagers	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 85:97–98
1882	1,200 oz.	pilgrimage association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 85:96
1882	2 to 300 oz./donor	pilgrimage association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 85:90
1883	200 oz.	—	expenses	Oyanagi 157
1883	800 strings	shop	—	<i>BJTB</i> 85:111
ca. 1885	9,965 oz.	actors	restoration	Zhang Jiangcai 1934:3:1692–93
1885	6 strings to 10 <i>yuan</i>	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 85:175–76
1886	3,260 gold	—	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 86:4, Niida 4:675–78
1886	765 <i>mou</i>	family	—	Oyanagi 164–66
1886	1,400+ <i>mou</i>	—	endowment	Oyanagi 164–66
1886	1,000 oz. (50 to 200/donor)	pilgrimage association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 86:2
1887	1,300 oz. (4 <i>yuan</i> to 500 oz./donor)	neighborhood	restoration	Shoudu Library #180
1887	20 oz.	woman	—	Shoudu Library #180

(continued)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Donor</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Source</i>
1887	1,300 oz. (4 to 500/donor)	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 86:59
1887	685 oz.	Banner	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 86:101-2
1887	400 oz.	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 86:48
1887	200 oz.	two men	—	Shoudu Library #451
1887	60 gold	two men	—	<i>BJTB</i> 86:63
1888	15 strings	temple	—	<i>BJTB</i> 86:104
1888	5 to 150 strings	shops/neighborhood	repairs	<i>BJTB</i> 86:75-76
1888	1,480 strings	four kilns	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 86:104
1889	1,100 oz.	pilgrimage association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 86:132
1890	2,000 oz.	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 86:145
1890	500 oz.	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 86:145
1890	7 to 32 oz./donor	individuals	rebuilding	<i>BJTB</i> 86:144
1892	50 oz. (2 to 24/donor)	office	teahut	Shoudu Library #723
1892	390 thousands (3 to 48/donor)	office	teahut	Shoudu Library #723
1892	642.4 thousands (4 to 96/donor)	merchants	teahut	Shoudu Library #723
1892	346 thousands (4 to 72/donor)	firms	teahut	Shoudu Library #723
1893	635 oz. (1 to 63/donor)	pilgrimage association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 87:71
1894	660 oz.	firm	—	<i>BJTB</i> 87:89
1895	1,100 oz. (2 to 200/donor)	individuals	—	<i>BJTB</i> 87:133-34
1898	2.7 oz.	individual	—	<i>BJTB</i> 88:9
1898	10 oz. (maximum gift)	firms	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 88:31-33
1900	1 to 40 oz.	firms	rebuilding	<i>BJTB</i> 88:70-71
1900	3,221 strings	community	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 88:93
1902	1,000 oz.	lodge	restoration	Niida 1:115-16
1903	580 oz.	religious association	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 88:163
1905	10 to 500 oz./donor	pilgrimage association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 89:71
1905	240 oz.	three women	—	<i>BJTB</i> 89:71
1907	700 strings	—	land	<i>BJTB</i> 89:129
1908	84,500 oz. (133 to 10,000/donor)	officials	rebuilding	<i>BJTB</i> 89:174
1909	1 to 100 oz./donor	religious association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 90:30
1910	15 <i>yuan</i> , 11 oz., & 200 strings	villagers	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 90:45-46
1911	5,000 oz.	eunuch	—	<i>BJTB</i> 90:92
1911	3,000 oz.	eunuch	—	<i>BJTB</i> 90:92
1911	1 to 30 oz./donor	—	restoration	<i>BJTB</i> 90:82-83
1911	400+ <i>mou</i>	eunuch	endowment	<i>BJTB</i> 90:93
1911	210 <i>mou</i>	pilgrimage association	—	<i>BJTB</i> 90:104

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GLOSSARY-INDEX

Numbers in **bold** refer to pages with figures, maps, or tables.
 “Patron” means as regards temples in Peking.

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