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An Historical Geography of Peiping

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Preamble

Hou Renzhi is an internationally eminent historical geographer. During 1946–1949, he studied abroad in the Department of Geography at the University of Liverpool in England. He completed his dissertation titled *An Historical Geography of Peiping* in 1949 and received a Ph.D. degree. I feel it necessary to give a brief introduction to this dissertations' academic background, the content and features of the research as well as its academic values to the readers.

In 1932, Hou Renzhi enrolled in the History Department at Yenching University. Deeply influenced by the thought of 'applying theory to reality' advocated by Gu Yanwu, Hou Renzhi gradually developed an interest in geography. In 1936, Hou Renzhi, at the age of 25, obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree from Yenching University. His thesis, *A Complete Account of Jin Fu Controlling the Floods*, was about harnessing the Yellow River in the Qing dynasty. In his following postgraduate studies, Hou Renzhi was increasingly keen on geographical studies. The course of 'A Development History of the Territory of China' opened by Professor Gu Jiegang, and a fieldwork activity of 'A Survey of Water Conservation on the Yellow River in the Houtao Plain' organized at the end of that semester, exerted profound influence on him. In 1940, under the guidance of the renowned historian Hong Ye, he finished his postgraduate thesis, titled *A Supplement to "The Advantages and Disadvantages of All Counties" — An Analysis of Shandong Province*. His focus was shifted from the Yellow River problems examined in his undergraduate thesis to the geographical study on the province of Shan Dong. According to the standards used by the academic discipline of historical geography today, Hou Renzhi's postgraduate thesis is actually a compilation of geographical literature on a certain region, with distinctive features of historical geography.

1946 marked a turning point in Hou Renzhi's academic career. He travelled across the ocean to pursue advanced studies in the Department of Geography at the University of Liverpool in England. His mentor, Clifford Darby, was one of the most influential scholars in the British academia of historical geography from the 1930s to 1970s, who was also known as one of the most important founders and builders of the modern academic discipline of historical geography in Britain. Darby

has a simple and clear explication of historical geography. According to him, the material of historical geography is historical, while the research method is geographical. The task of historical geography is to reconstruct geography of the past. Just as modern geography studies the geography for the time being, so historical geography studies the geography of the past. He also holds that researches on geographical landscapes entail the thought of embryology: Firstly, modern geographical landscape only exists in a fairly thin temporal layer and is becoming historical geography. Secondly, the spatial characteristics of modern geographical landscape do not come into being suddenly, but have been shaped and transformed by the natural and human forces in a long period of time. If the discipline of geography is aimed to study the modern geographical landscape, it is not enough to merely examine what can be observed for the time being. It is necessary to trace the past geographical landscape. Scholars of historical geography can apply the method of cross section to recapture a certain region's geographical development process by reconstructing a series of cross section, in order to provide embryological explanations to the features of the modern geographical landscape (H. C. Darby, 'On the Relations of Geography and History', Transactions and Paper. Institute of British Geographers, 1953, p. 19).

An Historical Geography of Peiping is Hou Renzhi's dissertation finished under the guidance of Darby. It is also the first monograph that studies a city's historical geography in China's academia of historical geography, marking a milestone not only in Hou Renzhi's academic career but also in the development history of China's historical geography. Although Professor Gu Jiegang started a semimonthly magazine titled *Yu Gong* in China, which was rendered into English as *The Chinese Historical Geography*, the main editors of this magazine knew little about what 'historical geography' truly meant. With 'historical geography' in its title, this magazine was nevertheless about the historical development of geography. From the perspective of the development of this academic discipline, *An Historical Geography of Peiping* is the first systematic monograph on a city's historical geography, which was independently accomplished by a Chinese scholar according to the academic standards of modern historical geography. The author, well trained and highly skilled, carried out his research from a unique perspective. He collected an extensive literature both in Chinese and in English. Moreover, with a wealth of fieldwork experience, he based his conclusions on elaborate demonstration. Hence, the monograph is still of high academic value after 1964. In my opinion, *An Historical Geography of Peiping* is unique in the following ways, which are noteworthy for the general readers and worth learning for contemporary young scholars in the field of historical geography.

Reconstruction of Cross Section: Under the influence of Darby's academic thoughts, Hou Renzhi adopted the method of reconstructing a consecutive series of cross section as the research framework of *An Historical Geography of Peiping*. The book is structured in three parts, namely, the foreword part, the last part including four appendices and the main body consisting of eight chapters. The eight chapters, centring on different periods of time, are chronologically arranged from the Western Zhou dynasty to the Ming and Qing dynasties. Each epoch, constituting

a cross section, reflects a set of geographical features of Peiping within a certain period of time. Hou Renzhi divides the development of Peiping into three periods, which are respectively the Frontier City Period from the Western Zhou dynasty to the Sui and Tang dynasties, the Transitional Period during the Liao and Jin dynasties and the Imperial City Period in the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties, accurately capturing the development of Peiping's political status.

The Analysis of Topographic Features and Location: Particular emphasis on the analysis of topographic features and location constitutes one of the most important attributes of this monograph, as well as an essential perspective in analysing a city. Starting his analysis from the topographic features of the Peiping Small Plain and focusing on the pattern of the north-south traffic roads, Hou Renzhi points out that the Ancient Ferry situated at the Lugou Bridge over the Yongding River was a transport hub between the north and the south, where the East Avenue in the Taihang Mountains, Juyong Pass Avenue, Ancient North Gate Avenue and Shanhai Pass Avenue intersected. The formation of this hub was closely related to the establishment of an original settlement in the history of Peiping, which was then named Jicheng. Nevertheless, the ancient Yongding River frequently threatened the inhabitants' safety with floods in the summer. In avoidance of the floods, instead of situating itself at the Ancient Ferry of the Ancient Yongding River, Jicheng was developed at Ji Qiu (in the area of Guang'anmen today), a place that was not far away from the Ancient Ferry and was supplied with water from the West Lake (the Lotus Pond today). Accordingly, Hou Renzhi provided a convincing scientific explanation for the origin of Peiping's original settlement and its development, denying the mistaken opinion held by some foreign scholars that the original location of Peiping was the result of divination by a Shaman in the ancient times.

The Analysis of Regional Cultural Differences: The origin and development of Peiping was not only influenced by the natural geographical conditions such as landforms and topography but also shaped by its special cultural geography there. Peiping was situated in the zone of the Great Wall in the north, which was China's northern frontier in history, where the exchange and merge of southern agricultural civilization and northern nomadic civilization took place. Different cultural blocs were either conflicting or communicating, rendering their political and military power in a state of flux. In the process, Peiping gradually developed from a local city, named Jicheng, in early times, to the political centre of northern China and later to the political centre of the entire country. Having accurately captured this cultural geographic feature, the author summarizes the cultural features in this region during different periods of time, revealing the influence of cultural geographic factors on the development of Peiping.

The Analysis of River and Lake System: After revealing the geographic foundation on which Jicheng was established, Hou Renzhi, from the perspective of river and lake system, further carries out systematic and in-depth research into the site, the scope and the planning features of the city in its different stages of development, from Jicheng, Nanjing in the Liao dynasty, Zhongdu in the Jin dynasty, Dadu in the Yuan dynasty, to Beijing in the Ming and Qing dynasties. He examined the role played by Ximagou and the West Lake in the nascence of Jicheng, exposing the

connection between relocating Dadu in the Yuan dynasty and the Gaoliang River, and displaying the hydraulic engineering measures taken to seek water supplies for agricultural irrigation and transport in the history of the city. Based on the analysis of river and lake system, the author demonstrated the origin of Peiping, its layout and the whole process of relocating. Anchoring the analysis of the features of ancient city planning on the basis of the net of rivers and lakes is Hou Renzhi's unique method in studying a city's historical geography.

Combination of Literature Analysis and Fieldwork: *An Historical Geography of Peiping* was completed on the basis of solid research work. For one thing, the author had collected extensive research data and historical materials for the study; for another the author had accumulated rich knowledge in this area and gained a wealth of experience in fieldwork. Hou Renzhi came to realize the importance of fieldwork as early as when he assisted Professor Gu Jiegang with his course 'Field Survey of Historic Sites and Antiquities'. He frequented the western outskirt of Peiping, carried out field surveys of geographic conditions and historic sites of water transfer projects and compiled a variety of materials on the historic sites of Peiping into *A Sketch of Historic Sites of the Ancient Capital* by categories. In 1943, Hou Renzhi published his first monograph on Peiping's historical geography, titled *A Survey of the Jinshui River in Peiping*, in which he attempted to combine literature research and fieldwork together. This feature was carried through not only to *An Historical Geography of Peiping* but also to some later empirical research work conducted by Hou Renzhi.

The Analysis of Urban Morphology: The traditional study on Peiping's history was mainly centred on some individual aspects, such as city site selection, city walls, city gates and imperial palaces, without attention to the overall layout of the city. Hou Renzhi's study on Peiping was centred upon urban morphology, involving not only city sites, city walls, city gates and imperial palaces but also the neighbourhood outside of a city gate, gardens, streets, lanes, population, markets, aqueducts, lakes and so on. Focusing on the layout and planning features of the city, Hou Renzhi demonstrated the thoughts of city planning by reconstructing the layouts of the city in different periods of time. He has especially profound and unique opinions concerning the characteristics and ideas of city planning of Dadu in the Yuan dynasty and Beijing in the Ming and Qing dynasties. Hou Renzhi holds that the plan and design of Dadu in the Yuan dynasty was initially based on the eastern bank of Jishuitan to determine the geometric centre and the north-south axis of the entire city, and then the location of the west and east city walls was determined according to the horizontal length of Jishuitan. The front gates of the palace, the Imperial City and the big city, as well as other main buildings such as the Bell Tower and the Drum Tower, were all situated on the central axis of the city. The plan and design of Beijing in the Ming and Qing dynasties further highlighted the vertical central axis of the city. The traditional Chinese capital-planning thoughts reached its peak in the plan and design of Beijing in the Ming and Qing dynasties. These above opinions, from contemporary point of view, are still quite accurate and insightful.

Emphasis on Illustration by Maps: Maps are especially powerful in representing spatial relations. A map might be more articulate than words. *An Historical Geography*

of Peiping includes 54 maps, all drawn by the author himself. These exquisite illustrations not only add aesthetic appeal to this monograph but, more importantly, render the monograph more scientific and visually direct, which are of great help for the readers to understand. Hou Renzhi's special attention to maps was later developed into using atlas to display the research results of historical geography, which was exemplified by the three atlases of Beijing Historical Geography.

In all, having withstood the test of time, *An Historical Geography of Peiping* is still of great significance in terms of theory and practice, which can be hailed as a classic. The research framework adopted by the author, as well as his special attention to the analysis of natural and cultural geography, to the way of illustration by maps and to the combination of literature review and fieldwork, can be discovered from the author's later academic practices, which are worth learning and comprehending by later scholars in the field of historical geography. The specific conclusions on Peiping drawn by the author still hold great reference value for city planning and preservation today. All of the above underlie our decision to translate and publish this monograph and therefore are especially noteworthy for the readers.

Sir Shaw Run Run Building 2, Peking University, Beijing, China Hui Deng
August 10, 2013

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This text was transcribed from the duplicate copy provided by the author. Two Chinese overseas students Ruan Ji and Ren Bo were very kind to have checked the original copy reserved by the library of Liverpool University and made up the missing pages.

Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

Topographical Setting and Geographical Relations

The Bay of Peiping

At the northern apex of the great triangular North China Plain, as Fig. 1 shows, there is the city Peiping. It is a city that has such a tremendous hold on the sentiment of its people on the plain that they regard it as a Polar Star, ever shining in the northern sky. To them it is a glorious city. If we make a closer examination of the topographical feature in the vicinity of the city, as in Fig. 2, we shall see that the enclosing mountains form concave arms to the plain. American geologist Bailey Willis vividly described the part of the plain embraced within the concave arms as the 'Bay of Peiping'.[1]

The average altitude of the city is 145 ft above the sea at Ta-ku Datum,[2] while the highest mountains immediately surrounding the Bay of Peiping frequently rise above 3,000 ft. Even the lower ranges are usually not less than 1,000 ft, and the plain is often limited by abrupt mountain slopes of 150–300 ft high. The descent from the surrounding mountains to the plain is very abrupt, and there are practically no foothills. The open plain slopes gently away to the south and southeast. However, the rocky slopes of the surrounding mountains extend occasionally into the plain like promontories into a sea, and there are isolated hills rising like islands through the deposits in which their bases are buried.

The buried landscape, if it were to be exhumed, is probably not very different from the adjacent exposed mountain surface.

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[1] Bailey Willis, Elliot Blackweider and R. H. Sargent, Research in China, Washington, Carnegie Institution, vol. 1, Part 1 (1907), p. 197.

[2] Approximately 1.3 m below MSL (mean sea level). This is used for the Chihli Rivers Commission maps covering the whole area of Peiping and Tientsin (1928). Ta-ku (大沽) is near to T'ang-ku (塘沽), the seaport of Tientsin.

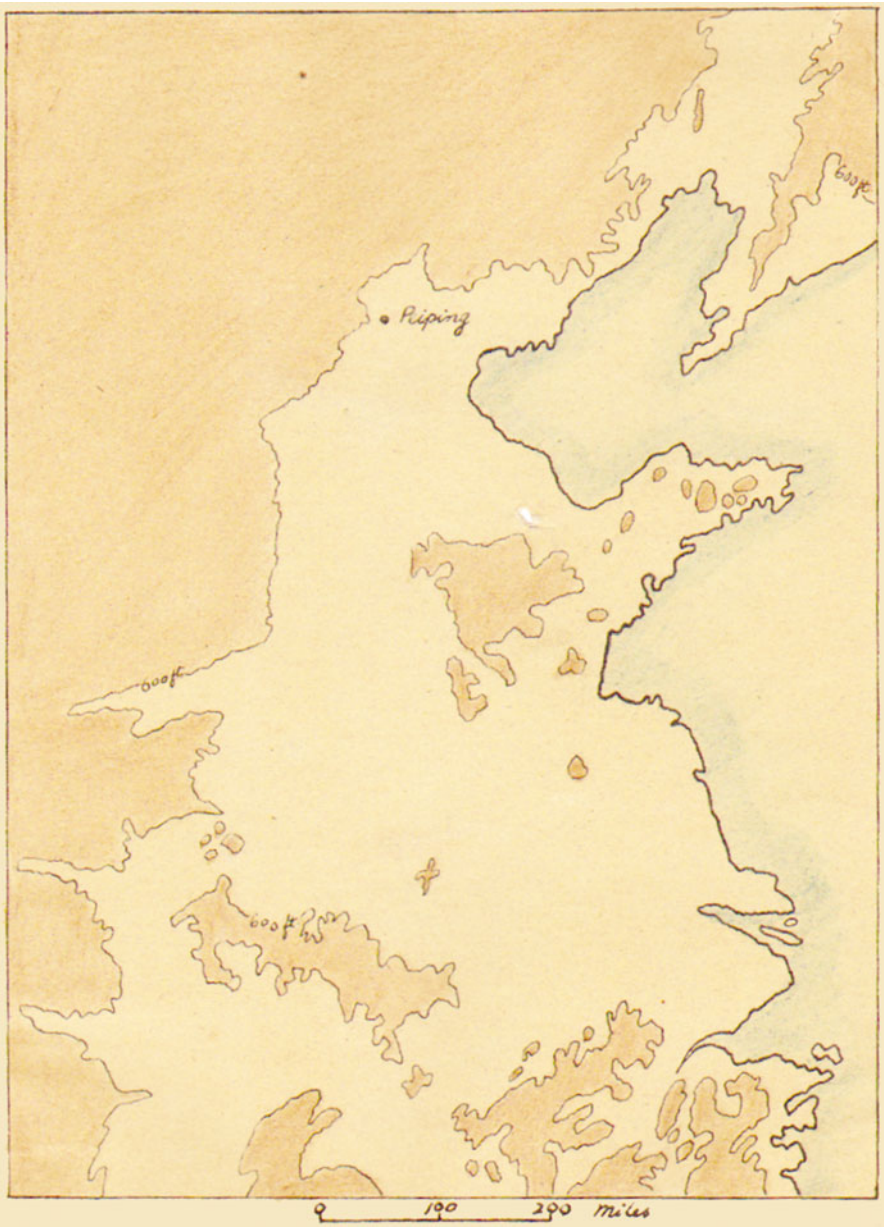

Fig. 1 Location of Peiping city and its geographical condition

The sediments filling the bay are gravel, sand, loam and loess which have been deposited in horizontal strata. Every well sunk on the plain passes through many layers of varying texture. Very few data are available for estimating the depth of these deposits down to bedrock. A well in the compound of the Peiping Union

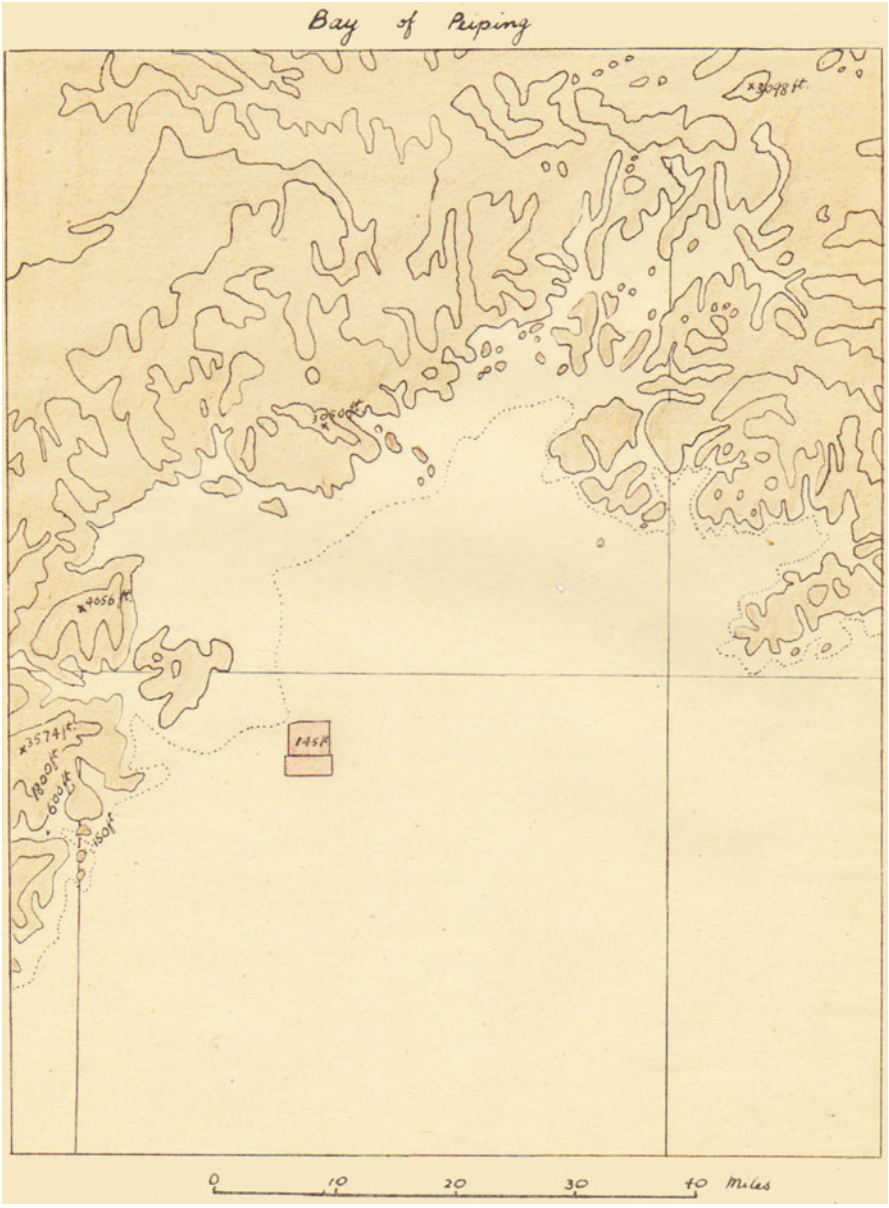

Fig. 2 Peiping city and the Bay of Peiping

Medical College in the eastern part of the city has been sunk down to 708 ft without reaching the bedrock.[3] It is estimated that it may be 1,000 ft or even more from the surface to bedrock below Peiping.

[3] Weng Wen-hao [1, p. 62]. There are numerous other borings in the city, but they are not recorded.

Generally speaking, there is a zone of coarse gravel next to the mountains. Immediately within this zone of coarse gravel lies a belt of sand also washed from the mountains, while the great central area consists of fine sandy loam and surface skin of loess that provided the foundation of the ancient city of Peiping.[4]

A Land Between Two Rivers

Within the Bay of Peiping, the city has been built (1) at the mouth of the embayment which opens into the great plain and (2) between two rivers, namely, the Hun (浑河 or Muddy River) and the Pai (白河 or White River).[5] If this embayment can be described appropriately as the 'Bay of Peiping', I do not see why that classical word 'Mesopotamia' cannot be applied with equal propriety to describe this piece of land on the very surface of which this historical city is built. The Hun and Pai flow on both sides of Peiping approximately in the same direction and eventually join together and empty themselves into the Gulf of Po Hai (渤海) just as the Tigris and Euphrates flow parallel to one another and finally join to enter the Persian Gulf[6] (Fig. 3).

Taking the centre of the old palace as a reference point, Peiping is about 14 miles east of the Hun and 15 miles west of the Pai. Along the same west-east line of measurement, the altitude drops from 260 ft at the east bank of the Hun to 70 ft at the west bank of the Pai. Thus we find that the city of Peiping is built on a gentle slope, with a gradient of about 1:806 between the two rivers (Fig. 4).

Both rivers have a wide network of headstreams in the mountains. The Pai enters the Bay from the northern end and consequently divides the central area of the Bay into two equal parts. All the little streams draining the western part of the Bay join together as a single river called Wen Yü (温榆)[7] and discharge their water into the Pai north of T'ung Hsien (通县).[8]

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[4] For the geological evolution of the Bay of Peiping, see L. F. Yeh [2, pp. 63–64].

[5] As to the precise site of the city in relation to the Bay of Peiping, see discussions in the following chapter.

[6] The analogy of course has its limitation. For instance, there are numerous irrigational channels drawing water from Tigris and Euphrates, but irrigation has never achieved such importance on the land between Han and Pai; and the deserts which extend beyond the former rivers do not exist at all in the latter case though there are sandy tracts as remains of the abandoned river beds running across the plain.

[7] One of the headstreams of Wen Yü is Ta Sha Ho (大沙河), the water of which was once diverted southward into the present Kun-ming Lake during the Yüan dynasty. For detailed discussion, see footnote 1 on p. xxi.

[8] T'ung Hsien was known as T'ung Chow until the early years of the Republic when the division of 'Chow' (州, i.e. Prefecture) which had long been one of the intermediate units between 'Hsien' (县, i.e. District) and 'Sheng' (省, i.e. Province) in local administration system was abolished. Since then all Chow were degraded to the status of Hsien.

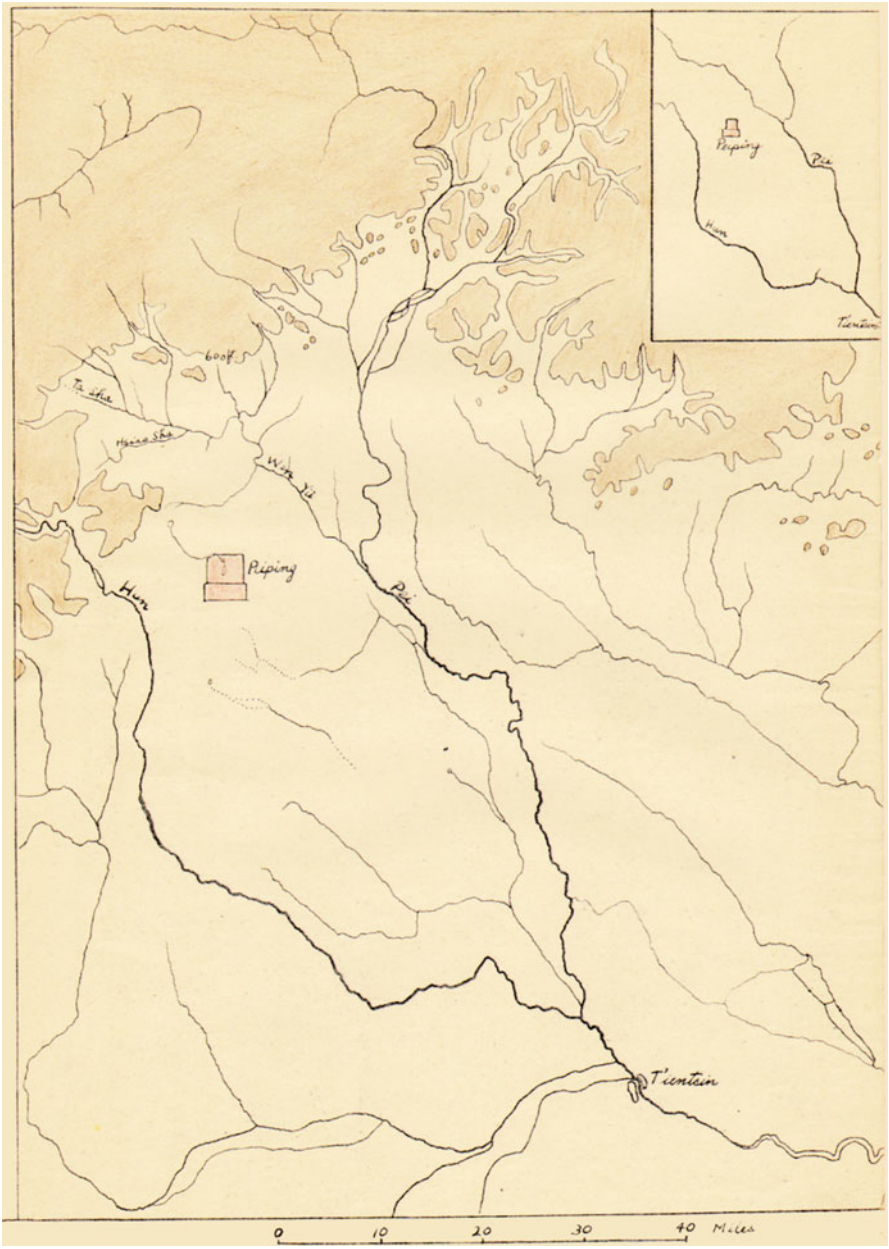

Fig. 3 Rivers distributed on the Peiping Plain

The Hun is a much larger river whose valley enters at the southwestern corner of the Bay of Peiping. In the Western Hills, the river is very narrow and gorgelike. Then the valley becomes a little wider, but it has to cut its way through mountains

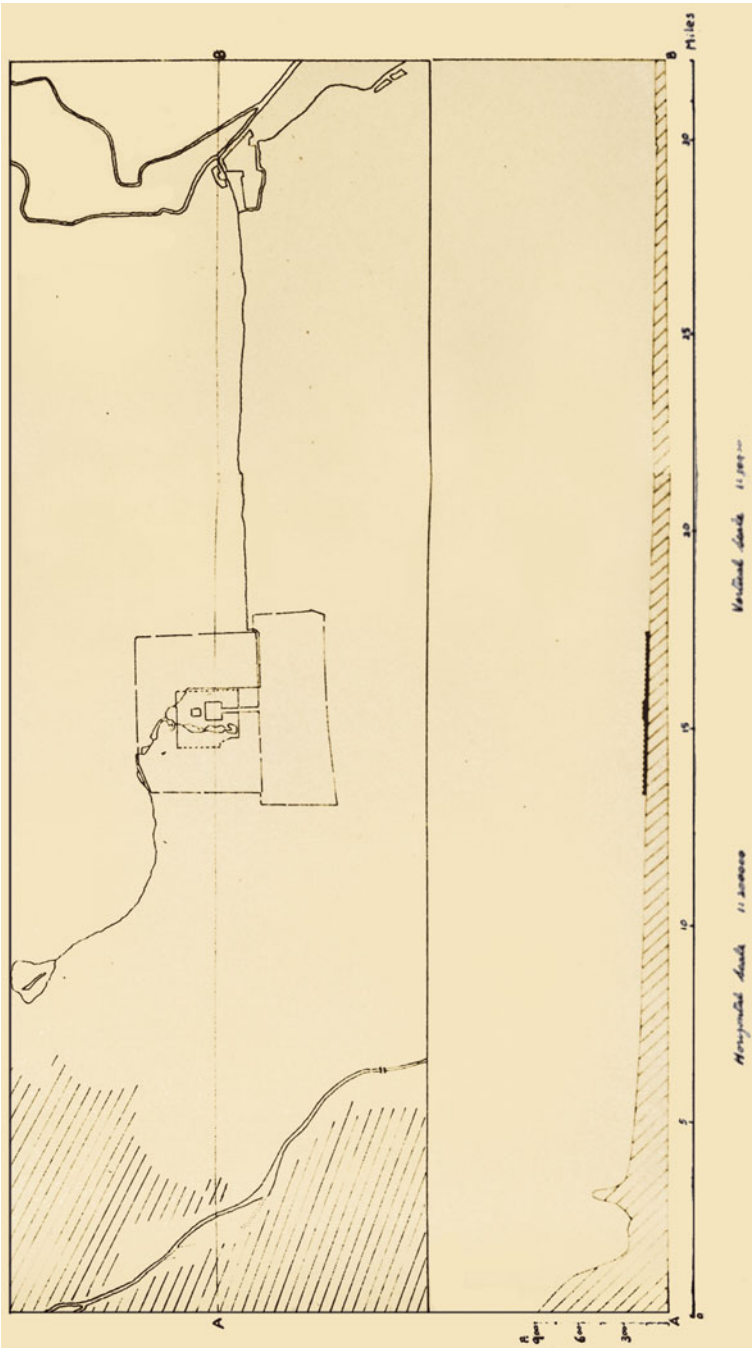

Fig. 4 Profile of vertical gradient between the Hun River and Pei rivers

and ridges until it merges into the plain below the village of San Chia Tien (三家店). Henceforth, in its course through the plain, it is branching in one place and uniting in another, and the actual channel changes from year to year. Since its course lies through loess-covered country, the water is always yellow and muddy.[9] In the alluvial plain, the sediments discharged by the river increase so rapidly that the valley of the stream is usually higher than the adjacent land. This river was the most important contributor to the building of the Bay of Peiping as well as the northern part of the great North China Plain in geological times. As shown earlier there is a gradient of the surface of the plain from the outfall of the river Hun towards Peiping. But in historical times, this same river was a constant menace to the inhabitants on the great plain because its lower course has been shifting from time to time.

In the long history of Peiping, each river has made its contribution to the material development of the city in one way or another, and more than once, as will be discussed later, an artificial waterway has been constructed to link up the two rivers by passing through the immediate environs of the city either for irrigation or for transportation.

Geographical Relations

Besides being the focus of the Bay of Peiping, the city is also a natural focus of long-distance land communications between the south and the north, that is, between the North China Plain and the northern ranges and plateaux, or the express in another way, between China proper and its outer territories. South of the city lies the great triangular North China Plain. It spreads out hundreds of miles towards the south until it merges with the lower valley of the Yangtze and its delta. On the east, it is bounded by sea except for the break caused by the Shantung Highlands. On the west it is flanked by the imposing range of the Taihang Mountains (太行山) and the eastern extensions of the Ts'in-ling (秦岭). Since the city stands at the mouth of the Bay of Peiping which, in fact, forms the apex of the great triangular plain, all lines of communication running through the great plain will naturally take the city either as a common starting point from north to south or as a common converging point from south to north.

North and northeast of the city rise the transverse ranges of the Yen Shan (燕山), part of which forms the eastern member of the concave arms that embrace the Bay of Peiping.[10] Ever since the dawn of Chinese history, these Yen Shan ranges, spanning

[9] Hence, its name is Hun Ho or Muddy River. It was also called Lei Shui (儡水) or Ch'ing-ch'üan Ho (清泉河) during the sixth century A.D. Later on, it was known as Sang-ch'ien Ho (桑干河). See Appendix IV. Since 1698 it has been officially renamed as Yung-ting Ho (永定河).

[10] The German geologist Ferdinand von Richthofen described the western portion of these transverse ranges as the 'Peking Grid' (see von Richthofen [3]). Yen Shan usually refers to the mountain range which rises abruptly at the northern and of the North China Plain. The word 'Yen' is a historical name of the local region. See discussion in the second chapter.

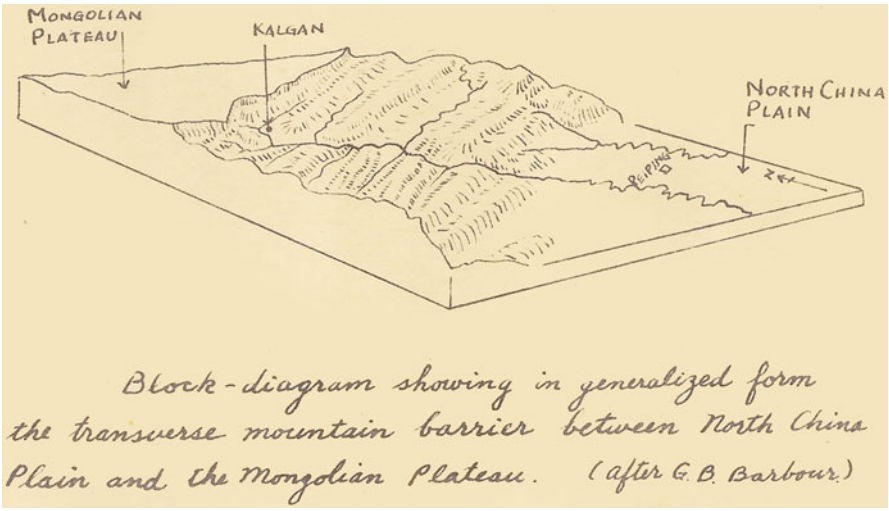

Fig. 5 Block diagram showing in generalized form the transverse mountain barrier between North China Plain and the Mongolian Plateau (After G. B. Barbour)

the whole gap between the Shansi Highlands and the inner gulf of the Yellow Sea known as the Po Hai (渤海), have constituted a formidable barrier between the great plain to the south and the Mongolian Plateau to the north, as well as the Manchurian Plain to the northeast. However, a few passes, which cut through these mountain ranges, provide natural gateways of communication. The most important of these are Nan Kow (南口), Ku-pei Kow (古北口) and Shan-hai Kwan (山海关). Nan Kow is situated at the northwest corner of the Bay of Peiping from where winds up the old trail leading northwestward until it reaches the last ridge north of Kalgan (张家口) which forms the edge of the Mongolian Plateau. Here a sudden change takes place. The rugged mountains and precipitous ravines down below the edge give way almost in a moment to a vast land of undulating plains extending to the far horizon[11] (Fig. 5).

At the northeast corner of the Bay of Peiping stands Ku-pei Kow leading directly to Ch'eng-te (承德), the capital city of the modern province of Jehol. Here the transverse ranges became less defined, and a mass of rugged hills begins to develop. But the boundary of this hilly region is as distinct where it joins the Manchurian Plain in the northeast as in the Bay of Peiping. From Ch'eng-te cart roads following natural valleys radiate either northwestward to the plateau proper of Mongolia or northeastward to the lower plain of Manchuria. There is also a central road leading due north to the open steppe of the upper valley of the Liao Ho (辽河), or Sira Muren River.

[11] George B. Cressey [4, p. 251]. There is also a branch road of this ancient trail just inside the first series of the mountain barriers at Nan Kow. It leads northeastward and reaches the lofty edge of the Mongolian Plateau at Tu-shih Pass. A vivid account of this road at Tu-shih Pass is given by Lawrence Impey in his article 'Shang-tu, the Summer Capital of Kublai Khan' [5].

The upper Liao itself serves as a direct west-east thoroughfare with a comparatively gentle slope between the Mongolian Plateau and the Manchurian Plain.

Finally, there is the famous Shan-hai Kwan guarding the eastern end of the Great Wall where the mountains almost meet the sea. Hence, the name Shan-hai Kwan in Chinese means: 'Pass between the mountain and the sea'. From Shan-hai Kwan a narrow strip of lowland along the sea coast connects the North China Plain with that of Manchuria.

These mountain passes are so located that all roads leading from the northern lands of Mongolia and Manchuria to the great plain of North China are bound to converge at Peiping. The only exception probably is the road that passes through Shan-hai Kwan which may follow the course of the modern Peiping-Liaoning (i.e. Mukdan) Railway via Tientsin, so leaves Peiping 80 miles to the northwest. But the ancient highway connects Peiping and Shan-hai Kwan ran close to the hills without making a detour far south to Tientsin.[12]

The port city of Tientsin, in spite of its spectacular development during the last century, is only a new settlement and has no place in the ancient land communications at all [6, pp. 8–14]. On the other hand, the trunk lines of modern railways which radiate out from Peiping illustrate perfectly well the focal position of the city in interregional communications (see Fig. 6).

Moreover, the Yen Shan barrier has an important bearing not only upon communications but also upon the very foundation of human life. South of this barrier where rainfall is comparatively abundant and winter temperature much higher, agricultural life dominates the whole land, while north of it, a great part of the territory is too dry and the winter too long so that nomadism has proved to be the prevailing mode of life up to the present day. The only exception is Manchuria where rainfall is matched with that of North China. But owing to the long winter and certain political reasons, agriculture has not been developed in most parts of the area until quite recently.[13]

The physical bases which caused these fundamental differences are self-evident and need no further explanation here. The point that requires special attention is the importance of this barrier in relation to the historical development of the city.

In fact, this barrier is only a part of the historical frontier between the Chinese farmers and the northern nomads. Though this frontier is a zone, the Great Wall gives a tangible indication of its presence. It runs from the northeastern margin

[12] This will be fully discussed in the following chapter.

[13] During the Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911), Chinese immigration into Manchuria as a whole was more or less consistently forbidden although there has long been a considerable Chinese population in the lower Liao valley which has been described by Owen Lattimore as the ancient 'Chinese Pale' in the sense of the old 'English Pale' in Ireland (see Lattimore [7, p. 108). The land was then reserved for the Manchus, the ruling group. Apart from this political reason, the cold and long winter in the northern part of the plain is also responsible for its late agricultural development. Vaughan Cornish pointed out that 'the physical transition between what lies south and north of the plain of lower Liao River is not of the rainfall but of temperature. The mean annual temperature at Peking is 53 °F, of Mukden 45 °F, and … these temperatures correspond throughout Asia and Europe with very different dates of economic development' (Cornish [8, p. 27).

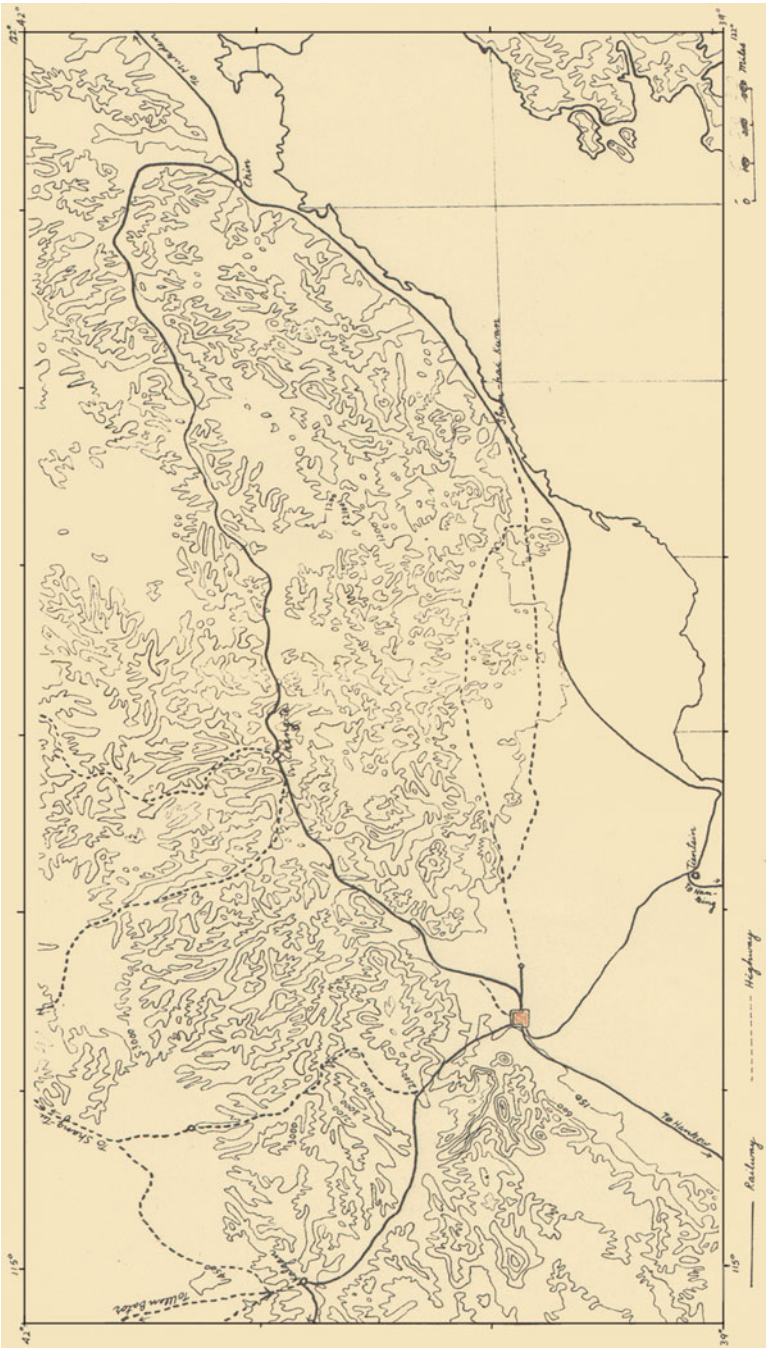

Fig. 6 Communication lines converging at Peiping

of the Tibetan Plateau in the west to the Pacific coast in the east which covers a distance of more than one thousand and five hundred miles. 'Its course', as Professor P. M. Roxby once wrote, 'marked one of the greatest social divides in the world. It separated, 'the steppe and the sown', the Chinese Proper of myriad peasant families and the Outer China of widely-scattered but predatory pastoral groups which only the strongest of Chinese dynasties succeeded in bringing under control within the empire' [9, p. 4].

However, not all parts of the frontier are of equal importance. The most critical part of it happens to be the section north and northeast of Peiping where the Yen Shan barrier lies. This is because it is here along the whole frontier that there is the shortest access, by way of the natural passes, from the nomadic lands to the agricultural plain.[14] And it is chiefly in relation to this most critical part of the frontier that the city has risen to eminence.

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8. Cornish, V. (1923). *The great capitals*: *An historical geography.* London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.
9. Roxby, P. M. (1942). *China* (Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs No. 54). London: Oxford University Press.

[14] Second in importance to this part of the frontier is the frontier marked by the westernmost section of the Great Wall from where the nomads could easily drive into the Wei Ho Valley at the focal point on which stands the Chang-an city. When the threat of the nomadic invasion was prevailingly from the northwest, the importance of Chang-an as a great capital in early Chinese history was obvious. Towards the end of the T'ang dynasty (early tenth century), nomadic invasions began to gather force not from the northwest but from the northeast frontier. This gave rise to the great military and political importance of Peiping that eventually emerged as the great capital of China in the later part of her history. This point will be developed at length later. See also Vaughan Cornish [8, p. 11].

Part I
A Frontier City

Chapter 1
Chi Under the Chou Dynasty (ca. 1122–221 B.C.): Capital of the Feudal State of Yen

1.1 The Founding of the Feudal State of Yen and Its Later Expansion

Peiping as discussed above is essentially a frontier city. The Bay of Peiping marks the end of the North China Plain as well as the northern limit of early Chinese expansion. It is certain that the Bay of Peiping was part of the Chinese cultural area at the beginning of the Chou dynasty (ca. 1122–221 B.C.), but it is uncertain precisely when it became incorporated into China in that sense.[1] The city Chi, the ancestor of the present city of Peiping, cannot be understood apart from the feudal state of Yen, of which it was the capital. This section, therefore, deals with the feudal state of Yen as a whole, and the following section will discuss Chi as the capital of Yen in particular. During the long rule of the Chou dynasty, the Chinese had advanced tremendously both in culture and in territorial expansion, while the political organization had fully developed into feudalism. The Chou emperor had never ruled an integrated empire by the direct administration of each territory that composed it. He ruled, in fact, only his own district—the royal domain. The real unit of sovereignty besides the royal domain was the domain of each feudal lord, and all the feudal lords at the beginning, with certain exceptions, were members of the royal family.

Immediately after his conquest of the Shang dynasty (ca. 1766–1122 B.C.), which ruled the central part of the great North China Plain for several centuries, the Chou emperor Wu Wang (武王), whose personal domain was in the Wei Ho Valley centered on the royal capital at Hao (镐), began to redistribute the newly conquered land. This marked the beginning of the first eight feudal states, among which there

[1] The date indicated here for the beginning of the Chou dynasty is most probably incorrect. The true date may be much later rather than earlier. The uncertainty of the chronology for the early years of Chinese history is heightened by the existence of at least two varying lists of dates, neither of which probably approaches accuracy until the Chou dynasty. The same applied to the dates of the Shang dynasty mentioned below.

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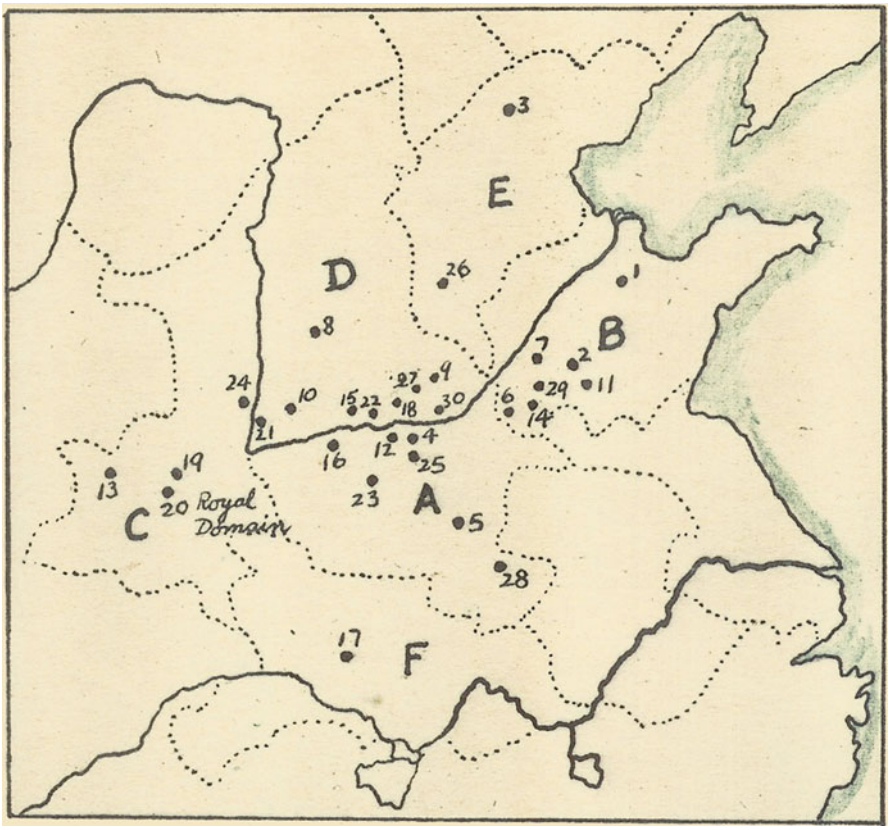

Fig. 1.1 Feudal states of the Chou dynasty

was the state of Yen (燕).[2] This practice was followed during the reign of the second emperor Ch'eng Wang (成王), the son of Wu Wang. According to the information that can be collected from various records, at least 30 feudal states were thus founded within the first decade of the dynasty [1, pp. 37–39]. The following map (Fig. 1.1) shows the relative position of Yen with regard to the royal domain as well as to other feudal states.

The points marked here are the cities. No attempt is made to mark the extent of each state which has never been defined.

[2]The word Yen means "swallow" as a noun or "pleasant and genial" as an adjective. From this word is derived the name Yen-ching (燕京, ching means capital), which has been frequently used for the city since the eighth century A.D. in order to denote its ancient origin (see Appendix I, Historical Chart of Peiping). Even today, the name Yen is still used as a literary designation of the neighborhood of Peiping.

1. Ch'i (齐)	11. T'eng (滕)	21. Hsün (郇)
2. Lu (鲁)	12. Tung-kuo (东虢)	22. Yü (邘)
3. Yen (燕)	13. Hsi-kuo (西虢)	23. Ying (应)
4. Kuan (管)	14. Kao (郜)	24. Han (韩)
5. Ts'ai (蔡)	15. Yüan (原)	25. Chi (祭)
6. Ts'ao (曹)	16. Mao (毛)	26. Hsing (邢)
7. Cheng (成)	17. Tan (聃)	27. Fan (凡)
8. Ho (霍)	18. Yung (雍)	28. Chiang (蒋)
9. Wei (卫)	19. Pi (毕)	29. Mao (茅)
10. T'ang (唐)	20. Feng (丰)	30. Tsu (胙)

Present Provinces	
A. Honan	D. Shansi
B. Shantung	E. Hopei
C. Shensi	F. Hupei

In this map, the state of Yen is the most remote from the royal domain as well as from the central part of the empire where the majority of the feudal states were concentrated. Thus, the essential character of Yen as a frontier state from the very beginning of its establishment is clearly revealed. It is true that at least one other state, the state of Tan, was situated far away near the southern fringe of expansion and seems to have been well-balanced in geographical position with the state of Yen in the remote north. But one has to bear in mind in this connection that the southern fringe of expansion coincided with no marked geographical boundary. Though the Central Mountain Belt between the Hwai and the lower Yangtze proved to be, to a certain extent, a barrier of north-south communication, it was by no means a decisive one, and the land beyond it was incorporated before long as a part of the so-called "China Proper", and from here, further expansion toward the remote south in a much later date was made possible. In short, the southern expansion of the Chinese was not halted before a natural and decisive boundary was finally reached. This boundary is the southern sea coast of China today.

To the north, however, the frontier character of the state of Yen was much more permanent than that of Tan in the south. The different geographical environments separated by the Yen Shan as mentioned in the foregoing chapter enhanced the early differentiation between the agricultural Chinese in the south and the pastoral nomads in the north [2, pp. 275–278]. Consequently, this purely geographical frontier began to assume a marked political and social significance, and the fundamental pattern of the future development of northern frontier history was thus decided—the pattern of frontier struggle in which the invading nomads always acted as a dynamic force, while the defending Chinese remained rather passive.[3] This passive effort of defense culminated in the building of a gigantic defensive system during the third and fourth

[3] It is true that the Chinese government occasionally organized great military expeditions to fight against the nomads in their own lands as during the Han dynasty, but the main purpose of these expeditions was merely to drive the nomads away from the frontier tract with no intention to occupy their lands permanently.

centuries B.C. This is the forerunner of the famous Great Wall of China as known today. In the building of this great defensive work, the state of Yen was one of the pioneers.

However, of the early development of the state of Yen from its first establishment to the fifth century B.C., very little is known besides a list of the rulers of the same family and a series of wars against neighboring feudal states. Only once is it mentioned in contemporary records that the state was attacked by a barbarous tribe known as Shan Jung (山戎), or Mountain Barbarians, a very significant description, and this attack was defeated by the help of the neighboring feudal state Ch'i (齐), the original territory of which was in the northeastern part of the present Shantung province. This happened in the year 664 B.C.[4]

The struggle between the state of Yen and the northern tribes was doubtless very ancient, while the intensity of this struggle must have been increased when pastoral nomadism had developed to its maturity. The sign of the maturity of this pastoral nomadism was the coming of a new invader who fought not on foot but on horseback. This was the mounted nomad who first appeared along the northern frontier of China probably in the fourth century B.C. It was probably this new invader who had forced the Chinese to build the Great Wall [3, pp. 529–549].

When the feudal states of the Chou dynasty in the north first started the building of their separate walls in order to keep out the mounted nomads, a new period of the political history of China had already begun. This is called the Chan Kuo Period (战国时代), or the Period of the Contending States, officially dated from the year 480 B.C. until the end of the Chou dynasty in 221 B.C. It was during this period that the state of Yen began to rise to power. It became one of the seven great powers of the time known as the Ch'i Hsiung (七雄), or Seven Martial States. It was also to this period that some information of great geographical interest about the state refers.

First of all, we begin to be able to define approximately the territory of Yen based upon the famous work *Chan Kuo Ts'e* (《战国策》), a collection of contemporary documents. In one passage of this work, the following quotation is made:

> To the east of Yen, there are Ch'ao Hsien (朝鲜) and Liao Tung (辽东). To the north of it, there are Lin Hu (林胡) and Lou Fan (楼烦). To the west of it, there are Yün Chung (云中) and Chiu Yüan (九原). To the south of it, there are Fu T'o (呼沱) and I Shui (易水).[5]

Though the territorial extension of Yen is given here in such an apparently straightforward statement, none of the four boundaries can be precisely fixed. Here is not the proper place to enter into detailed discussion on the place-names given above. Even if such a discussion were attempted, I doubt whether it would be really fruitful at all. However, the territories indicated by the first six names can

[4] *Chun Chiu*, *Tso Chuan*, *Ku-liang Chuan* (春秋左传, 穀梁传, i.e. Tso's Commentary and Ku-liang's Commentary on the Annals of the Lu State, from 722 B.C. to 481 B.C.), the 30th year of Chuang-kung (庄公).

[5] Statement given by Su Ch'in (苏秦), *Kuo-hsueh Chi-pen Ts'ung-shu* edition, 29/55a.

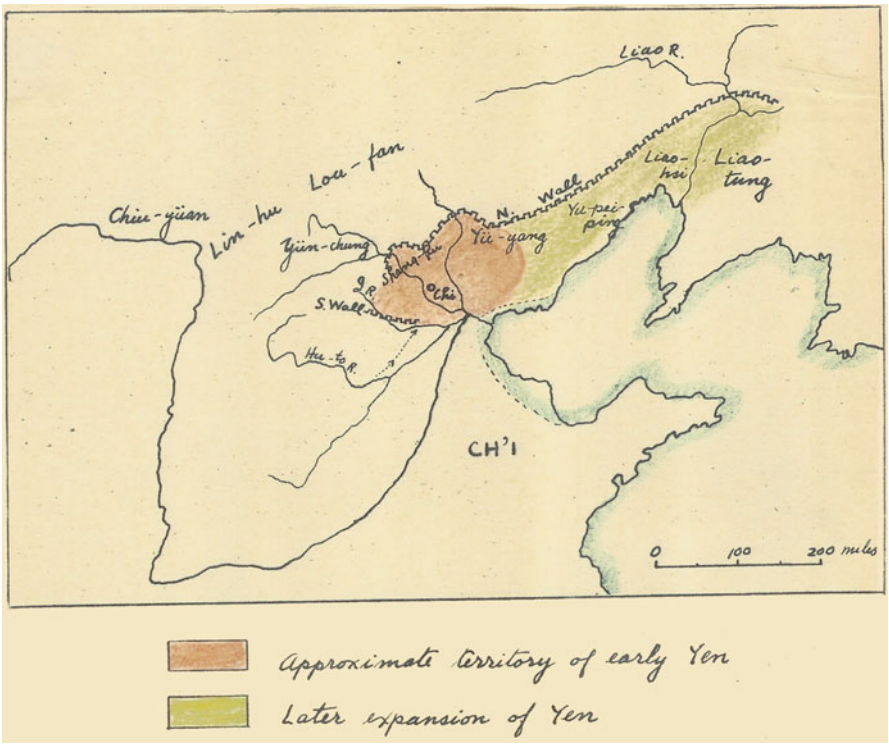

Fig. 1.2 Yen's territorial expansion during the period of the Contending States

be roughly identified according to traditional explanation with the following places of today:

Ch'ao Hsien: Modern Korea
Liao Tung: Southern Manchuria[6]
Lin Hu and Lou Fan: Nomadic tribes who probably occupied the territory of northern Shansi and southern Chahar (察哈尔) provinces.
Yün Chung: Extreme northern part of Shansi and central part of eastern Suiyüan (绥远) provinces.
Chiu yüan: Central part of western Suiyüan province.

These places are roughly indicated in Fig. 1.2. Concerning the rivers Fu T'o and I Shui as mentioned at the end of the above quotation, we have a much better knowledge because both names have been preserved to the present day. I Shui is now a

[6] Liao Tung is literally translated as "East of the River Liao". Whether the name is derived from the fact that the river Liao marked the western boundary of this region is not sure.

tributary of the Ta Ch'ing River (大清河). The state of Yen had also built a southern wall along this river, the ruin of which has been recorded by the distinguished geographer Li Tao-yüan in his great work *Shui Ching Chu* (《水经注》).[7] Thus, based upon the above discussion, the southern boundary of Yen during the middle of the Chan Kuo Period can be roughly fixed[8] (Fig. 1.2).

Taking the whole of the above discussion into consideration, we may safely say that Yen Proper during the first half of the Chan Kuo Period (480–221 B.C.) was chiefly in, and perhaps confined to, the plain north of the present rivers I Shui and Ta Ch'ing with a possible extension along the coastal lowland toward the northeast in the direction of Liao Tung. I admit this is rather a conservative estimate. It might have already conquered the nearby mountain regions but would not have penetrated very far.

The most important territorial expansion toward the north and northeast came only in the later half of the Chan Kuo Period. It was this later expansion that gave rise to the necessity for building the Great Wall. The original wall of the Yen state was farther north than the present wall, and it reached farther northeastward into southern Manchuria. This was recorded by the great historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien (司马迁) in *Shih Chi* or (《史记》) Historical Records. It reads:

> The state of Yen also built its Great Wall which started from Tsao Yang (造阳) and ended at Hsiang-ping (襄平), and the districts of Shang-ku (上谷), Yü-yang (渔阳), Yu-pei-p'ing (右北平), Liao-his (辽西) and Liao-tung (辽东) were established in order to defend the northern barbarians.[9]

Tsao-yang is said to be the present city Huai-lai (怀来), which is situated on the northern side of the mountain range at Nan Kow (南口), while Hsiang-ping is located about 25 miles north of the present city Liao-yang (辽阳) in southern Manchuria. The modern equivalents of the five frontier districts can be described roughly in the following table:

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[7] Li Tao-yüan, *Shui Ching Chu* (郦道元《水经注》, Commentary on the Book of Rivers), Ssu-gu Pei Yao edition, 11/2a.

[8] However, a question arises here in connection with the river Fu T'o. The present lower course of Fu T'o is about 80 miles south of I Shui and flows almost parallel to it. How could these two parallel rivers have served as a common boundary of Yen at the same time? They might have been referred to only in a general way without any intention to give the precise boundary as in the case of other directions mentioned above. The difference might also have occurred owing to the shifting of the old course of the Fu T'o. Recent records have revealed that the Fu T'o River has constantly changed its lower course. Now it is a tributary of the Tzu Ya River (子牙河) which joins the Ta Ch'ing southwest of Tientsin. During the Chan Kuo Period, it might have been flowing northeastward in the direction of the Chu Lung River (猪龙河) of today and eventually joined the Ta Ch'ing farther downstream than I Shui. If this is the case, it will be quite understandable why the two rivers have been mentioned at the same time as the common boundary of Yen.

[9] *Shih Chi*, *Hsiung Nu Lieh Chuan* (《史记·匈奴列传》).

	Modern political division	Geographical region
SHANG-KU	Southeastern corner of Chahar and northeastern corner of Hopei province	Mountainous region northeast of the Bay of Peiping
YU-YANG	Southeastern corner of Jehol and extreme northern border of Hopei province	Mountainous region north and northeast of the Bay of Peiping
YU-PEI-PING	Southern part of Jehol province	Mountainous region due north of the great plain
LIAO-HIS	Northeastern corner of Hopei and southwestern part of Liao-ning province, west of the river Liao	The coastal lowland leading from the North China Plain to the lower valley of Liao, with the flanking mountains on the west
LIAO-TUNG	Southern Liao-ning province, east of the river Liao	Eastern portion of the alluvial plain of the lower Liao, adjacent to the mountains of eastern Liao-ning

1.2 The City Chi as the Capital of the State of Yen

The chief concern of the present study, however, is not the contemporary geography of the state as a whole, but that of the capital city of the state in particular. This is the city Chi. It was the first settlement ever to become prominent on, or near, the very site where Peiping stands today.

It is assumed that from the very beginning, the city Chi had been the capital of the state of Yen. However, this is only an assumption which cannot be proved by any contemporary evidence.[10] So far as we know, the first account confirming that the city Chi was the capital of the state of Yen was given by the noted philosopher Han Fei-tsu (韩非子), who lived during the middle of the third century B.C. In commenting on certain current events, he made the following remark:

[10]According to *Li Chi* (《礼记》, The Book of Rites), the city Chi was also a feudal state founded at the same time of Yen (See the section of *Yo Chi*, 《乐记》, Record of Music, 26). Afterwards, as recorded in *Shih Chi Cheng-I* (《史记正义》, A Commentary on Shih Chi), Chi was conquered by Yen, and the city Chi thus became the capital of the state of Yen. (See Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, *Chou Pen Chi*, Historical Records, the Annals of Chou). None of these seems to be reliable. The earliest indication giving the impression that the city Chi had been the capital of Yen is found in *Chan Kuo Ts'e*. In its text, the term Chi Chiu (蓟丘), or the Mount of Chi, was mentioned together with the palaces of the capital of Yen (see *Chan Kuo Ts'e*, Kuo-hsüeh Chi-pen Ts'ung-shu edition, 30/73a). But whether the mount was inside a city or not is not stated. This mount of Chi, as recorded by Li Tao-yüan at a much later date, was situated at the northwest corner of the city of Chi in his day, and he ventured to explain that the city was, in fact, named after the mount, and hence the name Chi (op. cit., 13/21a). On what evidence Li Tao-yüan drew his conclusion regarding the origin of the name is unrecorded.

> The king Chao of Yen (燕昭王, ruled from 311 B.C. to 279 B.C.) made the (Yellow) River as (his) boundary, and (the city) Chi as (his) capital, attacked Fang-ch'eng (方城) of Cho (涿) by surprise, defeated (the state of) Ch'i, and conquered (the state of) Chung-shan (中山).[11]

It is worth noting that the name of the capital is mentioned here in connection with a series of overwhelming military successes won by the state over her neighbors in the south and southwest during the third century B.C. And it was probably these successes that brought Chi to the notice of contemporaries.

Here, it might be interesting to quote from the famous political history of China, *Tzu Chih T'ung Chien* of Ssu-ma Kuang (司马光《资治通鉴》), one more passage concerning the state of Yen and its capital. Though this work was compiled in the eleventh century A.D., it is generally considered to have been based upon reliable source materials. It reads:

> … More than twenty persons from Chi were made feudal lords in (the state of) Yen, and more than one hundred persons from Chi held noble rank in (the city of) Chi. Within six months (in the year 284 B.C., the army of Yen) had conquered more than seventy cities from (the state of) Chi, and made them (the administrative units of both) Chün (郡) and Hsien (县).[12]

The victory of Yen mentioned here is exactly the same one as referred to by Han Fei-tzu in the above quotation, and the number of persons from the state of Ch'i who held noble ranks in the city of Chi well indicates the increasing political importance of the capital of a rising power.

1.3 The Ancient Highway and the Rise of the City Chi

We may well realize by now that the most interesting problem confronting us at present is not merely when the city became the capital of Yen, but the reasons for it having become so and how it fulfilled its function as an organizing center of an ever-growing frontier power. Was it the most suitable place for this particular purpose? Or was there any other place which would have been a better choice?

These questions cannot be satisfactorily answered until the contemporary geography is made clear. After a study of the evidence, it has become evident that the rise of the city Chi is intimately related to the development of the most important ancient highway of the North China Plain. This ancient highway had developed along the foot of the imposing range of the Tai-hang Shan and Yen parallel to it from the west central part of the plain where the Chinese civilization first flourished to the northern end of it where the first phase of Chinese expansion was halted. A modern manifestation of this ancient highway is the northern section of the Peiping-Hankow Railway.

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[11] *Han Fei-tsu*, *Yu Tu P'ien* (《韩非子 • 有度》).

[12] Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition, 4/9b.

However, our knowledge concerning this ancient highway is not derived directly from any contemporary records, nor from any ancient maps. If there were such documentary evidence available, they would be the most valuable source materials for the present study, but unfortunately no such records exist. The evidence for the antiquity of this highway will be discussed shortly, but there is no doubt of its significance in more recent historical times and at the present day.[13] This highway had been followed century after century, dynasty after dynasty, until toward the end of the last dynasty at the close of the nineteenth century, the modern railway age dawned in China, and the Peiping-Hankow Railway, one of the earliest trunk lines in China, came into existence. Thus, when a traveler travels, say from Hong Kong, or more precisely from Canton, by train to Peiping, soon after passing the famous bridge on the Yellow River north of Cheng Hsien (郑县), he will be moving along the very track by which at least the majority of the early Chinese settlers reached the same destiny several thousand years ago. The predominant role played by this ancient highway was not challenged until a second highway was fully developed along the other (eastern) side of the plain as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. This second highway, however, is not a land road but an artificial waterway. It is the famous Grand Canal, special discussion of which will be found in the last two chapters. The chief concern here is the first or primary highway in question.

1.3.1 Conditions of the Physical Geography and the Development of the Ancient Highway

Why is it along this line that the ancient highway developed? The first answer lies in its physical geography. West of this line, as mentioned above, is the Tai-hang Range, which rises abruptly above the Great North China Plain in the same manner as the Yan Shan Range rises above the Bay of Peiping. Its eastern slope is so steep and rocky that penetration into it is almost impossible except through some natural

[13] Vaughan Cornish first pointed out the geographical condition for the development of this highway in his work *The Great Capitals* [4, pp. 2–3], but he did not go into detail. A number of great bridges of different periods built along this highway stand in witness of its great importance in the south-north communication. Among these the Lu Kow Bridge (or Marco Polo Bridge) in the vicinity of Peiping which was first constructed in 1192 (See *Chih Shih*, *Ho Ch'u Chi*h,《金史•河渠志》, Book on Rivers in the Dynastic History of Chin and *Shun T'ien Fu Chih*《顺天府志》, The Topography of the Prefecture of Shun T'ien, 1884 edition, 47/1b), and the An Chi Bridge (安济桥) in Chao Hsien (formerly Chao Chow 赵州) are especially famous. The former will be discussed on pp. 247–248. The latter is commonly known as the Great Stone Bridge of Chao Chow. It was built during the Sui dynasty (581–618) by a great architect Li Chun (李春) and has been preserved to the present day. It is one of the great architectural marvels in the North that has aroused universal admiration among the common people. It has also become one of the popular themes in local legends as well as in folk-songs. See *Chao Chow Chih*, the Topography of Chao Chow, 1897 edition, 1/29b-30a, 16/1b-2a, and Liang Ssu-ch'eng [5, pp. 1–31].

gaps.[14] Beyond the Tai-hang Range extends the rugged country of the Shansi Plateau, which offered little attraction to the early Chinese settlers.[15] Hence, it remained to be occupied by peoples of much lower levels of civilization as late as the middle of the Chou dynasty,[16] while east of this line lies the plain proper, which often becomes flooded in summer and, due to poor drainage, may remain so for several successive years. Thus, the plain is not so easy to traverse as a relief map would seem to show. On these grounds, therefore, we should expect to find the development of the ancient highway between the high mountains on the one hand and the great plain on the other, the greater portion of it running approximately along the 150 ft contour (see Fig. 1.3).

Moreover, this ancient highway intercepts hundreds of rivers, large and small, flowing down from the mountains to the plain. Upstream from the highway, there are rapids, but as the land flattens out into the plain and their flow becomes more gentle, so the beds become silted and the rivers wide, shallow, and meandering. In winter times, most of the smaller rivers become dry. But during the rainy season in summer, a few days' or even a few hours' rainfall will make the lower courses of these rivers overflow, and great shallow lakes often develop in the interstream depressions [8, p. 169]. We therefore find that the course of the ancient highway passes through the places on each river where it is most easily forded—neither upstream in the rapids nor downstream where the rivers are wide and liable to flood. That is to say that this ancient highway in fact represents a series of fords leading from the original cultural center in the south to the Bay of Peiping in the north. The last one, and yet the most formidable one of these, is the ford on the river Hun. It is here that we find the famous Lu Kow Bridge (卢沟桥, or Marco Polo Bridge as known to westerners), which was first built during the twelfth century and now stands as a great historical monument and testifies to the great importance of this ancient ford, which may be considered as the southern gate of the Bay of Peiping.

What has been said above of today is equally true of the old days. The only difference is that the great plain itself and the river systems which traverse it have been changing from time to time. In spite of its enormous area, this great plain is essentially the creation of the rivers. Ever since the Pleistocene period, the ocean, then beating against the foot of the Tai-hang Range, began to yield to the heavy deposits of the rivers which flowed into it [9, p. 40 and map]. The land has been increasing and advancing day by day, while the ocean has been diminishing and retreating. When the history of China dawned, the main shape of the present North China Plain

[14] The most important of these is the gap at Ching-hsing (井陉). The meaning of Ching-hsing, "a mountain gap as deep as a well," gives a vivid description of this important pass. For a particular description of the mountain passes of this area from the geological point-of-view, see Weng Wen-hao [6, pp. 62–63].

[15] The only exception is the narrow valley of the river Fen (汾) situated in the middle of the Shansi Plateau which was first settled from the south. But between the Fen valley and the Tai-hang Range the land is very rugged. Mountains usually rise more than 4,000 ft high, and the highest peak of the Wu Tai Shan (五台山) reaches nearly to 10,000 ft. The average rainfall in this area is about 4–5 in. lower than that of the great plain.

[16] See Herrmann [7, p. 15].

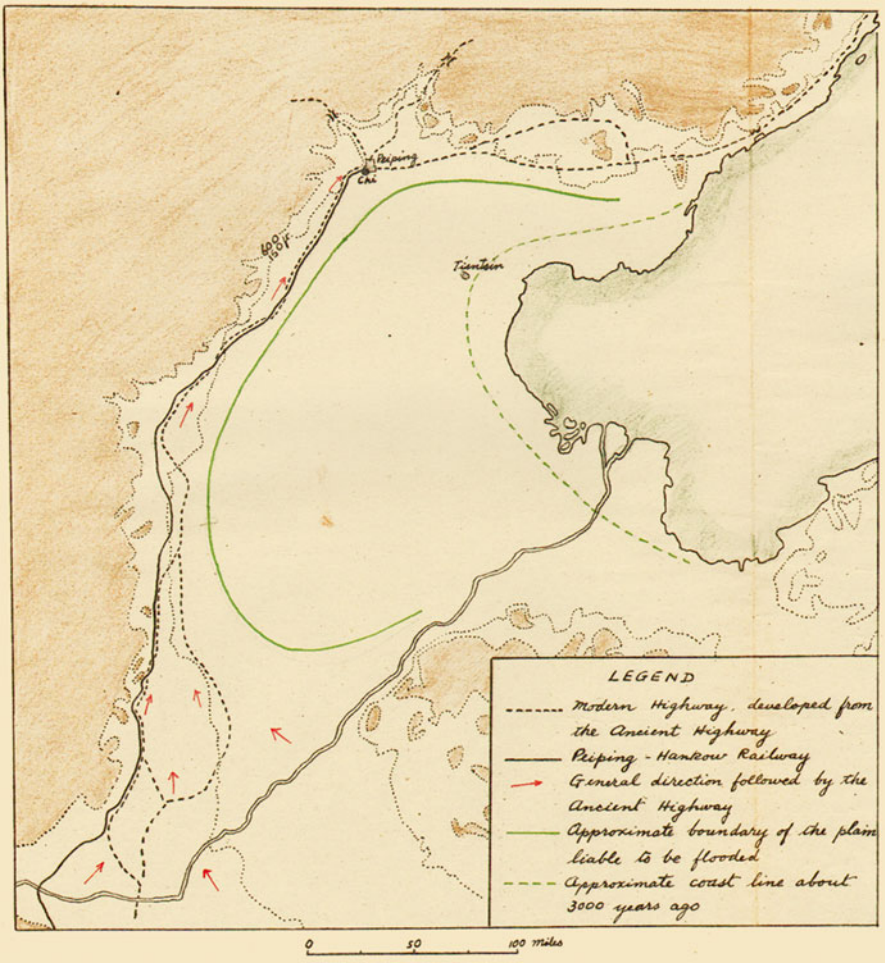

Fig. 1.3 Ancient highway along the eastern foot of the Tai-hang Range

had already been formed, but the sea coast must have then been farther west than it is today. Exactly where it was, say 3,000 years ago, is not easy to tell because the speed of the advancing land had never been scientifically studied. If we take as our reference the Yangtze Delta, which advances 1 mile into the sea every 60–90 years, then the sea coast of the North China Plain at the time of the establishment of the state of Yen might have been in the neighborhood of the present port of Tientsin.[17] At that time, the Yellow River was flowing in its northernmost course and emptied itself into the sea somewhere near Tientsin. This is the course which is recorded in the *Yü Kung* (《禹贡》), or the Tribute of Yü, the earliest geographical document

[17] V. K. Ting, *Geology of Yangze Estuary below Wuhu* (1919), and H. von Heidenstam, *Report on the Yangtze Estuary* (1917), as quoted by Weng Wen-hao [6, pp. 45–46].

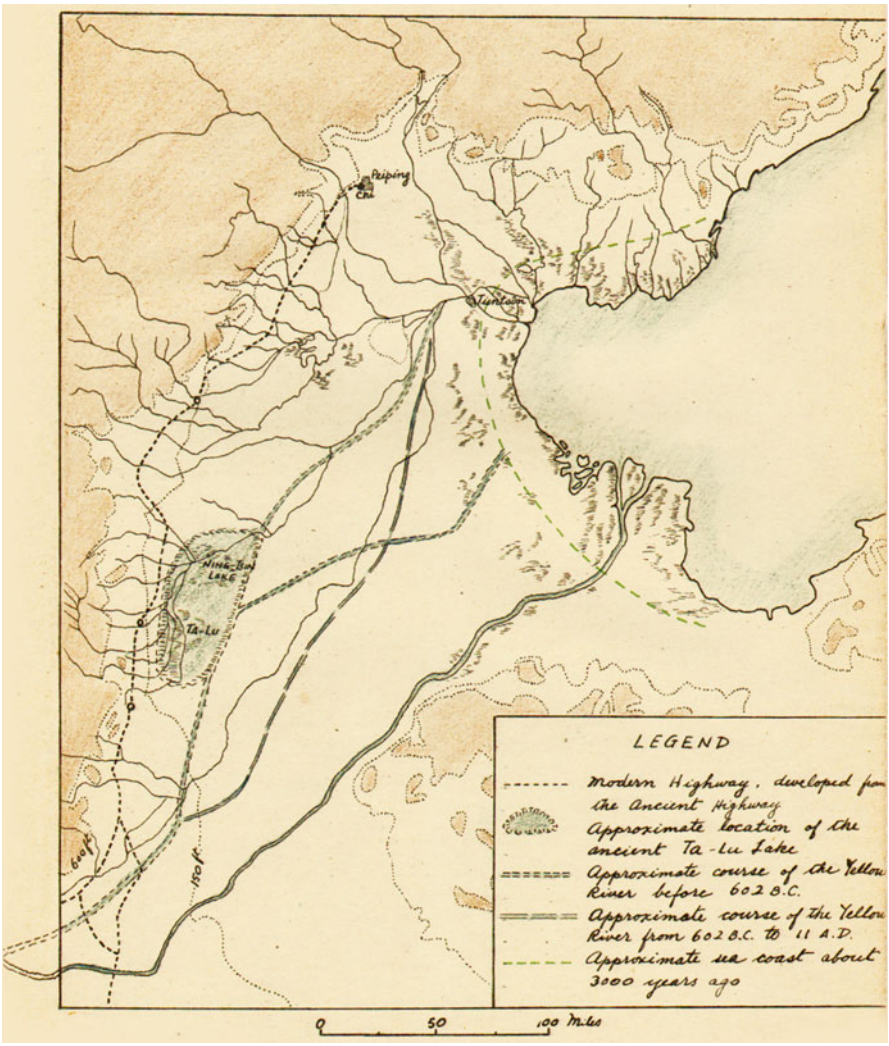

Fig. 1.4 The north-south ancient highway and lakes and rivers on the North China Plain

among the Chinese Classics.[18] In the Year 602 B.C., the river took a new course farther south, but it turned back to the old mouth again before reaching the sea. The river flowed along this second course until the beginning of the Christian Era (see Fig. 1.4). Thus, we find that between the dawn of Chinese history and the opening of the Christian Era, the Yellow River flowed chiefly through the central portion of the northern half of the great plain. Owing to its long course through the plain, the extreme flatness of the land, and the heavy deposits of the river itself, floods must

[18] See James Legge's translation The Chinese Classics, vol. III, *The Shu Ching* (《书经》), Part I.

have occurred from time to time in the way that they have during the last 2,000 years. This is probably the geographical foundation upon which was based the story of the deluge in the legendary history of China, in which the hostile nature of the main part of the plain for early inhabitants is reflected. Therefore, it is likely that the reclamation of the plain proper came later than that of the marginal tract along the foot of the plateau. And it is exactly along this marginal tract that the ancient highway emerged.

The above discussion is further verified by the fact that at least one great lake, Ta Lu (大陆), has been recorded to have existed on the great plain in the southern part of the present province Hopei. It was first mentioned in the *Yü Kung* as a tributary lake to the Yellow River, while the river was flowing in its old course prior to 602 B.C. (see Fig. 1.4). Whether it was created by the flood water of the river or owed its origin to other reasons, we are not sure. What we are sure of is that the lake was constantly supplied with flood water and that it had not dried up until quite recently.[19] In the *Ta Ch'ing I T'ung Yü T'u* (《大清一统舆图》), or the Great Atlas of the Ch'ing Empire published in 1863, the lake was clearly marked, but in modern maps only the name of the lake indicating its original site is given.[20] According to the Great Atlas, there was another lake, Ning Chin (宁晋), situated to the northeast of Ta Lu.[21] Both lakes have been recorded also under the names of Nan Po (南泊) and Pei Po (北泊), or Southern Lake and Northern Lake, in the 1884 edition of the *Chi Fu T'ung Chih* (《畿辅通志》), or the *General Topography of the Metropolitan Area*. According to the commentary of the editors of this work, both lakes were merely remnants of the ancient lake of Ta Lu. If this is the case—and we have no evidence to disprove it—we shall find that the ancient highway once ran right between the mountains and the lake and that there would have been no other thoroughfare as easily passable.[22]

In the northern part of Hopei province of today, there is another lake, Hsi Tien (西淀), or Western Lake, occupying the same position as the ancient lake Ta Lu in relation to the highway and the western mountains. This lake is probably of a much later origin and obviously owes its existence to the flood water from a number of rivers converging on the same place. The formation of this lake is a perfect illustration of the slow drainage of the plain. If this can happen today, it could also have happened in ancient times.

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[19] In the early summer of 1934, I undertook a 5 days' journey across the southern part of Hopei province. I started from the city of Nei-ch'iu Hsien (内丘县) and walked eastward through the central part of the original bed of the Ta Lu lake. The land then was entirely under cultivation. Villages occupied the higher grounds like islands in the sea. I noticed the presence of small boats lying on the gently sloping grounds outside some of the villages but without any navigable waterways in sight. The same boats, I believe, would be used in case of floods that usually occur in late summers.

[20] Sheet: South 1, West 1.

[21] Both lakes are also indicated in the General Geological Map of China in the form of marshes. See Peking-Tsinan sheet (Sheet N. J-20), *Geological Survey*, China, 1922–1924.

[22] Reduced by photography, Commercial Press, Shanghai, p. 3291.

The name Hsi Tien is apparently derived from the sister lake Tung Tien (东淀), or Eastern Lake, which was recorded in the Great Atlas, but has now dried up.[23] Northeast of Hsi Tien, there is a great marsh, which is called the Wen An Wa (文安洼). Farther to the northeast of Wen An Wa, there is another shallow lake, the San Chiao Tien (三角淀). Both are marked in the Great Atlas as well as in modern maps. The existence of these lakes and marshes, whether of ancient or of recent origin, may well suggest that the great plain might have been dotted with even more lakes and marshes at the time that the early Chinese settlers were trekking northward along that narrow tract of lowland where a highway was destined to develop. The above-mentioned Ta Lu Lake was certainly the greatest among them and therefore deserved special recording, while the others were neglected. Active reclamation and intensive cultivation, which characterize the agricultural activity on the great plain of today, must have played an important part in the draining of the ancient lakes and marshes during the last 2,000–3,000 years, though summer floods have always acted as a counterforce, and some temporary lakes and marshes have been created from time to time.[24]

1.3.2 The Distribution of the Early Settlements on the Great Plain in Relation to the Ancient Highway

The development of the ancient highway, it may be presumed, would naturally be followed by the establishment of permanent settlements. And there is some evidence which can be used to date the establishment of these early settlements. Taking as one example the present Hsien or district cities,[25] which are now more or less evenly scattered on the great plain, and tracing the origin of them one by one, we find quite clearly that the cities which have developed along the western margin of the plain came into existence long before those on the plain proper. The following map (Fig. 1.5) shows particularly the distribution of those cities whose origin can be traced back to the first two dynasties in Chinese history—the Shang dynasty and the Chou dynasty.[26] Their concentration along the western margin of the plain is not surprising. And it is from this marginal tract that the early settlers not only began to push northward but also began to spread right into the heart of the plain on the east. When this is made clear, it is not surprising to learn either

[23] Op. cit., Sheet of the Imperial Capital.

[24] A study of the reclamation of the lakes and marshes of the great plain and the transformation of the general landscape resulted from it must be a fascinating theme to a student of geography. Yet, this has never been undertaken so far.

[25] i.e., the seats of local or district governments, the smallest units in political administration.

[26] The preparation of this map is based upon the information given by Ku Tsu-yü (顾祖禹) city by city in his great work *Tu Shih Fang Yü Chi Yao* (《读史方舆纪要》, A Geographical Aid to the Study of Chinese History), which is the only comprehensive work available to the present author at the moment.

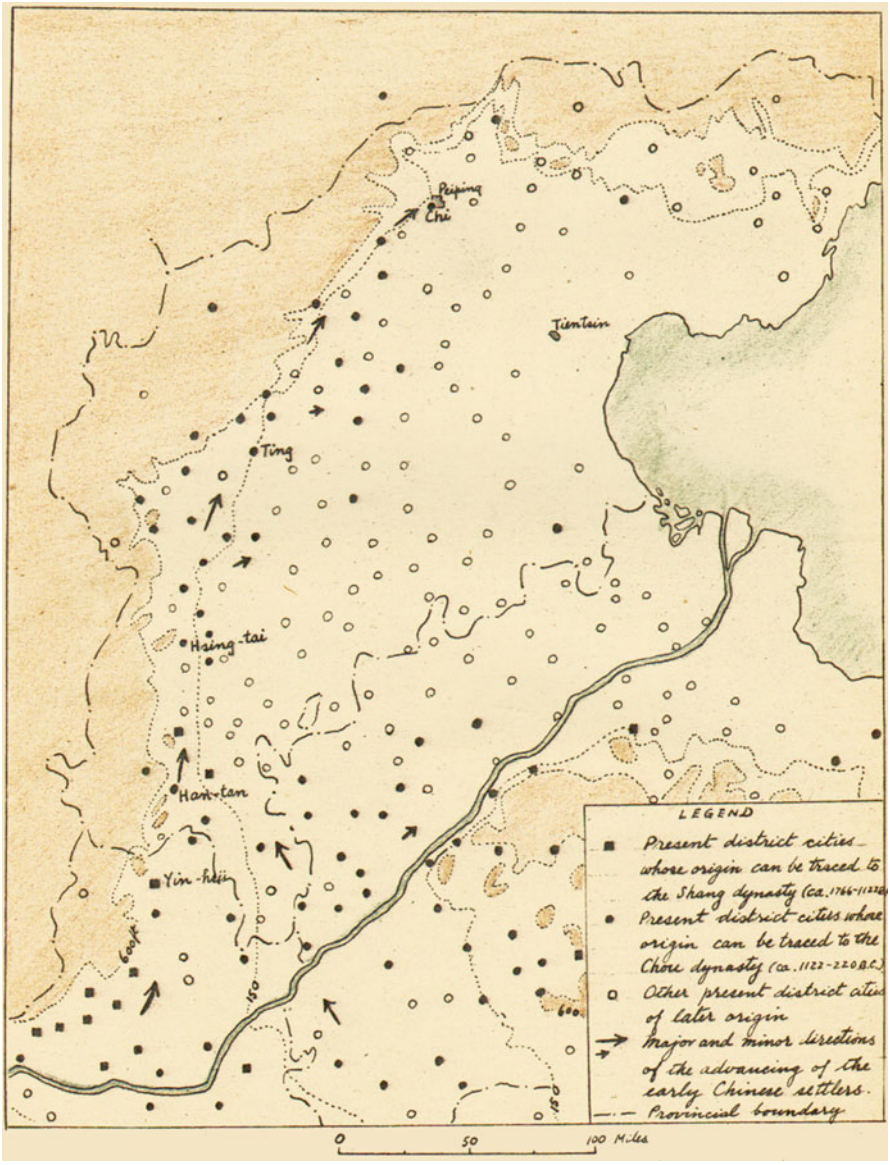

Fig. 1.5 The north-south ancient highway and the early settlements on the North China Plain

that the important cities on the great plain in ancient China arose one after another, not from the plain proper, but from the same tract of land where the ancient highway first emerged. Among these cities, Yin-hsü (殷墟), the great capital of the late Shang dynasty, Han-tan (邯鄲), the capital city of the feudal state of Chao in the late Chou dynasty, Hsing-t'ai (邢台) and Ting (定), both political centers of local

powers of the early Chou dynasty, and Chi (薊), the capital city of the feudal state of Yen, are especially famous.

1.3.3 Further Development of the Ancient Highway and the Rise of the City Chi

Although the city Chi[27] was the northernmost of all the great cities along the ancient highway, as mentioned above, it was by no means the end of further development of the road. By the third century B.C., the northern and northeastern territories beyond the great plain had already been annexed to the feudal state of Yen, and the Great Wall of Yen, which flanked the outskirts of these newly acquired territories, had also been built. However, in order to reach these outlying territories, early communication must have been developed beyond the northern border of the great plain. But owing to the restriction of the general topography of this area, as has been discussed in the foregoing chapter, there were only three principal roads which early communication could easily follow, namely, (1) the northwest road leading into the intermountain valleys of the Yen Shan Range through the present Nan Kow pass, (2) the northeast road leading into the present Jehol province by way of Ku-pei Kow, and (3) the eastern road which was bounded by the Yen Shan Range on the one hand and the flood plain on the other, similar in form to the ancient highway south of the city Chi.

Among these, the last one is especially important because along this road, it was possible to travel until the sea was reached at the point where stands the Shan-hai Kwan of today and then to continue along the coastal lowlands to the lower valley of the Liao—the most remote corner of the territory of Yen. Without the full development of these roads, it was impossible for the state of Yen to conquer and consolidate its northern and northeastern borderlands. And it was only after this period of territorial expansion that we have clear documentary evidence of the city Chi as the capital of Yen. Thus, one may fairly conclude that the city Chi probably owed its origin to its site on the first ancient highway along the foot of the Tai-hang Range, but its later development can be surely attributed to the further extension of the new roads which radiated out from the city to the outlying territories of Yen in the north and northeast. It then was no longer a terminus of the ancient highway; it had become the center of communication between the motherland and the frontier territories. With this geographical advantage, it is no wonder that the city should have become the organizing center of a growing power (Fig. 1.6).

[27] The founding of the original site of the city is, in all probability, intimately associated with the development of a permanent ford on the river Hun, which might be considered as the southern gate of the Bay of Peiping. Anyhow, it could not be too far to the east, where the land level is comparatively low and the plain is liable to flood.

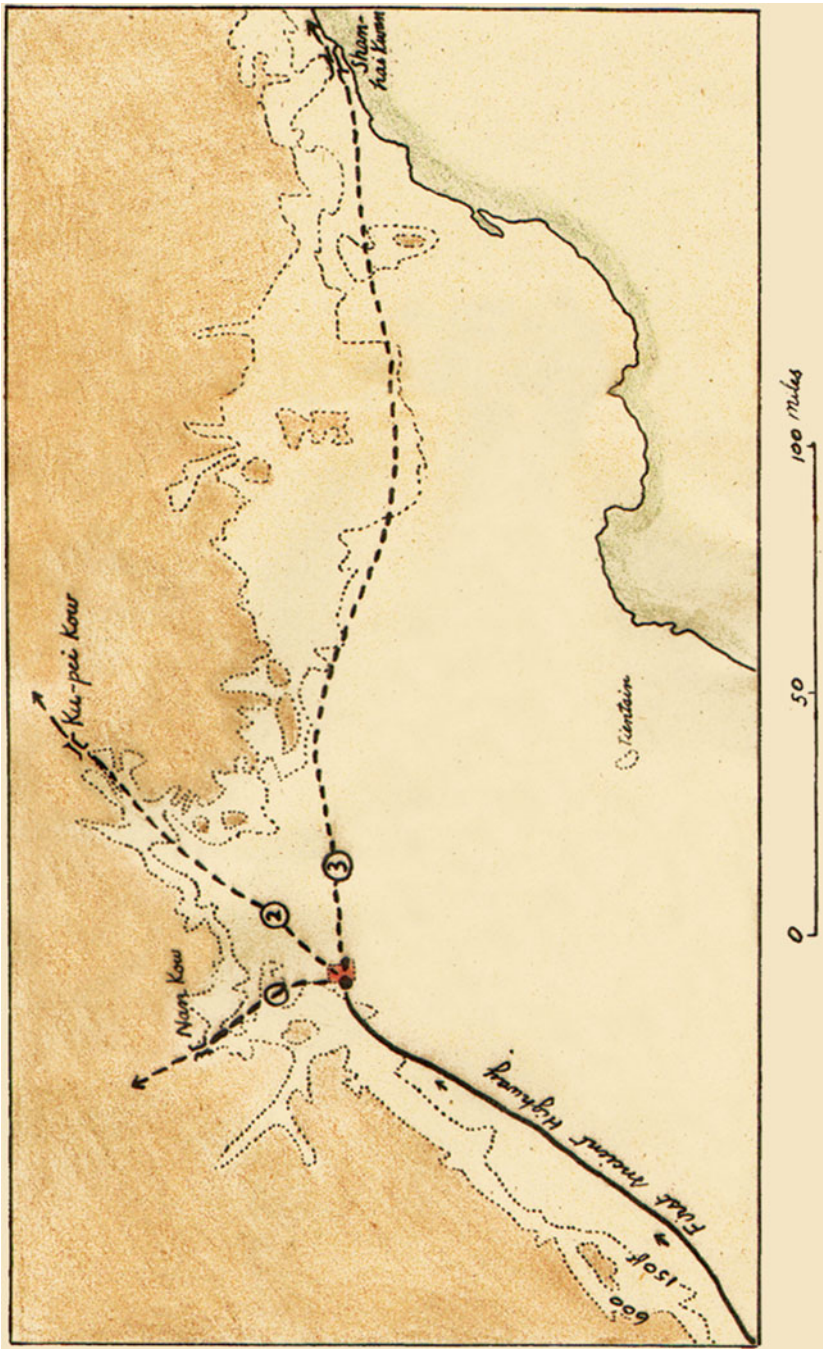

Fig. 1.6 The ancient routes passing through Peiping

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Chapter 2
Chi During the Ch'in-Han Period (221 B.C.–A.D. 220): A Phase of Commercial Expansion

2.1 Political Status and Geographical Position

The glorious days of the state of Yen since the beginning of the third century B.C. did not last very long. From the middle of the third century B.C., another frontier power among the seven Martial States, the Ch'in State (秦), had become stronger and stronger. It started a systematic conquest from the Wei Ho Valley where the Chou dynasty had first risen to power. Within 30 years all the feudal states including the royal domain of the Chou emperor then centred on Lo-yang (洛阳) fell before its advance one after another. The city Chi was taken by the Ch'in army in 226 B.C.[1] and the whole state of Yen was subjugated in 222 B.C.[2] One year later (221 B.C.) the Ch'in ruler successfully unified the whole country and assumed the title Ch'in Shih Huang Ti (秦始皇帝, first emperor of Ch'in) in his capital Hsien-yang (咸阳).[3] The imperial form of government thus established lasted in China until the beginning of the present century, but the Ch'in dynasty itself had only a short life of 15 years (221 B.C.–207 B.C.). After a brief chaotic period following the downfall of the Ch'in dynasty, order was restored again by the newly founded Han (汉) dynasty which ruled the empire more than 400 years with only a short break from

[1] E. Bretschneider wrote in his famous work, *Archaeological and Historical Researches on Peking*, that the city Chi 'was destroyed by Shih Huang Ti', The Chinese Recorder, vol. 1, 1875, no. 3, p. 165. The same statement was given by later authors such as Samuel Coulling [1, p. 427] and G. Bouillard [2, p. 41]. However, this is not found in any Chinese record. The original text of *Shih Chi* (《史记》, Historical Records, by Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司马迁), the most important work on this period, simply reads: 'In the twenty first year of Shih Huang Ti… (the city of) Chi (of the state of) Yen was taken' (Shih Huang Pen Chi, or the Chronicle of Shih Huang). The original Chinese word used here for 'taken' is '拔', which can be literally translated as 'uproot', but not in this case.

[2] Yen was the last of the Martial States conquered because it was at the frontier extremity most remote from the Wei Ho Valley. This also reflects the fact that the general strategy of Ch'in was 'to attack first those are near'.

[3] The original site of Hsien-yang is about 4 miles northeast of the present Hsien-yang and 18 miles northwest of Hsi-an (西安).

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A.D. 9 to A.D. 25 when the throne was usurped by a powerful official. The first half of this new dynasty is generally known as the Former or Western Han (202 B.C.–A.D. 8) with its capital at Ch'ang-an (长安), only a few miles southeast of the Ch'in capital Hsien-yang, while the second half is known as the Later or Eastern Han (A.D. 25–A.D. 220), because its capital was shifted eastward to Lo-yang (洛阳), the royal domain of the Later Chou dynasty.

Under the absolute power of the centralized government of Ch'in and Han, some important developments in the empire deserve special attention with regard to the status and development of Chi. First of all, there was the abolition of feudalism by Ch'in Shih Huang Ti. Instead of entrusting local administration to the members of the royal family, he created an elaborate bureaucracy under the direct control of the emperor. The empire was divided into a number of administrative units called Chün (郡), or commanderies, and each Chün in turn into Hsien (县), or districts. Over every Chün and Hsien was placed a member of the bureaucracy. Though both Chün and Hsien as local administrative units were by no means entirely new, it was Shih Huang Ti who first made these units into an organized system and applied it uniformly to the whole empire.[4] The city Chi then became the chief city of a small Chün named Kuang-yang (广阳) which lay immediately in the Bay of Peiping and part of the adjacent plain, a territory which may have represented the original nucleus of the former state of Yen. The five Chün, Shang-ku, Yü-yang, Yu-pei-ping, Liao-hsi and Liao-tung, formerly under the jurisdiction of Yen, were (in Ch'in) of equal status with Kuang-yang as Chün of the central government.[5] Chün was thus a different kind of administrative unit from the feudal states which had preceded it.

During the Han dynasty, however, there was a partial revival of the old practice of establishing feudal states or principalities which was followed also by later dynasties, but it never again held full sway as it had under the Chou dynasty. The city Chi then was for three times made the seat of the government of a principality. This principality retained the old name Yen at first (202–127 B.C. and 117–80 B.C.) and then changed into the new name Kuang-yang (73 B.C.–A.D. 37).[6] Its geographical extent differed very little from Kuang-yang of Ch'in, and its real political status was no more than that of an ordinary Chün. Though it was called in Chinese a 'Kuo' (国, meaning state), it could not be compared with the former state of Yen. Yet it is different from Chün, because its head is not an ordinary official but usually a member of the royal family.

Another change during this time was the grouping of the Chün (commanderies) and Kuo (principalities) into a number of Chou (州) which is definitely the earliest form of what is known as 'Sheng' (省) or province of today.[7] The principality of

[4] For detailed discussion, see Ku Yen-wu, *Jih-chih Lu* (顾炎武《日知录》, Critical Notes on the Reading of Classics and History). Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition (四部备要本), 17/15a.

[5] Ch'üan Tsu-wang, *Han-shu Ti-li-chih Chi-I* (全祖望《汉书地理志稽疑》, Commentary of the Book of Geography in the Dynastic History of Han), Ts'ung Shu Chi-ch'eng (丛书集成) edition, 1/6b-7a.

[6] See Appendix I, Historical Chart of Peiping.

[7] See Ku Chieh-kang and Shih Nien-hai [3, pp. 80–86, 90–102].

Yen, or Yen Kuo, and nine other Chün constituted the Province of Yu, or Yu Chou (幽州), the geographical extent of which was almost identical with the former feudal state of Yen in its prime, except a further addition of the newly conquered territories in North Korea.[8] At the same time, the city Chi became the provincial capital.[9] The chief official of the province acted, however, only as an inspector without any executive power, and the status of a provincial capital did not add very much political importance to the city of Chi at that time.

Unification was not political alone. Soon after Shih Huang Ti became emperor, immediate steps were taken to make uniform the weights and measures of the whole empire. Implements and the gauges of wagons were standardized, and a new style of script aiming at unified writing was promoted. These were done with the double purpose of insuring unity and prosperity. Finally, as in the Roman Empire, wide roads were constructed for the emperor's travel, the movements of troops and the development of commerce. On one occasion, it was recorded: 'The imperial highway constructed by the Ch'in reached Yen (燕) and Ch'i (齐) in the far east, and Wu (吴) and Yüeh (越) in the remote south. The road was fifty *pu* (步, i.e. pace) wide. Trees were planted along it in every three *chang* (i.e. roughly thirty feet)'.[10] Land communication was further developed during the Han dynasty. The city Chi occupied definitely an important position in the network of the imperial highways of Ch'in and Han, but it still remained a frontier city as implied in the above quotation.

Moreover, both Ch'in and Han had made territorial conquests in many directions. But our chief concern here is with the territories adjacent to the former feudal state of Yen. As stated in the previous chapter, the state of Yen had already included the lower Liao valley within its boundary. The Ch'in dynasty made little advance in this direction, though it is alleged that the eastern section of the Great Wall, which was first built by Yen, was further extended by Ch'in as far as the mouth of Ya-lu River (鸭绿江). During the early Han dynasty, a state called Ch'ao-hsien had arisen east of the lower Liao valley. For certain political and strategic reasons, it was conquered by the army of the Han emperor Wu Ti (武帝) in 108 B.C. and its territory was divided into four Chün: Lo-lang (乐浪), Hsüan-tu (玄菟), Chen-fan (真番) and Lin-t'un (临屯).[11] The conquest was, naturally, followed by the infiltration of Chinese immigrants and culture. The original capital of Ch'ao-hsien became the chief city of Lo-lang Chün near the present city Ping-yang (平阳), where a wealthy Chinese colony was established. The rich remains of civilization, including some beautiful

[8] See discussion below.

[9] The nine other commanderies are Shang-ku, Yü-yang, Yu-pei-ping, Liao-hsi, Liao-tung, Hsüan-tu (玄菟), Lo-lang (乐浪), Cho (涿) and Po-hai (渤海). See Ku Chieh-kang and Shih Nien-hai [3, p. 102].

[10] Ch'ien Mu, Kuo Shih Ta-kang (钱穆《国史大纲》, Outline History of China), vol. 1, p. 85. The place-names Yen, Ch'i, Wu and Yüeh indicate roughly the following places: Yen, northern part of the present Hopei province; Ch'i, northern part of the present Shantung province; Wu, southern part of the present Kiangsu province; and Yüeh, the present Chechiang province.

[11] See Fig. 2.1.

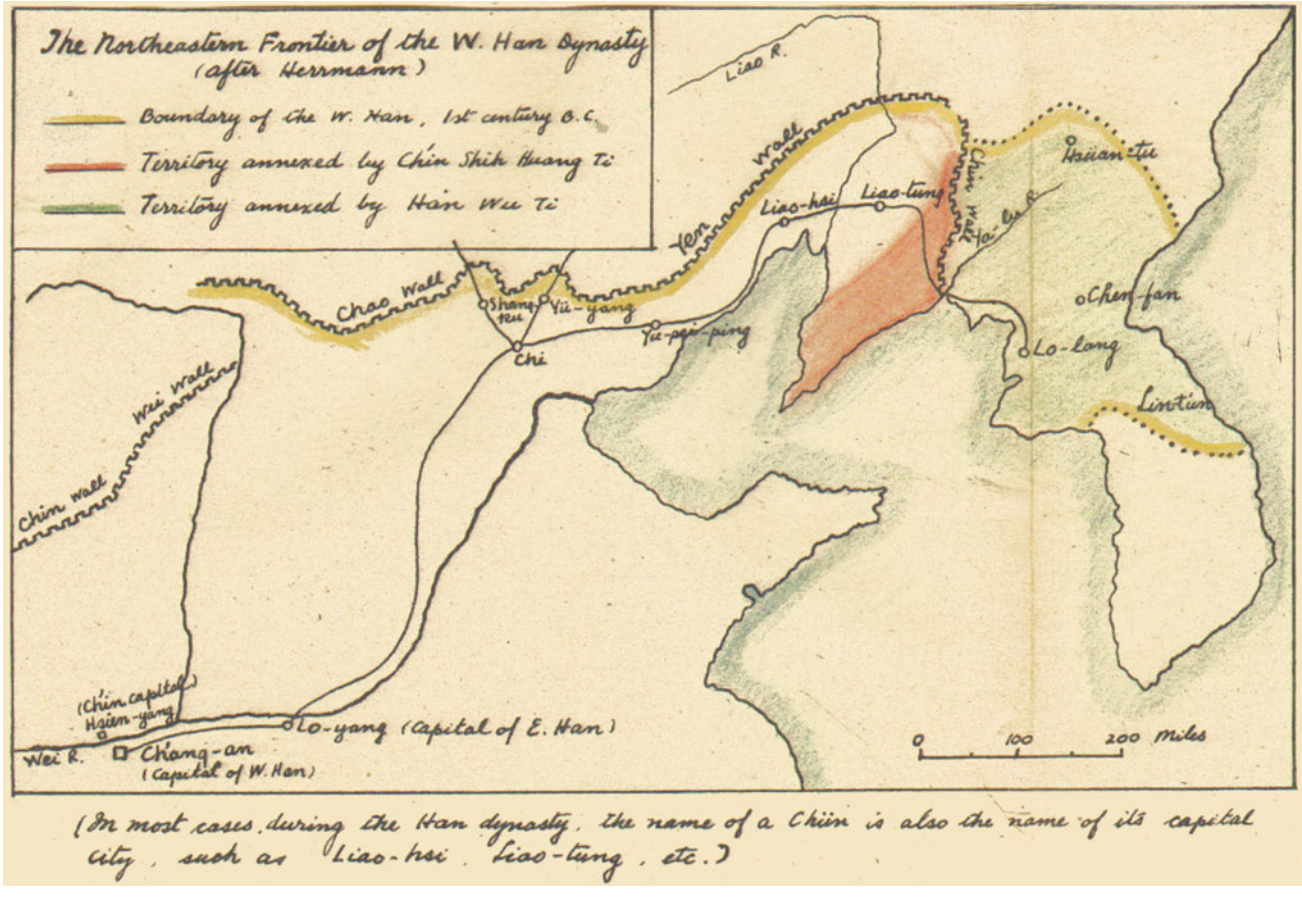

Fig. 2.1 The northeastern frontier of the Western Han dynasty

lacquer objects produced under state inspection, which have been discovered in the tombs of the colony, bear witness of the glorious days of this outpost of Chinese imperial power [4, p. 132].

2.2 A Frontier Emporium

The Ch'in-Han period of unification was a great era which favoured commerce, and the breakdown of the ancient feudalism gave rise to an ever-increasing merchant class. The early development of Chinese commerce can be traced to the Later Chou dynasty, or the period of the Contending States, when the prevailing feudalism showed its first sign of decaying, but it was not until the Han dynasty that the domestic trade had developed on a nationwide scale. This was summed up by the contemporary historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien who began to write his *Shih Chi* in 104 B.C. in the following words:

> After the rising of the Han, the whole country has been unified. All the turn-pikes and toll-bridges are opened, and the ban on (the development of natural resources in) mountains, rivers and lakes is lifted. Hence rich merchants and great traders travel around in the whole empire. There are only little commodities which cannot be supplied where they are needed.[12]

A geographical phenomenon of this new development was, naturally, the rise of a number of mercantile cities scattered all over the empire. This is particularly mentioned in another contemporary work *Yen Tieh Lun*:

> From the imperial capital towards east, west, south and north, over mountains and rivers, through commanderies and principalities, there are wealthy and prosperous cities with streets leading to all directions. (These are the places where) the merchants and traders are gathered and all sorts of commodities are concentrated.[13]

The most important of these mercantile cities are listed by Ssu-ma Ch'ien in his *Shih Chi*. Their distribution is shown in the following map (Fig. 2.2).

Some of these cities had become famous for their commerce during the Later Chou dynasty such as Lin-tzu (临淄), Han-tan (邯郸), Ying (郢) and T'ao (陶), but the majority of them were newly developed emporia, among which the city Chi was a very important one. It was alleged in the same work *Yen Tieh Lun* that 'the riches of the city Chi of Yen are without rival in the empire[14] and it is a city of renown all over the country'.[15] A more detailed account in this connection is found

[12] Op. cit. *Huo Chih Lieh Chuan* (《货殖列传》, Biographies of Merchants and Industrialists), Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition, 129/5b.

[13] Huan K'uan, Yen Tieh Lun (桓宽,《盐铁论》, Records of the Discussion on the Policy of Salt and Iron), Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition, 1/6a. The discussion took place in the 6th year of Shih-yüan (始元, reign title of Chao-ti 昭帝, i.e. 81 B.C.).

[14] This is probably a little exaggerated.

[15] Op. cit., 1/6b-7a.

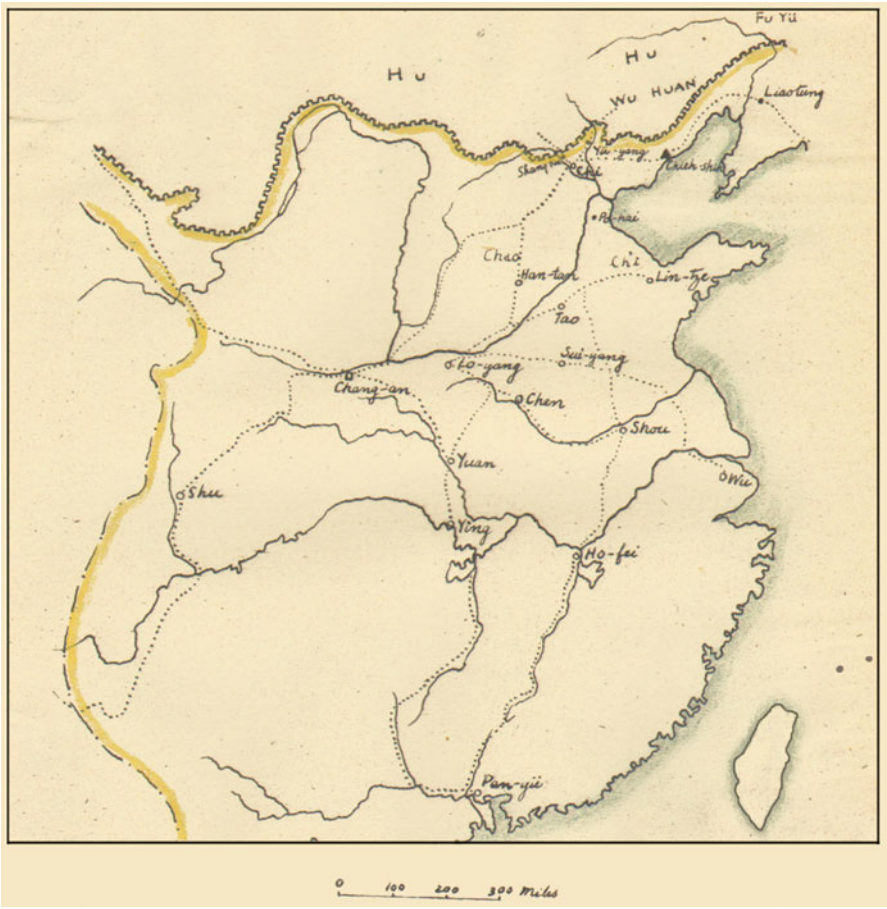

Fig. 2.2 Distribution of the mercantile cities in North China during the Western Han dynasty

again in the *Shih Chi* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien. He used the name Yen for the city instead of Chi and said:

> Yen is also an emporium between Po (渤) and Chieh (碣). It is in direct communication with Ch'i (齐) and Chao (赵) in the south, and is adjacent to the Hu (胡) in the north and east. From Shang-ku (上谷) to Liao-tung (辽东) the land is remote and it abounds in fish, salt, dates and chestnuts. To the north it is connected with Wu-huan (乌桓) and Fu-yü (夫余). From the east stream, there are the valuable products of Wei-mo (濊貊), Ch'ao-hsien (朝鲜) and Chen-fan (真番).[16]

[16] Op. cit., 129/7b.

'Po' is the abbreviation of Po-hai Chün (渤海郡) which was along the southern part of the sea coast of the present province Hopei. 'Chieh' is the abbreviation of Chieh-shih (碣石), the name of a famous hill in the northeast corner of the same province. 'Chi' and 'Chao' indicate generally the northern part of the present Hopei and Shansi provinces. 'Hu' was then used as a common name for the nomadic peoples. 'Fu-yü' and 'Wu-huan' were two nomadic tribes in central and western

This paragraph is especially interesting because it not only mentions the city as an emporium but also emphasizes the factors which had contributed to its development. The first thing that deserves notice here is the local resources. It lists fish, salt, dates and chestnuts as the chief products of the district in abundance. These are the things peculiar to the district; therefore they are mentioned.[17] Neither of the last two items would seem to be of any value until their special importance is made known. Long before the Han dynasty, the district of Yen was already famous for its products of dates and chestnuts. It was mentioned in *Chan Kuo Ts'e* that 'the people (of Yen) even if not engaged in cultivation, would never be short of dates and chestnuts'.[18] Down to the Han dynasty, the plantation of chestnut trees had been developed into a prosperous occupation. It was declared by Ssu-ma Ch'ien that 'the owner of a thousand chestnut trees in (the districts of) Yen and Ch'in.[19] …is equal to a marquis of thousand *hu* (i.e. a fief with thousand families of inhabitants)'.[20] The reason is that both dates and chestnuts entered into trade just the same as fish and salt. They were then all local products of commercial value in demand elsewhere.

However, the main cause of the commercial development of Chi lay in its geographical position rather than its local resources. And there are two aspects of this geographical position, namely the relation with the nomadic lands in the north and the relation with the territories of South Manchuria and North Korea in the northeast. The location of the city along the northern frontier and its easy access to the nomadic lands through the mountain passes afforded it the greatest advantage for the development of trade with the pastoral nomads—a geographical position which had no rival among all the other cities on the great plain. In these days certain nomadic products such as horses, cattle, sheep and felt which were constantly mentioned by early writers as the great profits of the northern lands were highly valued by the Chinese, while the agricultural products and other luxuries from China were always in great demand by the northern nomads. Though the markets where the exchange of goods actually took place were probably located along the border, the city of Chi must have been a collecting centre of Chinese goods from the plain to the markets as well as a distributing centre of nomadic goods from the markets to the plain. It was recorded in the *Hou Han Shu* (《后汉书》, *The Dynastic History of the Later Han*) that the official markets under the supervision of Chinese officers were established at Shang-ku,[21] in the intermountain valley between the Nan Kow pass and Kalgan of today. Chi controlled the only way leading to the

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Manchuria. 'Wei-mo', 'Ch'ao-hsien' and 'Chen-fan' were border areas in southeastern Manchuria and northern Korea.

[17] See Chan Kuo Ts'e, Kuo-hsüeh Chi-pen Ts'ung-shu edition, 29/55a.

[18] There would be great amount of agricultural products such as wheat and grains which were chiefly for local consumption and did not enter into trade, hence not mentioned.

[19] 'Ch'in' here indicates the place originally held by the Ch'in state during the late Chou dynasty, or the Wei Ho Valley of today. The statement implies that the Wei Ho Valley then was also as famous for the production of chestnuts as the district of Yen.

[20] Op. cit., 129/11b.

Even today Peiping is famous for chestnuts.

[21] *Wu-huan Chuan* (《乌桓传》, History of the Wu-huan), Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition, 120/3a-b.

markets. There might have been some political reasons for the establishment of these official markets.[22] It is most unlikely that they represented the beginning of trade relations between the Chinese and the northern nomads. Free exchange of goods must have long existed.

Moreover, the territorial expansion in the northeast during the Han dynasty greatly increased the commercial prospects of Chi. Products of the forest, especially furs, which were abundant in the newly conquered territories, were the most desirable articles in Chinese markets, hence the remark of Ssu-ma Ch'ien that 'from the east stream in the valuable products of Wei-mo, Ch'ao-hsien and Chen-fan'. On the other hand, the Chinese colonies which sprang into prosperity as said above must have greatly encouraged and promoted the commercial intercourse between the homeland and the outlying territories. The only highway, which the merchants could follow, either to or from these outlying territories, was the one that led from the city Chi to the lower valley of Liao along the coastal lowland beyond Shah-hai Kwan of today. There was no other alternative by land. At the city Chi, the road from the northeast linked up with the ancient highway along the foot of the Taihang Range which had been greatly improved during the reign of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti.[23] Meanwhile a branch road of the ancient highway which provided the shortest cut from the imperial capital to the city Chi had been fully developed as well. It crossed the Yellow River probably after it was joined by the river Wei and followed the Fen (汾) Valley northeastward to the present city T'ai-yüan (太原). From T'ai-yüan it turned eastward, passing through the gorge of Ching-hsing (井陉), and joined the ancient highway at Cheng-ting (正定).[24] Thus we find that during this period, the central government of

[22] This was to try to pacify the nomadic tribes by maintaining commercial relations with them in order to supply them with commodities which they could get nowhere else. Otherwise, predatory invasions of the nomads could not be avoided. The same policy was employed during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) to deal with the Mongols. This gave rise to the so-called Horse Markets along the Great Wall on an unprecedented scale. See J. C. Hou [5].

[23] The emperor himself travelled in 215 B.C. as far as the hill Chieh-shih in the northeast corner of the great plain. His visit was followed again by his son, the second emperor of Ch'in 6 years later (209 B.C.). They must have travelled along the great highway through the city Chi. There was no other road. See Ssu-ma Ch'ien. op. cit., *Shih Huang Pen Chi* (《始皇本纪》, Chronicle of Shih Huang) and *Er Shih Pen Chi* (《二十本纪》, Chronicle of Er Shih).

[24] This was the route which the army of Ch'in had taken in the conquest of the present province of Shansi. Tai-yüan was made the chief city of a Chün of the same name as early as 247 B.C., and a decisive battle was won by the Ch'in army at Ching-hsing in 229 B.C. while on its way to the conquest of the whole plain. See Shih Chi (vol. 15), *Liu Kuo Nien Piao* (《六国年表》, Chronological Table of the Six States). The branch road was probably also further improved by Ch'in Shih Huang Ti after he had unified the whole country in 221 B.C. On his last (the fifth) tour of inspection of the empire in 210 B.C., he died on his way back from the present Shantung province before reaching the ancient highway somewhere near Hsingtai (邢台), and his remains were brought back to the capital by his followers via Ching-hsing and T'ai-yüan. It was probably the route he had intended to take. See Ku Tsu-yü, op. cit., 10/6b.

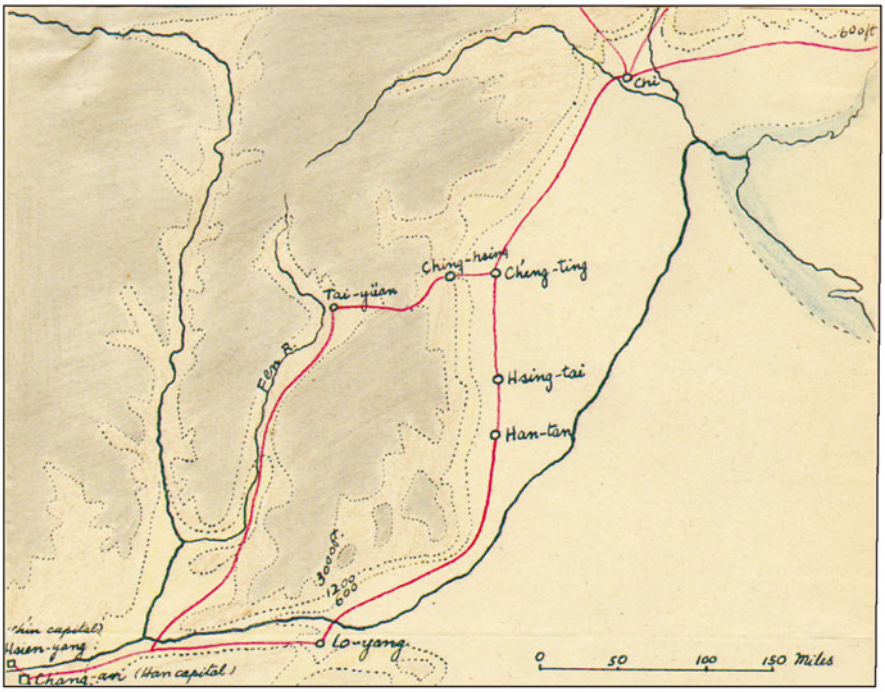

Fig. 2.3 Ancient routes and mountain passes in North China

the great empire and the frontier lands in the remote northeast were admirably linked together by the ancient highway and its branch roads (Fig. 2.3).

The city Chi then became not only a converging point of the roads from the northern nomads but also a vital link on the great line of communication between the heart of the empire and its outlying territories. It had been this highway which had given rise to the city long before the unification of the empire. It was the highway again which brought commercial prosperity to it after the unification when peace and order were the rule of the day.[25]

[25] During the Han dynasty, we find that most of the capital cities of both Chün and Kuo (commanderies and principalities) in the great plain were concentrated along the ancient highway. This striking phenomenon, as can be best observed in Fig. 1.5, bears witness to the continued importance of the ancient highway.

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Chapter 3
Chi in the Dark Ages Prior to the Unification of Sui (221–589), with Special Reference to the Development of Local Irrigation

3.1 Political Geography

The Great Han Empire began to decline at the beginning of the second century A.D. It was finally broken up in A.D. 220, and then came a period of civil strife followed by foreign invasions that lasted for almost 400 years. In order that the status of Chi should be properly understood, a general survey of the succession of the minor dynasties in this period of confusion is unavoidable.

First, there was the half-century of the Three Kingdoms, namely Wei (魏, 220–265), Shu (蜀, 221–263) and Wu (吴, 222–280).[1] After the year 280, the country was loosely unified for a time by the Tsin dynasty (晋, 265–317), with its capital at Lo-yang. It came to an end with the disastrous invasion of the northern nomads, and then the whole country was divided again. The rulers of the same family of Tsin retreated to the Yangtze Valley in the southeast and established the Eastern Tsin dynasty (东晋, 317–419), which was followed in succession by another four minor dynasties from 420 to 588.[2] These are known in Chinese history as the Southern Dynasties (南朝) that, however, fall entirely beyond the scope of the present study.

Meanwhile, the political conditions in the North were even more kaleidoscopic than in the South. Sixteen states rose and fell between 301 and 440 and were mostly established by nomadic invaders. Hence, they are usually called the Sixteen States

[1] Each of the Three Kingdoms represented a natural geographic region. In the North, based on the middle valley of the Yellow River and inheriting the frontier problems of war and trade with the northern nomads, was the Kingdom of Wei. In the South, along the Yangtze River, there was the Kingdom of Shu in the Red Basin above the great gorge and the Kingdom of Wu in the middle and lower valley below it.

[2] They are the Sung (宋, 420–479), Ch'i (齐, 479–502), Liang (梁, 502–557) and Ch'en (陈, 557–588) dynasties. All ruled from the same capital of the present city Nanking.

R. Hou, *An Historical Geography of Peiping*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-55321-9_3,

of the Five Hu, or nomads (五胡十六国).[3] Finally, from the great confusion emerged the Northern Wei dynasty (北魏, 386–534) of the Toba house (跖拔) from the Hsien-pei nomads (鲜卑), which unified North China for nearly 100 years (440–534) with its capital first at P'ing-Ch'eng (平城, modern Ta-t'ung), and then it was moved to Lo-yang which represented the geographical centre of attraction of the time.[4] After its fall in 534, its territory was divided between two minor dynasties: the Eastern Wei (东魏, 535–550) and the Western Wei (西魏, 535–556). Both were again succeeded by another two minor dynasties, respectively, the Northern Ch'i (北齐, 550–577) and Northern Chou (北周, 557–581). These are known as the Northern Dynasties (北朝) as opposed to those of the Southern Dynasties. This long period of struggle of the numerous states in the North may be called the 'Dark Ages' in Chinese history, which was finally brought to an end by the unification of Sui (隋) in 589. The immediate concern here is the condition of the city Chi during these confusing years of division.

Politically, the city was under the rule of the following regimes one after another: the Kingdom of Wei (220–265); the Tsin dynasty (265–316); the nomadic states of Chao (赵, 319–351), Yen (燕, 321–370), Ch'in (秦, 351–394) and Later Yen (后燕, 384–409); the Toba Wei (386–534); the minor dynasties of Eastern Wei (535–550); Northern Ch'i (550–577); and finally Northern Chou (557–581). Its political status in the local administration under each regime can be found in the Historical Chart (Appendix I) and needs no further comment here. Special mention may be given to the fact that the city had become the capital of the nomadic state of Yen for a short time (352–357), because it provides an example of the sequence of events repeated in later centuries. This Yen state was founded by the Mu-jung house of the Hsien-pei whose capital was first at the present city Chao-yang (朝阳, then called Lung-ch'eng 龙城 or Ho-lung 和龙) along the southwestern margin of the Manchurian Plain. With the success of its southern invasion, the capital was first moved to Chi in 352 and then farther southward to Yeh (邺, present An-yang 安阳) in 357. This shifting of the political centre of Yen does not only indicate the general direction of the invasion of the Mu-jung but also suggests the route along which the invasion was made. Its original capital was very near to the northern end of the coastal lowland leading from Shan-hai Kwan to the Manchurian Plain along which an important highway had long been developed. The main stream of the Mu-jung invaders came exactly along this way though some minor roads through the Yen Shan range might have been followed by auxiliary groups as well. The importance of Chi as a temporary capital of the advancing Mu-jung nomads was definitely associated with the northeastern routes which became more and more significant in

[3] The five nomadic peoples are generally known as Hsiung-nu (匈奴), Hsien-pei (鲜卑), Chieh (羯), Ti (狄) and Ch'iang (羌). Hsiung-nu is the Chinese name for the Western Tartars of Mongolia who are believed to be the ancestor of the Huns and Turks. Hsien-pei, Chieh and Ti are probably different tribes of the Mongols. Chiang is a tribe of Tibetan nomads.

[4] This indicates the route of the invasion of the Toba nomads who came from the north and northwest and naturally took Ping-ch'eng (Ta-t'ung) instead of Chi (Peiping) as their first base in China. Compare with the route of the invasion of the Mu-jung nomads from the northeast in the following discussion.

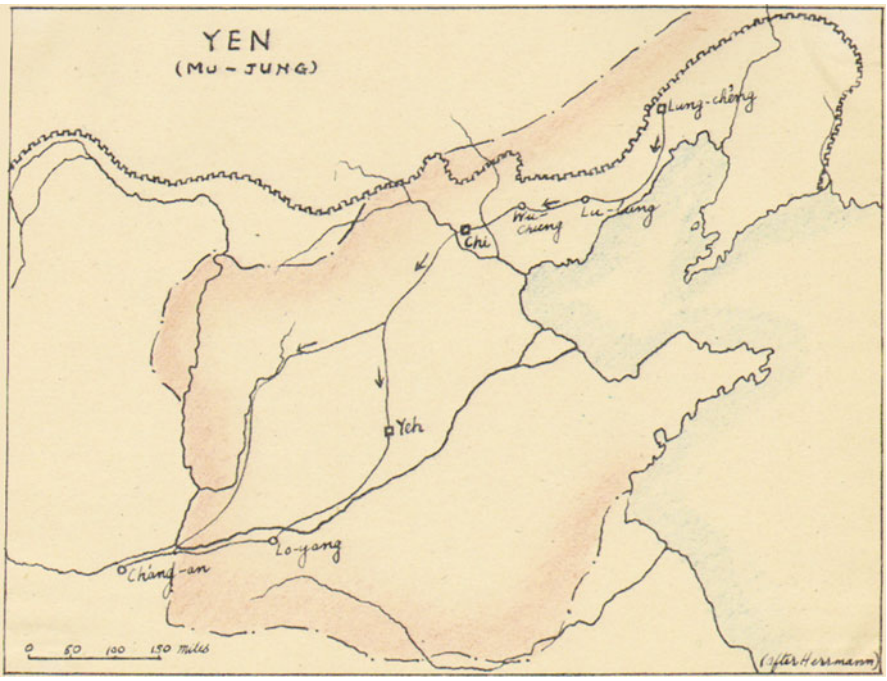


Fig. 3.1 Distribution of the Mu-jung house of Hsien-pei nomads and general direction of their invasion during the Period of Sixteen States

later centuries.[5] Moreover, Chi was not only a place where all roads from the north and northeast converged but also a place where the ancient highway leading to the heart of the great plain started. Thus from here the Mu-jung invaders, after a brief halt, started again their conquest of North China until the lower valley of the Yellow River together with the Shansi Highlands was entirely brought under their control. When this was completed, the capital was moved farther southward along the ancient highway to a more central position at Yen (Fig. 3.1). It is interesting to observe here that the invasion of the northern nomads along the great highway is simply a reverse process of the Chinese expansion towards the north and northeast. The city of Chi remains a vital link in both cases. When China is unified and strong,

[5] The route of invasion of Mu-jung Chün (慕容俊), the founder of the Yen state, is mentioned in the *Tsin Shu*, *Tsai-chi* (《晋书·载记》, the Historical Records of the Tsin dynasty) as follows: 'In the fifth year of Yung-ho (永和, 349) during the reign of the emperor Mu (穆), Mu-jung Chün assumed the title of the King of Yen. In the next year (350), he marched out his troops southward through Lu-lung (卢龙) and stopped at Wu-chung (无终). Wang Wu (王午), the provincial governor of Yu Chou appointed by Shih Chi-lung (石季龙), escaped from the city of Chi. He left it to his general Wang T'a (王他) to defend. (Mu-jung) Tsün attacked the city and captured it. Wang T'a was executed and the city was made the capital'. It was quoted by Yü Min-chung (于敏中) in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao* (《日下旧闻考》), 2/19b. Both places, Lu-lung and Wu-chung, were situated along the great highway between the present Shan-hai Kwan and Chi.

it becomes the gateway from where the Chinese spread towards the outlying territories. When China is divided and weak, the city Chi is easily taken by the northern invaders and becomes the most convenient military base for the conquest of the remainder of the great plain. This point will be further developed in relation to the events of the following centuries. We now turn our attention to another aspect of the development of the city during these Dark Ages, namely the development of irrigation in the locality.

3.2 Beginning of Local Irrigation

The importance of irrigation in Chinese agriculture cannot be exaggerated. This is especially true in the North where the average rainfall is not only precariously low but is subject to wide fluctuations in both amount and time.[6] Droughts are frequent and their immediate result is crop failure and famine. It is true that excessive rain causes floods which also mean famine, but flooded areas are chiefly confined to the interstream depressions of the plain proper. Hence in most places of the North, irrigation is a guarantee of permanent agriculture, and wherever successful irrigation is carried out, local prosperity is assured.[7] This is the key point to the understanding of the rise and fall of the most important agricultural areas in Chinese history.[8] Though the Bay of Peiping had long been colonized by Chinese settlers, and though it has long been cultivated, no great effort had been made to develop the local agriculture in the intensive manner required for rice. The first attempt was in the middle of the third century A.D. This was the construction of a great irrigational project in the immediate environs of the city of Chi. The city was then the capital of Yen state, or the principality of Yen, in the Kingdom of Wei.[9] In the year 250, a military governor, Liu Ching (刘靖), who was guarding the northern frontier against the possible invasions of the northern nomads, conceived the idea of the original irrigation plan. Under his command, the whole project was successfully carried out. It comprised three different parts: firstly, the building of the Li Ling Dam (戾陵堰) along the eastern bank of the present river Hun (浑, then called Lei Shui 水, or Ch'ing-ch'uan Ho清泉河) at the foot of the present Shih-ching Shan (石景山, then called Liang Shan 梁山); secondly, the construction of an artificial watercourse, Ch'e-hsiang Ch'ü (车厢渠), connecting the river Hun at Li Ling Dam with the Kao-liang River (高梁河) northeast of the city Chi; and finally the canalization of the Kao-liang River for the purpose of irrigation. Consequently, the north, northeast and east

[6] G. B. Cressey [1, p. 169].

[7] Irrigation is essential for rice cultivation in normal years, but it is also essential for wheat and millet cultivation during drought. In some parts well irrigation is used where rivers and springs are not available.

[8] The best example is the Wei Ho Valley. See Chi Ch'ao-ting [2, Chapter V].

[9] See the Historical Chart of Peiping, Appendix I.

environs of the city were made capable of growing rice, and the local people greatly benefited.[10]

Twelve years later (262), the dam was reconstructed and the whole project was greatly extended from the northeast of the city, through the district of Ch'ang-p'ing (昌平), reaching the district of Lu (潞) in the east. The total area under irrigation was several times as great as the original project.[11] Three years after this great extension, the Kingdom of Wei was succeeded by the Tsin dynasty (265), but the city remained as the capital of a principality.[12] During the Tsin dynasty (265–316), in the year 295, further extensive repairs were made under the direction of Liu Hung (刘宏), the younger son of Liu Ching (刘靖), who was also appointed as a military governor on the northern frontier.[13]

The rule of the Tsin dynasty did not last very long. The northern nomads broke into China proper one after another, and the temporary unification of Tsin gave way to the turbulent years of the Sixteen States. During these Dark Ages no further information concerning this great irrigational project had been recorded until the later years of the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534). Then came the provincial governor Pei Yen-chün (裴延俊) who, in the year 521, again revived the project which had long been neglected.[14] After him came another provincial governor Hu-lü Hsien (斛律羡) of the Northern Ch'i dynasty (550–577). He abandoned the original project, perhaps because the Li Ling Dam was out of repair, and connected the Kao-liang River with I-ching River (易荆水) in the north instead of with the Hun River in the west. A different irrigational system was thus coming into existence.[15] So far as historical evidence is concerned, this was the last attempt during these Dark Ages to convert the local district into an intensively irrigated agricultural area.

After this brief survey of its organization and development, it is now necessary to make an examination of the geographical basis of this irrigational project. First of all, one has to bear in mind that the river system then was somewhat different from what it is now. A map of the river courses of this period and the contemporary site

[10] Li Tao-yüan (酈道元), *Shih Ching Chu* (《水经注》, Commentaries on the Book of Rivers), Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition, 14/7a-b. See also Ch'en Shou (陈寿), *San Kuo Chih*, *Wei Chih* (《三国志·魏志》, History of the Three Kingdoms, Section on the Kingdom of Wei), and *Liu Ching Chuan* (《刘靖传》, Biography of Liu Ching).

[11] Li Tao-yüan, op. cit., 14/7b-8a.

[12] See Appendix I, Historical Chart of Peiping.

[13] The above account concerning the original irrigation project and its later extension is derived from a most valuable record which has been preserved in the *Commentaries on the Book of Rivers* (14/7a-8b). It is the text of the inscription of a stone monument erected in the year 295 inside the east gate of Chi, to commemorate the great services rendered to the local inhabitants by Liu Ching and his successors. The monument is known as Liu Ching Pei (刘靖碑, The Stone Tablet of Liu Ching).

[14] *Wei Shu* (《魏书》, The Dynastic History of the Northern Wei), *Pei Yen-chün Chuan* (《裴延俊传》, Biography of Pei Yen-chün), Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition, 69/3a-b. For the date of this reconstruction, see Ku Tsu-yü, op. cit., 11/3a.

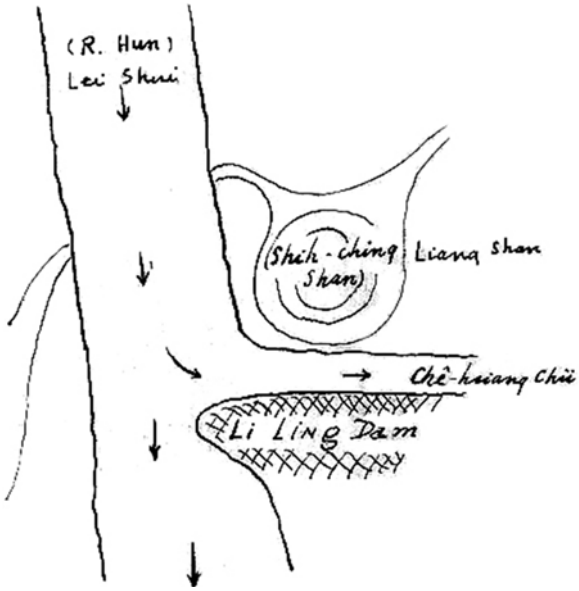
[15] *Pei Ch'I Shu* (《北齐书》, The Dynastic History of the Northern Ch'i), *Hu-lü Hsien Chuan* (《斛律羡传》, Biography of Hu-lü Hsien), Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition, 17/5b.

of the city of Chi has already been reconstructed.[16] The present river Hun was then flowing in a different course due south of the city Chi. In the southeast environs of the city, it was joined by the Kao-liang River. Farther southeastward it spread out into several branches and finally merged into the river Lu (or Ssu Kow 笥沟) in the present district of Wu-ch'ing (武清).[17] For the purpose of irrigation in the environs of the city, the river Hun would prove to be an inexhaustible water supply. However, owing to its turbulent nature, it could not be easily conducted and controlled. The Kao-liang River, on the other hand, was only a small stream. Its source was merely a few springs in the northwest environs of the city and could not provide an adequate quantity of water for an extensive irrigation project. The problem was simply solved by diverting a part of the water from the river Hun at the foot of Shih-ching Shan where the river could be easily controlled. This was achieved by the construction of the Li Ling Dam. Then the water was led into an artificial channel, the Ch'e-hsiang Ch'ü, which was almost at right angles to the stream.[18] This channel was dug out along the general slope of the plain which ran from the northwest to the southeast in the direction of the city. It probably passed through a group of buried and isolated hills, now known as Pa-pao Shan (八宝山), dotted about the plain between

[16] See Appendix IV.

[17] Wu-ch'ing was then called Yung-nu (雍奴). See Li Tao-yüan, op. cit., 13/22a-b.

[18] There is a description of the method of construction of the Li Ling Dam in *Shui Ching Chu*, but it is not easy to understand owing to the obscure terms it used. Anyhow, a rough diagram may be given here to show the probable way of its construction. Now, on the very spot stands the modern construction to draw water from the river for irrigation in the adjacent area. This is the Shih-Lu Irrigation Canal (石芦灌溉沟渠, from Shih-ching Shan to Lu-kow Bridge).



the city and the main group of the Western Hills.[19] From this artificial channel, the water flowed into the natural course of the Kao-liang River, and it was along this river that the great irrigation project was planned. Numerous ditches and drains must have been dug out and any excess water could easily have been drained back into the main stream, the river Hun. The whole project and its later development can be roughly shown in the following maps (Figs. 3.2 and 3.3). Finally, when the local irrigation was replanned by Hu-lü Hsien during the later half of the sixth century, he connected the Kao-liang River with the I-ching River in the north, and the artificial waterway Ch'e-hsiang Ch'ü was not used, probably because it was silted up by that time. How the new project was done is not easy to tell owing to the lack of adequate data. But this new project could not have been as extensive as the original one, because the I-ching River was also a small stream and no great amount of water supply could be expected from it.

Taking the political background of this period into consideration, it is not difficult to see that the underlying motive of the construction of this irrigational project was intimately related to the defence of the northern frontier. Ever since the decline of the Great Han empire, the constant threat of the nomadic invasions along the northern frontier had been increasing day by day. In the defence of this northern frontier, the city of Chi was a place of unusual importance. It had always been a centre of communication in peace, and it would prove to be a most convenient base for military operations in war—both to the Chinese defenders as well as to the nomadic invaders. However, there was a great disadvantage on the Chinese side. They had to station a permanent garrison in order to face any surprise attack, which might occur at any time from the nomadic invaders, and this permanent garrison was always a great drain on the government's revenue. When Liu Ching was appointed as the military governor with the sole responsibility of defending the northern frontier, this was a paramount problem he had to solve. His headquarters were at Chi, and great numbers of troops must have been stationed there also. According to his biography, he was considered to be a very capable general.[20] He had the frontier fortifications further extended and strategic spots adequately strengthened. Together with these military establishments, the irrigational project of the locality was planned and carried out. Its success meant an increase in the government's revenue which in turn safeguarded the whole scheme of frontier defence. Even if we have no precise documentary evidence that this was in fact Liu Ching's policy, it was implicit in the work he did and it was specifically stated for a later date in the biography of Hu-lü Hsien, the last one who replanned the local irrigation. It reads:

> Owing to the constant invasion of the northern barbarians, (Hu-lü) Hsien considered it necessary to take proper precautions. … In a distance of two hundred *li* (about 70 miles) along the northern frontier, every strategic place was fortified in one way or another, and

[19] The abandoned river bed of a canal of the twelfth century, called Chin Kou (金口, see Chap. 6), can still be seen in the west environs of the present city. It was dug through these isolated hills—a course which was most probably based upon the ruin of the Ch'e-hsiang Ch'ü.

[20] See Footnote 10 on p. 35.

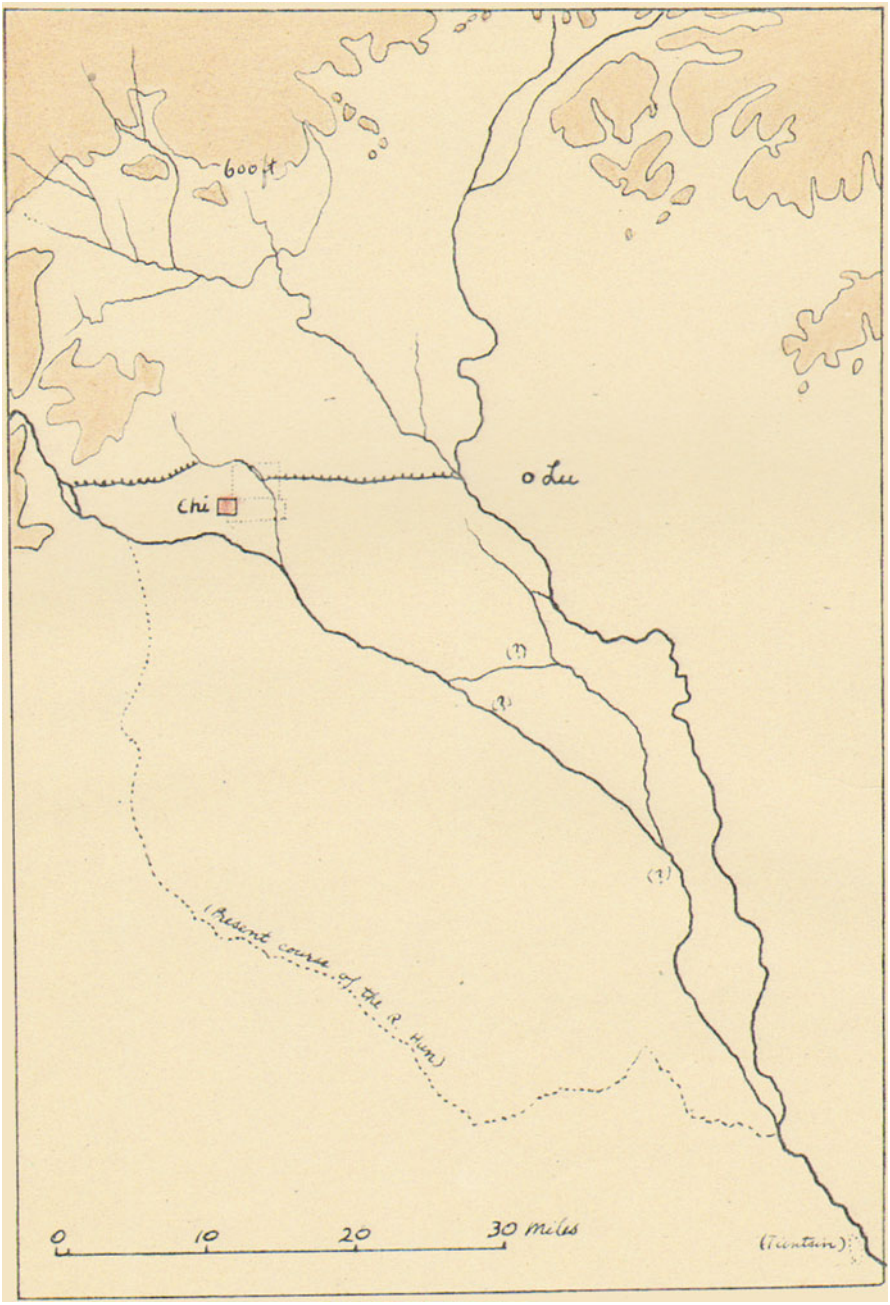


Fig. 3.2 Irrigation works on the Peiping Plain during the Period of Three Kingdoms

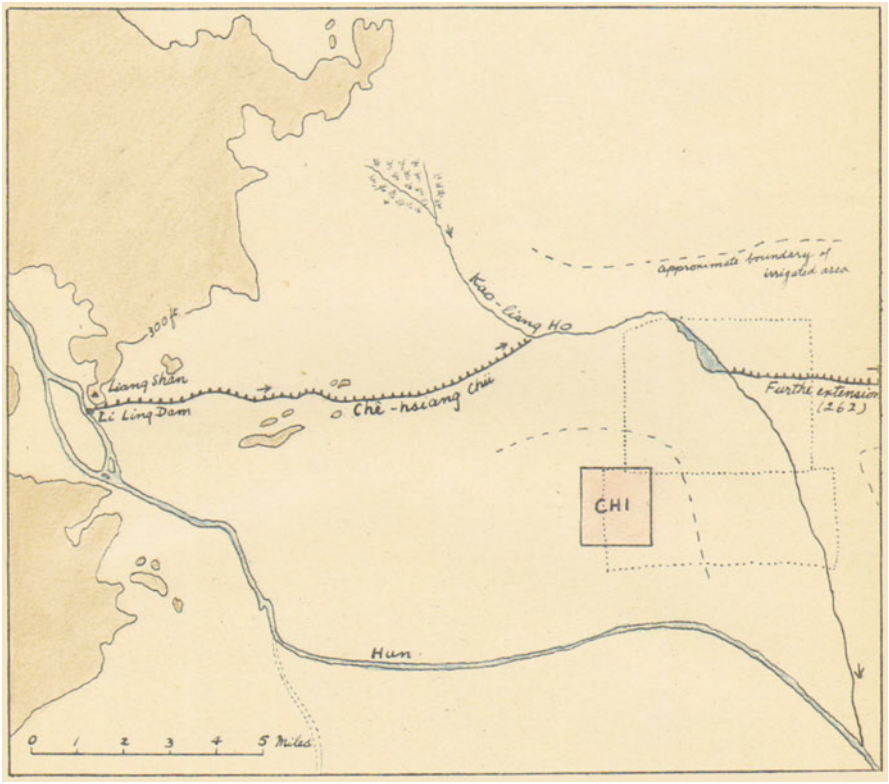


Fig. 3.3 Irrigation works on the Peiping Plain in the Northern Wei dynasty

> more than fifty garrison posts were established. Moreover, he conducted the water of the Kao-liang River into the I-ching River in the north which in turn joined the Lu River in the east. This was used for the purpose of irrigation. Since then the store of provisions along the northern frontier had been increased year by year and the cost in transportation (from the interior) was saved. Both the people and the government benefited from this management.[21]

Soon after these Dark Ages, there is no further record concerning the local irrigation. It is difficult to say what construction is to be put upon this. Does it mean that the irrigational project disappeared altogether, or does it mean that it simply dwindled into insignificance? No definite answer can be given here. However, the artificial watercourse which had been first constructed during this period was to be revived in another six centuries' time, but the chief purpose of

[21] *Pei Ch'I Shu*, 17/5b.

this revival was no longer for irrigation but for transportation. This will be fully discussed in the sixth chapter.

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Chapter 4
Yu Chou of Sui and T'ang Dynasties up to the Khitan Occupation (590–937): Key Position in Frontier Struggle

The prolonged disunion of China from the third century to the sixth century had at last come to an end. The whole country was once more unified by its founder of the Sui (隋) dynasty (581–618) in the year 589. The Sui dynasty, however, enjoyed only a short tenure of power. Thirty years after the unification, it was succeeded by the T'ang (唐) dynasty, the rule of which lasted more than 300 years.

During the Sui-T'ang period, China had expanded her borders farther even than under the Han, both to the south and to the west, but to the northeast the situation was very different. While China was divided, a frontier kingdom known as Goguryeo (高勾丽) from the outlying territory between the Liao River and Northern Korea rose to power in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries. Soon after the unification of the empire, the second emperor Yang-ti (炀帝) of Sui organized three successive expeditions against it, which resulted only in a qualified submission of the rulers of Goguryeo. These expeditions were so costly and so disturbing that they became one of the immediate causes of the downfall of the Sui dynasty.

In the following T'ang dynasty, the second emperor T'ai-tsung (太宗, 627–649), just as Yang-ti of Sui, entered on a career of foreign enterprises. Although he had made overwhelming conquests in Central Asia in the west, he once more met with failure in attempting to reduce the Kingdom of Goguryeo in the northeast. It was only during the reign of Kao-tsung (高宗, 650–683), son of T'ai-tsung, that Goguryeo was finally conquered (668). This marked the climax of the territorial expansion of the Sui-T'ang period. Soon after this conquest, the tide of struggle was turned again. Since the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth century, a number of frontier tribes among whom the Khitan were the most important began their successive invasions of China, and the T'ang government was forced to be on the defensive. This resulted in the establishment of the so-called Chieh Tu Shih (节度使) or military governors, along the frontiers, and it was the overwhelming power of some of these ambitious military governors that finally threatened the very existence of the T'ang dynasty. So far as the frontier history is concerned, we can roughly divide the three centuries of Sui and T'ang into two periods: the period of

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foreign enterprises during the seventh century and the period of frontier defence from the early eighth century to the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 906. After 906, the whole country was again plunged into civil strife followed, as it had always been, by intensified foreign invasions. Here, however, is not the place to embark upon a detailed account of the frontier history. The main purpose of the foregoing summary is simply to provide a general background against which we can view the geography of the city. The following discussion is, therefore, divided into three sections according to the different phases of development of the frontier history.

4.1 Yu Chou (幽州)[1] as a Military Base in the Period of Foreign Enterprises (590–690)

During the Sui and the early T'ang dynasties, when an aggressive foreign policy was under full sway, the city Chi or Yu Chou as it was then officially called became, quite naturally owing to its geographical position, a military base for the marshalling of expeditionary forces bound for the northeastern frontier. This particular function of the city at this time can be clearly illustrated by the fact that a canal connecting the city with the central part of the empire was constructed for transporting military supplies. This was the Yung Chi Canal (永济渠). It was constructed by the order of the Sui emperor Yang-ti in the year 608 when he first planned his campaign against the Kingdom of Goguryeo. According to Sui Shu (《隋书》, the *Dynastic History of Sui*), more than one million labourers, both male and female, were mobilized to undertake the task. It started with the canalization of the river Ch'in (沁), a tributary which flows into the Yellow River from the north in the present province of Honan. Its water was then conducted northeastwards and was joined along its course by other rivers from the Taihang Mountains until it merged into the river Hun at the place where the present city Tientsin stands. At that time the river Hun flowed in a northern course quite near to the city of Yu Chou. Hence the city could be reached by boat from the Yellow River several hundred miles away. The present river Wei (卫), the lower course of which constitutes one part of the Grand Canal of today, is believed to run along the original bed of the Yung Chi Canal.

[1] During the Sui and T'ang dynasties, the term Yu Chou, which had long been used as the name of the native province, was also adopted as the name of the local prefecture, an intermediate unit between district and province. The political status of the prefecture of Yu, or Yu Chou, was the same to that of a Chün or commandery, the subdivision of a province. Since the city of Chi had always been the capital of the local prefecture, it was then generally known as Yu Chou. The name Yu Chou, however, was twice altered. First, it was changed into Cho Chün (涿郡, 607–617) and later into Fan-yang (范阳, 742–757). Both names had been applied to the city as well. Soon after the fall of the T'ang dynasty, the term Yu Chou, either as the name of the native province or of the local prefecture, was abandoned altogether.

South of the Yellow River, another canal called T'ung Chi Canal (通济渠) was constructed 2 years earlier than Yung Chi Canal. For part of its course, it flowed along the Yellow River and connected Lo-yang in the west with the Yangtze Delta in the southeast.[2] Lo-yang was then the political centre of the empire and the Yangtze Delta, then as now, one of the most productive agricultural areas. When the emperor Yang-ti organized his first expeditionary force to subdue Goguryeo in 611 and 612, he actually sailed by boat from Chiang-tu (江都), a famous city on the T'ung Chi Canal not far from the northern bank of the Yangtze River, to the city of Yu Chou. His whole voyage amounted to nearly 1,000 miles. It was recorded that more than one million soldiers were assembled at Yu Chou, then the chief city of Cho Chün. Hundreds of boats, collected from the Yangtze and Hwai Rivers, were engaged in the transportation of rice and other military supplies.[3] The other two expeditions were organized in the same way in 613 and 614.[4] Consequently, great wealth was concentrated in the city, and it became abnormally prosperous.[5] Our chief interest here, however, is not the military campaigns but the construction of the canal. It was the first time that a route alternative to the ancient highway, leading from the central part of the country to the ancient city of Chi, had come into existence. Though it was not kept up by succeeding generations, it actually became the forerunner of the Grand Canal of China yet to come (Fig. 4.1).

In the early T'ang dynasty when the emperor T'ai-tsung again attempted to recover the lost territory from Goguryeo, Yu Chou was once more used as an important military base.[6] But this time, very few facts of geographical interest about the city have been recorded except the transportation of military supplies by the canal.[7] However, there is one thing which might be worth mentioning. In the year 645, when T'ai-tsung returned unsuccessfully from his campaign in the northeast, he reorganized his defeated army at Yu Chou and ordered that a temple, commemorating those who had fallen in the battle, should be built in the city. This order was carried out immediately and the temple was named Min Chung (悯忠), or 'Mourning for

[2] For the construction of the two canals, see *Sui Shu*, *Yang-ti Pen Chi* (《隋书·炀帝本纪》, Dynastic History of Sui, Chronicle of Yang-ti), the 3rd month of the 1st year of Ta-yeh (大业) and the 4th month of the 4th year of Ta-yeh. A brief account is also given in a recent book: *Chung-kuo Shui-li Shih* (《中国水利史》, An History of River Conservancy, Transportation and Irrigation in China) by Cheng Chao-ching (郑肇经), pp. 200–201.

[3] Ssu-ma Kuang, op. cit., 181/13a-14a, 17a.

[4] *Sui Shu*, *Yang-ti Pen Chi*.

[5] Ssu-ma Kuang, op. cit., 182/1a-4a.

[6] *Chiu T'ang Shu*, *T'ai-tsung Pen Chi* (《旧唐书·太宗本纪》, Old Dynastic History of T'ang, Chronicle of T'ai-tsung), the 4th month of the 19th year of Chen-Kuan (贞观).

[7] *Chiu T'ang Shu*, *Wei T'ing Chuan* (《旧唐书·韦挺传》, Old Dynastic History of T'ang, Biography of Wei T'ing), Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition, 77/1b-2a.

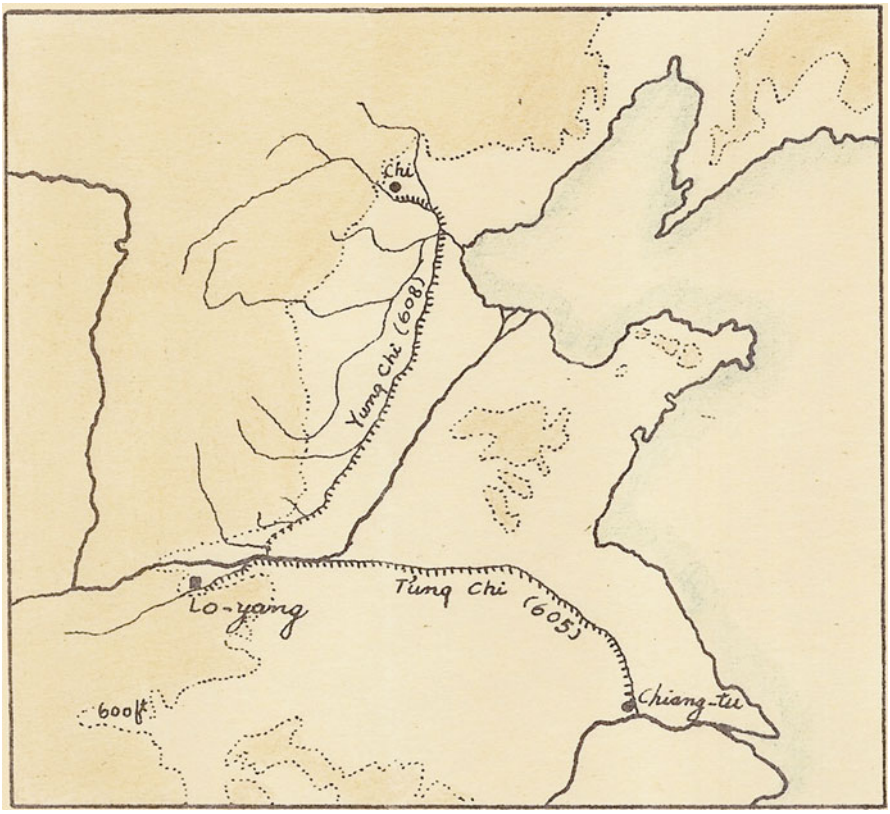

Fig. 4.1 The Grand Canal in the Sui and the Tang dynasties

the Loyalists'.[8] It is exactly this temple, the original site of which has been occupied until the present day by another temple called Fa Yüan Ssu (法源寺), that becomes the most important evidence in the locating of the old site of Chi or Yu Chou.[9]

4.2 Yu Chou in the Period of Frontier Defence (690–907)

During the first half of the eighth century, while the territorial expansion of the T'ang dynasty was still at its height, ten military posts along the whole frontier were established. The geographical distribution of these posts, except An-hsi (安西) and

[8] Sun Ch'eng-tse, Chün Ming Meng Yü Lu (孙承泽《春明梦余录》).

[9] See Appendix II.

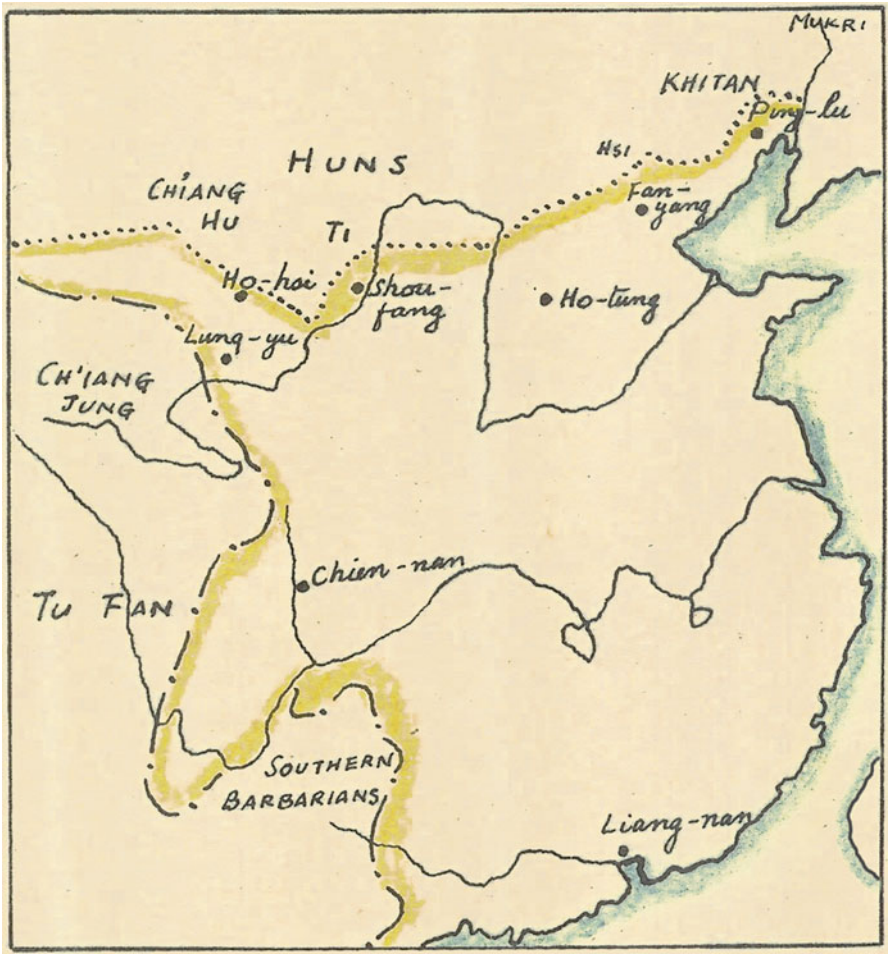

Fig. 4.2 Eight military posts along the frontier in the Tang dynasty

Pei-t'ing (北庭) which were situated far in the outlying territory of Chinese Turkestan of today, is shown in the following map (Fig. 4.2).

In the sector of each post, a certain number of troops were stationed under the command of a Chieh Tu Shih (节度使) or military governor, whose power, in later years, extended to civil affairs as well. Yu Chou was one of these military posts. Its official name was Fan-yang (范阳) and of the governor, Fan-yang Chieh Tu Shih. So far as the number of troops is concerned, Fan'yang was

the most important of the ten.[10] These posts were first established to guard the frontiers against specific tribes. In the sector of Fan-yang, the most important tribe that had to be faced was the Khitan.

The Khitan were people of Turki-Mongol stock, who first appeared in Chinese records as occupying the borderland which lies between Southern Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia and centred on the upper valley of the river Liao (then called Huang 潢). Ever since the end of the seventh century, the Khitan became a constant menace to the frontier of China, especially in the section north and northeast of Yu Chou. In Chinese history, all along the northern border, the Chinese government always favoured a rigid and absolute frontier which would include all that was truly and properly Chinese and exclude everything that fell outside the Chinese pattern. The building of the Great Wall may be considered as the grand expression of this idea.[11] But such an attempt had never yet been successful. First, it was impossible to hold the frontier population within the Chinese orbit, especially when the country was in a period of civic strife and disturbance, the actual effect of which will be discussed in the following chapter. Second, it was equally impossible to prevent the peaceful infiltration from the steppe of certain elements of the non-Chinese tribes who intended to seek their fortune in China. And the Chinese government of the T'ang dynasty was never hesitant on its part to summon non-Chinese peoples to their assistance in case of emergency. Quite a number of the prominent generals of the T'ang dynasty were non-Chinese, and it is not surprising to note that one of them, a military governor whose responsibility was to defend the frontiers against the Khitan, was a soldier of mixed Chinese and barbarian blood from Ying Chou (营州). His name was An Lu-shan (安禄山), one of the most notorious figures in the history of the T'ang.

An Lu-shan was first appointed the military governor of Ping-lu (平卢, at Ying Chou) in 742 and, in addition, of Fan-yang (范阳, at Yu Chou) in 744 and of Ho-tung (河东, at T'ai-yüan) in 751 (see Fig. 4.2). Thus the whole frontier from

[10]This is indicated in the following table:

Name of Chien Tu Shih	Number of troops under command
Ho-hsi 河西 (at Liang Chou 凉州)	73,000
Fan-yang 范阳 (at Yu Chou 幽州)	91,000
Lung-yu 陇右 (at Shan Chou 鄯州)	75,000
Chien-nan 剑南 (at Ch'eng-tu 成都)	30,900
An-hsi 安西 (at Ch'iu-tz'u 龟兹)	24,000
Shuo-fang 朔方 (at Ling Chou 灵州)	64,900
He-tung 河东 (at T'ai-yüan 太原)	55,000
Pei-t'ing 北庭 (at Pei-t'ing 北庭)	20,000
Ping-lu 平卢 (at Ying Chou 营州)	37,000
Ling-nan 岭南 (at Kuang Chou 广州)	15,400

See Ch'ien Mu [1, pp. 317–318].

[11]Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontier of China*, pp. 472–475.

the great bend of the Yellow River at Ordos to the lower Liao valley in southern Manchuria was under his control.[12] At the zenith of his power, his headquarters were established neither in Ying Chou nor in T'ai-yüan, but in Yu Chou, a city of great geographic importance as well as historical prestige, and it was from here that he at last unfurled the standard of revolt in 755. He marched southwestwards along the ancient highway by which the first Chinese settlers had travelled the other way and captured Lo-yang, the secondary capital, together with the capital Ch'ang-an within a few months. Meanwhile, he proclaimed himself 'Emperor of the Great Yen' (大燕皇帝, 756) and made Yu Chou his capital.[13] Politically, this was no more than a rebellion of a subject against his ruler, but from the geographical point of view, it reflected the fact that the supremacy of the national capital, the symbol of a centralized authority of the empire, was severely challenged by a local power which had grown up from a frontier city. And eventually, this frontier city, owing to its ever-increasing importance, actually overshadowed the glorious capital of Ch'ang-an, and finally snatched from it the political leadership, and became itself the national centre.

4.3 Khitan Occupation of Yu Chou (938)

The rebellion started by An Lu-shan was finally suppressed in 763. Historians agree that this revolt may be considered the demarcation line between the golden age and the fall of the T'ang dynasty. Though the T'ang government lingered for nearly another century and a half after the final suppression of the revolt, its political history was full of disgrace. Finally, in the year 907, the last emperor of the T'ang dynasty abdicated in favour of his general Chu Wen (朱温) who immediately proclaimed himself the first emperor of a new dynasty. This marked the beginning of the so-called Five Dynasties (五代), namely the Later Liang (后梁, 907–923), Later T'ang (后唐, 923–936), Later Tsin (后晋, 936–946), Later Han (后汉, 947–950) and Later Chou (后周, 951–960). Although these successive dynasties have been considered the legitimate continuation of Chinese rule, their real power never extended very far from the valley of the Yellow River. All the other parts of the empire were then divided among a number of petty states, usually dominated by rulers of alien extraction. One of these petty states rose from the city of Yu Chou and used the historical name Yen.[14] But this Yen state lasted only for 3 years (911–913),

[12] Traditional historians consider the appointment of An Lu-shan to such important posts a political intrigue of the central government, but since An had mastered six frontier languages, and this section of the frontier had long been a special zone for barbarians, the appointment of an experienced native warrior to govern by a combination of diplomacy and force may not have been essentially a bad idea. See Ch'en Yin-ko [2, Part A, p. 36].

[13] *Chiu T'ang Shu*, *An Lu-shan Chuan* (《旧唐书·安禄山传》, Old Dynastic History of T'ang, Biography of An Lu-shan).

[14] *Wu Tai Shih*, *Liu Shou-kuang Chuan* (《五代史·刘守光传》, Dynastic History of the Five Dynasties, Biography of Liu Shou-kuang), Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition, 135/2a.

and it was then annexed by the Later T'ang dynasty. This period of confusion did not come to an end until the second half of the tenth century when the Sung dynasty, which succeeded the Later Chou dynasty in 960, gradually unified the whole country. However, the Sung rulers, after their final conquest of the several petty states in China, found that the most critical section along the northern frontier with Yu Chou as its centre was no longer Chinese territory. It had long been occupied by the Khitan who had already made Yu Chou one of their secondary capitals. How did this come about?

In the year 936, a rascally general called Shih Ching-t'ang (石敬塘), who was of Turkish stock, plotted against his master, the last emperor of the Later T'ang dynasty, and called the Khitan to his aid. With the help of the Khitan, he successfully overthrew the old regime and founded a new dynasty, the Later Tsin, the geographical extent of which covered the greater part of the North China Plain as well as the Shansi and Shensi Highlands.[15] As a reward, he ceded to the Khitan, in the year 938, sixteen prefectures, covering the most important strategic points along the northern frontier, including the two great cities Yu Chou that the Sung people in a later date renamed as Yen Shan (燕山), and Yün Chou (云州), the modern city of Ta-t'ung (大同). Hence the conventional designation the Sixteen Prefectures of Yen and Yün (燕云十六州).[16] The following map (Fig. 4.3) shows clearly how critical the geographical position of this territory was in the national defence of China. It controlled all the important highways from the homeland of the Khitan to the central part of China between the great bend of the Yellow River and the Gulf of Po Hai. The geographical importance of Yu Chou in this connection has been fully discussed in the foregoing chapters. Yün Chou then, as now, occupied a similar frontier position to Yu Chou though in a lesser degree. By that time it had already become the most important gateway leading from the steppe into T'ai-yüan, the heart of the Shansi Highlands from where the great plain in the east and the Wei Ho Valley in the southwest could be easily reached.[17] Knowing the special importance of Yen and Yün, it is no wonder that the whole territory was called by the names of these two cities. And it was owing to this special importance that the cession of this territory soon proved to be one of the most fatal mistakes that had ever been committed in the history of Chinese frontier policy, and the Sung rulers in later years tried vainly in campaign after campaign to recover it. On their side, the Khitan did not lose any time in establishing themselves in this newly acquired land, a land

[15] See A. Herrmann [3, p. 41 (III)].

[16] J. G. Hou, *Yen Yün Shih Liu Chou K'ao* (侯仁之《燕云十六州考》, An Historical Study of the Sixteen Prefectures of Yen and Yün), *Yü kung* (《禹贡》, The Chinese Historical Geography Semi-Monthly Magazine, Peiping), vol. VI, No. 3–4.

[17] The city was once the capital of the Northern Wei dynasty (北魏, 386–534). It was then called P'ing-ch'eng. See discussion in the foregoing chapter.

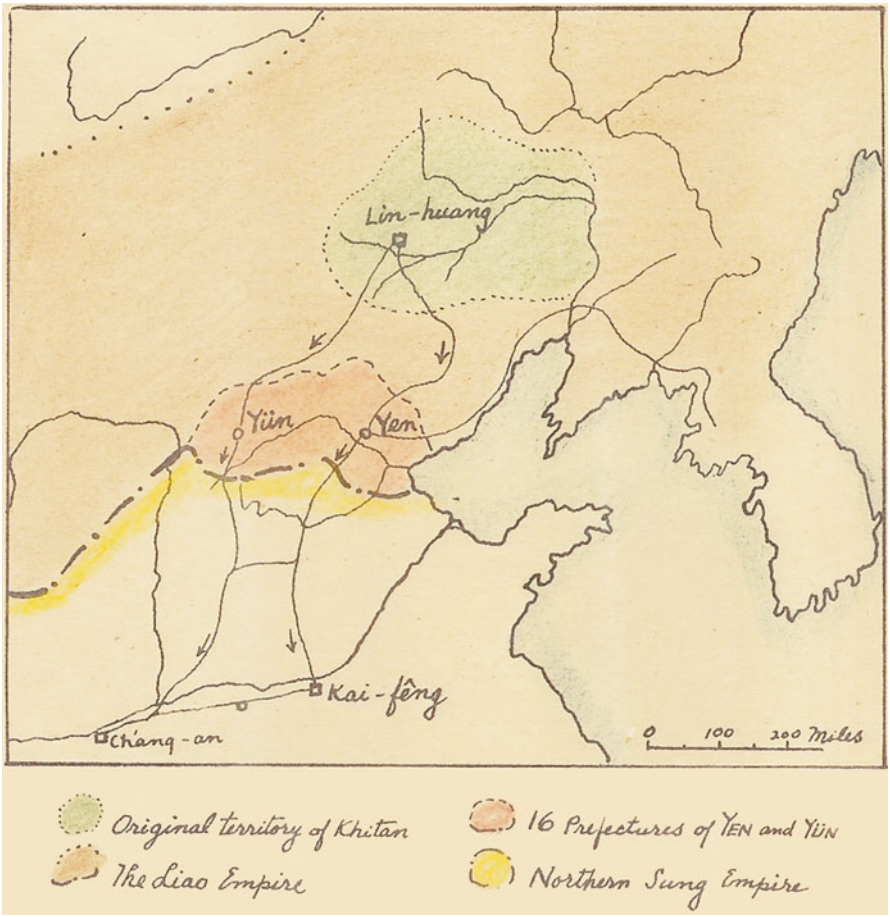

Fig. 4.3 Territorial expansion of the Liao Empire

which provided the most advantageous foothold for further conquest of China, and immediately Yu Chou was made one of their secondary capitals called Nan-ching (or Southern Capital).[18] This marked the beginning of a new era in the development of this old city.

[18]The other three secondary capitals were as follows:

1. Tung-ching (东京, the Eastern Capital), or the modern city Liao-yang (辽阳) in Southern Manchuria
2. Hsi-ching (西京, the Western Capital) at Yün Chou or modern Ta-t'ung (大同)
3. Chung-ching (中京, the Central Capital) together with the capital Shang-ching (上京, the Grand Capital), both in the present province of Jehol

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Part II
The Transitional Phase: A National Centre in the Making

Chapter 5
Nan-ching (938–1122) of the Liao Dynasty (916–1125)

The Khitan occupation of Yu Chou and its neighbouring territory was only the beginning of a series of alien nomadic invasions from the northeast. It is in relation to these new invasions that Yu Chou began to acquire its political significance on a national scale, because every northeast entry of the nomads was bound to lead to Yu Chou, and no such entry would be successful until the city was firmly held. Here again we observe that the supreme importance of Yu Chou was linked with the northeast roads.

On the heels of the Khitan were the Nüchen, and after the Nüchen came the Mongols. Though the Mongols were driven out after nearly a century's occupation of China, the Chinese again failed to defend the northeastern frontier against the Manchus. Each of these invaders succeeded in establishing an alien dynasty in China—i.e. the Liao (辽) dynasty of the Khitan (916–1125), the Chin (金) dynasty of the Nüchen (1115–1234), the Yüan (元) dynasty of the Mongols (1279–1368) and the Ch'ing (清) dynasty of the Manchus (1645–1911), and the Manchu rule in China only ended at the beginning of the present century. This is a new feature in the frontier history of China, because it was the first time that a series of major invasions came from the northeast. However, there is a difference between the invasions of the Khitan and the Nüchen and those of the Mongols and Manchus. The former invaders occupied only parts of China and were constantly at war with the rest of the country then under native Chinese governments, first of the Northern Sung (北宋) dynasty (960–1126) and then the Southern Sung (南宋) dynasty (1127–1278). The latter invaders, in contrast, actually conquered the whole empire. If the Liao and Chin dynasties represented a transitional stage of the growing power of foreign domination in China, the rule of the Yüan and Ch'ing dynasties might be considered the completion of the process. This is well reflected in the development of a new national centre. Under the Liao and Chin, we notice the rapid growth of the political importance of Yu Chou, but it had not yet gained an absolute supremacy over other political centres such as K'ai-feng (开封) and Lin-an (临安, later Hang Chow, or

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Hang Hsien 杭县 of today),[1] the capitals of the Northern and Southern Sung dynasties, respectively. There was still dualism in China. As soon as the Yüan dynasty was finally established in China and the whole country unified, the city then emerged as the only logical capital of the whole empire. The political centre of gravity, so to speak, was once more fixed after a long period of uncertainty since the decline of the ancient capital Ch'ang-an.

The present and the following chapters will discuss how the Liao and Chin dynasties paved the way for the city to become a national centre and what kind of transformation the city itself underwent during this period.

5.1 Yu Chou as a Cultural Medium

In the previous chapter, special emphasis has been placed on the military importance of Yu Chou during the T'ang dynasty. However, there is another aspect of the story which has to be told. Ever since the golden age of the T'ang, the city of Yu Chou had become the most important medium through which the Khitan, when still an alien tribal group, received cultural influence from China. At the beginning, when the suzerainty of the T'ang government was still duly observed by the Khitan, they used to pay homage to the imperial court of China quite frequently. The delegation was composed of chieftains and their attendants who were usually in great number. But according to regulation, only the chieftains, with the military governor of Yu Chou as the official guide, or more precisely, the supervisor, were allowed to proceed to the capital at Ch'ang-an, while their attendants had to stay and wait in the city of Yu Chou [1]. Hence the city must have become quite familiar to the Khitan even long before their occupation, and they must have learned also a great deal about China and its way of life from the city.

Afterwards, when the T'ang dynasty began to decline, the Khitan, on the other hand, grew stronger day by day and eventually became a formidable rival of T'ang. During the closing years of the T'ang and the beginning of the Five Dynasties, the situation in China was so disturbed that a great number of the Chinese population along the frontier, especially in the district of Yu Chou where people suffered most from the maladministration of a Liu Jen-kung (刘仁恭) and his son Liu Shou-kuang (刘守光), the founder of the petty state of Yen (911–913), drifted away to seek refuge under the Khitan. Meanwhile, the Khitan, then under the great leadership of Yelu Apaoki (耶律·阿保机), seized the opportunity not only by receiving the Chinese refugees with due care but by launching attacks on Chinese frontier cities and towns and taking the native people, whenever possible, in captivity, hence the rapid increase of Chinese population in the Khitan territory, which was still beyond the Great Wall, who in turn served the Khitan both in official and in private capacities. Some Chinese were appointed high officials in the Khitan government which adopted

[1] Hang Hsien was known as Hang Chow (杭州) until the early years of the Republic. See Footnote 8 on p. xxiv.

the existing Chinese administrative system. They introduced Chinese official titles as well as court ceremony. Thus was the alien rule assimilated to the Chinese pattern.[2] Agricultural life was introduced wherever it was possible, and permanent settlements sprang up here and there, and some of these were actually built in the form of walled cities after the model of Yu Chou.[3] Thus long before their occupation of Yu Chou, the Khitan, with the help of Chinese immigrants, had already developed a mixed culture in their homeland and adopted the Chinese system in their administrative organization.[4] 'This is very different from the so-called assimilation of invaders in China' to use Franz Michael's words in his treatment of a similar thesis. 'It was not a change after the conquest of China. The change was necessary before the conquest was even possible. Only by becoming 'Chinese' in their political organization had the 'barbarians' a chance of conquering the rule over China [2, p. 3].' This is an important point in the study of the history of the alien dynasties in China during the last millennium. When this is realized, it is not surprising that, when the city of Yu Chou was offered to them, the Khitan rulers were already well prepared to take it over and immediately made it their secondary capital. It was

[2] See *Liao Shih*, *Han Yen-hui Chuan*, *Kang Mo-chi Chuan* (《辽史》之《韩延徽传》,《康默记传》, Dynastic History of Liao, Biographies of Han Yen-hui and Kang Mo-chi).

[3] The following quotations from three different sources provide the evidence. In the *Chiu Wu-tai Shih*, *Chi Tan Chuan* (《旧五代史·契丹传》, Old Dynastic History of the Five Dynasties, History of Khitan), it is recorded: 'At the end of T'ien-yu (天佑, Reign title of the last emperor of T'ang, 904–907) Apaoki assumed the title of emperor and adopted the Chinese system in his government. The old way of life of the Khitan was nomadic and no cities nor buildings had ever been in existence. With the help of the (Chinese) people from Yen (the district of Yu Chou) a city and palace were built in the remote north, about three thousand *li* from Yu Chou. It was called Hsi-lou西楼' (Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition, 137/2b). This is probably the oldest city in the territory of the Khitan.

A similar account about the rise of other permanent settlements is given in the *Hsin Wu-tai Shih*, *Ssu I Fu-lu* (《新五代史·四夷附录》, New Dynasty History of the Five Dynasties, Appendix, Barbarians): 'Owing to the cruelty of Liu Shou-kuang, most of the inhabitants of Yu and Cho sought refuge in flight into the Khitan territory. Apaoki then took the opportunity to break with the frontier of China and plundered cities and towns. Large number of Chinese inhabitants was kept in captivity. Hence settlements following the Chinese system of local administration were established. … Han city was built on the river Luan, southeast of Tan Shan (Coal Hill) where salt and iron were abundant. And cultivation of cereals was possible. A city with walls, buildings and markets, just as that of Yu Chou was built. The Chinese were quite contented and did not think of going home again' (Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition, 72/1b-2a).

Finally, a short paragraph referring to the origin of Lin-huang, the capital of the Khitan, in the Dynastic History of Liao, tells the story from the Khitan point of view: 'At the beginning of the reign of Tien-tsan (922–926), T'ai-tzu (the posthumous title of Apaoki) marched to the south to attack Yen and Chi and brought the Chinese captives and settled them north of the river Huang (the Chinese name for the river Sieoa Muren). Hence the place named Lin-huang (or literally translated as 'On the River Huang'). Here the land is suitable for cultivation. Residential families amount to three thousand and five hundred'.

[4] It is interesting to note that 20 years before their occupation of Yu Chou, a temple devoted to Confucius as well as a number of temples both for the Buddhist and the Taoist were built by the order of Apaoku in his capital Lin-huang. This reflects definitely the strong inclination of the Khitan ruler towards the civilization of China. See *Dynastic History of Liao*, *Chronicle of T'ai-tsu*, the 3rd year of Shen-tse (神册, 918).

through this city that the Khitan owed so much to the cultural influence of China, and it was also from this city that the Khitan hoped to rule the territory which was ceded by the Later Chin dynasty.

5.2 Nan-ching: A Secondary Capital

Yu Chou, as said above, was made a secondary capital of the Khitan in the year 938,[5] hence the new name Nan-ching (南京) or the Southern Capital. It was also concurrently (after 1022) called Yen-ching (燕京), or the capital of Yen.[6] Maybe the second name was the name by which the Chinese know it. For Yen-ching is a name of Chinese origin, and the ancient name 'Yen' was frequently liable to recur. Since then, Nan-ching remained as one of the regional political centres of the Liao Empire until it was finally sacked by the Nüchen in 1122.[7] For nearly 200 years, the city enjoyed a comparatively peaceful life, and the population, according to *Liao Kuo Chih* (《辽国志》) or the *History of Liao*, reached as many as 'three hundred thousand'.[8] Whether this figure is reliable might not be easy to tell, but that at the closing years of the Liao dynasty, the city had become very prosperous is evident. The following quotation from the travelling account of a Sung official, Hsü K'ang-tsung (许亢宗), who visited the place in 1125 while on a mission to the Chin court at Hui-ning (会宁) on the Sungari River in northern Manchuria, provides a vivid picture of the city. It reads:

> The inhabitants (of the city) enjoy a peaceful life and are very prosperous. The streets are wide and also well–planned. The government of the local prefecture now occupies the old Khitan palace which is very imposing and splendid. (The city then had been transferred to the Sung by the Nüchen.) North of the city (or in the northern part of the city?) there are three markets where goods from both the land and the sea are to be found. There are many Buddhist temples in the city which are without rivals in the North, while its silk and textiles are matchless in the whole empire. Vegetables, fruits, rice and cereals are all grown in the local district. Mulberry trees, hemp and wheat, as well as sheep, swine, pheasants and hares, are extremely abundant. The water is sweet and the soil fertile, and the local people usually excel in arts and in skill. … It is a grand sight to stand north of the city and look at the surrounding mountains in the distance. A country of great military importance it is indeed, and the panorama is unique.[9]

There might be some exaggerations in phraseology, but the statement as a whole is quite trustworthy. Some of the facts mentioned above can be easily confirmed by

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[5] Or the third year of the reign of the second emperor T'ai-tsung, the son of Yelu Apaoki.

[6] Or the fifth year of the reign of the Liao emperor Sheng-tsung. See *Liao Shih*, *Sheng-tsung Pen-chi* (《辽史·圣宗本纪》, Dynastic History of Liao, the Chronicle of Sheng-tsung).

[7] *Chin Shih*, *T'ai-tsung Pen-chi* (《金史·太宗本纪》, Dynastic History of Chin, the Chronicle of T'ai-tsung), the 6th year of T'ien-fu (天福), 11th month.

[8] Yeh Lung-li, *Liao Kuo Chih* (叶隆礼《辽国志》, History of Liao), as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 5/3a.

[9] The same paragraph was quoted both in the *Liao Kuo Chih* (op. cit.) and in the *Ta Chin Kuo Chih* (《大金国志》, *A History of the Chin Dynasty*, by Yü-wen Mao-chao宇文懋昭, Sao-yeh Shan-fang edition扫叶山房本, 1797, 40/2a).

other sources. As far as the Buddhist temples are concerned, for instance, the great contemporary scholar Hung Hao recorded that 'there are all together thirty-six Buddhist temples, both big and small, in the city of Yen-ching. But all of these belong to the sect of 'Lü-yüan (律院)'. Since the arrival of the monks from the south, four temples of the 'Chan (禅)' sect have been built'.[10] Again, similar statement was mentioned in the *Dynastic History of Liao*, in a rather casual manner indeed, but it should not be passed without notice. It says:

> Nan-ching is also called Yen-ching. … There are residential wards and markets, while the buildings and houses, as well as temples of both the Buddhist and the Taoist, are innumerable.[11]

But what demands attention is not only the temples and the buildings but also the markets which had been described by Hsü as places where 'goods from both the land and the sea are to be found'. The history of the markets can be traced at least as far back as the beginning of the Khitan occupation. For it is definitely recorded in the *Dynastic History of Liao* that:

> When T'ai-tsung obtained the city of Yen, His Majesty made it the Southern Capital (938). North of the city (or in the northern part of the city?) there is the market where all sorts of goods are accumulated.[12]

Thus we know that during the whole reign of the Liao dynasty, important markets had been developed in the city of Nan-ching, and the trade must have been prosperous. It would be interesting to speculate on the growth of the city's trade and wealth during this period, but owing to the scarcity of necessary data, such an attempt is impossible.

Finally, a few words about the form of the city itself must be added here. It is believed that the Nan-ching city of Liao was exactly the same as that of the Yu Chou city of T'ang.[13] It was roughly rectangular in form with two gates on each side. It is recorded that the T'ang city was 9 *li* from south to north and 7 *li* from east to west.[14] All the gates were properly named, but none of these original sites can be identified.

At the southwest corner of the city, there was the royal palace protected by an inner enclosure usually called the Imperial City.[15] Probably the west wall of this Imperial City adjoined that of the great city and shared with it the same gate called Hsien-hsi (显西).[16] This might be the reason why the west gate of the Imperial City was never opened as is particularly mentioned in the *Dynastic History of Liao*.[17]

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[10] Quoted by Ch'en Lu, op. cit., p. 48.

[11] *Book on Geography*.

[12] *Book on Economic Affairs*.

[13] See Appendix III.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Book on Geography*, *Dynastic History of Liao*.

[16] See Footnote 23 on p. 58. The northern wall of the Imperial City of the T'ang capital Ch'ang-an, for instance, adjoined that of the great city.

[17] *Book on Geography*. See also Feng K'uan, op. cit., p. 890.

The main entrance leading to the palace consisted of a block of three gates on the southern side of the Imperial City. The central gate was called Nan-tuan (南端), while Tso-yeh (左掖, or Ch'ien-ch'iu 千秋 in later years) and Yu-yeh (右掖, or Wan-ch'un 万春 in later years) were the names of the two auxiliary side gates, respectively. On the opposite side of the main entrance, along the wall of the Imperial City, was the Tsu-pei (子北) Gate, meaning the gate opening due north.[18] There must have been also an eastern gate, but there is no record of it.

Inside the Imperial City, there were a number of buildings among which the Yüan-ho Hall (元和殿) was the most important.[19] Another building called Jen-cheng Hall (仁政殿) survived in perfect condition until the Chin dynasty.[20] At both the southwest and the northeast corners of the Imperial City stood two buildings, namely the Liang Hall (凉殿) and the Yen-chiao Tower (燕角楼).[21] Now, inside the western gate of the South City of today, there is a lane which bears the same name of the last mentioned tower. It is believed that here is the original site of the northeast corner of the Imperial City of Liao.[22] If this is the case, probably we can reconstruct the plan of the Nan-ching city of Liao together with its inner enclosure as follows (Fig. 5.1)[23]:

Outside the separate quarter of the royal palace, the city was divided into a number of residential quarters called 'fang' (坊), and each *fang* had its own name. However, this was not a new thing in the history of the city, and some of the names of the different *fang* can be traced as far back as the T'ang dynasty. This was particularly mentioned by a Chinese official Lu Chen (路振) who visited the city in 1008. He recorded that 'there are altogether twenty-six fang in the city. Separate gates with towers were built for these fang and some of them still retained the old names of the T'ang dynasty, such as Chi-pin (罽宾), Su-shen (肃慎), Lu-lung (卢龙), etc.'[24]

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[18] See the *Chronicle of Sheng-tsung* and the *Book on Geography in the Dynastic History of Liao*.

[19] It was probably an old building of the previous dynasties. See Chao I, op. cit., 27/12a-13b.

[20] See Footnote 5 on p. 63.

[21] *Book on Geography*, *Dynastic History of Liao*.

[22] Chen Chün, *T'ien-chih Ou-wen*, 1a/23b.

[23] The names of the gates are recorded in the *Book on Geography in the Dynastic History of Liao*, but their relative position is not given. The present arrangement, except for the two gates along the western side, is based upon the study of Noha Toshisada (op. cit., 92–94). However, he leaves the western gates without discussion. According to Chu Hsieh, whose study of the gates mentioned above agrees with that of Noha Toshisada, the gate Ch'ing-chin is indicated in his map as the southern one and Hsien-hsi the northern one along the western side of the city (op. cit., p. 55). But I am inclined to think the other way, because it is mentioned in the *Dynastic History of Liao* that the inner enclosure, or the Imperial City, was located in the southwestern corner of the great city of Nan-ching and its west gate is also called Hsien-hsi, the same as one of the gates on the western side of the great city, or the city of Nan-ching. Probably the inner enclosure was so constructed that it shared the same gate called Hsien-hsi with the great city. Since the inner enclosure was at the southwestern corner of the great city, it is clear that the Hsien-hsi gate must be the southern one instead of the northern one along the western side of the great city.

[24] As quoted by Ch'en Lu, op. cit., pp. 46–47.

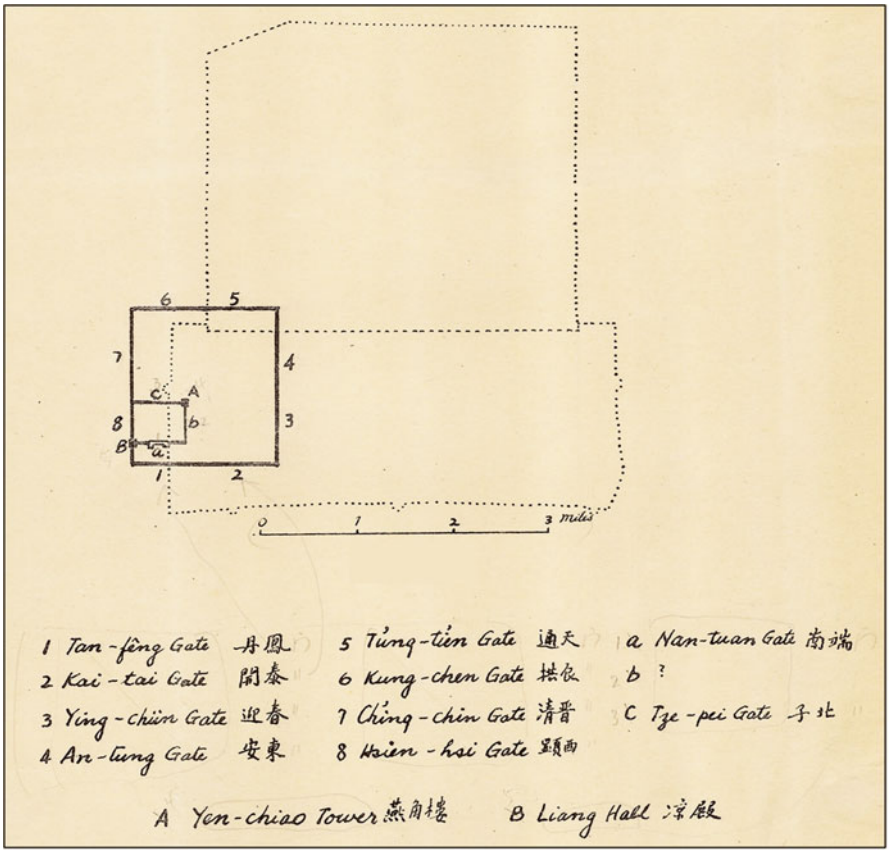

Fig. 5.1 The plan of Nan-ching of the Liao dynasty and the gates

It may be concluded that the city, though it was made a secondary capital of the Liao dynasty, underwent practically no fundamental change in its physical pattern.[25] A new city did not emerge till the arrival of the second nomadic invader, the Nüchen or Chin, in the twelfth century.

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2. Michael, F. (1942). *The origin of the Manchu rule in China*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

[25] For detailed discussion, see Appendix III.

Chapter 6
Chung-tu (1151–1215) of the Chin Dynasty (1115–1234)

6.1 The Invasion of the Nüchen

Though the Khitan had occupied the frontier land of Yen and Yün and made Yu Chou (i.e. Yen) as one of their secondary capitals for nearly 200 years, they had not been able to make any further considerable conquests towards the south beyond the present river Ta-ch'ing. One of the chief reasons was that the Northern Sung, with its capital at K'ai-feng and supported by the enormous wealth of the newly developed Yangtze Delta, was still strong enough to stand its ground. Numerous battles were fought between the invader and the defender, but neither of them could subdue the other. Finally, there came the Nüchen who proved to be not only more powerful than the Khitan but also more powerful than the Northern Sung.

The Nüchen, a Tungusic people, first heard of in Chinese records in Northern Manchuria, in the basin of the Sungari, and vassals of the Khitan, became strong at the very beginning of the twelfth century and eventually threw off the Khitan authority. In the year 1115, their chief assumed the imperial title, calling his dynasty Chin, meaning gold. Soon after this, the Chin allied herself with the Northern Sung against the Liao or Khitan. Eventually, the Nan-ching city of Liao, formerly Yu Chou of T'ang and later Peking, fell before the rapid advance of the formidable cavalry of the Nüchen in 1122. In the following year, the city together with the neighbouring region was handed over to the Northern Sung according to previous agreement, and it was renamed as Yen Shan (燕山). This new name was significant and reflected the tremendous hold on the sentiment of the Chinese of the historical word Yen. However, this was only a temporary settlement. Two years later (1125) the city was again taken by the advancing cavalry of the Chin, which in this occasion did not stop here. The Sung capital of K'ai-feng fell in 1126, and the emperors Hui-tsung and Ch'in-tsung were captured in 1127. The Northern Sung was thus utterly defeated, and the dynasty was brought to a tragic end. Meanwhile, a young prince and the remaining officials fled across the Yangtze River and established themselves

R. Hou, *An Historical Geography of Peiping*, China Academic Library,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-55321-9_6,

at Lin-an, or modern Hang Hsien. This is known in Chinese history as the Southern Sung dynasty (1127–1279). In North China, the new invader pushed southward without losing any time. The lower valley of the Yellow River was soon completely occupied, leaving a transitional region as an uneasy frontier between the North and the South on the water-parting ranges separating the Yellow River and the Yangtze and in the Hwai Valley to the east. After nearly 30 years of political and military consolidation, the fourth emperor of the Chin dynasty, Hai-ling (海陵), was advised by his Chinese officials to move his capital from Hui-ning (会宁) in the remote north along the Sungari River to the former Nan-ching city of Liao which the Sung renamed Yen Shan and gave it the new official name 'Chung-tu' (中都) or the Central Capital.[1] This is the first time in the history of Peiping that the city became a real capital—the place from where the empire was actually governed. Hitherto it had been a secondary capital. However, the Chin dynasty was not yet strong enough to conquer the whole territory of China proper. The Southern Sung dynasty in the Yangtze Valley remained undefeated, and Lin-an with its enormous economic resources challenged the Chung-tu city of Chin as a keen rival in political leadership. The prolonged strife between these two contending powers lasted for about 120 years until the arrival of the third nomadic invaders, the Mongols, who first subdued the Chin in 1234 and then conquered the Southern Sung in 1279, and for first time the whole of China submitted to the northern nomads.

6.2 Chung-tu: A New City on the Old Site

While the Nan-ching city of Liao underwent practically no change from the Yu Chou city of T'ang, the Chung-tu city of Chin, though still remaining on the old site, must be considered as a new city. The circuit of the old rampart was greatly enlarged in 1150.[2] A splendid palace began to be built in 1152.[3] The old palace of Liao, which sustained little damage, was incorporated into the new plan.[4]

Some of the Liao buildings, notably the Jen-cheng Hall, for instance, became also one of the most important palace buildings of the Chin court.[5] The new palace

[1] Yü-wen Mao-chao, op. cit., 13/2a. At the same time, four secondary capitals were founded, i.e. Pei-ching, the Northern Capital at Ta-ting (大定) in the present province of Jehol; Hsi-ching, the Western Capital at Ta-t'ung (大同); Tung-ching, the Eastern Capital corresponding to Mukden; and Nan-ching, the Southern Capital at K'ai-feng (开封).

[2] See Appendix III.

[3] Yü-wen Mao-chao, op. cit., 13/2b.

[4] Hsü K'ang-tsung recorded in 1125, 3 years after the city had been taken by the Chin, that 'the old Khitan palace… is very imposing and splendid'. See footnote 5 on p. 56 and footnote 13 p. 65.

[5] It is recorded in the *Book on Geography in the Dynastic History of Chin* that 'Inside the Jen-cheng Gate, … stands the Jen-cheng Hall where the imperial court is usually held'. It is also recorded in the *Chronicle of Shih-tsung* that the emperor once remarked to his countries that 'If too much decoration is made on palace building, they can hardly be lasting. The Jen-cheng Hall, for instance, was built during the Liao dynasty, and there are no lavish decorations at all. But it stands as strong as ever, while other buildings have to be repaired year after year. Thus we know that things of

of Chin was far bigger than that of the Liao, and a great number of new buildings were constructed and lavishly decorated.[6]

The original plan of the new palace of Chin was based upon that of the K'ai-feng palace of the Northern Sung, but the whole scheme was carried out in such a lavish manner that some of the contemporary Chinese observers who visited the city considered it to be too much exaggerated and condemned it as 'nonclassical'.[7] However, the use of glazed tiles of different colours in Chinese architecture, which was introduced during the construction of the Chin palace, was extensively adopted afterwards.[8] A glance at the magnificent coloured roofs, chiefly in yellow, blue and green, constructed mainly during the Ch'ing dynasty, shining brilliantly under the glorious sunshine of North China, would remind us what a marvellous sight the Chin palace must have been. But this ill-fated royal residence disappeared during the wanton destruction of the third nomadic invaders, the Mongols, to whom the 'Golden Horde' only served as a vanguard whose function was simply to clear the way for the later comer.

Outside the royal palace, the remaining space of the Chung-tu city, as of Nan-ching city of Liao, was also divided into different *fang*, the total number of which increased to 62, but of the total inhabitants, we know nothing.[9] As to the great city itself, part of its ruined walls is still recognizable.[10] It was roughly a square with a circumference of nearly 12 miles.[11] There were three gates along each side, but none

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superficial splendour without substantial quality cannot last long'. Beside Jen-cheng Hall, the chief buildings of the Liao palace were also preserved in the Chin palace as mentioned in the *Book on Geography in the Dynastic History of Chin*.

[6] Some detailed descriptions of the construction of the Chin palace are given in the following works:

(a) Lou Yao, *Pei-hsing Jih Lu* (楼钥《北行日录》, Daily Accounts on Journey to the North, Chih-pu-tsu-chai Ts'ung-shu edition知不足斋丛书本), no. 181
(b) Fan Ch'eng-ta, *Lan-pei Lu* (范大成《揽辔录》, Travel Accounts, Ts'ung-shu Chi-ch'eng edition), pp. 4–5
(c) Chou Hui, *Pei-Yüan Lu* (周辉《北辕录》, Travel Accounts to the North, as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 29/12b-13a)

[7] The emperor Hai-ling sent draughtsmen to K'ai-feng in 1151 to make a complete copy of the Sung palace as the blueprint for the construction of his own palace at Chung-tu. See Chou Hui, op. cit., and *Chin Tu-ching* (《金图经》, Topography of Chin) as quoted in Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao 29/7a. The K'ai-feng palace has never been reconstructed, and I am unable to detect to what extent the detail of the Chin palace was copied from that of the K'ai-feng palace. I visited the site of K'ai-feng palace but was not able to make a detailed reconstruction on the ground because so much has been destroyed.

[8] Chou Hui, ibid. See also Chu Ch'i-ch'ien [1, p. 122].

[9] A complete list of the names of the *fang* is given in *Yüan I T'ung Chih* (《元一统志》, Comprehensive Geography of the Yüan Empire) as quoted in Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao, 37/21b-22a.

[10] See Appendix III.

[11] O. F. von Möllendorff measured the rampart by connecting the remaining ruins in 1876 and made the following record: 'If we complete the square by connecting these remains, the northern and southern walls will be found to have been 4905 metres or 16,082 feet each, the eastern and western walls 4453 metres or 14,764 feet, giving in all a circumference of 18,716 metres or 61,692 feet' ('Ancient Peking', Addenda et Corigenda to Dr. Bretschneider's pamphlet inscribed *Archaeological*

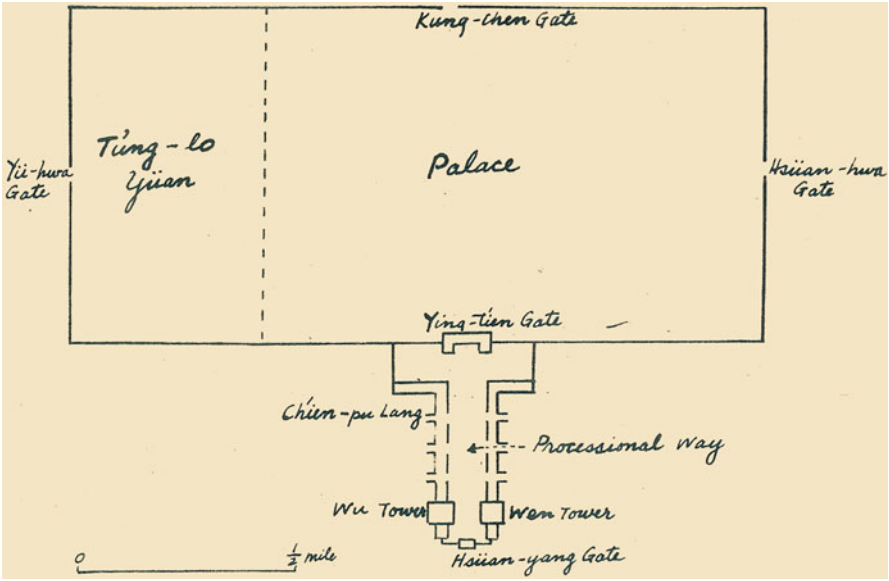


Fig. 6.1 Reconstruction of the Chung-tu city

of these can be easily located except the Hui Ch'eng Gate (会城门), on the ruins of which a village bearing the same name has grown up.

Inside the great city, a new enclosure for the royal palace was also built. Its circumference was recorded to be 9 *li* and 30 paces, or roughly 3 miles.[12] The main entrance called Ying-t'ien Gate (应天门) was situated on the southern side with a magnificent processional way consisting of three parallel roads separated by ditches and lined by willow trees, leading to it from a front gate known as Hsüan-yang (宣阳). Along each side of the processional way, a long veranda was built, the proper name of which is called 'Ch'ien-pu Lang' (千步廊) or 'Thousand Paces Veranda'. There was also an eastern gate, a western gate and a northern gate, namely Hsüan-hua (宣华), Yü-hua (玉华) and Kung-ch'en (拱辰), respectively. In the western part of the royal palace, there was a big pleasure ground called T'ung-lo Yüan (同乐园), or the 'Park of Common Enjoyments', which consisted of a number of buildings and an artificial lake fed by the ancient river His-ma Kou (洗马沟). East of this pleasure ground stood the government buildings and the royal residence. A brief diagram reconstructed from some detailed accounts given by contemporary eyewitnesses will provide a better picture than mere description (Fig. 6.1).

However, the actual location of the royal palace is not easy to settle. Probably the northern limit of it remained the same as that of the Liao, while the other three sides

and Historical Research on Peking and Its Environs, *Chinese Review*, vol. v, July 1876-June 1877, pp. 383–386).

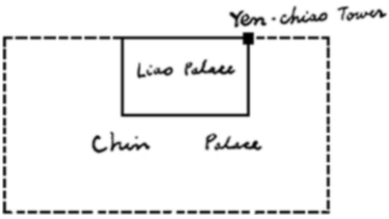
[12]Yü-wen Mao-chao, op. cit., 13/2b. I am not sure of the *li* of the period. With a *li* of the present dimensions, this would mean approximately 3 miles. As the result of the construction of the Imperial City based on evidence given below, the circumference of it is also about 3 miles.

were greatly extended. Thus the original palace of the Liao was completely incorporated into the new plan.[13] The following map shows the probable location of the royal palace of the Chin inside the great city of Chung-tu (Fig. 6.2).[14] With this picture clear in the mind, I propose to discuss a most interesting problem that has never been properly studied before. It is the problem of the watercourses both inside and in the suburbs of the Chin capital.

6.3 Watercourses

During the Chin dynasty, the royal court at Chung-tu was constantly visited by Southern Sung officials who were sent there on certain missions. Some of them had left us detailed accounts about what they had seen. Lou Yao (楼钥), for instance,

[13] This can be better shown in the following diagram:



The northern wall of the Chin palace could not be further north than that of the Liao palace. Otherwise, the name 'Yen-chiao' of the tower on the northeast corner of the Liao palace could not have survived. Meanwhile, it could not be too far to the south either, because the Jen-cheng Hall which was one of the buildings of the Liao palace was also found in the Chin palace (see footnote 23 on p. 58). Thus to incorporate the Liao palace into the new plan, it would seem to be most convenient if the northern wall of the former was left as before and if extensions were made only along the other three sides. It was probably the extension of the Liao palace on the extension made along the other two sides; see footnote below.

[14] (a) The relative positions of the 12 gates of the great city are based upon the study of Feng K'uan (op. cit., pp. 891–897).

(b) The western wall is located due north of the present village Wei Ch'iang-chiao (魏墙角). The word 'Wei' is a common Chinese surname, and 'Ch'iang-chiao' means 'wall corner'. Naha Toshisada inclined to think that it occupies the original site of a tower on the western wall of the Liao palace, without realizing that it was really a place outside the western wall of the Liao city (op. cit., 2/84 and map). However, it would be quite possible if it were assumed to be the original site of the southwestern corner of the royal enclosure of the Chin. And this assumption is in full accordance with the fact that the ancient river Hsi-ma Kou was included in the Chin palace. See discussions below.

(c) Outside the southwestern corner of the South City of today, there is the ruined foundation of some ancient buildings lying in two parallel lines from south to north. Feng K'uan believes that this is the original site of the main road in front of the southern gate of the Liao palace. But I rather think that this is probably the place where the processional way between the 'Thousand Paces Veranda' leading to the Chin palace is to be found, because the Liao palace, according to my reconstruction, was not as far as that. Now, a village at this place is called 'Chia-tao' (夹道) which conveys the meaning of a lane. It also signifies the remains of an ancient road.

(d) There is no evidence of any sort to help to locate the eastern wall.

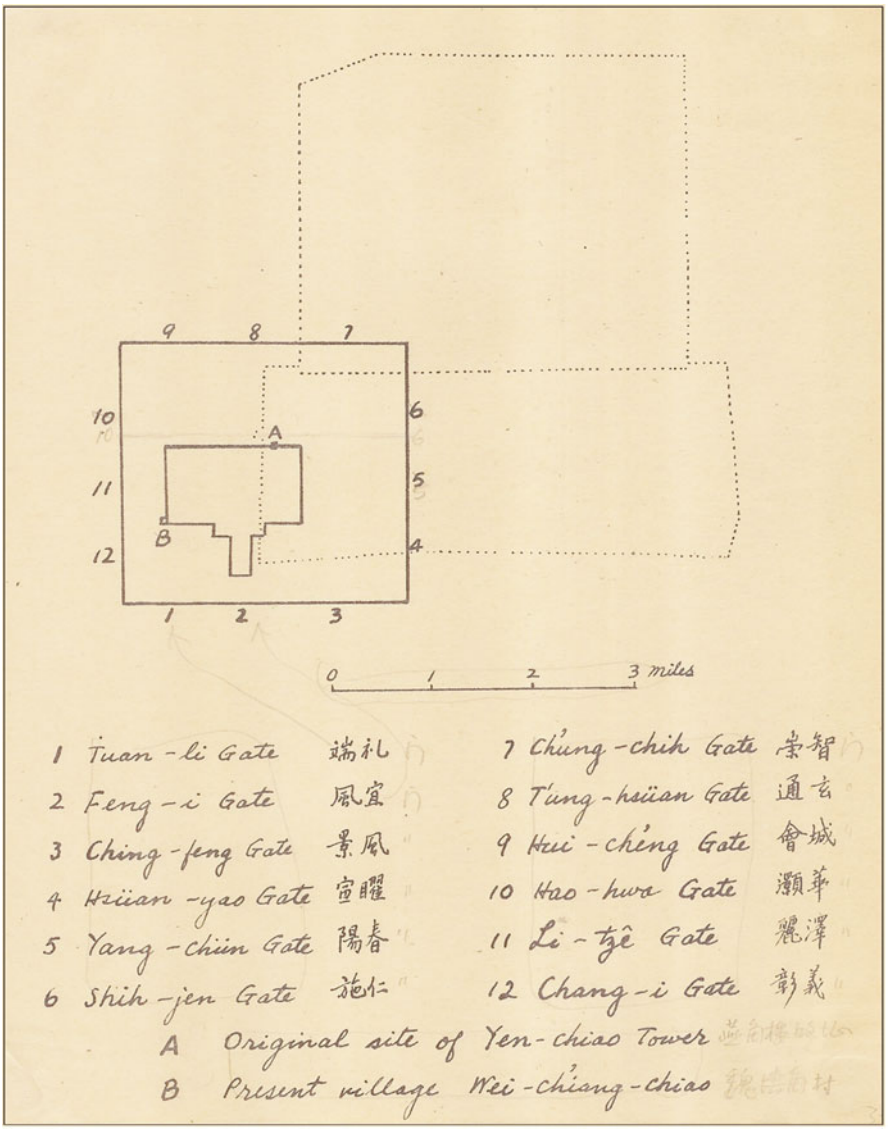


Fig. 6.2 The plan of Chung-tu of the Chin dynasty and the gates

was one of these officials who first visited the city in 1160—about 10 years after the construction of the new city was completed.[15] His account provides a vivid picture of his approach to the city. It reads:

[15]The great city was first enlarged in 1150 and finally built in 1159. See *Sun Ch'eng-tse*, op. cit., 3/2a, and the *Chronicle of the Emperor Hsi-ling in the Dynastic History of Chin*.

> …After crossing the Lu Kow River (卢沟河), (we) arrive at the suburb of the Yen Shan city (i.e. the Sung name for the Chin capital)… The outside bank of the city moat is high and thick, and on both sides of the highway willow trees are planted in good order… (we) pass by the Tuan-li Gate (端礼门) and come to the south gate. Crossing the city moat by a big stone bridge… (we) entered the city through the Feng-i Gate (丰宜门)… We pass over another stone bridge called Lung-chin Ch'iao (龙津桥, or Dragon Ford Bridge)… which is especially magnificent… Under the bridge, there is a stream flowing eastward. It is clear and deep… Farther on, (we) pass through the Hsüan-yang Gate (宣阳门)… and arrive at Hui-t'ung Kuan (会同馆, i.e. special residence for Chinese official visitors) which is situated west of the Veranda…[16]

This paragraph is interesting at two points. First, it tells us the existence of the city moat. Second, it brings to our knowledge the fact that there was a clear and deep stream flowing eastward under the Lung-chin Bridge. The city moat we shall come to later; let us concentrate at the moment on the stream. This stream, in fact, proves to be a most interesting clue to the study of the watercourse inside the Chung-tu city. Since it is mentioned as flowing eastward, its upper course must be sought in the western part of the city. This leads me to believe that this stream under the Lung-chin Bridge is not an artificial one but the ancient river named His-ma Kou which was formerly outside the old city of Liao, and at this time included not only in the great city of Chin but also in the Imperial City. It probably passed through the western part of the Imperial City and fed the artificial lake in the newly developed T'ung-lo Yüan. Though the Chin city has long been destroyed, the remaining bed of this ancient river is still recognizable. It is now filled with water only during the rainy season in summer, and a ditch connecting it with the present city moat was at some date dug out in order to divert its water into the latter. Near to the junction of the river and the ditch, there is a place called Nan-ho Pao-tsu (南河泡子) or literally translated as the Pond on the South River which has long been thought to be the original site of the artificial lake in the pleasure park of the Chin palace.[17] Since the Han dynasty, there has not been a single palace built without some semiartificial lakes within its precincts as decoration to the landscape.[18] Thus it is conceivable that the watercourse outside the old city of T'ang and Liao may have been taken into consideration when the extension of the city was first planned or, in other words, that the new city of Chung-tu and its palace may have been planned in such a way that the ancient river Hsi-ma Kou was purposely included in the city in order to supply water to the Imperial City. Hence the rebuilding of the Liao city was merely a further adaptation to the existing geographical conditions. The following illustration tells the story better than any description (Fig. 6.3).

The ancient river Hsi-ma Kou had its headwater in the Western Lake, the original site of which is probably marked by the Lotus Pond (莲花池) of today.[19] During the

[16] Op. cit., 31b-32a. A similar account is given by Fan Ch'eng-ta, another Chinese official who visited the city 1 year later in 1170, op. cit., p. 3.

[17] Chen Chün, op. cit., 10/21b, and Feng K'uan, op. cit., 900.

[18] See Chu Ch'i-ch'ien's article on Chinese Architecture, op. cit., pp. 118–119.

[19] See Appendix IV. E. Bretschneider who first carried out a field study of the old river courses in the suburbs of Peiping remarked: 'It seems that in ancient times, the water from the Lotus Pond flowed through the capital of Chin' [2].

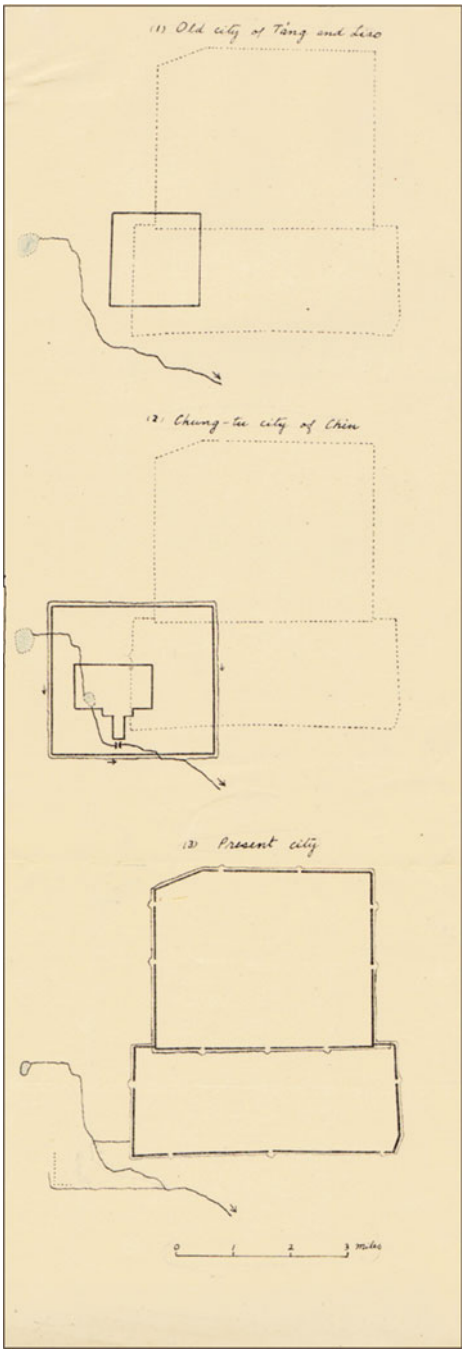


Fig. 6.3 Changes of the city sites from the Tang and Liao dynasties onwards and their relative positions to watercourses

Liao dynasty, it was also fed with water from the Lu Kou River through the ancient canal Ch'e-hsiang Ch'ü.[20] This branch of the Lu Kou River, then called Sang-Ch'ien River, however, stopped flowing probably during the closing years of the Liao dynasty and the beginning of the Chin dynasty. When the Chung-tu city of Chin was built, a city moat was dug out, and part of it along the southern wall survives even to the present day. Now, the problem is how the water in the city moat was supplied.

Since the greater part of the ancient river Hsi-ma Kou had been included in the Chin city, its upper course was naturally intersected by the newly constructed city moat. Thus the latter must have derived at least part of its water from the river. However, the catchment area of the river was very limited, and there must have been some other source as well as the ancient river by which the water filling the city moat could be supplied. This makes me think that another ancient river, the Kao-liang River, which later supplied water to the present palace, in the northern suburb of the city may have been connected with the city moat as well. Not long ago, in the western part of the North City of today, there still existed the dry bed of an ancient river, or rather a canal, which was roughly parallel with the western wall.[21] Its origin cannot be traced now, but its bed is not consistent in its plan with the layout of Khanbaliq. Hence it is possible to infer that the canal preceded the city of Khanbaliq. It was preserved until quite recently because it had been used for the purpose of draining away flood water often caused by excessive summer rain. I believe that it might have been a canal constructed during the Chin dynasty in order to divert part of the water from the Kao-liang River into the northern moat of the Chung-tu city.[22] Unfortunately, this cannot be directly verified from any written record. However, it was definitely mentioned by another Sung official, Fan Ch'eng-ta (范成大), who visited the city only 1 year after Lou Yao (in 1170), that the water flowing under the Lung-chin Bridge was led into the city from the Western Hills.[23] Since the Kao-liang River had its headwaters from the springs at the foot of the Western Hills, the above supposition is in full accordance with the evidence provided by Fan Ch'eng-ta, and there was no other possible course, except the old canal Ch'e-hsiang Ch'ü which was not reopened until 2 years after Fan's visit, to lead water directly from the Western Hills into the city. If this is the case, a map showing the watercourses both inside and in the environs of the Chung-tu city of Chin can be reconstructed as follows (Fig. 6.4).

[20] See Appendix IV.

[21] See 1915 map of Peking. Now a road is built over this ancient canal and is called 'Pei Kou Yen' (北沟沿) which means 'The Bank of the Northern Ditch'.

[22] Its northern part beyond the Hsi Chih Men Street (西直门大街) had long been filled up, while the southern end of it is simply an extension made during the Ming dynasty because of the southern expansion of the city itself. Now, this part is also built into a road called 'Nan Kou Yen' (南沟沿), or 'The Bank of the Southern Ditch'.

[23] *Shih-hu Chi* (《石湖集》, Complete Work of Fan Ch'eng-ta) as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 37/20a-b.

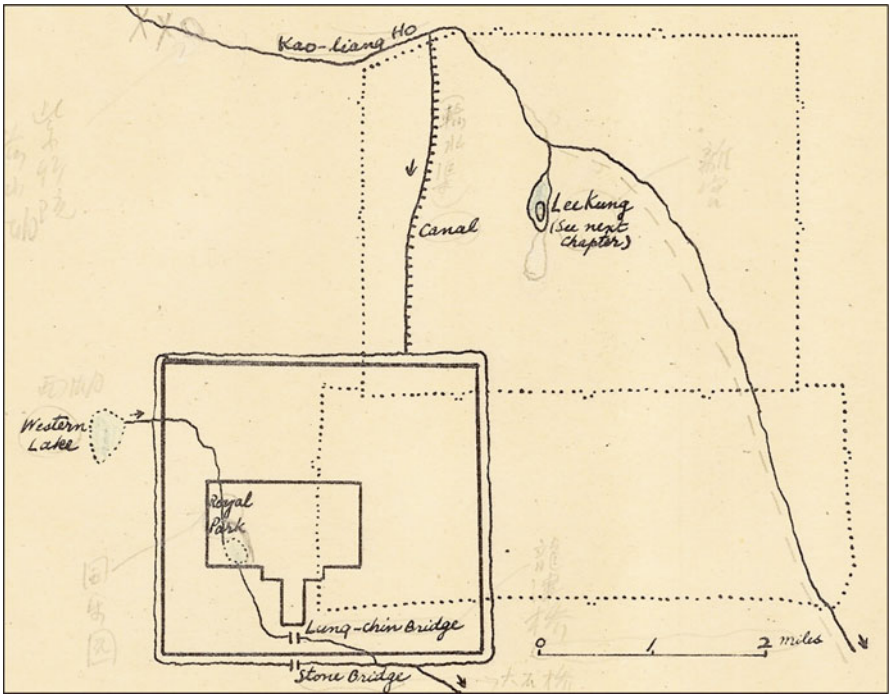


Fig. 6.4 The watercourses within and in the environs of Chung-tu

6.4 Transportation Canals

The above map remains incomplete unless the different transportation canals of the Chin dynasty are added. Since the city had become the political centre of the Chin Empire, the southern boundary of which reached as far as the Hwai River valley, the collection of national revenue from the plain chiefly in the form of grain was one of the fundamental concerns of the central government. In the previous chapter, we have seen how military supplies were transported by canal from the heart of the plain to the old city of Yu Chou which was then a military base in frontier operations. Now, the same method was employed to transport grain to the city, not for military purposes at this time but mainly to support the capital which was necessarily a big consuming centre. In fact, the comparatively easy accessibility of the city by water transportation from the plain was one of the chief factors which had caused it to be chosen as the capital of the Chin empire.[24] A detailed description of the canal system developed on the plain during the Chin dynasty would be out of place in the present study. Anyhow, the canal first constructed by the Sui emperor Yang-ti still served as the main artery of grain transportation. The only difference was that the

[24] Yü-wen Mao-chao, op. cit., 13/2b.

river Pei instead of the river Hun, or Lu-kow, was used as the final course of the great canal, because the latter was no longer flowing in the immediate southern environs of the city. A district city called T'ung Chou on the western bank of the river Pei and about 15 miles due east of the Chin capital thus became the place where all grain collected from the plain was concentrated. But there was no natural river which could be used as a canal to transport the grain from T'ung Chou to the capital. This problem was finally solved by the construction of an artificial canal first leading water from the Kao-liang River, as I have shown earlier may have been the case, into the northern moat of the city and then connecting the city moat at its southeast and with the river Pei north of T'ung Chou. The original lower course of the Kao-liang River in the east environs of the capital has been lost, but it is conceivable that the construction of the canal and the diversion of water to feed it are responsible. Owing to the fact that the elevation of the capital was about 60 feet higher than that of T'ung Chou, a number of locks were built along the canal.[25] Even so, it proved to be not very successful because the Kao-liang River itself was not a big stream and the water which could be derived from it was limited. This eventually resulted in the construction of the Chin Kow Canal (金口河) in 1172. It followed the ancient bed of the Ch'e-hsiang Ch'ü but drew off water from the Lu-kow River north of Shih-ching Hill (石景山) instead of south of it, and led its water into the northern moat of the capital.[26] The original function of the Ch'e-hsiang Ch'ü was for irrigation, but now it was reopened in order to supply water to the Kao-liang Canal chiefly for transportation. However, its current was too rapid owing to the fact that the elevation of its channel north of Shih-ching Hill was about 120 feet higher than that of the city, and the city was constantly threatened with summer floods. Hence it was closed again in 1187, and the grain transported to T'ung Chou by ship was carried to the capital by carts, while the Kao-liang River, apart from supplying water to the capital, was extensively utilized for irrigation.[27]

The following map (Fig. 6.5) shows the courses of the Kao-liang and the Chin Kow Canals of the Chin dynasty.

The construction of these canals, as links with the embryonic Grand Canal linking the Bay of Peiping with the Yangtze Valley, was an event of outstanding importance in the historical development of the city. It is true that both the Lu-kow River and the Kao-liang River had long been utilized for the purpose of irrigation in the immediate environs of the city, but it was only a matter of local importance. It is also true that twice the Lu-kow River was canalized for the purpose of transportation during the seventh century, but it was used only for temporary purposes and no

[25] The existence of this canal is recorded in the *Book on Rivers and Canals of the Dynastic History of Chin*, but its exact course and the date of its first construction are not given.

[26] The remaining bed of this canal was first traced by E. Bretschneider accompanied by Dr. O. F. von Möllendorff more than 70 years ago. A detailed description of it was given in Bretschneider's *Archaeological and Historical Researches on Peking and Its Environs*. It was further supplemented by Möllendorff (op. cit.) who, however, made the mistake of alleging that the Chin canal passed the city in its southern suburb and joined the River Pai at Kao-li Chuang (高丽庄) south of T'ung Chow without realizing that it was a canal of a much later date. See discussion in the following chapter.

[27] *Book on Rivers and Canals*, *Dynastic History of Chin*.

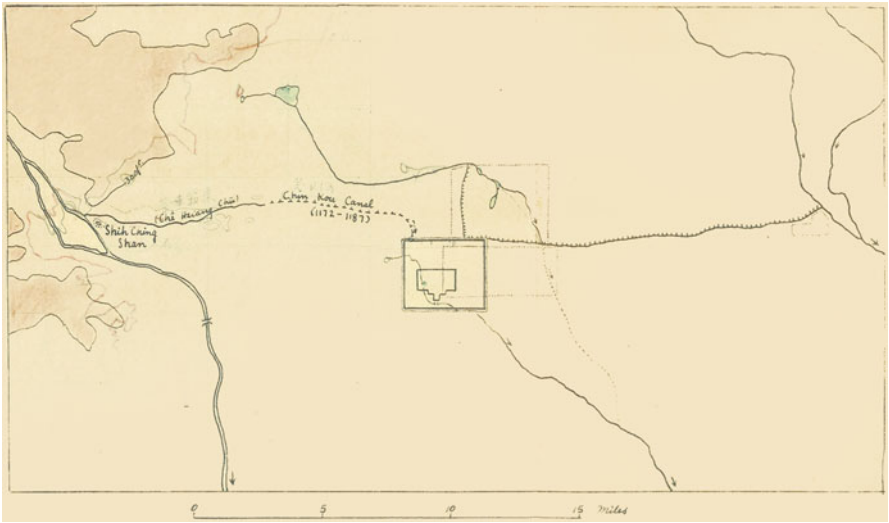


Fig. 6.5 The Kao-liang River and the Chin Kow Canal of the Chin dynasty

permanent value could be ascribed to it. But the construction of the transportation canals in the environs of the Chin capital represented a continuous effort to establish a permanent system by which the national revenue from the great plain could easily flow into the capital. The city was no longer merely a regional centre; it had already begun its career towards a national capital.

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Part III
The Capital of the Chinese Empire

Chapter 7
Khanbaliq (1267–1368) of the Yüan Dynasty (1260–1368)

7.1 The New Site

In the year 1215, the Chung-tu city of Chin fell into the hands of the Mongols, the third of the series of successive nomadic invaders after the fall of the T'ang dynasty. Using the city as a military base, the Mongols first drove the Chin rulers south of the Yellow River and eventually wiped out their retreating columns in 1234.[1] Twenty-six years later, the great Mongol chieftain Kublai Khan assumed the imperial title in Kai-ping,[2] about 200 miles northwest of Chung-tu, and established the Mongol dynasty in China which is called Yüan. The government of the Southern Sung dynasty did not cease until 1279. Since then, under the rule of Yüan, China emerged once more as a unified empire, prosperous and strong.

Before the defeat of the Southern Sung, Kublai Khan moved his capital from Ho-lin[3] (和林) in Outer Mongolia of today to the Chung-tu city of Chin in 1264. Four years later (1267), he ordered a new city to be built to the northeast of Chung-tu. This new city was known to the Western world as Khanbaliq, while its Chinese equivalent was Ta-tu (大都 Taidu, Taitu).

The first problem confronting a student of geography here is 'why was this new site chosen'. In the Travels of Marco Polo, who arrived at Khanbaliq in 1275 when the new city was still in course of construction, there is an interesting passage which tells the following story:

> … Now there was on the very spot in old times a great and noble city (i.e. the Chung-tu city of Chin). … But the Great Khan was informed by his astrologers that this city would prove

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That is, 'the City of the Khan'. Other spellings of the names are Khanbalik, Cambaluo, Cambalu, etc.

[1] See Su Chia-jung [1, p. 20].

[2] This city was later on made the summer residence of the Yüan emperors and was renamed as Shang-tu, the ruin of which remains to the present day. See Lawrence Impey [2].

[3] That is, Karakorum. See Albert Hermann [3, p. 50–51], and Insert: The Ruins of Karakorum, according to W. Radloff [4, PI XXXVI].

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> rebellious, and raise great disorders against his imperial authority. So he caused the present city to be built close beside the old one with only a river between them. And he caused the people of the old city to be removed to the new town that he had founded.[4]

This information concerning the abandoning of the old city is interesting because it has not been recorded in any Chinese literature. But whether the site of the new city was also chosen by the same astrologers, he did not mention. However, according to the most reliable historical data, there is not the slightest doubt that long before the founding of Khanbaliq, a Li Kung (离宫)[5] had already been established on the very spot.[6] The early history of this Li Kung can be traced as far back as the later part of the twelfth century. Here is one of the earliest accounts about it:

> In the Li Kung north of the capital (i.e. the Chung-tu city of Chin) there is the Ta Ning Hall (大宁宫). It was built in the nineteenth year of Ta-ting (大定, 1179). Later on the name was changed first into Ning Shou (宁寿), and then into Shou An (寿安). In the second year of Ming-ch'ang (明昌, 1191), it was called Wan Ning (万宁). In the Garden of Ch'iung Lin (琼林苑), stand the Heng Ts'ui Hall (横翠殿) and Ning Te Hall (宁德殿). In the Western Park (西苑) there is the Terrace of Yao Kuang (瑶光台). The Island of Ch'iung Hua (琼华) and the Mansion of Yao Kuang (瑶光殿) are also there.[7]

Judging from the number of halls together with the terrace, mansion, garden, park and island as mentioned above, the Li Kung must have been a splendid place. Unfortunately all the splendour has gone except the Island of Ch'iung Hua, or, literally translated, the Island of Jade Splendour.[8] And this island is exactly the same island which stands majestically in the North Lake (Pei Hai 北海) inside the Imperial City of today (see photograph, Fig. 7.1b).

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[4] Travels of Marco Polo, translated with notes by Sir Henry Yule, 3rd edition, edited by Henri Cordier, London (1921), vol. i, p. 374. The wholesale destruction of the Chin palace by the Mongols when they first took the city was probably another reason leading to the abandoning of the old capital. See Chao I. op. cit, 27/14b.

[5] There are at least three terms which have been used in China to describe different residences of the emperor, namely:

1. Huang Kung (皇宫), i.e. the royal palace inside the city walls of the capital.
2. Li Kung (离宫), this may be literally translated as 'Departure Palace' which means a palace for the emperor when he takes departure from the capital, such as Sandringham in England. The common English translation is 'Summer Palace' which is rather misleading, because it is not used only in summer.
3. Hsing Kung (行宫), i.e. a 'Travel Palace' which is only occupied by the emperor in travel.

[6] To build Li Kung in the immediate environs of the capital is common practice in Chinese history. Both Ch'in and Han, for instance, had built magnificent Li Kung not far from their respective capitals. See p. 154.

[7] *Chin Shih, Ti Li Chih* (《金史·地理志》, Dynastic History of Chin, Book on Geography).

[8] It is recorded in *Yüan Shih, Shih-Tsu Pen Chi* (《元史·世祖本纪》, Dynastic History of Yüan, Chronicle of Shih-Tsu) that a great decorative jar, called Tu-shan Ta-yü Hai (渎山大玉海), beautifully carved out of a single piece of jade, was made in 1265. The emperor Kublai ordered it to be kept in Kuang Han Tien (广寒殿, Hall of Kuang Han) on the Island of Ch'iung Hua (12th month of the 2nd year of Chih Yüzn 至元). This jar has been preserved to the present day and is kept under a special pavilion in front of Ch'eng Kuang Hall (承光殿) which was built on the original site of the I T'ien Hall (仪天殿) of Yüan (see Fig. 7.1). Hence the history of this jar is even older than the history of the present city.

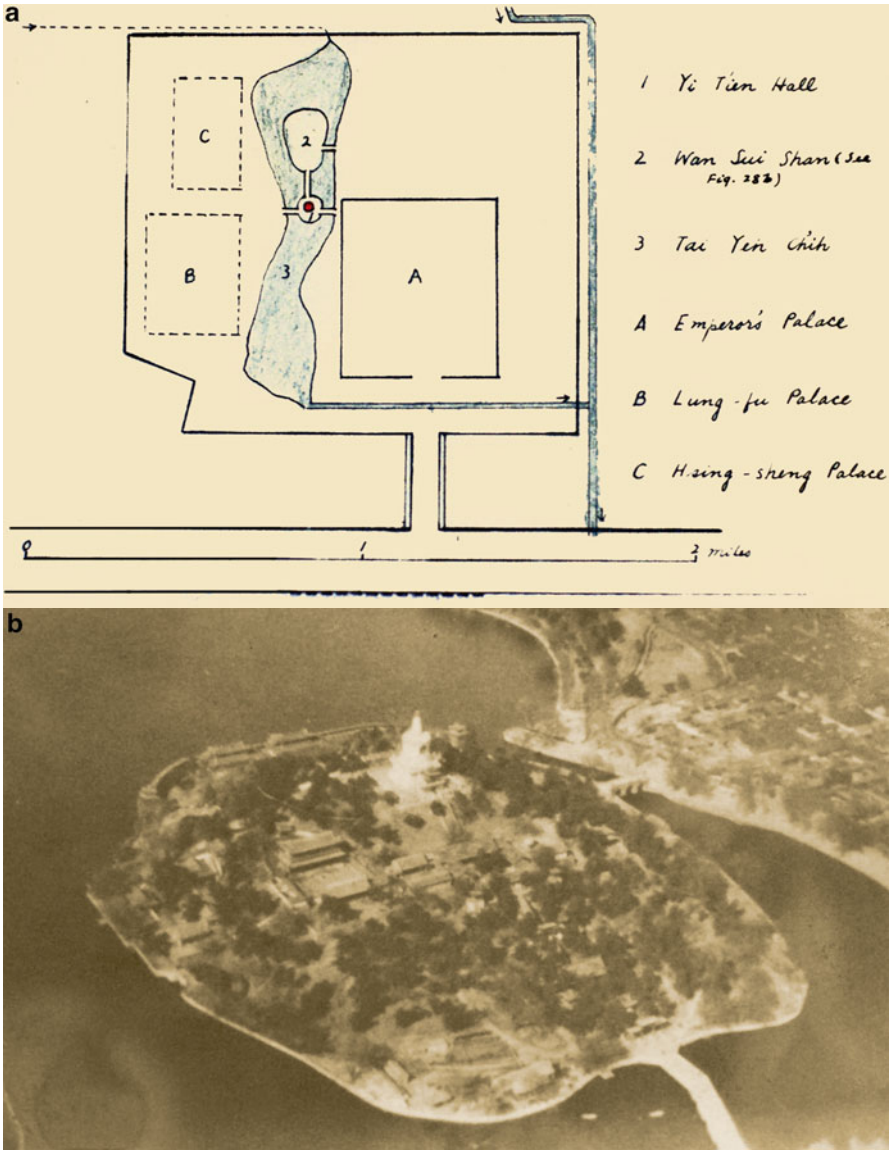

Fig. 7.1 (**a**) Layout of the Imperial City of Khanbaliq. (**b**) An aerial view of the Island of Ch'iung Hua

From the very beginning, popular interest has been aroused about this island, and around it some interesting legends have been developed. One of the earliest of legends was recorded quite accidentally by a famous scholar T'ao Tsung-i (陶宗仪) of the Yüan dynasty. This is what he wrote:

> The assistant governor Ch'ih Te-er (赤德尔) of the Province of Che (浙) once said "…As I have heard from the elder people, while our state was rising from the northern desert, there

> was a hill beyond the mountain ranges in the north which was very imposing. The necromancer of the Chin said that there was some royal spirit in it…" […] Hence a great number of people were mobilized to dig up this hill and transported it to the north of Yu Chou, and raised it again as a hill. Meanwhile, they excavated the lake, planted flowers and trees, built mansions and halls in order to make it a pleasure ground for the emperor. Before very long, however, the Chin dynasty fell. His Majesty the Emperor Kublai shifted the capital here. In the fourth year of Chih-yüan (至元, 1267) the present royal city was built and this hill was then included inside it.[9]

It is very clear that the story concerning the shifting of the hill is a pure fabrication. But besides this, there is a certain amount of truth in the second part of the tale which should not be overlooked. Now, what has been described as a hill in the above legend is, in fact, the island which had been built up as an artificial mound near the east shore of a lake. The lake might have been a purely artificial one also. But I am inclined to think that before any planned excavation was made, a natural lake had already existed. It might have been a small one fed by the Kao-liang River which had its headwaters from the springs in the northwest of the city. Further excavation must have been carried out when it had attracted the attention of the Chin emperors who eventually built a Li Kung beside it and turned the whole place into a grand park. This conjecture is based upon the assumption that this is the place where the original course of the river Kao-Liang ought to be sought.[10] And further historical data disclose that it was the lake together with the island which again attracted the interest of the emperor Kublai who ordered that a new city should be built around it.[11] Thus we may come to the conclusion that the lake formerly situated to the northeast of the Chung-tu city of Chin together with the Li Kung was the chief geographical factor which helped to decide the site of the palace of Yüan; and the palace of Yüan in turn became the nucleus around which the walls of the Imperial City and the great city of Khanbaliq were built. This is the key point in the study of the physical development of the new city, and the following discussion of the civic design of the city will bring out this point even more clearly.

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[9] Tao Tsung-I, *Nan-ts'un Ch'o-keng Lu* (陶宗仪《南村缀耕录》), Ssu-pu Ts'ung-k'an edition, 1/19a-20a.

[10] See Appendix III.

[11] The following events, which occurred during the years immediately preceding the founding of Khanbaliq in 1267, tell the story (Abstracted mainly from *Yüan Shih* 《元史》, Dynastic History of Yüan):

1260 'Emperor Kublai arrives in the environs of Yen-ching (i.e. the old capital)' (*Shih-tsu Pen Chi*《世祖本纪》, Chronicle of Shih-tsu, the 12th month of the 1st year of Chung-t'ung). For the explanation of the name Yen-ching, see footnote 2 on p. 4. It was probably the Li Kung of Chin where he stayed, and not the city itself.

1261 'The old city of Yen-ching is repaired' (Ibid., the 11th month of the 2nd year of Chung-t'ung).

1262 'The Island of Ch'iung Hua Is rebuilt' (Tao Ts'ung-i, op. cit., 1/15a). Not clear whether the island itself or the buildings on it were rebuilt.

1264 'The name Yen-ching is officially changed into Chung-tu. Further construction of the Island of Ch'iung Hua' (*Shih-tsu Pen-Chi*, op. cit., the 2nd and the 8th month of the first year of Chih- Yüan 至元). See comment under 1262.

1266 'Further construction of the Island of Ch'iung Hua' (*Yüan Shih* vol. 145). See also Marco Polo, op. cit., 1/365.

7.2 A Planned City

Khanbaliq was a planned city from the very beginning, and its basic pattern has undergone only certain modifications during the last few centuries. The main feature of the plan was the enclosure of the royal palace or the Imperial City which was roughly a square in shape. It had altogether 15 gates with the main entrance, called Ling-hsing Gate (棂星门), occupying a central position along the southern wall.[12] Due south of the Ling-hsing Gate of the Imperial City, there was the Li-cheng Gate (丽正门) of the great city.[13] Between the two gates ran the processional way with the 'Thousand Paces Veranda' built on both sides of it in the same manner as that of the Chin capital.[14] Near the centre of the Imperial City, there was the lake. A special watercourse was excavated when the new palace was in construction in order to lead water into the lake from the Jade Fountain in the northwest environs of the city[15] (Figs. 7.1a and 7.5). It was called Chin Shui Ho (金水河), or the River of the Golden Water, a specific name customarily used for an artificial stream flowing into the royal palace. The lake must have been further excavated at the same time and was renamed after a lake, the T'ai Yeh Ch'ih (太液池), in the ancient capital Ch'ang-an of Han [6, pp. 118–119].

7.2.1 The Imperial City

Along the eastern shore of the lake, the emperor's palace was built.[16] Due north of it, on the original site of the Li Kung of Chin, a grand park, called Ling-yu (灵囿), was laid out.[17] On the opposite side of the lake stood the Lung Fu Palace (隆福宫) in the south and the Hsing Sheng Palace (兴圣宫) in the north. Both have been used for different purposes at different times.[18] In the middle of the lake, there was the island. It was called Wan Sui Hill (万岁山) and was recorded by Marco Polo and translated by Yule as the Green Mount. Full attention was given by the emperor

[12] The southwest corner of the Imperial City was a concave one, because on the very spot, there was originally a Buddhist temple called Ta Ts'u-en Ssu (大慈恩寺), which was purposely avoided and was left outside the enclosure (Sun Ch'eng-tse, op. cit., 6/8b).

[13] By this, though, I mean the entire city within the outer walls of Khanbaliq as distinct from the inner Imperial City.

[14] T'ao Tsung-i, op. cit., 21/1a. Except the Ling-hsing Gate, none of the other 14 gates can be located. According to Marco Polo, 'the palace is enclosed all round by a great wall forming a square each side of which is a mile in length; that is to say, the whole compass thereof is four miles' (op. cit., p. 362). For the approximate location of the Imperial City, see the reconstructed plan of Khanbaliq (Fig. 7.2).

[15] Wang San-p'in [5, 1/8]. Wang mentions this in a general way without giving any reference. I am quite sure the term Chin Shui Ho was used in K'ai-feng, but cannot be sure about Ch'ang-an.

[16] Cf. Marco Polo, op. cit., p. 363.

[17] Cf. Ibid., pp. 364–365.

[18] Cf. Marco Polo, op. cit., p. 366.

Kublai in order to make it the most picturesque spot to crown the whole city. Marco Polo was so much impressed by its beauty that he gave us the following description:

> …On the north side of the Palace (i.e. the emperor's palace), about a bow-shot off, there is a hill which has been made by art from the earth dug out of the lake. It is a good hundred paces in height and a mile in compass. The hill is entirely covered with trees that never lose their leaves, but remain ever green. …And he has also caused the whole hill to be covered with the ore of azure,[19] which is very green. And thus not only are the trees all green, but the hill itself is all green likewise; and there is nothing to be seen on it that is not green; and hence it is called the Green Mount; and in good sooth, it is named well. On the top of the hill again there is a fine big palace which is all green inside and out, and thus the hill, and the trees, and the palace form together a charming spectacle; and it is marvellous to see their uniformity of colour! Everybody who sees them is delighted. And the Great Khan had caused this beautiful prospect to be formed for the comfort and solace and delectation of his heart.[20]

This beautiful island which aroused the admiration of Marco Polo several hundred years ago survived all perils that befell the old capital and still remains one of the great marvels in the city of today (see photography, Fig. 7.1b).

A little south of this island, there was another island which was much smaller in size. From this smaller island, two bridges were built to reach both the east and the west shores of the lake. (The west one was recorded to be a drawbridge.) Thus it provided the only passage between the emperor's palace and the other two palaces. There was also a third bridge connecting the two islands. On the smaller island stood the I T'ien Hall (仪天殿), which, in fact, symbolized the centre of gravity of the whole plan of the Imperial City. Osvald Sirén once remarked that 'the garden is the ideal centre of the Chinese homestead' [7, p. 28]. Here, in the planning of the Yüan palace, we find a perfect example of this conception on a grand scale. The following sketch shows the central position of the island and lake in relation to the orderly and harmonious arrangements of the various palaces.

7.2.2 The Great City

Outside the Imperial City, the outer rampart of the great city was built. It formed a rectangle about 4.5 miles from north to south and 3 miles from east to west, with a compass of roughly 16 miles.[21]

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[19] For explanation see the original translation, ibid., footnote 12 on p. 370.

[20] Op. cit., pp. 365–366.

[21] According to Marco Polo, the city 'has a compass of twenty-four miles for each side of it has a length of six miles, and it is four square' (op. cit, p. 374). It was a gross exaggeration.

There were altogether 11 gates, with 3 gates on each side except the north side which had only 2.[22] The rampart was built entirely of earth, or rather of mud, packed between fences and provided at the top with battlements probably of brick.[23] The principles which were applied to decide the site of the outer rampart may conceivably have been the following: First, a bell tower was built on the northeast bank of the lake Chi Shui T'an (积水潭) to fix the geometrical centre of the great city.[24] A little south of the bell tower, a drum tower was also built. Second, both towers were in line with the central axis of the emperor's palace. Consequently this line, the central axis of the emperor's palace, was equidistant from the east and west walls of the great city, and the bell tower was equidistant from the north and south walls. This is clearly illustrated in Fig. 7.2.

In the vicinity of the two towers, most of the important markets of the city were concentrated.[25] The bell tower was especially mentioned by Marco Polo: 'In the middle of the city, there is great clock—that is to say, a bell—which is struck at night. And after it has struck three times no one must go out in the city, unless it be for the needs of a woman in labour, or of the sick'.[26] Now, there are also a bell tower and a drum tower in the northern part of the present city. The present towers were built in 1420 and were a little to the east of the sites of the original Yüan towers. (See discussions in the next chapter.)

In addition to the bell tower and drum tower, there were two other groups of institutional buildings, namely the T'ai Miao (太庙) or Ancestral Temple, and the She Chi T'an (社稷坛) or the Altar of Land, which were of special significance in

[22] Marco Polo's memory failed him again in regard to the gates which he claimed to be 12 with 3 on each side (ibid., 374). G. Bouillard made the same mistake by following Marco Polo without realizing that there were only two gates on the north side (op. cit., Map III).

All Chinese records agree in stating that there were only 11 gates in all. The ruins of the two northern gates remain to the present day.

[23] It was recorded in *Hsi-Chin Chih* (《析津志》, Topography of the District of Hsi-chin, i.e. the local district of the capital) that when the city had been built, a place for growing reeds was made about 5 *li* outside the Wen Ming Gate (文明门) so that there might be needs to fence the walls of the city. See quotation in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 38/1b-2a. The information given by Marco Polo about the rampart of the great city is also interesting: 'It is all walled round with walls of earth which have a thickness of full ten paces at bottom, and a height of more than ten paces; but they are not so thick at top, for they diminish in thickness as they rise, so that at top they are only about three paces thick. And they are provided throughout with loop-holed battlements which are white-washed' (op. cit., p. 374).

[24] *Yüan I Tung Chih* (《元一统志》, Comprehensive Geography of the Yüan Empire), as quoted by Yü Min-chung, op. cit., 38/1b, and *Hsi-chin Shih*, ibid., 54/15a.

[25] See Fig. 7.3, The Distribution of Markets in Khanbaliq.

[26] West of the present towers, there is still a north-south street which is called Chiu Ku-low Ta-chieh, or Old Drum-Tower Street. For the construction of the present towers, see Wang Pi-wen [8]. Yule was wrong in saying that 'the tower indicated by Marco appears still to exist' (op. cit., footnote 6, p. 378). Bretschneider realized that the present bell tower is not built on the original site. However, he still believed that 'the Ku-low (i.e. drum-tower) is the same as that built in the thirteenth century. (Ibid.) So does Osvald Sirén (op. cit., pp. 11–12)'. Wang Pi-wen disproved them.

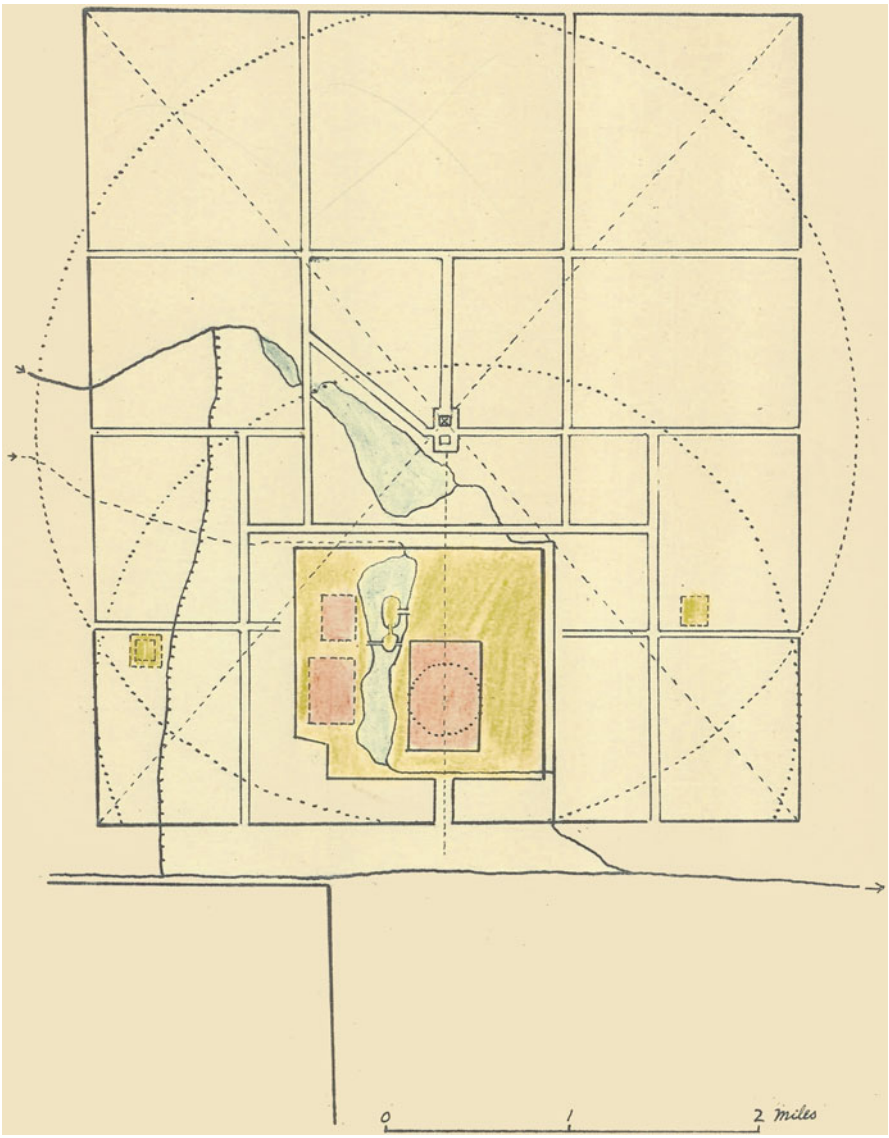

Fig. 7.2 Plan of Khanbaliq of Yuan

regard to the study of the civic design of Khanbaliq. This will be discussed later. (Both the temple and the altar were also moved at a later date.)

Soon after the construction of Khanbaliq had been completed, the inhabitants of the old city were ordered to remove to the new capital. Government officials and the richer families had the priority of removing first. According to regulation, 8 *mu* (亩, about 1.25–1.5 acre according to present measurement) were assigned to each

family. If a family had more than 8 *mu*, or if anybody could not afford to build houses on his share of land, others were to be allowed to settle on it. This order was issued in 1285.[27] Three years later (1288) the residential quarters of the city were divided into 50 *fang* (坊). Every *fang* was given a proper and descriptive name by YüChi (虞集), a prominent scholar of the time.[28] All these *fang* were separated by streets running straight in the four main directions, true south, true north, true east and true west. As a rule, the chief streets measured 24 paces in width while the secondary streets were 12 paces. Besides, there were more than 400 lanes, both big and small. Thus we know that not only the royal palaces were well planned, but the whole space of the great city was also laid out with great regularity though it might not have been uniformly occupied at the very beginning. The description of Marco Polo tells us:

> The streets are so straight and wide that you can see right along them from end to end and from one gate to the other. And up and down the city, there are beautiful palaces, and many great and fine hostelries, and fine houses in great numbers. All the plots of ground on which the houses of the city are built are four square, and laid out with straight lines; all the plots being occupied by great and spacious palaces, with courts and gardens of proportionate size. All these plots were assigned to different heads of families. Each square plot is encompassed by handsome streets for traffic; and thus the whole city is arranged in squares just like a chess-board, and disposed in a manner so perfect and masterly that it is impossible to give a description that should do it justice.

This regular 'chessboard' pattern of the city plan was indeed another outstanding feature of this new capital, but we have to admit at the same time that some irregularities must have also existed owing to certain political and geographical conditions. And this irregular element has been growing as a result of wars and destruction of various kinds that have befallen the city during the last few hundred years. Much of the rebuilding and repairing has been done in a quite arbitrary way, and most of the square blocks must have been split into smaller units owing to the increase of population. Nevertheless, the main features of the original city plan are still discernible in the arrangement of the chief streets of today as well as in certain parts of the present city where a good many of the older house blocks reveal the regular *fang* divisions. A reconstructed plan of Khanbaliq, chiefly based upon that of Wang Pi-wen, is given here (Fig. 7.2).

Now, it is very clear that Khanbaliq was built according to a definite plan. It shows more affinity with the town plan of a Roman city than with some of the medieval cities of Europe with cramped houses and narrow, winding alleys, and this plan deserves further study.

The first question confronting us is: What is the origin of this plan? Some 14 years ago, Dr. Murata Diro (村田治郎) published an interesting article dealing with the city plan of Khanbaliq [9]. In this article he expounded the theory that the fundamental pattern of the city was by no means Chinese but a Mongol one as exemplified by the court of Baatu (grandson of Jenghis Khan) on the river Volga.

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[27] *Yüan Shih*, *Shi-Tsu Pen-chi*, the 2nd month of the 22nd year of Chih-yüan.

[28] *Yüan I T'ung Chih*, op. cit., 38/5a-7b.

He drew his evidence chiefly from the description of Baatu's court given by William de Rubruquis who visited the place on his way to the east in the middle of the thirteenth century. It runs:

> …When I first behold the Court of Baatu I was astonished at the sight thereof… Whereupon the Court is called in their language Horda, which signifieth the midst: because the Governor or Chieftain among them dwells always in the middest of his people: except only that directly towards the South no subject or inferior person placeth himself, because towards that Region the Court gates are set open, but unto the right hand, and the left hand, they extend themselves as farre as they will, according to the convenience of places, so that they place not their houses directly opposite against the Court.[29]

Since the Imperial City of Khanbaliq was also situated in a central position between the east and the west walls of the great city with its main entrance opening to the south, and there was little space left in front of it for ordinary use, Murata Diro believed that it was nothing but an imitation of the plan of the 'Horda' of Baatu. He even ventured to explain that this was purposely done in order to remind the descendants of the royal family not to forget the Mongol way of life on the desolate plateau of the north from where their ancestors rose to power. No matter how interesting this speculation might seem to be, it is far from convincing. For we see no fundamental difference between the relative location of the Yüan palace in the city of Khanbaliq and that of the Chin palace in the city of Chung-tu. Moreover, we know definitely that there were at least two residential blocks, or *fang*, due south of the Imperial City of Khanbaliq, namely Wu-yün Fang (五云坊) and Wan-pao Fang (万宝坊), on the east and the west sides of the 'Thousand Paces Veranda', respectively (Fig. 7.3).[30] Thus this part of the plan of Khanbaliq cannot be accepted as in accordance with de Rubruquis's description of Baatu that 'directly towards the South (of the court) no subject or inferior person placeth himself'.

Taking as secondary evidence to support his theory, Murata Diro also mentioned that one of the architects who were responsible for the construction of the new capital was a foreigner called Ye-hei-tieh-erh (也黑迭儿). It was absolutely true, and besides Ye-hei-tieh-erh there were a number of other foreign architects and artisans who had been employed in the same undertaking as well.[31] But it should not be forgotten that the chief person who was responsible for the planning of the city was not a foreigner but a Chinese whose name was Liu Ping-chung (刘秉忠). Liu was described as a person of profound learning in Chinese classics, and he was made responsible for the court ceremonial. It may be inferred that he was anxious to maintain Chinese traditions.[32] As a consequence of his personal taste and interest, the new city he planned actually embodied almost all the essential features of the ideal

[29] The Journal of Friar William de Rubruquis, a Frenchman of the Order of the Minorite Friars, unto the East Parts of the World, 1253. *Hakluytus Posthumus*, *or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, by Samuel Parchas, Hakluyt Society, Extra Series, Vol. XI, Chapter 1, p. 47.

[30] *Yüan I T'ung Chih*, op. cit., 38/7a-b. See map.

[31] A-ni-ko, for instance, a native of Nepal, was appointed the Chief of Sculptors in 1278. See Biography of A-ni-ko in the *Dynastic History of Yüan*.

[32] See Biography of Liu Ping-chung in the *Dynastic History of Yüan*.

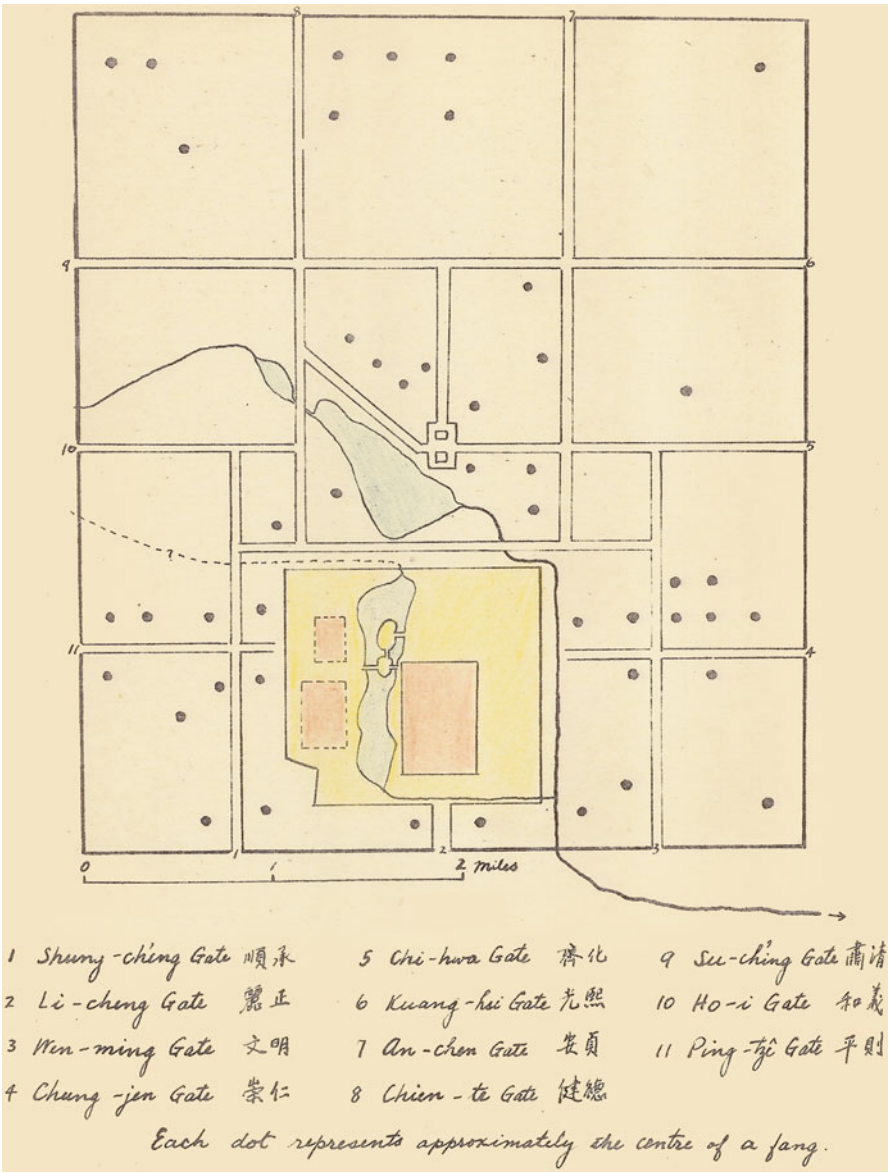

Fig. 7.3 *Fangs* and gates of Khanbaliq

system of a Chinese capital that had long been laid out in the ancient work *Chou Li* (《周礼》) or the *Chou Rites*, one of the most important Chinese classics compiled at least before the first century B.C. It reads:

> …The city is of nine *li* in square perimeter with three gates on each side, each gate opening to a broad avenue divided into three parallel ways, of which the middle one is for vehicles

> … thus forming a square lattice with nine ways running from north to south and another nine from east to west. In the centre of the city stands the royal palace with the ancestral temple of the royal family on its left and the altar of land on its right.[33] In front of the palace, but still within the imperial city, is the imperial court, while behind the imperial city lies the market.[34]

Here we find the city plan was laid down in the remote past in China, and this ideal system was actually carried out in the construction of Khanbaliq with only slight modifications. The most important buildings of Khanbaliq, such as the royal palace, the Ancestral Temple, the Altar of Land as well as the chief markets, were all arranged according to the ideal plan, that is to say, with the palace placed in the middle, and the Temple and the Altar situated on its left (east) and right (west) sides, respectively, and the markets behind it.[35] Though the city was not exactly a square and there were only two gates instead of three on the northern side of it, the fundamental pattern of the ideal plan remained unchanged. It is true that the Imperial City of Khanbaliq was not situated right in the centre of the city, but it was only a minor modification resulting from adaptation to local geographical conditions. For we have argued that the site of the Imperial City was decided by the lake, and there was little space left due south of it which could be included in the great city, because the Chung-tu city of Chin still remained on its old site. Consequently, the Imperial City was bound to be in the southern part of the great city.

So far as the arrangement of the main streets in Khanbaliq is concerned, it is almost identical with that of the ideal plan. The 'square lattice' as described in Chou Li had been carried out perfectly. Thus one sees the antiquity of the origin of the city plan of Khanbaliq. It was definitely a Chinese city, and it was in the planning of this city that the classical idea of a Chinese capital found its fullest expression for the first time in the long history of China.[36]

7.3 Population and Its Distribution

How many people were actually living in Khanbaliq, big and well planned as it was, is another interesting problem. According to Marco Polo, 'the city of Khanbaliq has such a multitude of houses, and such a vast population inside the walls and outside, that it seems quite past all possibility'.[37] Unfortunately he did not give us any concrete or numerical estimate, nor is it available in any Chinese records. But one thing

[33] In traditional Chinese usage, these directions are to be interpreted as follows: With the main entrance of the palace facing the south, the left side of the palace is the east side and right side, the west side. 'In front of the palace' means south of the palace. 'Behind the Imperial City' means north of the Imperial City.

[34] The section on Public Works (《冬官·考工记》, "匠人营国"条).

[35] See reconstructed plan Fig. 7.2.

[36] Han and Tang did not conform as closely as Khanbaliq to the ideal plan just described.

[37] Marco Polo, op. cit., p. 412.

we do know is that a good many inhabitants still remained in the old city, the total number of which probably surpassed those who had removed to the new city. Marco Polo also told us that 'there is a suburb outside each of the gates…and these suburbs are so great that they contain more people than the city itself. For the suburb of one gate spreads in width till it meets the suburb of the next, whilst they extend in length some three or four miles'.[38] I doubt very much that all the suburbs of Khanbaliq were of the same size and extended in the same manner as Marco Polo alleged, and his uncritical account seems a little exaggerated. But the unusual size of the south-west suburb of Khanbaliq is quite conceivable because it was here that the suburbs of Khanbaliq met the old city Chung-tu. This old Chung-tu city survived in its original shape—that is to say, with its boundary clearly defined by its surrounding walls—for some time and was frequently referred to as the South City (南城) in contemporary Chinese records. As time went on, residents in the old city drifted quite naturally towards the new city. Eventually the northeastern sector of the outer rampart of Chung-tu, which was now no longer a protection but had become an obstacle, was virtually broken up, and the immediate environs just outside the south wall of Khanbaliq and also that outside the northeast walls of Chung-tu thus became an essential part of the modern city of Peiping known also as the Outer City (or South City, or even the Chinese City to westerners). Its plan forms a sharp contrast to the regularity of plan of the present Inner City (or North City, or the Tartar City as the Westerners call it) which stands roughly on the original site of Khanbaliq.[39] The only striking feature in the Outer City is the long and straight thoroughfare which runs from east to west in the western part of it. Most probably it indicates the very foundation of a great street that passed through the old capitals of Liao and Chin which had long disappeared. Thus if the regularity of the plan of the present Inner City finds its origin deeply rooted in the past, so does the irregularity of the present Outer City.[40]

However, our chief interest concerning the population of Khanbaliq lies neither in its suburbs nor in the old city but rather in the planned city itself. Though it is impossible to detect the total number of the inhabitants within its precincts, the relative distribution of them is not entirely beyond apprehension. A general picture of it may be derived from the distribution of the residential blocks or *fang* of the city. Twelve years ago, Wang Pi-wen (王壁文), a member of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture, attempted to study the original sites of these *fang* one by one in an article entitled 'City and Streets of Ta-tu' and found out that out of the original

[38] Marco Polo, op. cit., p. 412.

[39] For further discussions, see the following chapters.

[40] Professor Griffith Taylor believes that the irregular plan of the present Outer (South) City together with the long east-west street turning right across the western part of it 'agrees with the general street plan of many of the medieval cities of Europe'. This statement is made probably without quite realizing the actual background from which this part of the city has evolved. See Taylor [10]. The same article has been incorporated in the same author's *Our Evolving Civilization* [11, pp. 207–209], and *Urban Geography* [12, pp. 26–29].

50 *fang*, only 19 are impossible to locate.[41] During the later years of the Yüan dynasty, the total number of these *fang* probably increased by another 25, of which only 9 cannot be identified.[42] As a result of his study, a map was drawn to show the distribution of these 47 *fang*. It is reproduced here with further correction and modifications (Fig. 7.3).

Although 28 out of 75 *fang* have not been exactly located, so that inferences from the map must be advanced with some reserve, it seems reasonable to pick out three areas of concentration of these *fang* which can be easily observed from this map. Each of the three areas was centred on a crossroad and contained one group of the most important institutional buildings of the capital. The first area was due north of the Imperial City. At its crossroad stood the bell tower and the drum tower. Here was also the geometrical centre of the great city. The second and the third areas were situated to the east and west of the Imperial City, respectively. The second area contained the Ancestral Temple, while in the third area, there stood the Altar of Land.

Moreover, the bazaars and markets of Khanbaliq were so distributed that the majority of them were also to be found in those three areas. In one place it is recorded that there were altogether three bazaars in the city. The first one was west of the bell tower and drum tower in the first area. The second one was probably a little north to the crossroad of the second area, and the last one was immediately south of the crossroad of the third area.[43] In another place, more than 40 markets dealing with specific commodities in the city were mentioned.[44] Most of these can be roughly located. They are shown in the following map (Fig. 7.4).

It can be seen from this map that the biggest of concentration inside the city walls was in the vicinity of the bell tower and drum tower. It stood out definitely as the most important shopping centre of the whole city where most of the manufactured goods were sold. Apart from it, the two crossroads of the second and the third areas may be considered as two subcentres. The last one was essentially a stock market. Outside the city walls, markets were found only in places adjacent to each gate where farmers from the countryside could easily bring their agricultural products, such as vegetables, fruit, fuel[45] and hay, to meet the demands of the city dwellers. The most important of these were to be found especially outside the southern gate where the unplanned settlement, as mentioned above, had developed.

As a whole, it seems that the great city of Khanbaliq had never been uniformly occupied during the Yüan dynasty. The northern portion of it was probably the least occupied area as compared with the areas adjacent to the Imperial City. The Imperial City was so situated that it almost separated the southern part of the city into three

[41] See footnote 26 on p. 82.

[42] His study is based upon two lists of the different ‘fang’ as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K’ao*, 38/5a-8b from *Yüan I Tung Chih* and *Hsi-Chin Chih*.

[43] *Tu Ching Chih Shu* (《图经志书》), as quoted by Yü Ming-chung, op. cit., 38/8b.

[44] *Hsi-Chin Chih*, as quoted by Yü Min-Chung, op. cit., 54/12b.

[45] For instance, the stalk of broomcorn, a variety of sorghum which grows to a height of 8–12 ft with the grain at the top, is a very common fuel supplied by the farmers in North China.

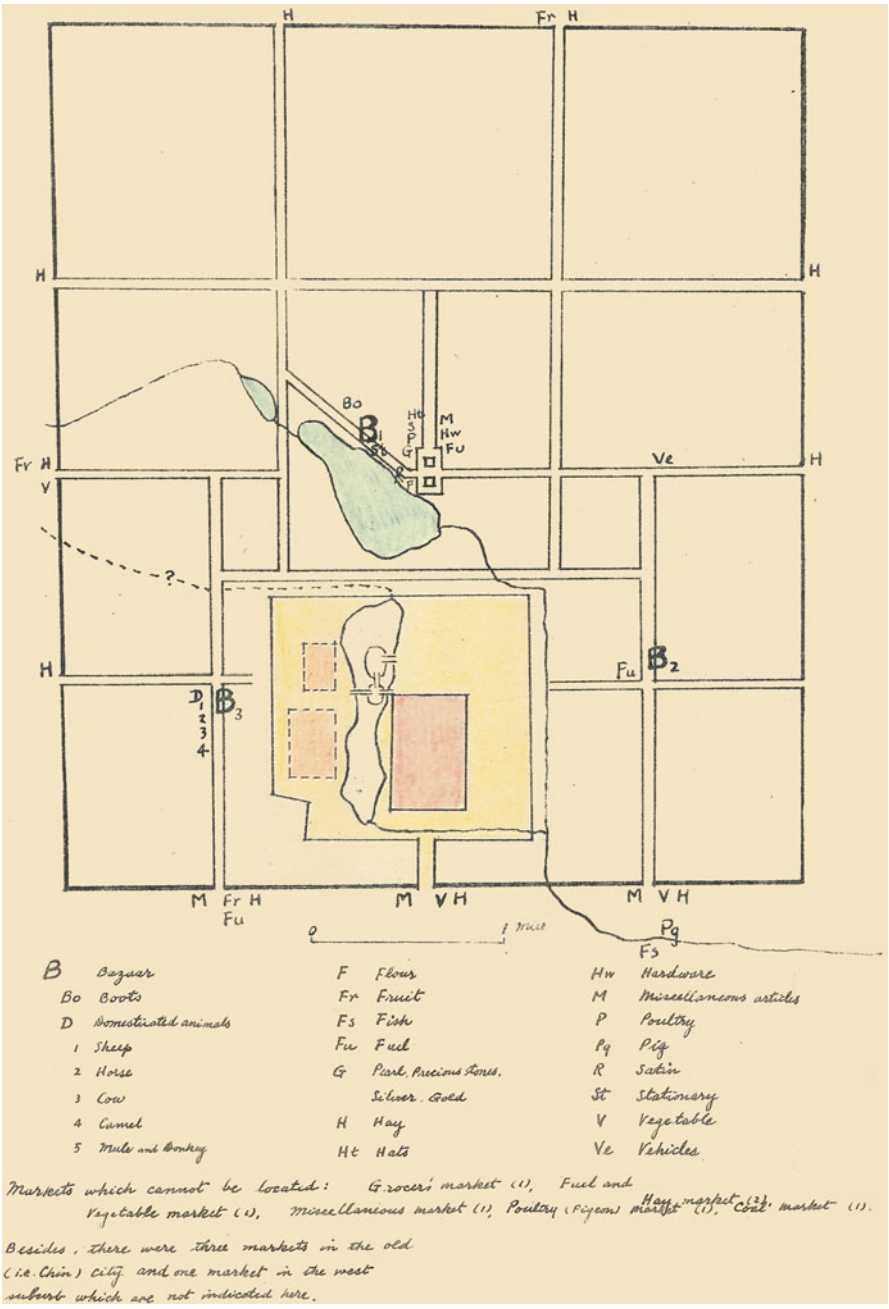

Fig. 7.4 Markets in Khanbaliq

blocks corresponding to the first area, second area and third area discussed above. And it was this division which eventually gave rise to the conventional designations, namely the North City (北城, i.e. the area north of the Imperial City), East City (东城, i.e. the area east of the Imperial City) and West City (西城, i.e. the area west of the Imperial City) of today.

7.4 The National Centre

The Yüan rulers had not only built a new city but also made it the real capital of the Chinese Empire. Unlike their forerunners, the Khitan and the Nüchen who had occupied only parts of China, the Mongols had overrun the whole country. This is the first time in Chinese history that the country was entirely subdued by an alien conqueror.

It has been made clear in the present study that the early settlement of Peiping was essentially a frontier town. It was not only situated at the northern apex of the great North China Plain but also marked the point where the ancient highway from the south began to divide into different branch roads leading to the north and northeast. Up to the tenth century, which saw the beginning of a long period of successive nomadic invasions from the north, it had chiefly been either an outpost of the Chinese to defend their northern frontiers or a military base from where the Chinese carried out further conquests towards the north and northeast. But when the Khitan took it and made it their secondary capital in 938, the situation changed completely. Since that time it was no longer a frontier town of the agricultural Chinese but became a political centre of the advancing nomads. Its importance then increased in proportion to the area of the agricultural land of China proper held by the nomads. When the Mongols eventually conquered the whole country, the city then emerged as the only logical capital of a great empire which embraced both the agriculturists in the south and the nomads in the north as its common subjects. Here we see geography functioning behind history. To the nomadic conquerors from the north, the city proved to be a most convenient organizing centre. It is the place where the great highways both from the northern plateaux and from the southern plain converge. Though the city lies in the plain, it is practically within sight of the plateau. From here, the Mongols could easily maintain direct contact with their homeland on the one hand and exercise full control over China proper on the other.[46] And it was owing to the creation of this great empire that Khanbaliq emerged definitely as a great capital. Hence the remark of L. W. Lyde that 'Peking was probably the best centre for the capital of the Chinese Empire in its prime' [14, p. 607].

Though the city was so well situated from the political point of view, it was too far away from the chief economic centre of the time—the Yangtze Valley. Ever since the T'ang dynasty (618–907), the lower Yangtze Valley had been fully developed as the most important agricultural area that had ever appeared in Chinese history [15,

[46] See also L. H. Dudley Buxton [13].

pp. 113, 124–125, 131–139]. It was chiefly owing to the economic resources of this area that both the Northern and the Southern Sung dynasties could afford to wage perpetual wars with the nomadic invaders of Liao and Chin. When the Yüan rulers eventually conquered the whole country, and peace again became the order of the day, they found that they had to rely upon the lower Yangtze Valley as the main source of national revenue which was chiefly in the form of rice, or 'rice-tribute' (漕米) as usually called in Chinese history.[47] How to transport the rice from the Yangtze Valley to Khanbaliq, several hundred miles away, was a problem of first magnitude. But it was by no means a new problem, for the Chin rulers had faced the same difficulty, though in a much lesser degree, when they conquered the North China Plain, and had to supply Chung-tu with wheat and grain from the plain. As mentioned in the foregoing chapter, they dealt with the problem by establishing a system of water transportation. And it was definitely following the example of the Chin that the rulers of Yüan carried out a more ambitious scheme to link up Khanbaliq with the lower Yangtze Valley, as had once before been done during the Sui dynasty, by canalizing a series of watercourses, which, with further modification, became known as the Grand Canal of today (Fig. 8.11). Thus the Grand Canal may be described as a vital link between the newly emerged political centre in the north and the chief economic centre in the south. It remains so during the dynasties of Ming and Ch'ing in the following centuries.[48] It is true that sea routes were also used to supplement the inland waterways in the transportation of the 'rice-tribute' during the Yüan dynasty. But the sea-going boats could only reach as far as the vicinity of the modern port of Tientsin at which point the load was again transferred to the canal boats in order to reach the capital. Our chief concern here, however, is not the transportation system as a whole but the last section of the Grand Canal that licked up Khanbaliq with the river Pei at T'ung Chow in particular. It has been made clear in the foregoing chapter that the Chin rulers had opened a canal from Chung-tu to T'ung Chow with Kao-Liang River as the chief source of water supply. But when the city of Khanbaliq was built, not only was the lower course of the Kao-Liang River included inside the city walls, but the water from one of its chief sources, the Jade Fountain, was completely diverted into the lake of the royal palaces by a specially constructed watercourse, the Chin Shui Ho, or the River of the Golden Water.[49] Thus the Kao-Liang River was greatly reduced in volume. It was probably a very insignificant stream which provided only a certain amount of water, derived from a lake fed by other springs than the Jade Fountain at the foot of the Wong Hill (瓮山), or the Wan Shou Shan (万寿山) of today, for local irrigation.[50]

[47] For the importance and function of rice- or grain-tribute in China, see Chi Ch'ao-ting, op. cit., pp. 5–7.

[48] See next chapter.

[49] J. C. Hou, op. cit.

[50] Several springs at the foot of the Wong Hill were recorded in *Ping I Man Yü* (《病逸漫语》) which was written in Ming dynasty (Chi Lu Hui Pien edition 辑录汇编本, 201/5b-6a). For Wan Shou Shan, see next chapter.

Therefore a new source of water supply had to be sought when the scheme for reviving the Chin canal leading from the capital to T'ung Chow was presented to the Yüan emperor Kublai by an outstanding engineer of the time, Kuo Shou-ching (郭守敬) in the year 1291, more than 20 years after the first construction of Khanbaliq.[51] He proposed to build a dike roughly parallel to the western margin of the Bay of Peiping and divert the water from the Shen Shan Spring (神山泉) near the village of Pai Fu (白浮) about 20 miles northwest of Khanbaliq, first westward and then eastward, crossing the rivers Shuang-t'a (双塔) and Yü (榆), and finally to empty its water into the lake beside the Wong Hill, or the Wong Shan Lake, which fed the Kao-Liang River.[52] With the addition of this new source of water supply, it was expected that it would be possible to reopen the lower course of the Chin canal leading from the capital to T'ung Chow, by linking it up with the upper course of the Kao-Liang River through a new channel running along the eastern wall of the Imperial City of Khanbaliq. This project was carried out successfully in 1293. Eighteen locks were built along the whole course of the canal. Thus boats from the river Pei could reach as far as the lake Chi Shui T'an (积水潭), or Shih Ch'a Hai (什刹海) of today, right in the centre of the great city of Khanbaliq. The emperor was much pleased when he first saw that the lake was crowded with boats and gave an official name to the canal as T'ung Hui (通惠), which means 'Through Benefit'.[53]

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[51] During the construction of Khanbaliq, the Chin Kou canal was once more opened (in 1266) also by Kuo Shou-ching, not for the transportation of rice from the south but of lime and stone from the Western Hills which were used in the construction of the palaces of the new city. It was closed again in 1299 owing to the threat of flood from the river Hun.

See the *Chronicle of Shih-tsu* (the 12th month of the 3rd year of Chih-yüan) and the *Biography of Kuo Shou-ching* in the *Dynastic History of Yüan*. See also Su Tien-chüeh, *Yüan Ch'ao Ming-chen Shih-lüeh* (苏天爵《元朝名臣事略》, Biographies of the Famous Official of the Yüan Dynasty), Chi Fu Ts'ung-shu edition (畿辅从书本), 9/13b.

[52] The village Pai Fu is about 2 miles south of the present city Ch'ang-ping. I visited this place in January 1935. North of the village, there is an isolated hill known to the local people as Feng-huang Shan (凤凰山, Phoenixes Hill). At the foot of the hill, there is a spring with a temple called Lung Ch'uan Ssu (龙泉寺, Dragon-spring Temple), specially built for it. This must be the Shen Shan Spring of the Yüan dynasty.

The name of 'Shuang Ta Ho' (Double Pagodas River) as recorded in *Yüan Shih* (Dynastic History of Yüan) is no longer existent. But there is a town on the present river Ta Sha Ho (大沙河, Great Sand River) which still bears the name 'Shuang Ta'. Due east of the town, there are two little villages called Yung Cha (东闸, Eastern Sluice) and Hsi Cha (西闸, Western Sluice), respectively. Both villages definitely derived their names from a pair of sluices which were built on the river in order to divert its water southward to Wong Shan Lake. Thus 'Ta Sha Ho' is only a modern name used for the Shuang Ta Ho of Yüan. A tributary of Ta Sha Ho to the south of it, known as Hsiao Sha Ho (小沙河, Little Sand River) was probably the Yü Ho of Yüan.

See Fig. 7.5.

[53] *Yüan Shih, Kuo Shou-ching Chuan* and *Ho Ch'ü Chih* (《元史》之《郭守敬传》,《河渠志》, Dynastic History of Yüan, Biography of Kuo Shou-ching, and the Book on Rivers and Canals), with comments made by the author in A Study of the River of the Golden Water of Peiping. See also E. Bretschneider, op. cit., pp. 383–384.

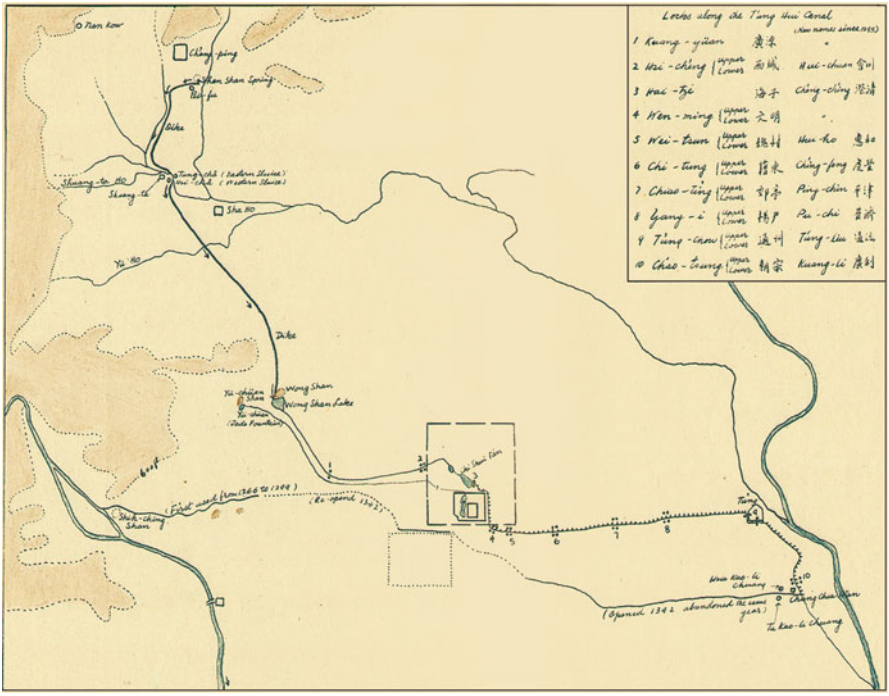

Fig. 7.5 T'ung Hui Canal and the sluices built thereon

The following map shows the whole course of the T'ung Hui Canal as reconstructed by the author (Fig. 7.5).[54]

During the Yüan dynasty, the T'ung Hui Canal had been under constant improvement and repair.[55] And its importance increased with the further development of other sections of the gigantic system of the inland waterways which won its worldwide fame as the Grand Canal of China in a later date. The system as a whole served not only as the lifeline of the government's rice supply but also as the main avenue

[54] For documentary evidence in the reconstruction of this map, see *Yüan Shih*, *Ho Chü Chi* (《元史·河渠志》Dynastic History of Yüan, Book on rivers and Canals) and Wu Chung, *Tung Hui Ho Chih* (吴仲《通惠河志》, A History of the Tung Hui Canal, Hsüan-lan T'ang Ch'ung Shu edition 玄览堂丛书本).

[55] For instance: the locks were first built of wood which naturally could not last very long. They were rebuilt with brick and stone from 1311 to 1327, and the dike which diverted from the Shen Shan Spring to the Wong Shan Lake was recorded to be repaired in 1303, 1307, 1312, 1317 and 1327, respectively. See the *Book on Rivers and Canals* in the *Dynastic History Yüan*.

It is true that in the year 1342, a new canal to the south of the lower course of T'ung Hui was constructed with the hope of providing a better alternative to the latter. It proved to be only a failure and was abandoned immediately. This canal derived its water from the river Hun through the Chin Kou Canal which was reopened at the same time. The remaining bed of the lower course of this canal can still be traced from the southeast corner of the Outer City of today to Chang Chia Wan (张家湾) village south of T'ung Chow. It is represented by a dotted line in the above map.

of communication between south and north. It was the first time that a permanent line of communication on the plain other than the ancient highway along the T'ai-hang Range was firmly established. Along this new line of communication, which was also a much easier one for transportation, goods from South China, as well as from the Southern Seas, flowed into the capital.[56] If it was the ancient highway along the T'ai-hang Range which gave rise to the first settlement of the city Chi, now it was this new waterway through the heart of the plain which brought both political stability and economic prosperity to Khanbaliq as a national capital.

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[56] Ou-yang Hsüan (欧阳玄), *Kuei-chai Chi* (《圭斋集》) as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 89/13b-16a.

Chapter 8
Peking (1420–1911) of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties (1368–1911)

The Mongols enjoyed only a short tenure of power in China, and the Yüan dynasty was succeeded in 1368 by the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), which represented for the first time a revival of Chinese sovereignty over the whole empire since the collapse of the great T'ang dynasty in 906. However, this political revival of the Chinese was again challenged and brought to an end, after a comparatively peaceful and prosperous reign of more than two and a half centuries, by another nomadic invader, the Manchus, who founded the last imperial regime, the Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911), in Chinese history. Both the Ming and the Ch'ing made Khanbaliq of Yüan their permanent capital, and it was during the successive rule of these two dynasties that the city under the new name Peking (北京) reached its golden age.

During this period there are four aspects in the study of the geography of the city which deserve special attention, namely the rebuilding of the palace and the city, the development of the royal parks, the increasing of population and the problem of water supply in relation to the transportation of rice-tribute. These will be dealt with one by one in the present chapter.

8.1 Rebuilding of the Palace and the City

8.1.1 Refounding of Peking as the Capital

Khanbaliq was taken by the Ming army in 1368. It was immediately degraded to the status of an ordinary prefecture with the new name Peiping (北平) which means 'North Peace' or the 'Pacification of the North'. The capital of Ming was then established at Nanking or the 'Southern Capital,' in the neighbourhood of which the leader of the new dynasty first rose to power. Two years later (1370), however, the city of Peiping was assigned to the emperor's fourth son who was given the title the

R. Hou, *An Historical Geography of Peiping*, China Academic Library,
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Prince of Yen (燕王).[1] He did not actually proceed to the city until as late as 1380.[2] Nineteen years later (1399), he unfurled the banner of rebellion from the city against his nephew who had succeeded the throne of his father, and marched towards Nanking. He took Nanking in 1402 and assumed the imperial title. In the following year (1403), he ordered that the name Peiping should be changed into 'Peking' which means the 'Northern Capital', but the seat of government did not move there from Nanking until 1420.[3] Since then Peking was the capital of the Chinese Empire until the beginning of the present century, a period of nearly 500 years. The reason why the Prince of Yen moved his capital to Peking is obvious. First of all, Peking was the place where his personal authority was first established. Second, he fully realized that unless the northern frontier was safely guarded, there would be no peace for his empire, because the Mongols, though retired beyond the Great Wall, still constituted a formidable menace. Hence, soon after the capital was moved to Peking, nine military stations (九边) were established along the Great Wall. The Great Wall itself was also rebuilt in an unprecedented manner especially in the section near to Peking, the engineering feat of which astonishes the modern world. Historians agree that if the capital had not been moved to Peking, the Ming dynasty probably would not have been able to enjoy a reign of more than 200 years.

8.1.2 Rebuilding of the Great City

During the short span between the fall of the Yüan government at Khanbaliq (1368) and the re-establishing of the city as the capital of Ming (1420), the city and its palace had undergone many changes. At the very beginning when the Mongols were driven out from Khanbaliq in 1368, the city was reduced in size by moving the north wall nearly two miles to the south, and consequently the two northern gates along the east and west walls, the Kuang-hsi Men (光熙门) and Su-ch'ing Men (肃清门) were demolished.[4] This was done probably because the northern part of the city had never been properly occupied during the Yüan dynasty as has been discussed in the foregoing chapter, and such a reduction would certainly have made it much easier for the garrison force to patrol as well as to defend.[5] But, soon

[1] *Ming Shih*, *Tai-tsu Pen Chi* (《明史·太祖本纪》, Dynastic History of Ming, Chronicle of Tai-tsu), 4th month of the 3rd year of Hung-wu (洪武).

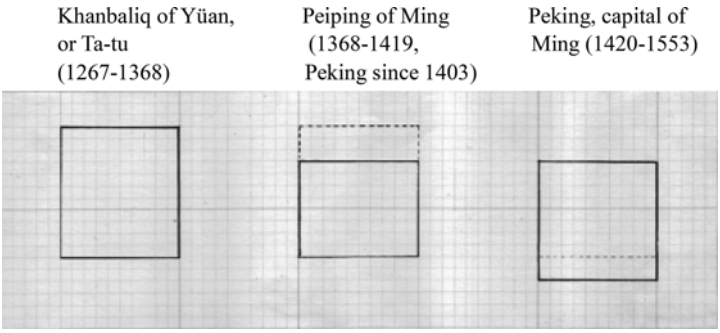
[2] Ibid., 3rd month of the 13th year.

[3] *Ming Shih*, *Ch'eng-tsu Pen Chi* (《明史·成祖本纪》, Dynastic History of Ming, Chronicle of Ch'eng-tsu), 1st month of the 1st tear of Yung-lo (永乐), and 11th month of the 18th year of Yung-lo. From 1403 to 1419, the city under the name of Peking was made 'Hsing-tsai' (行在) or Temporary Residence of the emperor.

[4] Sun Ch'eng-tse, op. cit., 3/2b-3a.

[5] In fact, the order of the reducing of the northern part of the city was given by the commander of the Ming army, Hsü Ta (徐达), who naturally would take the defensive measure of the city into his consideration, because the Mongols, though they were driven out from the city, were by no means destroyed and still constituted a constant threat to the Ming rulers.

afterwards, this reduction was more or less compensated by the extension of the city towards the south for about half a mile in 1419.[6] Since then no further alteration of this part of the city has ever been made. These changes are shown in the following diagrams:



The extension of the city towards the south, however, is not as simple as the reduction of the city from the north. First, this extension caused a certain section of the T'ung Hui Canal due south of the old city (Khanbaliq) and running parallel to the south wall of it, to be included inside the new wall.[7] Second, the territory that had been affected by this extension was by no means a vacant place but a densely occupied residential area without any definite plan, and consequently it formed a sharp contrast with the older part of the city which was well planned.[8] The remaining bed of this section of the canal as well as the unplanned street pattern in its neighbourhood or the eastern end of the absorbed area (which happens to be a part of the newly absorbed area that has undergone least modifications during subsequent centuries) can still be recognized today. However, a better picture might be obtained if ancient maps were available. Fortunately, a detailed map of Peking, which was made about 1750 with a scale of 1:650, was discovered during the recent war among the documents preserved in the Palace Museum of Peiping.[9] In this map, both the remaining bed of the canal, part of which no longer exists today, and the unplanned features of the street pattern in the neighbouring area are clearly shown. This is reproduced here in a reduced and simplified form (Fig. 8.1).

[6] *Ming Ch'eng-tsu Shih-lu* (《明成祖实录》), 11th month of the 17th year of Yung-lo, as quoted *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 38/13a.

[7] *Ming Hsüan-tsung Shih-lu* (《明宣宗实录》), the 10th year of Hsuan-te, as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 89/20b-21a.

[8] See the foregoing chapter.

[9] It was reproduced on the scale of 1: 2,600 in 1940 by the Palace Museum, Peiping (北平故宫博物院《清内务府藏京城全图》). There is also a Japanese edition with explanations which is not for sale (日本兴亚院华北联络部政务局调查所, 乾隆京城全图、解说、索引附).

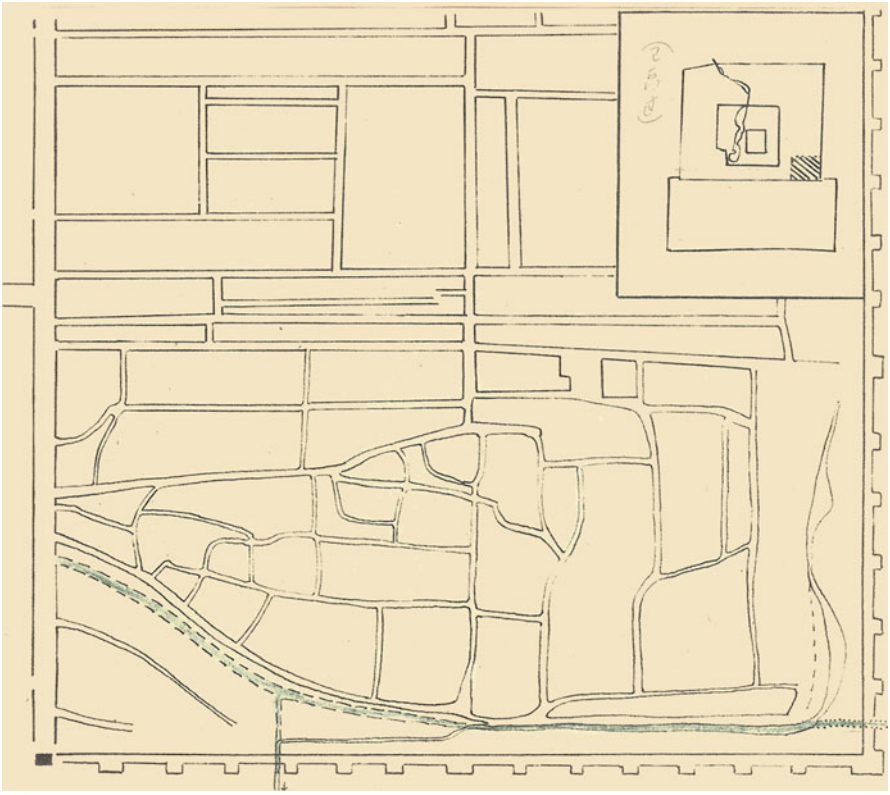


Fig. 8.1 Remains of the T'ung Hui Canal within the city in the Ming dynasty

8.1.3 Rebuilding of the Imperial City

Now, it seems rather curious why the city should be extended towards the south. If it were found to be too small for the purpose of an imperial capital, it would be much easier to push back the north wall to its original site. The answer to this problem lies, however, not in the actual size of the city, but in the fact of further modification of the whole plan. And this modification actually began with the rebuilding of the Imperial City of Khanbaliq.

The rebuilding of the Imperial City of Khanbaliq implied, first, the reconstruction of the emperor's palace and, second, the shifting of the surrounding walls. Let these be discussed one by one.

8.1.3.1 The Reconstruction of the Emperor's Palace

When the Ming army first took Khanbaliq in 1368, the two palaces west of the lake, the Hsing Sheng Kung and the Lung Fu Kung, sustained little damage, and they were subsequently used as the palace of the Prince of Yen from 1370 to

1403.[10] But the emperor's palace along the east shore of the lake was destroyed by the order of the Ming ruler immediately after the fall of the city.[11] This was done probably because the Ming ruler thought that this would obliterate the 'imperial spirit' of the former dynasty. However, after 1403, when the Prince of Yen came to the throne, extensive reconstruction took place both in the great city and on the very foundation of the ruined palace of the Yüan emperor.[12] Eventually, a new palace was completed in 1420. It was surrounded by an enclosure with a moat known as Tze-chin Ch'eng (紫金城, Purple-Golden City, or the Forbidden City) which survives to the present day. As compared with the Yüan palace, it was slightly reduced from the north, but shifted a little bit towards the east [1, pp. 15–17, and map] (see Fig. 8.2). If the reduction of the new palace from the north is insignificant, the eastward shifting of it involves a serious change which means a fundamental modification of the original plan of the whole city. For we know that the emperor's palace of Yüan lay exactly between the east and the west walls of Khanbaliq. Hence the line which bisected the emperor's palace was also the line which bisected the great city, and it was also on the same line that the bell tower, which marked the geometrical centre of the great city, was built. Now, with an eastward shifting of the emperor's palace of Ming, the above statement no longer holds true. Why should this change have been made? The answer is twofold. First, owing to the southward shift of the north wall of Khanbaliq in 1368, the bell tower no longer represented the geometrical centre of the great city. Thus certain aspects of the guiding principles which governed the layout of the great city of Khanbaliq were neglected, even long before the rebuilding of the emperor's palace. Second, this reduction in size was carried out at a time when there was as yet no intention either to re-establish the city as a national centre or to redevelop it according to any definite plan. But when the order was given to rebuild the emperor's palace as well as the great city in 1403 with the purpose of making it the new capital, a new plan would need to be formulated. And the guiding principles of this new plan can be detected not only from the shifting of the emperor's palace, but also from the shifting of the bell tower. For the bell tower as well as the drum tower were rebuilt a little to the east of the original sites, and the distance of the eastward shifting equals that of the emperor's palace[13]; or, in other words, the new towers were again built on the same line which bisected the new palace, but it was no longer the line which bisected the great city. The reason for this shifting lies in the fact that the old line was actually 'broken', so to speak, by the lake Chi Shui T'an (积水潭) which occupied a central position between the old palace and the old towers (see Fig. 7.2), while the new line was fixed along the eastern shore of the lake and was confronted with no

[10] *Ming T'ai-tzu Shih-lu* (《明太祖实录》), 7th month of the 3rd year of Hung-wu (洪武), as quoted in *Ku Chin Tu-shu Chi-ch'eng*, *Chih Fang Tien* (古今图书集成, 职方典), and Sun Ch'eng-tze, op. cit., 6/9a.

[11] See *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 32/31a-32a.

[12] This is a very important period for the reconstruction of Peking, which lasted nearly 20 years. For detailed account, see Chao I, *Nien-erh Shih Cha-chi* (赵翼《廿二史劄记》), 27/15b-17b.

[13] Both towers were completed in 1420; see Yü Min-chung, op. cit., 54/13a, and footnote 26 on p. 81. The distance is measured from the present city plan.

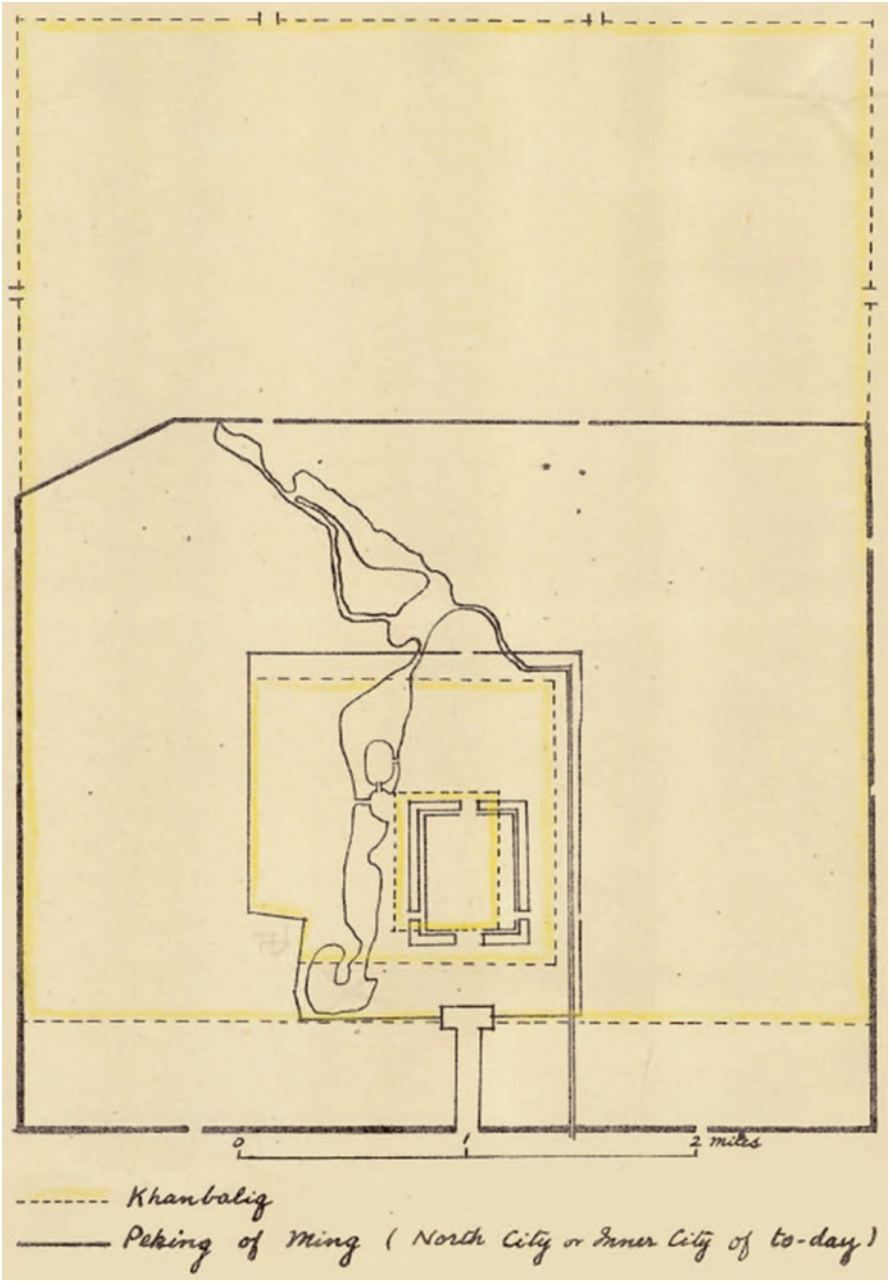


Fig. 8.2 The relative position of Peking of Ming to Khanbaliq

topographical hindrance between the new palace and the new towers. Hence a great thoroughfare leading from the north gate of the Imperial City to the bell tower and drum tower could be planned along it (see Fig. 8.3).

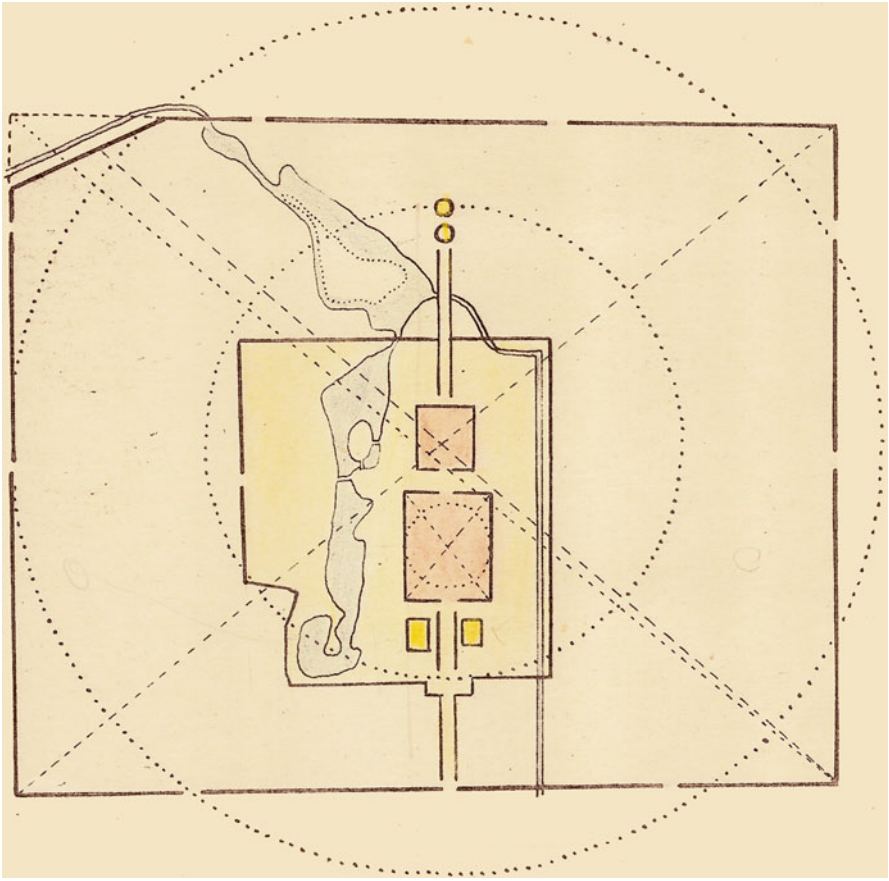


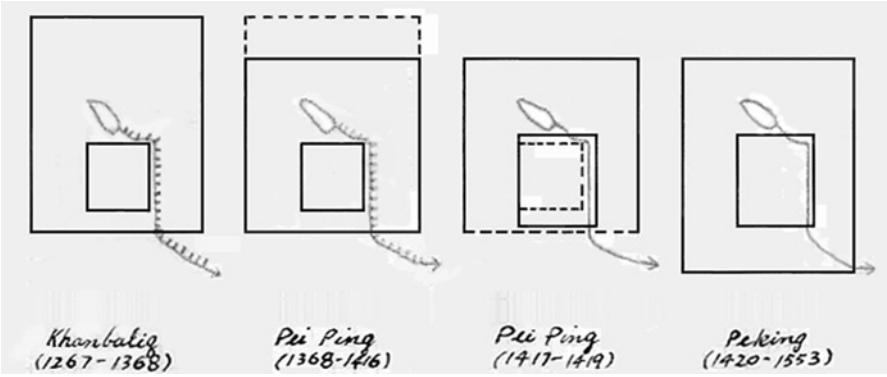
Fig. 8.3 Plan of the inner city of Peking of Ming

The shifting of this line is of great importance in the understanding of the Ming plan of redevelopment, because it eventually became the axial line of the entire new city (see discussion below).

8.1.3.2 The Shifting of the Surrounding Walls of the Imperial City

So far as documentary evidence is concerned, the extension of the east wall of the Imperial City of Khanbaliq is definite enough. For it is recorded in *Ch'un-ming Meng-yü Lu* that 'in the fifteenth year of Yung-lo (1417, Yung-lo 永乐 is the reign title of the Prince of Yen after his succeeding the throne), the Imperial City was

rebuilt and its new wall is about one *li* to the east of the old palace'.[14] Whether the west wall was also shifted at the same time, we do not know. Since it is not mentioned anywhere, it probably remained as before. As to the north wall, a further extension was also made which was recorded rather indirectly.[15] Finally, we come to the south wall. Though there is no documentary evidence, the shifting of it farther south is beyond any doubt. For we find that the south wall of the Imperial City of Ming, which remains as it is now, was built almost on the original site of the south wall of Khanbaliq, which is marked by the East and West Ch'ang-an Streets of today. And it is exactly owing to the southern extension of the Imperial City of Ming that the south wall of the great city of Khanbaliq was forced to move farther southward to its present position. This can be better illustrated in the following diagram.



Thus, in 1420, we find that a new city with a new palace and its new enclosure, slightly different in general outline from that of Khanbaliq, came into existence and that this new city, or the Peking City of Ming, was exactly what is called the Inner City of today, except the change of names of certain gates. This can be summed up in the following map (Fig. 8.4).

Another result of the southern extension of the Imperial City was that the space in front of the palace, or the Tsu-chin Ch'eng, was greatly increased. And it was on the very ground of this newly created space that another important modification of the fundamental plan of Khanbaliq took place. This was the reconstruction of the Ancestral Temple and the Altar of Land, the former in the east and the latter

[14] As a consequence of this extension, certain section of the T'ung Hui Canal, which was previously east of the Imperial City of Yüan, was now included into the Imperial City of Ming (see *Ming Hsien-tsung Shih-lu*《明宪宗实录》, or the Chronicle of the Emperor Hsien-tsung of Ming, the 10th month of the 7th year of Ch'eng-hwa 成化, as quoted by Yü Ming-chung, op. cit., 20/6a-8b). This is another serious change of the canal system caused by the rebuilding of the city which will be discussed in due course.

[15] Li Tung-yang (李东阳), a prominent official of Ming, once recorded that the residence of his ancestors, which was originally north of Imperial City of Yüan, was found to be inside the north gate of the Imperial City of Ming, because of the shifting of the north wall. See *Tung Hai Chi* (《东海集》) as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 54/26b-27a.

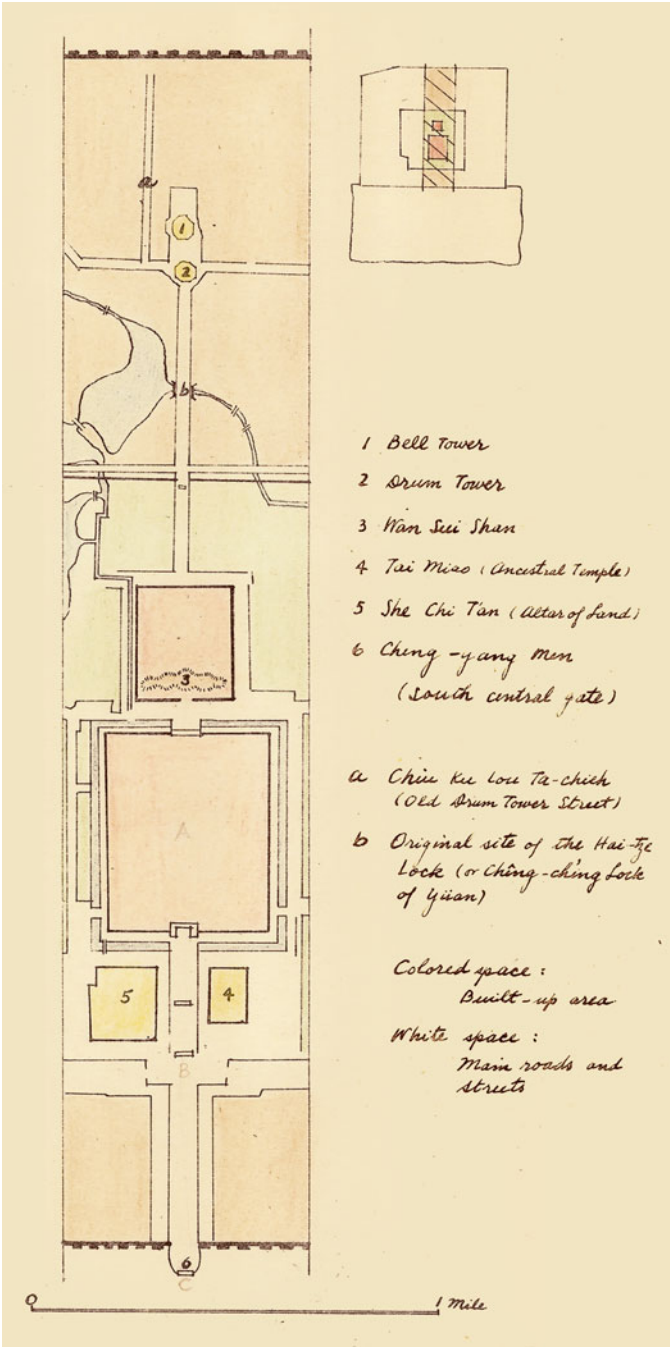


Fig. 8.4 Layout of the inner city of Peking of Ming

in the west, still in their relative positions.[16] Both were completed in 1420.[17] Between them ran the processional way leading from the front gate of the great city right to the main entrance of the royal palace. And this processional way was built exactly along the same line which fixed the position of the new palace as well as the new bell tower and drum tower. Due north of the palace, again on the same straight line, an artificial mound was raised with the earth taken out of the moat of the Tze-chin Ch'eng when it was first constructed.[18] This mound, more than 200 ft high, as it stands today, was first called Wan Sui Shan (万岁山, Hill of Hundred Thousand Years) and then changed to Ching Shan (景山, Prospect Hill), or commonly known as Mei Shan (煤山, Coal Hill).[19] The significance of this mound is that it not only provides an excellent vantage point for a bird's-eye view of the palace but also represents approximately, if not precisely, the geometrical centre of the redeveloped city plan. It is here that the imaginative design of the new city reaches its climax.

Thus by the year 1420, when the plan of the redevelopment of the city was accomplished, we find that all the important features of the new plan were centred on the straight line, in well-balanced symmetrical disposition, between the front gate of the great city in the south and the bell tower and drum tower in the north. The beauty of the geometrical pattern of the layout along this line is most striking, and this has been preserved up to the present day.[20] It can be shown in the following map.

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[16] Farther west of the Altar of Land, and due south of the original lake of the Yüan palace and connected with it, a new lake was dug out probably at the same time, because it owed its existence also to the southern extension of the Imperial City. Otherwise there was no space for it. Moreover, it was with the addition of this lake that the popular name 'San Hai' or the 'Three Oceans' was first introduced during the Ming dynasty. See *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 21/14b, 15a, 23/8b, 10b.

[17] Sun Ch'eng-tse, op. cit., 17/1a and 19/1a.

[18] Chu Hsieh, Peking Kung-tien T'u-shuo (朱偰《北京宫殿图说》, 1938), pp. 77–78.

[19] It is called Mei Shan or Coal Hill because it was alleged during the Ming dynasty that certain amount of coal was buried under it, and this could be used for fuel if the city should undergo a siege. This was, however, found to be untrue, but the name survives just the same. See Li Jo-yü, *Cho Chung Chih* (李若愚《酌中志》, Hai-shan-hsien Kuan Ts'ung-shu edition 海山仙馆丛书), 17/6a-b, and J. Edkins, *Recent Changes at Peking*, reprinted from the 'Shanghai Mercury', 1902, pp. 2–3.

[20] Cf. the principle of the Egyptian site planning as described by Professor Sir Patrick Abercrombie in the following passage: '… Egyptian temples are so elaborate and composite that they, with their approaching avenues lined with sphinxes, may well be considered as examples of site planning rather than as individual buildings. Their composition exhibits a remarkable advance upon more regularity: the principle of axiality or symmetry of design on either side of a central line is here displayed; whether this axis, along which are strung the avenue of approach, obelisks, entrance pylons, open court, caryatid court, hypostyle hall and inner shrines, was merely planned to entrain a direct ray of sunshine into the sanctuary or not, the principle of design is there—a central axis with symmetrically disposed buildings on either side, leading up to a terminal climax. Here is imaginative design in its highest form, which one feels must have extended to the cities of which these temples formed the dominant note' [2, pp. 30–31].

8.1.4 Building of the Rampart of the Outer City

Finally, a few words may be added here about the building of the surrounding walls of the Outer City of today. As has been discussed in the foregoing chapter, the area due south of Khanbaliq was also occupied by houses though without any definite plan during the Yüan dynasty. When the south wall of Khanbaliq was shifted to its present position in 1419, part of this occupied area still remained outside the new city. In the following year (1420), however, another two groups of institutional buildings, namely the T'ien T'an (天坛, Altar of Heaven), the same as that of today, and the Shan Chuan T'an (山川坛, Altar of Mountain and River), now called the Hsien Nung T'an (先农坛, Altar of Agriculture), were completed south of this area, with the former in the east, the latter in the west, and the great road leading out from the front gate of the city as a continuation of the processional way mentioned above, running in between.[21] Thus, with the construction of these institutional buildings, this unplanned settlement began to be absorbed, so to speak, into the civic design of the city proper. But the surrounding walls which actually annexed it to the general framework of the city were not built until 1553.[22] Since then, the present form of the city was virtually completed, and no further alteration has ever been made up to the present day (Fig. 8.5).[23]

8.2 Development of the Royal Parks

No study of the geography of Peking of Ming and Ch'ing would be complete without mentioning the construction of the royal parks in the immediate environs of the city. But this was by no means a new feature in the development of the capital cities in Chinese history. For we know, for instance, that the first two great dynasties which created the Chinese Empire under a centralized government, the Ch'in and Han, had both built magnificent pleasure grounds and Li Kung in the immediate environs of their respective capitals, Hsien-yang and Ch'ang-an.[24] And the Ch'ang-an city of Han was, in fact, founded on the original ground of the imperial park of Ch'in not far from Hsien-yang, just as the great city of Khanbaliq was built around the original site of the Li Kung of Chin. However, the Yüan rulers, having their attention chiefly centred on the building of Khanbaliq, contributed very little to the development of royal parks in the immediate environs. But, in the Ming dynasty, soon after the Prince of Yen came to the throne, he planned a great hunting

[21] Sun Ch'eng-tse, op. cit., 14/1a and 15/1a.

[22] Ibid., 3/3a-4b. The building of the walls was, in fact, prompted by the successive invasions of the Mongols.

[23] Further discussion on the building of the outer walls will be found on p. 536.

[24] *San Fu Huang T'u* (《三辅黄图》, Geography of the Metropolitan Area of Ch'in and Han dynasties), Ts'ung-shu Chi-ch'eng edition, edited by Pi Yüan (毕沅), Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1/5.

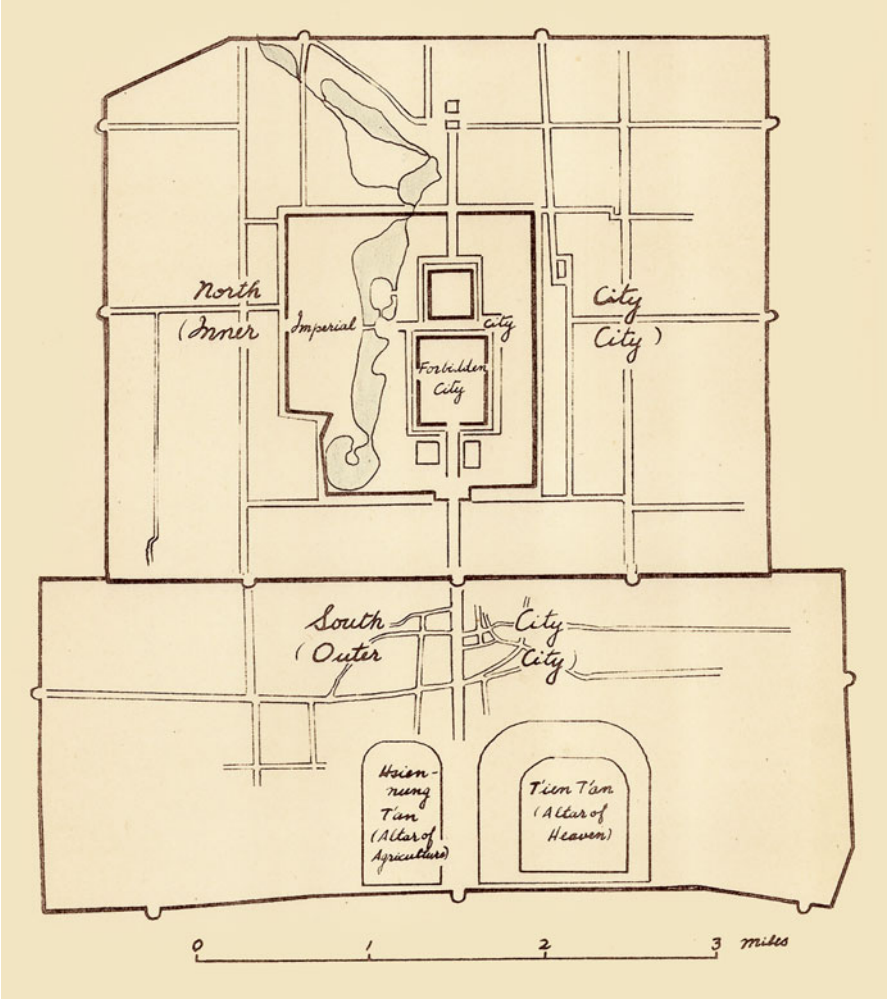

Fig. 8.5 The Inner and Outer cities of Peking

park due south of Peking with a circumference of nearly 40 miles. Hence the place was named Nan Yüan (南苑), or the Southern Park.[25] This place was chosen because there were a number of springs and lakes with flourishing woods and bush which provided an ideal habitation for wild game.[26] But there was no real beauty in its natural scenery. The place of great scenic attraction, then as it is now, was in the northwest environs between the city and the Western Hills. There are both magnificent mountain scenery and splendid water supply from springs and lakes, and it

[25] Yü Min-chung, op. cit., 11/1a. The place was also used as a ground for military exercises and annual manoeuvres during the Ch'ing dynasty.

[26] Yü Min-chung, op. cit., 24/7a.

must be pointed out here that to the Chinese mind, hills and streams are essential elements in the beauty of nature without which no landscape design is made possible.

The most important sources of water supply in the northwest environs of the city are the Jade Fountain (玉泉) and the Kun-ming Lake (昆明湖) as they are known today. Each is situated at the foot of an isolated hill rising majestically above the plain. East of the hills, and in the vicinity of the ancient town Hai Tien (海淀), which is about 3 miles northwest of the city, the land is spacious and the soil fertile. During the Ming dynasty, this place was dotted with a number of private gardens belonging to distinguished officials and noble families. Among these the Tsing Hua Yüan (清华园) of Li Wei (李伟) and the Shao Yüan (勺园) of Mi Wan-chung (米万钟) were especially famous.[27] And now it is exactly on the original sites of these gardens that two of the leading universities of modern China are built, namely the National Tsinghua University (using the name of the Ming garden which means Clear Glorious) and the Christian Yenching University (after one of the old names of the city). The latter is known especially for the picturesque landscape of its campus. However, the actual development of this particular region on a large scale by the royal court as distinct from private persons did not begin until as late as the Ch'ing dynasty. The Ch'ing rulers inherited Peking from Ming in 1644 as the capital in a perfect condition. Besides regular repairing and further construction of more palace buildings, no extensive redevelopment of the city was needed. Hence they could pay full attention to the construction of recreational parks and royal residences outside the city walls in an unprecedented manner, and it is owing to their continuous efforts that the present city enjoys such a rich inheritance of beautiful and charming places in its northwest environs. This began with the building of the Ching Ming Yüan (静明园, Tranquil and Transparent Park) at the foot of the Jade Fountain Hill in 1680.[28] Then followed the construction of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan (畅春园, Refreshing Spring Park) west of the present campus of Yenching University.[29] It was also called Ch'ien Yüan (前园) or the Front Garden, because due north of it, another park of a much greater circumference was laid out in 1709.[30] This was the famous Yüan Ming Yüan (圆明园, Harmonious Bright Park). Within the grounds of the Yüan Ming Yüan, artificial lakes were dug out, and a great number of magnificent buildings were erected especially during the prosperous reign of the great emperor Ch'ien-lung (乾隆, 1736–1795). For more than a century, it had been used as the Summer Palace of the Manchu emperor, and the grandeur of its scenery as well as its architecture surpassed that of the royal palace inside the city walls. Unfortunately, both Ch'ang

[27] A contemporary saying goes as 'Li Yüan pu suan, Mi Yüan pu su'. (李园不酸,米园不俗, Li's Garden is not ostentatious, Mi's Garden is not vulgar.) See Wu Ch'ang- yüan, op. cit., 16/22b. For a detailed study of the history of Shao Yüan, see Professor William Hung [3].

[28] *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 85/1a. The park was first called Ch'eng Hsin Yüan (澄心园, Purified Heart Park) and it was changed to Ching Ming Yüan at 1692. See *Ta Ch'ing I T'ung Chih* (《大清一统志》, Comprehensive Geography of the Ching Empire), Pao Shan Chai edition 宝善斋本, 1901, 1/7a.

[29] *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 26/1a-4a.

[30] Ibid., vols. 80–82.

Ch'un Yüan and Yüan Ming Yüan were destroyed by the British and French armies in 1860.[31] Only their ruins remain to the present day. This, however, led to the building of the New Summer Palace at the foot of the Wong Hill.

The Wong Hill, as mentioned above, was first recorded during the early Yüan dynasty. In front of it was the Wong Shan Lake. The lake then served as a reservoir which fed the upper course of the T'ung Hui Canal. During the early Ming dynasty, it was usually called Hsi Hu (西湖) or the Western Lake.[32] Later on it was also known as Chi Li Po (七里泊), or Seven Li Lake; the name probably implies that the lake was about 7 *li* in circumference.[33] Soon after the emperor Ch'ien-lung of the Ch'ing dynasty succeeded to the throne, the lake was further excavated and greatly enlarged by his order, and a new name Kun Ming Hu (昆明湖), after a similar lake in the immediate environs of the Han capital Ch'ang-an, was given to it. At the same time, a temple was built on the hillside for the celebration of the sixtieth birthday of the mother queen. Hence the hill was renamed Wan Shou Shan (万寿山), or the Hill of Myriad Ages. These took place in the year 1751.[34] Ten years later (1761), a park was laid out between the hill and the lake under the name Ch'ing I Yüan (清漪园, Clear Wave Park).[35] It was only about half a mile to the west of the old summer palace Yüan Ming Yüan. Therefore, after the destruction of Yüan Ming Yüan, Wan Shou Shan was chosen by the Empress Dowager, the real ruler of the time, as the site of a new summer palace in 1888.[36] A great number of new buildings were erected on the sunny side of the hill which commands a splendid view over the lake and the adjacent plain. A stone wall about 4 miles long was built all around the hill and the lake which formed composite parts of a grand park known as I Ho Yüan (颐和园, Refreshing Harmonious Park). This has been preserved in perfect condition up to the present day. And it is here that we witness how harmoniously the natural landscape has been humanized by an elaborate landscape design and by an assembly of buildings grouped architecturally to culminate in Fo Hsiang Ko (佛香阁, Buddhist Fragrant Incense Pavilion) behind Pai Yün Tien (排云殿, Serrated Clouds Hall) and near to the crest of the hill. Hence the remark of Professor G. B. Cressey that 'Chinese architecture reaches its climax in the Summer Palace outside Peiping. Marble balustrades, yellow roof tiles, lattice windows, and lacquered columns, make this a scene of rare beauty' [4, p. 165] (Fig. 8.6).

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[31] Wang Hsien-ch'ien, Tung Hua Lu (王先谦《东华录》, Collection of State Papers), 8th month of the 10th year of Hsien-feng (咸丰, 1860), Emperor Wen-tsung (文宗).

[32] *Ming Ch'eng-tsung Shih-lu* (《明成祖实录》, Chronicle of the Emperor Ch'eng-tsu of Ming), as quoted by Yü Min-chung, op. cit., 54/28b.

[33] Ming Hsien-tsung Shih-lu (《明宪宗实录》, Chronicle of the Emperor Hsien-tsung of Ming), ibid., 89/7a-b.

[34] Emperor Ch'ien-lung, 'Wan Shou Shan Kun Ming Hu Chi' (《御制万寿山昆明湖记》, An History of the Wan Shou Shan and Kun Ming Hu) as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 84/2b-3b.

[35] Emperor Ch'ien-lung, 'Wan Shou Shan Ch'ing I Yüan Chi' (《御制万寿山清漪园记》, An History of the Ch'ing I Park at Wan Shou Shan) as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 84/3b-4b.

[36] Wang Hsien-ch'ien, op. cit., Imperial Edict of the 2nd month of the 14th year of Kuang-hsü (光绪), Te-tsung (德宗, 1888).

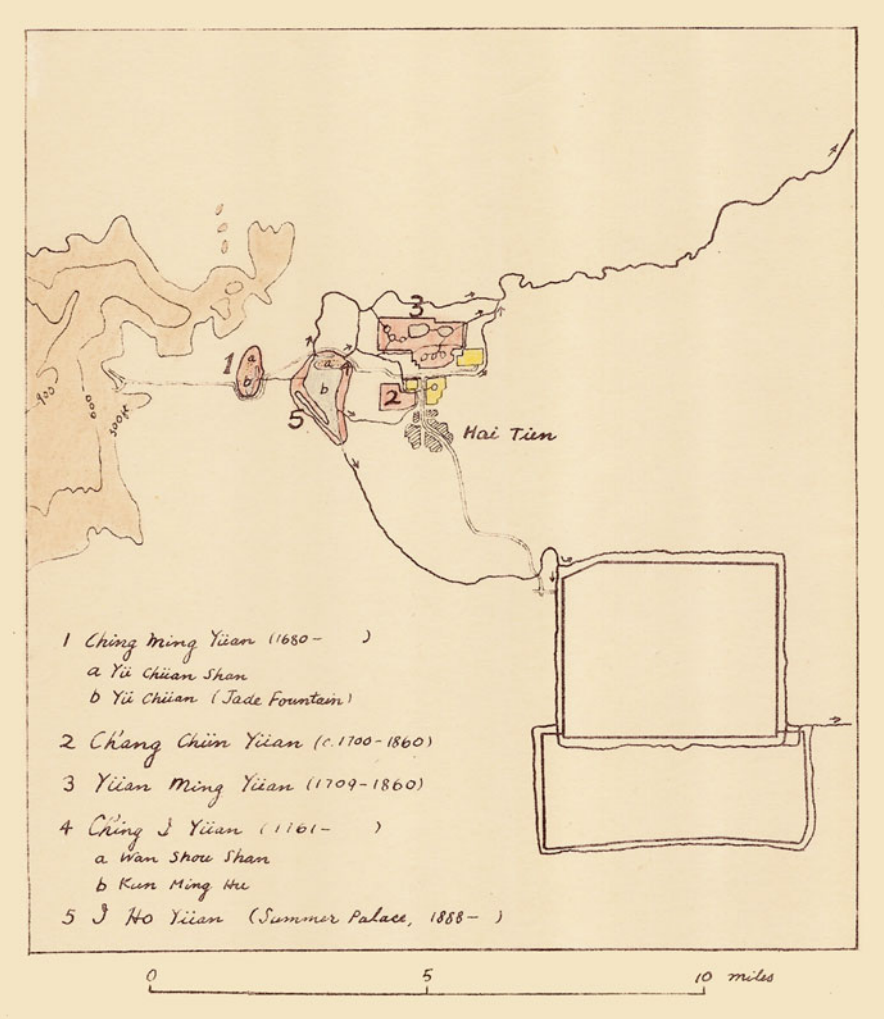

Fig. 8.6 Royal parks in the northwest suburb

8.3 Increase of Population and Its Distribution

8.3.1 Population Increase in Ming

Population increase is another notable feature in the development of Peking during the Ming-Ch'ing period. This began with a selective immigration caused by imperial order in the early Ming dynasty. As has been discussed above, the great city of Khanbaliq probably had never been fully occupied during the Yüan dynasty, and

with the retreat of the Mongols from the city in 1368, it must have remained a half empty city when the Ming army took it over in the same year.[37] Though the city was immediately reduced in size by building a new north wall about 2 miles south of the old, it probably still remained too big for the existing population. Therefore, soon after the Prince of Yen seized the throne in 1402, orders were issued in the following years to remove a great number of selected families, mostly wealthy and widely dispersed in origin, from no less than 10 or 11 provinces out of a total number of 15, 'to fill the city of Peking'.[38]

There might have been some political reasons involved which I do not propose to discuss here. Our chief interest is how many people were actually removed to the city. Of this, no definite figure is given. The only record of numbers is that 10,000 families were removed from Shansi province to Peking in 1404.[39] If five is taken as an average number of persons in each family, which is definitely a conservative estimate as compared with the usual size of a Chinese family in the old days, it would make an immigration of 50,000 persons from a single province at one time.[40] Adding those who had been removed to the city from the other ten provinces in the previous year (1403), this number could easily be doubled.[41] Merely judged by this approximate number of immigrants, Peking must be considered as a great city at the very beginning of the fifteenth century, though the total number of its inhabitants still remains unknown.

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[37] *Ming Shih*, *T'ai-tsu Pen Chi* (《明史·太祖本纪》, Dynasty History of Ming, Chronicle of T'ai-tsu), 7th and the 8th month of the 1st year of Hung-wu.

[38] These are recorded in Ming Shih, Ch'eng-tsu Pen Chi (《明史·成祖本纪》, Dynastic History of Ming, Chronicle of Ch'eng-tsu) as follows:

(a) 1403 'In the eight month of the first year of Yung-lo, rich people from the ten prefectures of Chihli (直隶) province, such as Su Chou (苏州) and so forth, and other nine provinces, such as Chekiang (浙江) and so forth, are removed to fill the city of Peking'.

The Ming empire was divided into 15 provinces. The Chihli (直隶) province, or the 'province under the direct rule of the central government', was then the province where Nanking was located. It consisted of the present provinces of Kiangsu (江苏) and Anhui (安徽). Chekiang province was exactly the same as it is now.

(b) 1404 'In the ninth month of the third year of Yung-lo, ten thousand families are removed from Shanhsi (山西) province to fill the city of Peking'.

The same number of immigrants from the same province in the same month of the following year (1405) is recorded. I think it is most probably a mistake of repetition. Hence it is not considered here.

[39] See footnote above. There is no doubt about the total number of families given here, because numerical precision was duly observed in cases like this by this time. The matter that needs a little explanation is the word 'family'. In traditional census registration in China, for instance, at least three units have been used, namely: (1) Hu (户) or 'Family', (2) Ting (丁) or 'man' and (3) Kou (口) or 'mouth' which means 'head'. In this case the term used is 'Hu' (family). A family in the old days usually consisted of three generations.

[40] The number of families removed from Shansi province was especially mentioned here probably because it was the largest among all other provinces, and it should be pointed out that Shansi is also the province which is nearest to Peking.

[41] See footnote 38 on p. 110.

After 1420, when Peking was actually made the capital, a steady increase of population would be expected. With the central government moving to the city came the swarm of officials who usually brought their families with them. Members of the royal family and their relatives as well as distinguished officials used to have magnificent residences especially provided or built for them chiefly inside the Imperial City.[42] The descendants of Confucius were also honoured by the emperor to be given a residence in the capital.[43] In addition to immigration into the city, it was conceivable that there was a substantial natural increase at this time. The first half of the fifteenth century saw the golden age of the Ming dynasty. People in the capital as well as in the countryside enjoyed a comparatively peaceful and prosperous life, which in turn must have presented favourable conditions for the increase of population. However, soon after this, the power of the Ming government began to decline. The Mongols made constant invasions along the northern frontier and Peking was twice threatened with siege and plunder.[44] Consequently proposals were made to build an outer rampart to protect the city as well as those people who lived in the southern suburbs.[45] This project finally materialized in 1553, and the walls which surround the Outer City of today first came into existence. In one of these proposals dated 1542, a statement containing some interesting information about the population of Peking was given. It runs as follows:

> T'ai-tsu (first emperor of Ming) established his capital at Chin Ling (金陵, old name of Nanking). After the construction of the Inner City, an outer rampart was also built. Ch'eng-tsu (emperor Yung-lo, formerly the Prince of Yen) moved the capital to Chin T'ai (金台, i.e. Peiping). Then there was plenty of room for residence inside the city. Therefore no outer rampart was erected. Now the number of people who live outside the city is almost double those who live inside the city. (Hence) an outer rampart ought to be built…and the altars in the environs thus can be also included inside the surrounding walls.[46]

Whether this statement concerning the relative size of the population both inside and outside the city walls is reliable or not is not easy to judge, because there are no actual figures on which to work. However, it does imply that the population of the city as a whole had been increasing since 1420.

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[42] For instance, ten residences known as Shih Wang Fu (十王府, Ten Princes Palaces) were built as early as 1417 in the southeastern part of the Imperial City (see *Ming ch'eng-tsu Shih-Lu*, as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 43/9b). A palace for the Princess was built south of the Ten Princes Palaces In 1428 (see *Ming Hsüan-tsung Shih-Lu*, as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 43/9b). In 1511 the site of a great warehouse for rice was given to Chu Te (朱德), high official, to build his private residence (see *Ming Wu-tsung Shih-Lu*, as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 52/11a). There are numerous examples which cannot be given here one by one.

[43] See *Li Chai Hsien Lu* (《立斋闲录》), as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 44/3a.

[44] See *Ming Shih*, *Ying-tsung Pen Chi* (《明史·英宗本纪》, Dynastic History of Ming, Chronicle of Ying-tsung), 10th month, and *Ting Ju-k'uei Chuan* (《丁汝夔传》, Biography of Ting Ju-kuei).

[45] It was first proposed by Chiang Kuei (蒋贵) in 1472 (see *Ming Shih*, *Chiang Kuei Chuan*《明史·蒋贵传》). The same proposal was raised again by Chiao Lien (焦链), Mao Po-wen (毛伯温), etc., in 1542 (see Sun Ch'eng-tse, op. cit., 3/3a). A third proposal was made in 1550 (ibid., 3/3b). Finally, an outer rampart was built in 1553 (ibid., 3/3b-4a). The original idea was to build an outer rampart all around the great city of Peking. This has never been carried out.

[46] Sun Ch'eng-tse, op. cit., 3/3b.

8.3.2 Population Increase in Ch'ing

In 1644 when the Manchu took Peking and made it the capital of the Ch'ing dynasty, numerous buildings in the Inner City as well as in the Imperial City, belonging either to ordinary inhabitants or to the Ming officials, were taken over for the use of the new conquerors who must have come to reside in the city in great numbers.[47] Four years later, a further regulation was promulgated that all Chinese, regardless of their profession, had to remove to the Outer City, leaving the Inner City exclusively for the Manchus.[48] This gave rise to the conventional names the 'Tartar City' and the 'Chinese City' which have been very commonly used among Westerners even up to the present day. In fact, this has long ceased to be the case. Exactly when the Chinese again began to take up permanent residence in the Inner City is not easy to tell. It is certain that long before the downfall of the Manchu rule in 1911, Chinese inhabitants were already found in the Inner City as well as in the Outer City.[49] Now the term 'Tartar City' is utterly meaningless to the present generation. Even a Manchu resident, who still might be recognized today, admits without any embarrassment or hesitation that he is a 'Chinese'. And a 'Chinese' in this sense is a person who lives the Chinese way, speaks the Chinese language, shares the Chinese outlook and joins the Chinese procession of life, not to conquer, merely to maintain the very existence of his kind.

With the inflow of the Manchus in the early Ch'ing dynasty to fill up the Inner City, the population of Peking must have increased by leaps and bounds. Yet there is no record of the total number of the inhabitants available, nor is there any estimation until as late as the early years of the eighteenth century. Then came the famous French Jesuit priest Du Halde who reckoned the population of Peking to be about 3,000,000. But J. H. Klaproth, a German sinologist, who wrote about a century later, gave it less than half of Du Halde's estimation (1,300,000). There were others who placed it between these extremes.[50] At the middle of the nineteenth century, the American missionary, diplomatist and author, S. W. Williams, made a rough comparison between the population of Peking and London and said that 'there seems to be no insuperable objection at stating (the population) of Peking at two millions' [5, vol. I, p. 55]. Half a century later (1905) the English author Archibald Little recorded in his standard volume, *The Far East*, that prior to 1900 the population of Peking

[47] Wang Hsien-ch'ien, op. cit., Imperial Edicts of the 6th month and the 10th month of the 1st year of Shun-chih (顺治, 1644).

[48] Ibid., Imperial Edict of the 8th month of the 5th year of Shun-chih.

[49] S. W. Williams wrote in 1848 that 'the northern portion (of Peking, i.e. the Inner City) was taken possession of by the Manchus in 1644, for barracks and residences, and the government purchased the buildings of the Chinese and gave them to their officers, but necessity soon obliged these men, less frugal and thrifty than the natives, to sell them, and content themselves with humbler abodes; consequently, the greater part of the northern part is now tenanted by Chinese' [5, p. 58].

[50] S. W. Williams [5, vol. I, p. 55].

was estimated at about 500,000 which seems to me to be a little too conservative.[51] At the same time (1905) the French geographer L. Richard placed it between 600,000 and 800,000 [7, pp. 78–79]. In the enlarged English edition of Richard's work, which was published in 1908, the following statement is given:

> The actual city (of Peking) has a population varying from 600,000 to 800,000 inhabitants.[52]

The term 'the actual city' seems to imply the city area only within the surrounding walls, while the population in the suburbs was not included. If this is the case, this estimation turns out to be fairly reliable as compared with the city's first census reports of the early years of the Republic,[53] which also left the suburban population out of consideration. These are given as follows:

(1) Richard's estimation	1905	600,000–800,000
(2) Census Reports	1912	725,235
	1913	668,403
	1914	769,317
	1915	789,123
	1916	801,136

As to the suburban population of the city in 1905 when Richard made his estimate, a total number of 240,000 would not be too far from the truth.[54] Considering this figure together with Richard's estimate of 'the actual city's' population in the light of the census reports of the early years of the Republic, we may place the total population of Peking, including the inhabitants both inside and outside the city walls, at around 900,000 about the year 1905. It probably did not reach as much as 1,000,000 until the early years of the Republic. A graph showing the population increase of Peiping from 1912 to 1935 may be served as a valuable reference in the discussion of this problem (Fig. 8.7).

[51] Archibald Little [6, p. 34]. No source of the estimation is mentioned.

[52] English translation with revision and enlargement by M. Kennelly, entitled *L. Richard's Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire and Dependencies* [8, p. 71].

[53] H. O. K'ung (孔賜安) [9]. Peking owed its great number of population solely to its political status, and the transfer of power from the old government of the Manchus to the new government of the Republic, which continued to rule from the city, was peacefully carried out without any disturbance. Thus the city's population of the early years of the Republic may be considered to have followed a normal curve of population growth from that of the later Ch'ing dynasty.

[54] The population of the suburbs of Peking was not counted until 1925. The census report of that year (1925) gave the city a total population of 1,266,148. This is 383,527 more than that of the preceding year which does not include the inhabitants outside the city walls (see H. O. Kung, op. cit.). Thus the suburban population growth is made from this number according to the average rate of population increase of the whole city (i.e. including the suburbs) per year from 1924 to 1935 which is 2.36 %, and then the suburban population of the city in 1905 would be about 240,000.

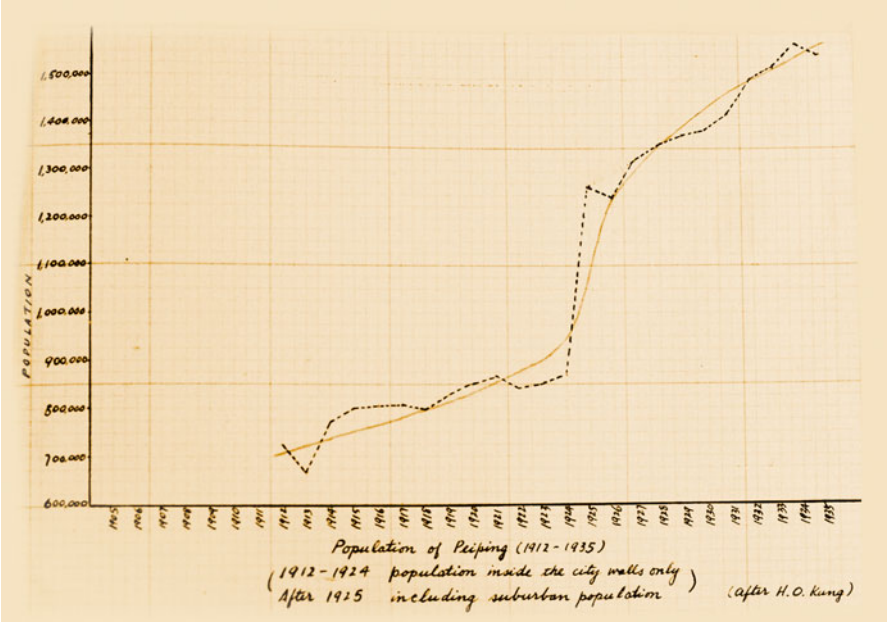

Fig. 8.7 Graph line of population increase of Peiping from 1912 to 1935

8.3.3 Distribution of Population

As to the distribution of population within the city, we have again to rely upon the census reports of the early years of the Republic. The 1917 report, which is believed to be the most accurate of the earlier ones, gives the Inner City a population of 482,861 and the Outer City 328,695.[55] Since great tracts in the southeastern part of the Outer City are scarcely occupied by residences, the average population density of its built-up area is, in fact, much higher than that of the Inner City. This is clearly shown in Fig. 8.8.[56] This map is especially interesting to us in two respects. First, it indicates that only a small number of inhabitants still cling to the eastern part of the original site of the Chung-tu city of Chin which has long been absorbed into the western section of the Outer City of today. Thus the sparsely populated area of this part of the Outer City may be described as the 'Chung-tu Pale' which shows a clear

[55] Sidney Gamble [10, Appendix III, p. 412].

[56] Ibid., p. 95.

Considering the population density of the city as a whole, Gamble has made the following remarks: 'As to the area of Peking is 194 square *li* or 24.75 square miles, the average density of population for the entire city is 4289 persons per square *li*, or 33,626 persons per square mile. This is from two to four times as dense as the population in American cities of about the same size. In those cities it varies from 8260 per square mile in Cincinnati, Ohio, to 15600 per square mile in Boston, Mass. And it must be remembered that Peking is a city of one-story houses' (p. 94). The population density of Liverpool in 1911 was 24,192 per square mile.

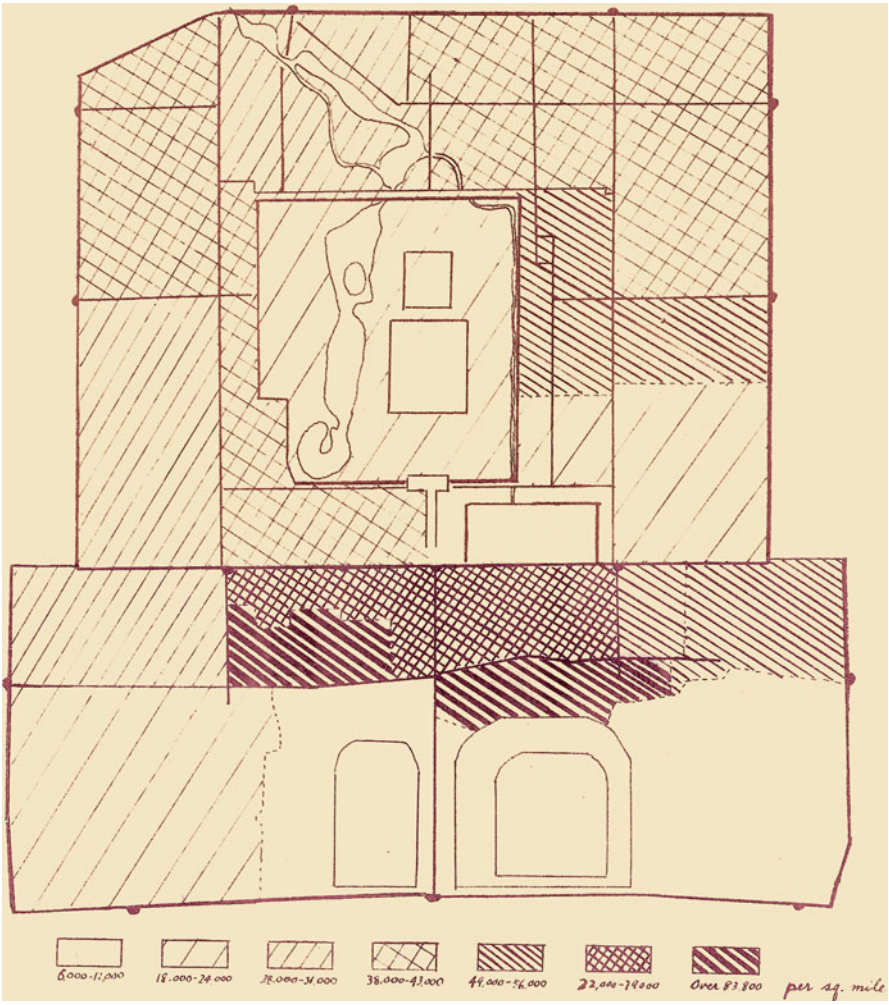

Fig. 8.8 Population density of Peiping based on the census report in 1917

contrast in population density to the area east of the Altar of Heaven which is almost empty. Without the knowledge of the past geography of this area, one can hardly understand this phenomenon of today. Second, the districts of greatest population density in the map all appear in the northern part of the Outer City. This is exactly the place which was originally outside the northeast corner of the Chung-tu city and due south of the great city of Khanbaliq. (The northern portion of these districts of high density as mentioned before has been included inside the Inner City of today since 1420.) From the very beginning, it was a place of unplanned settlement which easily gave rise to a crowded condition, and this crowded condition in turn would be always liable to create an impression that this part of the city contained more people than the Inner City. It is because of this that I doubt very much the statement given

in one of the proposals for the establishment of an outer rampart of this part of the city in 1542, that 'the number of people who live outside the city is almost double those who live inside the city'.[57] Probably it was the population density instead of the total number of the populace which accounts for this statement.

Moreover, the present high density of the population in this part of the city is partly due to the rapid development of this area as a great commercial centre during the later years of the Ch'ing dynasty especially after the construction of the Peking-Tientsin and Peking-Hankow Railways in 1896 and 1904 respectively.[58] Both railways start in the Outer City just outside the central gate of the Inner City, one on the eastern side, the other on the western side as indicated in the following map. Consequently, this part of the Outer City became the centre of modern communication which in turn gave a great impetus to its commercial development. A map (Fig. 8.9) showing the distribution of markets in the early years of the Republic which is no doubt the outcome of the continuous development of the previous periods gives a clear picture of the great importance of this area in the commercial life of the whole city.[59] A comparison of this map with that of the Yüan dynasty (Fig. 7.4) will show that the geographical distribution of the markets in the Inner City of this map differs very little from that of Khanbaliq. The three centres of concentration of markets in Khanbaliq remain almost, if not exactly, the same as we can see here. But this does not mean that the markets themselves remain unchanged. In fact, as time went on, and with further development of commercial life in the city, some of the original markets began to give way to permanent shops, and some new shopping centres began to develop also. These new shopping centres are located especially at places where two or more main streets meet (i.e. cross-roads or 'T' shape roads) or along a single street immediately adjacent to a city gate. The present map shows also that the centre of gravity of the commercial life of the city has already shifted from the vicinity of the bell tower and drum tower as during the Yüan dynasty to the north central part of the Outer City of today. Here is the place where markets, shops and handicraft manufactories all mingle together in a most amazing manner. Richard also mentioned at the end of the Ch'ing dynasty that the Outer City 'is the great centre of industry and commerce'.[60]

Finally, it should be pointed out that outside each gate of the present city there is a suburban settlement, though the southern part of the Outer City still remains almost empty. Each of these suburbs has probably a history as old as its respective city gate.[61] That the middle of the eighteenth century witnessed a rapid growth of most of them is almost certain, because in the year 1756 an order was issued that all

[57] See footnote 42 on p. 111.

[58] This part of the city was of no commercial importance during the Ming dynasty. See Ch'ü Hsüan-ying, *Peking Chien-chih T'an Hui* (翟宣颖《北京建置谈荟》, Notes on the Construction of the City of Peking), Peking Li-shih Feng-t'u Ts'ung-shu (北京历史风土丛书), p. 8.

[59] This is based upon a map prepared by Gamble [10, p. 214].

[60] Op. cit., p. 71.

[61] Marco Polo alleged that 'there is a suburb outside each of the gates (of Khanbaliq)' (op. cit., p. 412). But among the gates mentioned by Marco Polo, only four survive to the present day, namely the Yung-chih and Ch'ao-yang gates on the eastern side and the Hsi-chih and Fu-ch'eng (阜城) gates on the western side of the Inner City of today.

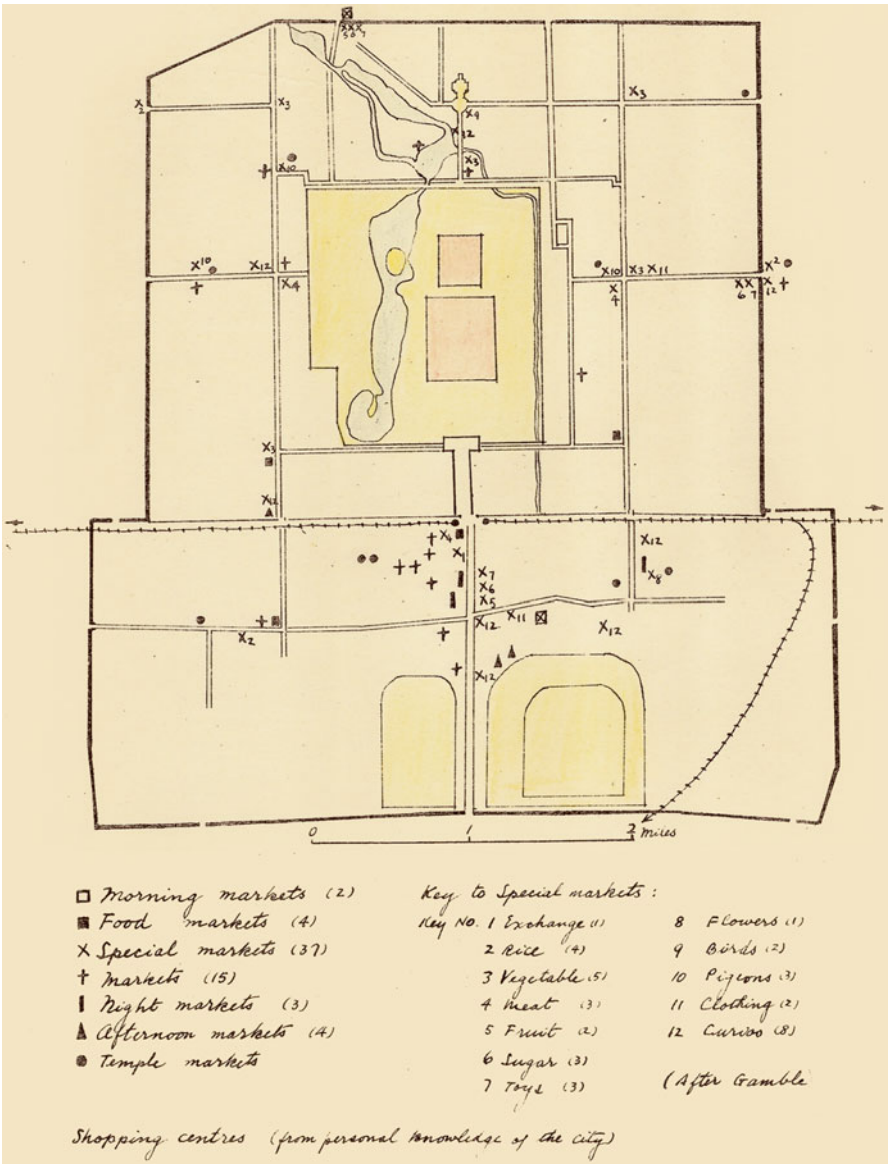

Fig. 8.9 Shopping centres in the early years of the Republic

sorts of hotels or inns in the city, the total number of which then amounted to 59, must move into the suburbs, and henceforward no more would be allowed to be established inside the city walls.[62] It is not clear whether this referred to the whole city or to the Inner City alone which was then occupied by the ruling caste of the

[62] Chin Wu Shih Li (《金吾事例》), 11th month of the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756).

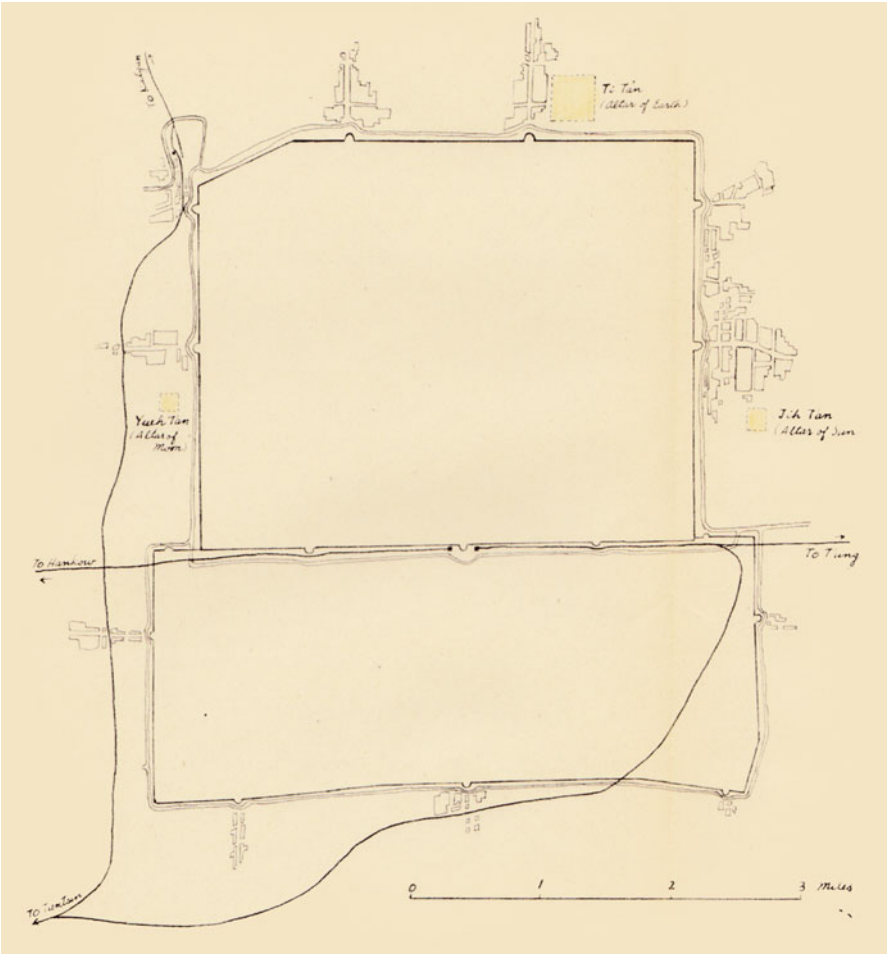

Fig. 8.10 The gates and suburbs of Peiping

Manchus, and its motive was definitely a political one. But its influence on the development of some of the suburbs is evident.

Now, among the present suburbs, the two outside the Tung-chih (东直) and Ch'ao-yang (朝阳) gates and a third one outside the Hsi-chih (西直) gate are especially worthy of notice (Fig. 8.10). The first two join together in a linear form parallel to the city wall. The reason for this peculiar development in its physical pattern is due to the fact that during the Ch'ing dynasty, the city moat along this section of the city wall was used as a transportation canal for rice-tribute and most of the load was transferred into the city by carts from here through the two gates nearby. Hence those people who were employed in the last part of the transportation naturally began to reside along the eastern bank of the city moat in a linear form parallel to

the canal as well as to the city wall.[63] The third suburb outside the Hsi-chih gate shows a tendency of development towards the north which is not consistent with the usual form of most of the other suburbs whose buildings are closely lined up along the main roads leading out of their respective gates. This distorted pattern simply is the result of the construction of the Peking-Kalgan Railway station just outside the northwest corner of the city a few years before the founding of the Republic.

8.4 Water Supply in Relation to the Transportation of Rice-Tribute

To conclude the present study, I propose to discuss one more aspect of the geography of Peking during the Ming-Ch'ing period, it is the problem of water supply in relation to the transportation of rice-tribute. With the continuous development of Peking as the capital of Ming and Ch'ing, the demand for rice-tribute in the city grew greater than ever before.[64] Then, as in the Yüan dynasty, the lower Yangtze Valley surpassed every other single region of the country in agricultural productivity. Hence the governments of Ming and Ch'ing had to maintain the gigantic system of the transportation of rice-tribute from the south. Both governments had made every possible effort to improve the great inland waterway, known as the Grand Canal, chiefly by opening new channels in order to avoid certain sections of the Yellow River in northern Kiangsu and Honan provinces which had been used as a vital link in the whole system during the Yüan dynasty. The present course of the Grand Canal passing through the western part of Shan-tung and northern part of Kiangsu provinces had not been fully completed until as late as the early Ming dynasty (Fig. 8.11).[65] As to the last section of this gigantic inland waterway in the immediate environs of Peking, or the T'ung Hui Canal, the change was also great. Firstly, during the early Ming dynasty when the seat of government was still at Nanking, the T'ung Hui Canal between T'ung Chow and the city was very much neglected. Secondly, when the city was rebuilt after the Prince of Yen came to the throne, one section of the T'ung Hui Canal was included inside the new eastern wall of the Imperial City, while another section of it was included inside the new southern wall of the great city. Subsequently no ship from the Grand Canal could go as far as Chi Shui T'an in the city as it once did during the Yüan dynasty. Thirdly, the upper course of the T'ung Hui Canal which ran from the Shen Shan Spring near Pai

[63] This eastern suburb is especially pointed out by Professor Griffith Taylor in his study on Peiping (see *Urban Geography*, p. 28).

[64] The total amount of rice-tribute from the whole country in each year ranged from 3,000,000 to 3500,000 piculs during the Yüan dynasty. Most of these came from the lower Yangtze Valley. In the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, the quantity of 4,000,000 piculs has been fixed as an ordinary yearly tribute since 1472 (according to modern measurement, 1 picul = 100 catty; 1 catty = 1.33 lb). See Ch'ien Mu, op. cit., pp. 499–501.

[65] See J. C. Hou [11].

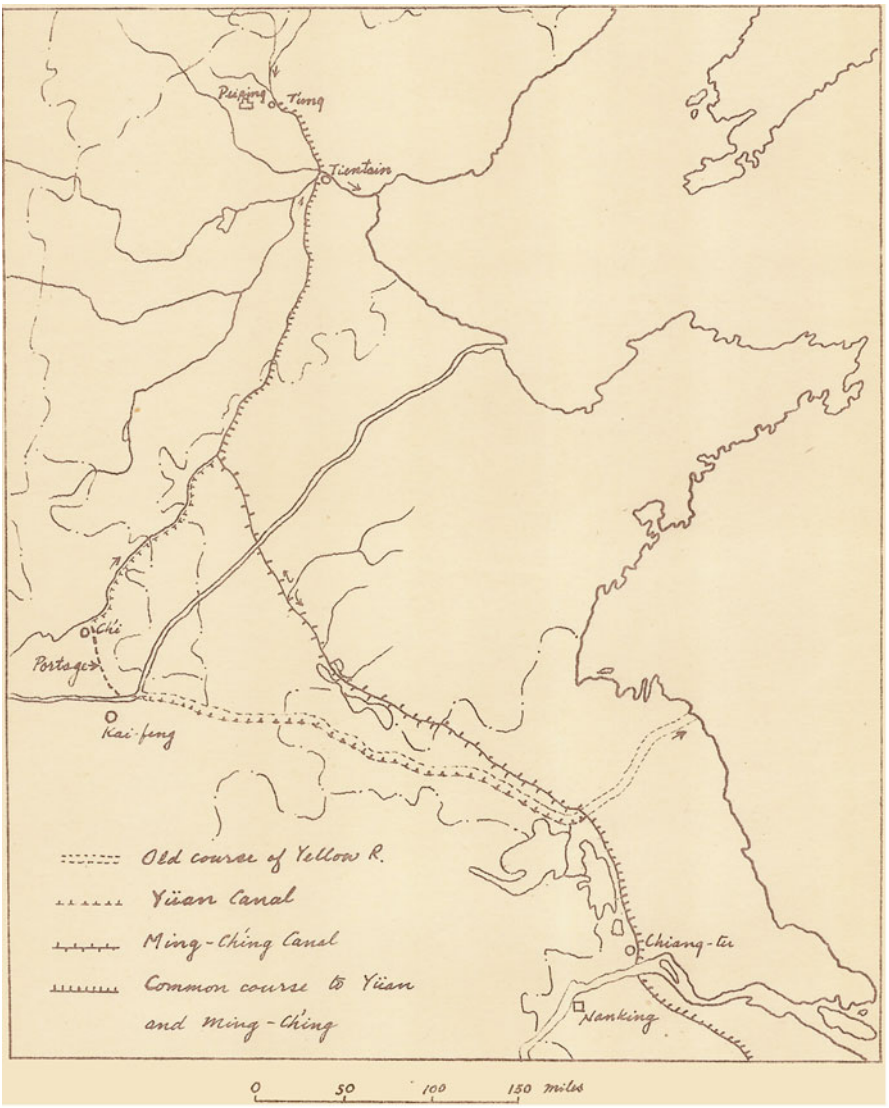

Fig. 8.11 The Grand Canal and the Yellow River

Fu village to the lake at Wong Shan was in a very poor condition. The long dike which was first constructed during the early Yüan dynasty in order to divert water from the Shen Shan Spring to the Wong Shan Lake was out of repair.[66] And eventually not only the water from the north was no longer available, but a part of the water

[66] *Ming Ch'eng-tsu Shih-Lu* (《明成祖实录》), 5th month of the 5th year of Yung-lo (1407), as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 84/28b.

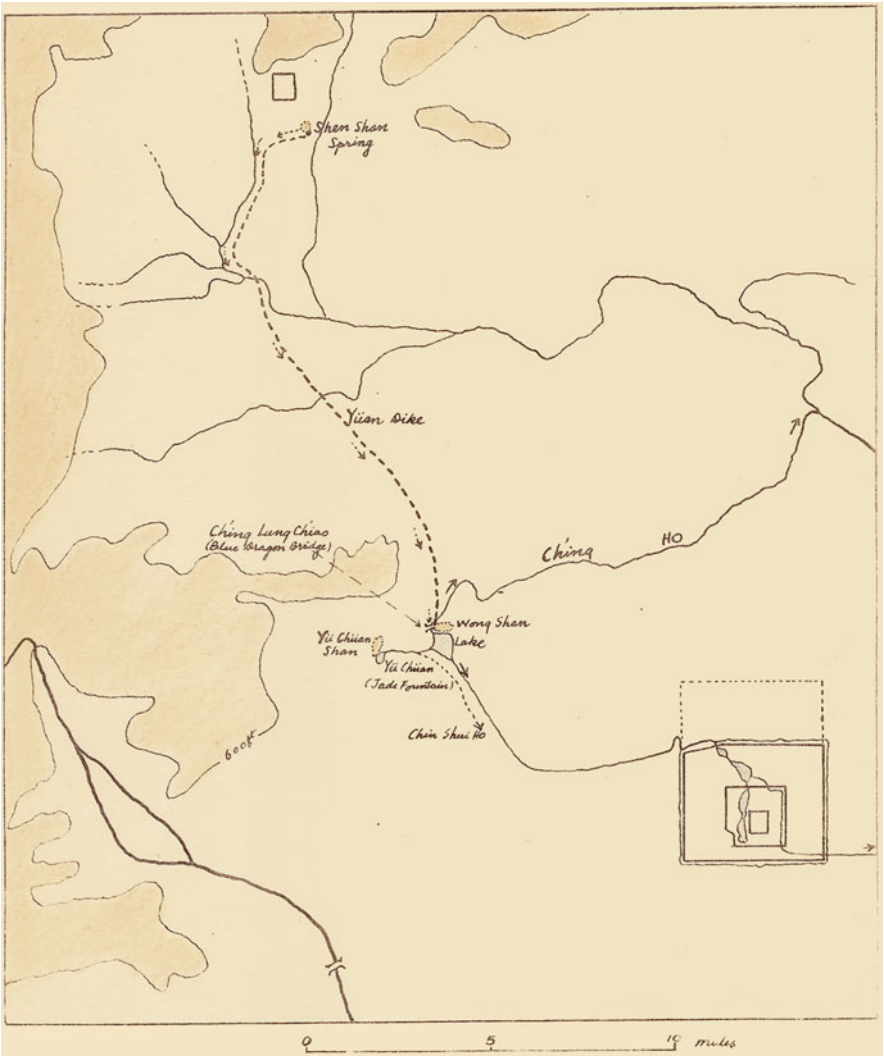

Fig. 8.12 Shen Shan Spring and the upper course of the T'ung Hui Canal

from the Wong Shan Lake was also lost by flowing in a reverse direction from the sluice at Ch'ing Lung Ch'iao (青龙桥 or the Blue Dragon Bridge which survives to the present day) behind Wong Shan, and joined the river Shuang-ta in the northeast. This new stream so created was then called Ch'ing Ho (清河).[67] It was the most important change in the upper course of the T'ung Hui Canal which can be better observed from Fig. 8.12. Therefore, when Peking again became the capital of the

[67] *Ming Hsien-tsung Shih-Lu* (《明宪宗实录》), 10th month of the 7th year of Cheng-hua (1471), as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 89/4a-7b.

Ming dynasty and the transportation of the rice-tribute from the lower Yangtze was revived, the T'ung Hui Canal was no longer in good condition. All rice then had to be transported from Chang Chia Wan (张家湾) on the river Pei to Peking by carts, and the cost was very great. This led to the reconstruction of the T'ung Hui Canal in 1479.[68] But the source of its water supply was very limited. Since no more water from the Shen Shan Spring was available, the Jade Fountain was then used to feed the Wong Shan Lake half a mile to the east. It was probably owing to this change that the independent course of the Chin Shui Ho or the River of the Golden Water, which linked up the Fountain and the lake in the Imperial City, was lost.[69] At the same time, the Ch'ing Ho which flowed northeastward from the Wong Shan Lake was stopped by closing the sluice at Ch'ing Lung Ch'iao (Blue Dragon Bridge), in order to preserve all water in the lake to feed the canal.[70] But the canal lasted only for 2 years, and it was again abandoned in 1481 because of its inefficiency.[71] No attempt to re-open it was successful until as late as 1528.[72] Then its southern section from Chang Chia Wan to T'ung Chow was abandoned, and a much shorter course, probably following the original bed of the Chin canal, north of the city of T'ung Chow, was dug out instead.[73] The re-opened canal retains its old name as the T'ung Hui Canal, but the boats could no longer go into Peking. All loads were discharged at a bridge called Ta T'ung Ch'iao (大通桥, or Great Through Bridge) which spanned the canal just before it joined the city moat outside the southeast corner of Peking. From here carts were employed to transport the rice into the city.

When the city was taken by the Manchus in 1644 and was made the capital of the Ch'ing dynasty, the whole system of the transportation of rice-tribute was maintained as usual. The T'ung Hui Canal then underwent no further alteration. The only difference was that the boats from the south came only as far as T'ung Chow. From there the load was transferred into smaller boats which sailed between T'ung Chow and Peking. At the same time the new name Ta T'ung Canal (大通河, or Fu T'ung Canal 阜通河) first came into existence (Fig. 8.13).[74]

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[68] The reconstruction of the canal was first prepared by Yang Mau (杨茂) in 1470, followed by Yang Ting (杨鼎) and Chao I (赵翼) in 1471, and the work was completed in 1479. For details, see *Ming Hsien-tsung Shih-Lu* (《明宪宗实录》), as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 89/4a-7b.

[69] Now, there is only a small channel running southeastward from the Jade Fountain which still bears the name Chin Ho, or Golden River.

[70] *Ming Hsien-tsung Shih-lu*, op. cit.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Attempts were made to re-open it in 1507, 1512 and 1513, but none of these was successful. See Wu Chung, *T'ung Hui Ho Chih* (吴仲《通惠河志》, A History of the T'ung Hui Canal), Hsüan-lan T'ang Ts'ung-shu edition, 1/7a.

[73] *Ming Shih-tsung Shih-lu* (《明世宗实录》), as quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 89/10a-11a.

[74] Later on it was also known as Nei Ho (内河, Inner Canal) in contrast to the section of the Grand Canal between Tientsin and T'ung Chow which was then called Wai Ho (外河, Outer Canal), or alternatively it was known as Li Ts'ao Ho (里漕河, Inner Rice-transportation Canal). See (1) *Chih-fu T'ung-chih*, *Yü Ti* (《畿辅通志·舆地》, Topography of the Metropolitan Area, Section on Geography), Shan Ch'uan (山川, Mountains and Rivers), 2; (2) Yü Min-chung, op. cit., 88/4b-5a; (3) *Ta Ch'ing I T'ung Chih*, op. cit., 5/1a.

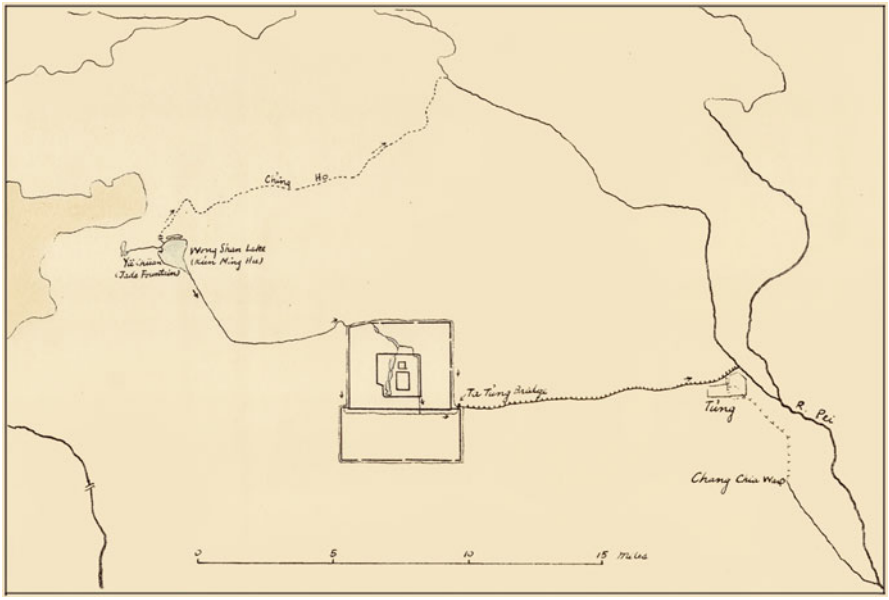

Fig. 8.13 The course of the Da T'ung Canal

The Ta T'ung Canal was extensively repaired in 1696. In the following year (1697) the city moat outside the eastern wall of Peking was greatly improved so that the boats could come up and deliver their loads at the two eastern gates.[75] However, the source of water supply of the Ta T'ung Canal remained the same as in the Ming dynasty. It entirely depended upon the Jade Fountain, whose water was completely diverted into the Wong Shan Lake, which, in turn, not only fed the upper course of the canal but also the city moat as well as the lakes both outside and inside the Imperial City. Apart from these, the newly built Summer Palace (Yüan Ming Yüan) and its adjacent parks, which were dotted with artificial lakes fed by artificial streams, also claimed a great amount of water from the Wong Shan Lake. The demand was ever increasing but the supply was limited. Hence a new project was carried out in 1751 to save all the water from two permanent springs in the Western Hills to feed the Wong Shan Lake. One of the springs is in the courtyard of Pi Yün Sze (碧云寺, Blue Cloud Temple), and the other in the valley west of Wo Fo Ssu (卧佛寺, Sleeping Buddha Temple). Water from both springs was collected into a small reservoir at the foot of the Western Hills by separate aqueducts made of stone. Then a single line of the same kind of aqueduct was used to conduct the water from the reservoir due eastward into a lake at the foot of the Jade Fountain Hill from where it joined the water from the Jade Fountain and flowed into the Wong Shan

[75] *Ta Ch'ing I T'ung Chih*, op. cit., 5/1a-b. Similar projects were proposed in late Ming dynasty (1621 and 1639). Whether they were successful or not was not recorded. See Sun Ch'eng-tse, op. cit., 3/6a-b.

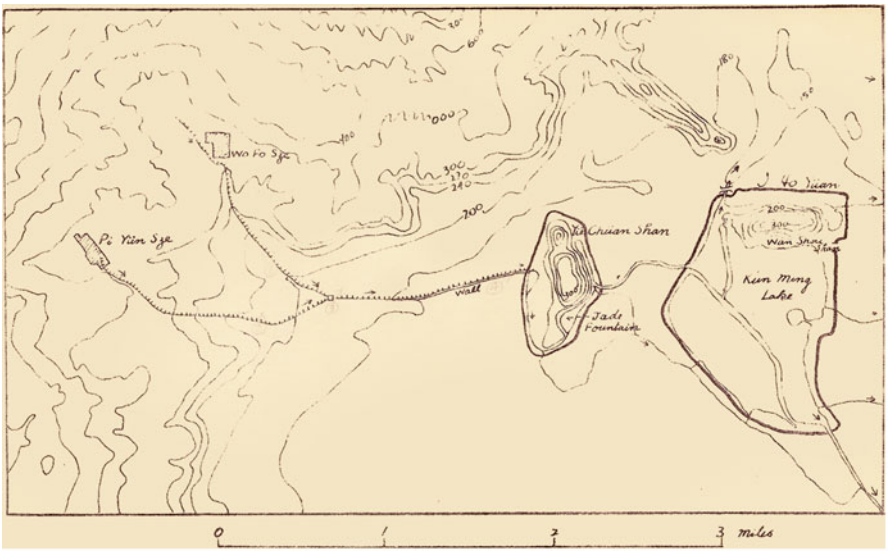

Fig. 8.14 The Jade Fountain and the two aqueducts to conduct the water from the springs in the Western Hills

Lake. Since the slope from the small reservoir to the lake of the Jade Fountain is rather steep, the aqueduct was built first along an earth bank then on the top of a brick wall. The total length of the bank and the wall amounted nearly to one mile (Fig. 8.14).[76] At the same time the Wong Shan Lake was greatly enlarged in order to serve the purpose of a great reservoir and was renamed as Kun-ming Lake.[77] This was the last effort to solve the problem of water supply for the transportation of rice-tribute. But it was far from matching its predecessors, either the gigantic scheme of the Chin Kou Canal of the Chin dynasty or the remarkable effort of diverting water from the Shen Shan Spring to the Wong Shan Lake of the Yüan dynasty. Now, even these aqueducts lie in ruins in the northwest environs of the city, and few people today realize the important role they once played in the history of Peiping.

It is now clear that ever since the city began to emerge as a permanent political centre in the north, it has been constantly confronted with the problem of how to get economic support from the south. During the Chin dynasty when it was the political centre of the northern half of China proper, grain-tribute was collected from the great North China Plain. In the following dynasties of Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing when the city definitely emerged as the national capital of the whole empire, the lower Yangtze Valley became the chief source of national revenue upon which the maintenance of the central government was relied. In this connection, Peking, as a great capital of the Chinese Empire in its prime, is definitely inferior in geographical position as compared with the great capital Ch'ang-an in the early Han dynasty

[76] *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, 101/2a-3a.

[77] Ibid., 84/1a-b. See also p. 158.

(206 B.C.–A.D. 8). Because Ch'ang-an then was not only the seat of government of the Han dynasty, it was also situated right in the centre of the most productive agricultural area of the Han empire.[78] That is to say, Ch'ang-an was not only the political but also the economic centre of the time. In the case of Peking, the story is very different. The neighbouring area of the city has never achieved the great importance in relative agricultural productivity comparable to that of Ch'ang-an in the Han dynasty. Though proposals have been made from time to time during the Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing dynasties to develop it into an intensively cultivated economic area by means of irrigation, it has never been realized.[79] Hence it had to rely upon the rice-tribute chiefly collected from the lower Yangtze Valley which emerged definitely as the most productive agricultural area in China since as early as the T'ang dynasty.[80] The Grand Canal, as we know it now, which was first initiated by Chin, then greatly developed by Yüan and finally completed by Ming and Ch'ing, is simply a device to bring the economic centre in the south into close contact with the political centre in the north. It represents a gigantic human effort to make up, so to speak, the economic deficiency of Peking as a great capital. But no matter how persistent and stupendous the effort is, it has never been very successful.[81] This virtually brings us to the later years of the Ch'ing dynasty when the western impact was forced upon China. Then centuries of comparative isolation of the Chinese Empire were broken down, and the fundamental structure of Chinese society began to change. At the same time came the steamer and the railway which immediately altered the geography of communication and transportation in this ancient land and eventually brought the system of the rice-tribute to an end in 1900.[82] Eleven years later the Manchu government of the Ch'ing dynasty was overthrown and the Republic of China first came into existence. A new epoch in Chinese history as well as in the history of Peking was ushered in, and it is with the opening of this new epoch I end the present study.

[78] This was definitely recorded by the great contemporary historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien as follows: 'Kuanchung (i.e. the Wei Ho Valley) occupies one third of the territory under heaven (meaning China) with a population three tenths of the total; but its wealth constitutes six tenths (of all the wealth under heaven)'. (*Huo Chih Lieh Chuan*《货殖列传》or Biographies of Merchants and Industrialists, in Shih Chi, or Historical Records, Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition, 129/6b. Its great wealth was then partly built upon the great agricultural productivity of the local area which was achieved by the construction of gigantic irrigational works. For detailed discussion, see Chi Ch'ao-ting, op. cit., pp. 75–80, 87–89.)

[79] Chi Ch'ao-ting, op. cit., pp. 143–146, section on 'Attempt to develop the Hai Ho Valley into a Key Economic Area'.

[80] Ibid., pp. 133–139.

[81] Ibid., pp. 144–145.

[82] Ocean steamers were first introduced in permanent use to transport rice-tribute in 1872. Twenty-eight years later the system of collecting rice-tribute was completely abandoned. See Cheng Chao-ching, op. cit., pp. 142–146.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Historical Chart of Peiping[a]

Dynasty or period	City	Political status
Shang dynasty (ca. 1766–1122 B.C.)		
Chou dynasty (ca. 1122–221 B.C.)	Chi	Capital of the feudal state of Yen
Ch'in dynasty (221–206 B.C.)	Chi	Chief city of Kuang-yang Chün[b]
The period between Ch'in and Han (206–203 B.C.)	Chi	Capital of Yen Kuo (i.e. principality)
Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 8)	Chi	Capital of Yen Kuo (202–126 B.C.)
		Chief city of Yen Chün (127–116 B.C.)
		Capital of Yen Kuo (117–80 B.C.)
		Chief city of Kuang-yang Chün (80–72 B.C.)
		Capital of Kuang-yang Kuo (72 B.C.–A.D. 8)
Hsin Regime (9–24)	Chi	Capital of Kuang-yang Kuo
Later Han dynasty (25–220)	Chi	Capital of Kuang-yang Kuo (25–37)
		A district city in Shang-ku Chün (37–95)
		Chief city of Kuang-yang Chün (96–220)
The Period of Three Kingdoms (220–280)	Chi	Chief city of Yen Chün (220–232) in the Kingdom of Wei (220–265)
		Capital of Yen Kuo (232–265) in the Kingdom of Wei (220–265)
Tsin dynasty (265–316)	Chi	Capital of Yen Kuo (265–314)[c]

(continued)

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Dynasty or period	City	Political status
Wu Hu Shih Liu Kuo (Sixteen States of the Five Nomadic Tribes, ca. 301–440)	Chi	Chief city of Yen Chün, Later Chao State (319–330)
		Capital of Former Yen state (321–370) from 352 to 357
		Chief city of Yen Chün, Former Chin State (351–394)
		Chief city of Yen Chün, Later Yen state (384–409)
Nan Pei Ch'ao (Northern and Southern Dynasties, ca. 440–581)	Chi	Chief city of Yen Chün, Later Wei dynasty (386–534)
		Chief city of Yen Chün, Eastern Wei dynasty (535–549)[d]
		Chief city of Yen Chün, Northern Wei dynasty (550–577)
		Chief city of Yen Chün, Northern Chou dynasty (557–581)
Sui dynasty (581–618)	Chi	Chief city of Yen Chün (581–583)
		A District of Yu Chou (i.e. Yu Province) (583–607)
		Chief city of Cho Chün (607–618)
T'ang dynasty (618–906)	Chi or Yu Chou	Chi as the chief city of Yu Chou (618–741)
	Chi or Fan-yang	Chi as the chief city of Fan-yang (742–756)
	Yen-ching	Capital of the regime of Ta Yen[e] (An Lu-Shan, 756–756; Shih Ssu-ming, 759–761)
	Chi or Yu Chou	Chi as the chief city of Yu Chou (762–906)
Wu Tai Shih Kuo (Five Dynasties and Ten States, ca. 900–979)	Chi or Yu Chou	Chi as the chief city of Yu Chou from 907 to 910, Later Liang dynasty (907–923)
		Capital of the regime of Ta Yen (Liu Shou-kuang, 911–913), Later Liang dynasty (907–923)[f]
		Chi as the chief city of Yu Chou (Later T'ang dynasty, 924–936)
		Chi as the chief city of Yu Chou (936–938)
		Later Tsin dynasty (937–946)
Liao dynasty (Khitan, 916–1125)	Nan-ching (Yen-ching)	Secondary capital of Liao[g], also called Yen-ching since 1012
Sung dynasty (Northern Sung 960–1126; Southern Sung 1127–1278)	Yen-shan	Chief city of Yen-shan Fu (1123–1125)
Chin dynasty (Nüchen, 1115–1234)	Yen-ching	Secondary capital and the chief city of Hsi Chin Fu (1125–1150)
	Chung-tu	Capital (1150–1215)

(continued)

Dynasty or period	City	Political status
Yüan dynasty (Mongol, 1206–1260; 1260–1368)	Yen-ching	Chief city of Yen-ching Lu (i.e. province, 1215–1264)
	Chung-tu	Capital (1264–1267)
	Ta-tu (Khanbaliq)	National capital (New city, 1267–1368)
Ming dynasty (1368–1644)	Peiping	Chief city of Peiping Fu[h] (1368–1403) Secondary capital (1403–1420)
	Peking	Ch'ing-shih or national capital (1420–1644)
Ch'ing dynasty (Manchu, 1644–1911)	Peking	Ching-shih or national capital (1644–1911)
Chung Hwa Min Kuo (Republic of China, since 1912)	Peking Peiping	National capital (1912–1927) Special district (since 1927)

[a]The construction of this chart is chiefly based upon *Shun-t'ien Fu-chih*, *Ti-li Chih*, *Yen-ke K'ao* (《顺天府志·地理志·沿革考》, Topography of the Metropolitan Area, Section on Geography, Chronological Table, 1886 edition, 35/la-19a)

[b]For explanation of 'Chün', see p. 434. Kuang-yang Chün is not mentioned in the original table. It is added here according to Ch'uan Tsu-wang (全祖望). See *Han-shu Ti-li Chih Chi-i* (《汉书地理志稽疑》, Critical Notes on the Study of the Book on Geography in the Dynastic History of Han, Ts'ung-shu Chi-ch'eng edition, 1/6b-7a)

[c]In the year 314, the city Chi was taken by a nomadic chieftain, Shih Lo (石勒) who eventually established the Later Chao dynasty in China. See *Tsin-shu*, *Tsai-chi* (《晋书·载记》, as quoted in *Shunt'ien Fu-chih*, 35/22b)

[d]This is not indicated in the original table

[e]This is not indicated in the original table

[f]This is added according to *Wu-tai Shih* (《五代史》, History of the Five Dynasties, Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition, 135/2a)

[g]The name of the local district was changed from 'Chi' to 'Chi-pei' (薊北) in 938, and the historical name 'Chi' ceased to be used ever since. But it must be pointed out that another district city bearing the same name 'Chi' was established during the T'ang dynasty (in 730). This is the present Chi which is about 60 miles northeast of Peiping

[h]'Fu', or prefecture, is an intermediate administrative unit between province (then called Lu 路) and district (县)

Appendix II: Literary Authorities on the Study of the Ancient Sites

During the last 300 years, numerous articles and discussions have been contributed on the study of the ancient sites of Peiping by a number of scholars of several nationalities. Before I go into detail, it is absolutely necessary to give a summary of the discussions of my predecessors. Their efforts and works, although incomplete, help the present study in no mean degree. A list of the most important authors and their works with brief bibliographical notes and related information is presented here as a guide to the following account.

1. Sun Ch'eng-tse, *Ch'un-ming Meng-yü Lu* (孙承泽《春明梦余录》, Accounts made during the Intervals of Dream in the City of Spring-bright, i.e. the capital), 1650 (?).

   A valuable work, contains seventy volumes, giving many important accounts of old Peking. The author lived in the city during the first half of the seventeenth century but the first publication of the book remains uncertain.
2. Yü Min-chung, *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao* (于敏中《日下旧闻考》, Ancient Accounts Heard under the Sun—i.e. the capital—with Commentaries), 1774.

   The original work, Jih-hsia Chiu-wen (《日下旧闻》), was compiled by a famous scholar of the early Ch'ing dynasty, Chu I-tsun (朱彝尊), who lived in Peiping for a certain period in the later part of the seventeenth century. With the assistance of his students, he collected all the available Chinese literature regarding the description of Peiping and its imperial precincts up to his time and reclassified them according to topic arranged in a new order. This work was later on revised and enlarged by a group of scholars with Yü Min-chung as the chief editor by imperial order. Hence the word K'ao (考)—i.e. commentary—is added. The whole work contains 160 volumes. There are numerous quotations from ancient books which do not exist at the present time.
3. Wu Ch'ang-yüan, *Ch'en-yüan Shih Lueh* (吴长元《宸垣识略》, A Brief Description of the Capital), 1788.

   This is a much smaller book as compared with the last two. It is chiefly based upon *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao* added with the author's personal commentaries and maps. This work has been partly translated by Father Hyacinth Bitchurin into Russian and by Ferry de Pigny from Russian into French in 1829 (*Description de Pèkin avec un Plan de cette Capitale*). This translation has been for a long time the only description of Peiping known in Europe from which most compilers have derived their accounts.
4. Chao I (赵翼), (a) Liao Yen-ching (辽燕京, Yen-ching of the Liao dynasty), (b) Chin Kuang Yen-ching (金广燕京, Yen-ching as enlarged during the Chin dynasty), (c) Yüan Chu Yen-ching (元筑燕京, Yen-ching as built by the Yüans), (d) Ming Nan Pei Ching Ying-chien (明南北京营建, the building of the South and the North Capitals in the Ming dynasty), 1795.

   These are four of the topics contained in the author's *Nien-erh-shih Cha-chi* (《廿二史劄记》, Notes on the Study of the Twenty-two Dynastic Histories). His discussions do not go beyond the evidence to be found in the Dynastic Histories.
5. Emil Vasilievich Bretschneider, *Archaeological and Historical Researches on Peking*, 1875.

   The author was a distinguished Russian sinologist who lived in Peiping from 1866 to 1884. This article was originally published in the *Chinese Recorder* (vol. VI, 1875, Nos. 3, 5 and 6). It was reprinted as a booklet by the American Presbyterian Mission Press (Shanghai) in 1876. A French translation by V. Collin de Plancy was published in 1879 (*Recherché Archéologigues et Historiques sur Pékin et ses Environs)*. Besides the ancient sites of Peiping, there are detailed descriptions of the destroyed Yüan palaces and river systems of different periods. His study is based upon both Chinese records and field survey. The fieldwork was assisted by his personal friend O. F. von Möllendorff

who made valuable correction of the original work through his own survey of a later date. See O. F. von Möllendorff, 'Ancient Peking'. *Chinese Review* (vol. V. July 1876-June 1877, pp. 383–386).

6. Miu Ch'uan-sun, *Shun-t'ien Fu Chih* (缪荃孙《顺天府志》, Topography of the Metropolitan Area), 1884.

   This is also a very important work which is compiled under the chief editorship of the author. He was a well-known scholar and contributed a special section on the study of the ancient sites of Peiping (vol. I). See also the collected works of the author entitled *I-Feng T'ang Wen-Chi* (《艺风堂文集》), 1901.

7. Alphonse Favier, *Peking, histoire et description*, 1897.

   This is a big book but the contents are not quite consistent with the title. While the main part of the book is devoted to the description of Chinese history and customs, the local history of Peiping is only dealt with in the introduction. In 1928 a similar book was published in Peiping but with the author's name as Hubrecht and under the title of *Grandem et Suprematic de Peking*. It is chiefly a reprint with very little alteration.

8. Chen Chün, *T'ien-chih Ou-wen* (震钧《天咫偶闻》, Incidental Notes on the Place near to Heaven—i.e. the Capital), 1903.

   The author was a Manchu resident of Peiping. His knowledge of the city and the current events of his time is intimate and his description lively and concise. The book contains ten volumes. The last section of the 10th volume is devoted to the study of the ancient sites of the city.[1]

9. Noha Toshisada, 'Liao Chin Nan-ching Yen-ching Ku-ch'eng Chiang-yü K'ao' (那波利贞《辽金南京燕京故城疆城考》, A Study of the Extent of the Old Cities of Nan-ching and Yen-ching of the Liao and Chin Dynasties), 1928.

   This is an important article and the author is a well-known Japanese sinologist. It was first published in 1928 in Japanese as a memorial essay dedicated to Dr. Takase Shoken (高濑惺轩) on the occasion of the latter's sixtieth birthday. A Chinese translation by Liu Te-ming (刘德明) was then published in the *Chung Ho Monthly* (《中和月刊》, vol. 2, No. 12 and vol. 3, No. 1) in 1941 and 1942. The author consulted every writer mentioned above and included also the work of two other Japanese sinologists. The first one is Naito Torajiro (内藤虎次郎) who made a few remarks about the ruins of the ancient sites in his book entitled *Yen Sham Ch'u Shui* (《燕山楚水》, The Mountains of Yen and the Rivers of Ch'u, in Japanese) which was published in 1900. There is also a section devoted to the study of the ancient sites of the city in the *Pei-ching Chih* (《北京志》, Topography of Peking, in Japanese) compiled by the Headquarters of the Japanese Expeditionary Force in Imperial China in 1908. According to Noha Toshisada, this is believed to have been contributed by Hattori Unokichi (服部宇之吉). Besides referring to published work, the author has conducted extensive field survey of the ancient ruins of the city.

[1] See review by Feng K'uan in the Historical Geography Supplement, *Kuo Min Hsien Pao*, *Peiping* (北平《国民新报·禹贡周刊》), No. 2, March 28, 1946.

10. Feng K'uan, 'Yen-ching Ku Ch'eng K'ao' (奉宽《燕京故城考》, A Study of the Old Cities of Yen-ching), 1929.

    The author was also a Manchu resident in Peiping. This article, the most comprehensive of its kind, was published in the *Yen-ching Journal of Chinese Studies* (《燕京学报》, Yenching University, Peiping, 北平燕京大学, No. 5, 1929). Field observation has also been made.

11. G. Bouillard, 'Note succincte sur l'historique du territoire de Peiping et surles diverses enceintes de cette ville', 1929.

    This was published in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far East Antiquities* (Stockholm), No. 1. The first part of the article deals with the local history, while the second part is devoted exclusively to the study of the ancient sites which are illustrated with four coloured maps. The author served the Chinese government as a railway engineer in the early years of the Republic. He has also published a book entitled *Pékin et ses environs* (1922) and an atlas of the environs of Peiping based on an actual survey (*Carte des Environs de Péking,* 1:2500, 1922–1923).

12. Chu Hsieh, 'Iiao Chin Yen-ching Ch'eng-kuo Kung-yüan T'u K'ao' (朱偰《辽金燕京城郭宫苑图考》, Studies with Maps on the Cities and Palaces of Yen-ching of the Liao and Chin Dynasties), 1936.

    The author, an honorary adviser of the Palace Museum of Peiping, has published a series of monographs on the study of the royal palaces, parks, temples and tombs of Peiping from the Yüan dynasty down to the late Ch'ing dynasty. It is named the *Memorial Series of the Old Capital* (《故都纪念集》). This article deals with the cities and palaces of the Liao and Chin dynasties. It was published in the *Quarterly Journal of Liberal Arts of National Wu-han University* (《武汉大学文哲季刊》, vol. VI, No. 1, 1936).

13. Chou Chao-hsiang, 'Liao Chin Ching-ch'eng K'ao' (周肇祥《辽金京城考》, A Study on the Capitals of the Liao and Chin Dynasties), 1941.

    This article was published in the *Chung Ho Monthly* (《中和月刊》, vol. II, No. 12); it is based on Feng K'uan's Treatise except for a little new evidence.

14. Ch'ung Chang, 'Liao Chin T'u-ch'eng K'ao' (崇璋《辽金土城考》, A Study on the Earth Walls of the Liao and Chin Dynasties), 1941.

    This article was also published in the abovementioned monthly (vol. II, No. 12). The article is chiefly based upon the study of Chen Chün with personal observations added.

Of the abovementioned books and articles, the first four and the sixth are chiefly works of compilation. These authors made valuable contributions in their annotations and remarks, although their greatest credit lies rather in their laborious and exhaustive collection of the available records scattered throughout Chinese literature. But the present problem is one which cannot be satisfactorily tackled without the help of field study. In this respect Bretschneider's contribution is a

pioneer. He was the first person to make a preliminary survey. He identified the ruined wall in the neighbourhood of O Fang Ying (鹅房营) as the remains of the ancient city of the Chin dynasty. This is the most reliable evidence in regard to the original site of the Chin city. Yet it had never been mentioned in any previous records. There was a great opportunity for Bretschneider to reconstruct the complete plan of the Chin city if only he had made the full use of those Chinese records which were available up to his time. He failed, because his consultation of Chinese literature was far from exhaustive.

This opportunity was immediately taken up by the French priest Favier. He enjoyed the advantage of having the laborious compilation of the Chinese scholars on the one hand and the fruitful results of the field study of Bretschneider on the other. And the publication of the important work *Shun-t'ien Fu Chih* in 1884 came to his aid just at the right time. Unfortunately he did not go deep enough. And so the chance of a more fruitful study again slipped away. But no matter how inaccurate his result is, Favier is the first person who attempted to illustrate the various sites of Peiping at different periods in a series of maps. The result of his study has been generally accepted by later authors.[2]

While Favier greatly benefited by the results of the field study of Bretschneider, there was a Chinese who, completely ignorant of the achievement of contemporary Western scholars, trod in the darkness all alone. He is the Manchu writer Chen Chün. Among Chinese scholars he was not only a pioneer in field observation but also the first person who tried to show the result of his investigation in the form of a map. As mentioned in his own work, he was definitely filled with great joy by his findings in the field. But he was not scientific enough to make his study more profitable. As compared with Bretschneider's field survey, his personal observation

[2] Fourteen years after the publication of Favier's work in Peiping, a guide book entitled *Pekin et ses environs* compiled by C. Madrolle was issued in Paris [1]. It contains a detailed description of the local history of the city which is rather an unusual feature in an ordinary guide book. There is also a series of sketch maps to illustrate the various sites of the city at different periods. Though his main source is not mentioned, it can easily be identified with the work of Favier. The only difference so far as I can see lies in the presumed site of the west wall of the T'ang city. While Favier puts it east of the present monastery Fa Yüan Ssu (法源寺), Madrolle shifts it to the west. And this is a great mistake.

I have no intention to give a complete list of the later works which follow either Favier or Madrolle. Only a few selected examples are given below:

Maes, *Le Bulletin Catholique de Pekin*, 1904
S. Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 1917
S. D. Gamble, *Peking*, *A Social Survey*, 1921
J. Bredon, *Peking*, 1922
O. Siren, *The Walls and Gates of Peking*, 1924

Recently, Professor Griffith Taylor prepares a few sketch maps in his treaties 'Environment, Village and City' in order to show 'the evolution of the city of Peking' (see [2]. This treatise has been partly incorporated in his more recent works as follows: [3, pp. 206–209], and [4, pp. 26–29]). They are again based upon the maps which appear in the *Encyclopaedia Sinica*.

was far from systematic and complete. Consequently, the result was not as satisfactory as it might be.

Then came the most important period of the long-continued investigation. Three first-rate treatises were produced on our subject by three writers of three nationalities about the same time. The first one was by the Japanese sinologist Noha Toshisada and was published in 1928 in Tokyo. The following years saw the publications of both the Chinese scholar Feng K'uan and the French engineer Bouillard. As mentioned above, Feng K'uan's work was published in Peiping and Bouillard's in Stockholm. These marked the climax in the course of the whole study. But the most remarkable thing is that they worked separately. Not one of them realized that there were two others who were engaged on exactly the same pursuit. They derived most of their historical evidence from the same sources. They trod in the same field, inspected the same ruins and pondered on the same problems. Yet the results of their studies are not the same. The continuous effort reached its climax but the final agreement was not achieved yet.

During the last 10 years, three more articles have been added to the list. They made no further contributions in any essential aspect. Even their literary references are limited. The first article is by Chu Hsieh, but though he has published a series of monographs devoted to the study of the antiquities of Peiping, this article is definitely a failure. He is justifiably criticized for his ignorance of the most important treatises contributed by his predecessors.[3] The last two articles are by Chou Chao-hsiang and Ch'ung Chang, while the former added a few more historical data of secondary importance to those of Feng K'uan, the latter still adhered to the old theory of Chen Chün without realizing the tremendous advances in the subject during the last 40 years.

I have prepared here three tables containing the most important evidence and statements, whether right or wrong, given by each author mentioned in the above list. Each table deals with a single city of a certain period. The first one is the city of the T'ang dynasty. The other two belong to the dynasties of Liao and Chin. After the Chin city came the Yüan city Ta-tu, or Khanbaliq, which is fully dealt with in Chap. 7 of the present study.

Down the vertical side of each table, the authors are given in chronological order, while horizontally along the top, each piece of evidence (or statement) is listed. Numbers indicated in the tables in each column refer to the page number of the original work where that piece of evidence (or statement) is found. This will show clearly the accumulation of all the important evidence and statements in the course of the last 300 years at a glance. Each table is accompanied with a map which shows especially the results of the studies of Favier, Chen Chün, Noha Toshisada, Feng K'uan, Bouillard and Chu Hsieh. In so doing I hope that I have made the way clear for me to come to my own account.

[3] See review by Liu Tun-chen (刘敦桢) [5].

Table A.1 Yu Chou city of the T'ang dynasty (620–906)

Conclusions arrived by authors below		(1) The temple T'ien Ning Ssu (天宁寺), which is now outside the west wall of the South City, was inside the city of Yu Chou. Old names: Hung Yeh Ssu (洪业寺, 581–619), T'ien Wang Ssu (天王寺, 620–906)	(2) The monastery Fa Yüan Ssu (法源寺), which is now in the western part of the South City, was at the southeast corner of the city of Yu Chou when it was first built in 645 A.D. Old name: Min Chung Ssu (悯忠寺)
1	Sun Ch'eng-tse	3/1a (i.e. vol. 3 p. 1, 1st half)	3/1a, 66/2b
2	Yü Min-chung	37/17a-b	37/17a-b
3	Wu Ch'ang-yüan	1/16a (Yü, i.e. quotation from Yü)	1/16a (Yü)
4	Chao I		37/13a
5	Bretschneider	170 (Yü)	
6	Miu Ch'uan-sun	1/5a (Yü)	16/15a
7	Favier	17 (Yü)	17 (Yü), 19
8	Chen Chün		10/23a-b
9	Noha Toshisada	3/87 (Chinese translation)	3/87
10	Feng K'uan	886	887
11	Bouillard	52 (Yü)	52 (Yü)
12	Chu Hsieh	51 (Yü)	51 (Yü)
13	Chou Chao-hsiang		5
14	Ch'ung Chang	68	
Commentary by the present author			
(3) The temple Chih Ch'uan Ssu (智泉寺) of the T'ang dynasty was in front (i.e. south) of Min Chung Sze and 100 and odd paces outside the east gate of the inner enclosure of Yu Chou		(4) A tombstone of the T'ang dynasty which was unearthed in 1681 inside Hsi An Men (西安门), the west gate of the Imperial City of today, indicates that the place was 5 *li* to the northeast of Yu Chou	(5) An earth terrace west of the present monastery Pai Yün Kuan (白云观) is believed to be the only remain of the west wall of Yu Chou
1	66/lb		
2		37/18b	
3		1/16a (Yu)	
4			
5			
6	16/5a–b		
7		18	
8			
9	2/56 (Miu)	2/62	3/88–90
10	887 (Sun and Miu)	886–887	
11		51	
12			
13	5		
14			

(continued)

Table A.1 (continued)

		Cf. item (9). For detailed discussion see Appendix III. Bouillard made a serious mistake by confusing Hsi An Men with Hsi Hua Men (西华门)	Positive evidence might be derived from archaeological excavation
(6) The eastern wall of Yu Chou ran approximately along the Lan Man Hu-t'ung (烂漫胡同) of today		(7) A ditch that once existed at Lan Man Hu-t'ung is believed to be the city moat outside the east wall of Yu Chou	(8) A tombstone of T'ang dynasty, which was unearthed near the village T'ieh Ch'i-kan Miao (铁旗杆庙) southwest of Fu Ch'eng Men (阜成门), indicates that the place was the north environs of Yu Chou
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9	2/64		
10		888 (does not agree)	
11			
12			
13		6	6
14			
Cf. item (11), Table A.2		Original source: Chao Chi-shih, *Chi Yüan Chi So Chi* (赵吉士《寄园寄所寄》)	
(9) The tombstone of Wu Ch'in of the T'ang dynasty unearthed in the campus of China University (中国大学) in the western part of the North City of today indicates that the place was 5 *li* north of the city of Yu Chou			(10) The tombstone of Ch'ang Tsun (常俊) of the T'ang dynasty unearthed outside Hsi Chih Men (西直门) indicates that the place was the north environs of Yu Chou
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			

(continued)

Table A.1 (continued)

9				
10				
11				
12				
13	6		7	
14	69			

Cf. item (4). For detailed discussion see Appendix III

Table A.2 Nan-ching city of the Liao dynasty (916–1125)

Conclusions arrived by authors below		(1) The city of Nan-ching of the Liao dynasty was exactly the same as the Yu Chou city of the T'ang dynasty. See Table A.1 (agreed, +, disagreed, −)	(2) The tombstone of Li Nei-chen (李内贞) of the Liao dynasty, unearthed at Liu Li Ch'ang (琉璃厂) of today in 1770, indicates that the place was a village called Hai Wang Ts'un (海王村) outside the east gate of the Liao city	(3) The monument of a Buddhist priest of Liao found near Hei Yao Ch'ang (黑窑厂) west of the Altar of Agriculture indicates that the place was situated in the east environs of the Liao city
1	Sun Ch'eng-tse	+		
2	Yü Min-chung	+	37/17b	37/17b
3	Wu Ch'ang-yüan	+	1/17b (Yü)	1/17b (Yü)
4	Chao I	+		
5	Bretschneider		170 (Yü)	170 (Yü)
6	Miu Ch'uan-sun	+	1/4a	1/4a
7	Favier	−	19 (Yü)	19 (Yü)
8	Chen Chün	+		
9	Noha Toshisada	−	2/62	2/62
10	Feng K'uan	+	886	888
11	Bouillard	−	52 (Yü)	52 (Yü)
12	Chu Hsieh	+	52	51
13	Chou Chao-hsiang	+	6	5–6
14	Ch'ung Chang		69	69
		See discussion in Appendix III	Very important evidence. See discussion in Appendix III	

(4) The east gate of the Liao city was situated somewhere between Min Chung Ssu (now Fa Yüan Ssu) and Hei Yao Ch'ang	(5) The name of the street Lao Ch'iang Ken (老墙根, old Wall Foundation) of today was the original site of the north wall of the Liao city	(6) The northeast corner of the Liao city was situated near the present Liu Pu Kow (六部口) of Hsi Ch'ang An Street (西长安街)	(7) The ancient site of the temple Kai Tai Ssu inside the Liao city is believed to be not very far from Hsi Pien Men (西便门) of the South City of today

(continued)

Table A.2 (continued)

1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6	1/4a			
7				
8		10/24b		
9		3/84	3/85	886
10				
11				
12	53			
13				
14	69			5
		Wrong. For detailed discussion, see Feng K'uan, op. cit., p. 887	No precise evidence is given	
(8) The northeast corner of the Liao city was situated to the northeast of Hsüan Wu Men (宣武门) of today		(9) The place occupied by the parallel lanes of Chiao Ch'ang Hu-t'ung (校场胡同) today, which is situated to the southwest of Hsüan Wu Men (宣武门), was outside the east wall of the Liao city	(10) The east wall of the Liao city ran along the Lan Man Hu-t'ung of today	
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10	885	886	887	
11				
12				
13				
14				
Secondary evidence derived from primary evidence		See discussions in Appendix III		

(continued)

Table A.2 (continued)

	(11) A village north of O Fang Ying (鹅房营) beside the ruined wall, which is called Hsieh Tsu Men (蝎子门), is identified with Hsien Hsi Men (显西门), the south gate on the west side of the Liao city	(12) The Yen-chiao Tower (燕角楼) at the northeast corner of the Liao city was situated at the place which is occupied by the Nan and Pei Yen Chiao (南、北燕角) streets of today	(13) Plenty of Liao bricks and tiles have been found at the ruined wall near the village Hsieh Tsu Men	(14) A stone tablet of Liao in the temple Kuan Yin Ssu (观音寺) southwest of Kuang An Men (广安门) of today indicates that the temple was inside the Liao city
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10	888			
11				
12				
13		5	10	
14	72			68
	This is wrong. The west wall of the Liao city was never as far to the west as that. See Appendix III	Yen-chiao Tower was built on the northeast corner of the inner enclosure, not that of the outer rampart, of the Liao city. See p. 85	It might have been the site of other establishments	

Table A.3 Chung-tu city of the Chin dynasty (1115–1234)

Conclusions arrived at by authors below	(1) The present temple Kuang An Sze (广安寺) southwest of Pai Yün Kuan (白云观) was called Feng Fu Sze (奉福寺) in Liao and Chin. The monument which was erected there in the later years of the Chin dynasty indicates that it was inside the Chin city	(2) The present temple T'u Ti Miao (土地庙) southwest of Hsüan Wu Men was mentioned by Chin records that it was inside the Chin city, west of the road of T'ung Hsüan Men (通玄门), the central gate on the north side of the city

(continued)

Table A.3 (continued)

1	Sun Ch'eng-tse		
2	Yü Min-chung	37/17a	37/17b
3	Wü Ch'ang-yüan	1/17a-b (Yü)	1/17b (Yü)
4	Chao I		
5	Bretschneider	170 (Yü)	170 (Yü)
6	Miu Ch'uan-sun	1/5a (Yü)	1/5a (Yü)
7	Favier	17 (Yü)	18 (Yü)
8	Chen Chün		10/19a
9	Noha Toshisada	3/87 (Yü)	3/87
10	Feng K'uan		896
11	Bouillard		53 (Yü)
12	Chu Hsieh	51 (Yü)	51
13	Chou Chao-hsiang	9	
14	Ch'ung Chang		
Commentary by the present author			
(3) The present town of Hai Tien (海淀) was mentioned by Wang Yün (王恽), an author of the Yüan dynasty, that it was 20 *li* north of Chung-tu city (quotation from *Chung-t'ang Shih Chi* 《中堂事纪》)		(4) The tombs of two princes of Yen were formerly situated in the east environs of the Liao city. When Chung-tu was built, the tombs were inclosed inside the east wall of the new city. They were later on moved out again by the order of emperor Shih-tsung (世宗)	(5) The tomb of Liu P'eng (刘怦) of the T'ang dynasty was noticed by the Chin emperor Shih-tsung in the South Garden of the Chin city and ordered it to be removed
1			
2	37/17b-18a		
3	1/18a (Yü)		
4		27/13b-14a	27/14a
5	171 (Yü)		
6	1/5a	1/5a-b	1/5a-b
7			
8			
9	3/86-87		
10	893		
11			
12	52		
13			
14			
		Original source: *Chin Shih*, *Ts'ai Kuei Chuan* (《金史·蔡珪传》, Dynastic History of Chin, Biography of Ts'ai Kuei). For detailed discussion, see Appendix III	The tomb that was enclosed in the garden is believed to be the result of the extension of the south wall of the Liao city. Original source: *Liu K'uei Chuan* (《刘頲传》, Biography of Liu K'uei). See Appendix III

(continued)

Table A.3 (continued)

(6) The ruined walls near the village O Fang Ying (鹅房营) in the southwest environs of the present city are the remains of the southwest corner of the Chin city		(7) Two broken parts of a ruined wall north of Pai Yün Kuan are also the remains of the Chin city	(8) The ruined wall north of the village Ma Chia P'u (马家堡) is also the remain of the Chin city	(9) The village Hui Ch'eng Ts'un (会城村) northwest of Pai Yün Kuan occupies the original site of Hui Ch'eng Men (会城门) of the Chin city
1				
2				
3				
4				
5	171–172	172		
6				
7	19	19		
8				
9	3/81			3/93–94
10	888	885		885
11	52	52 (Liao city)		
12				
13				
14				
For detailed discussion, see Appendix III. The village Fang Hwang Tsui (凤凰咀) is mentioned instead of O Fang Ying by Noha Toshisada and Feng K'uan		See Appendix III	See Appendix III	See Appendix III
(10) According to *Yüan l-t'ung Chih* (《元一统志》), Shih Jen Men (施仁门), the north gate on the east side of the Chin city was near to the southeast of the Taoist monastery Ch'ung En Kuan (崇恩观) at Hua Erh Shih (花儿市) Ssu t'iao Hu-t'ung (四条胡同) of today. This helps to locate the east wall of the Chin city		(11) a. The ruined wall once existing outside Liang Chia Yüan (梁家园) of today was the remain of the Chin city		b. The names of the present streets which are more or less on a straight line from north to south passing by Liang Chia Yüan hear such words as 'bridge' (e.g. 板桥、华石桥、虎坊桥), 'bank' (e.g. 潘家河沿), and 'ditch' (e.g. 黑阴沟) indicate the existence of the city moat of the Chin city in the old days
1				
2				
3				
4				

(continued)

Table A.3 (continued)

5			
6			
7			
8			
9	2/64–65	892	
10	896		
11			
12			
13		9	
14			
No exact distance is given, hence no great value		For detailed discussion, see Appendix III	
(12) According to the record of the early Yüan dynasty, the cemetery of the Cheng family (程氏茔) was about 3 *li* outside the central gate on the east side of the Chin city. When the city of Khanbaliq was under construction, the cemetery was just on the line along which the imperial road leading out from the central gate on the south side of the new city was going to be built. The cemetery was ordered to be moved away and the road built. The original site of this road was located a little west of the present Cheng Yang Men Street (正阳门大街) and was parallel to it. Therefore the east wall of the Chin city should be sought west of the present Cheng Yang Men Street			
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10	892		
11			
12			
13	9		
14			
(13) The village Hal Wang Ts'un (海王村) which was situated in the east environs of the Liao city still remained outside the east wall of the Chin city. This is known because the concubine of the Chin emperor Shih-tsung (世宗) was buried here in 1181 as recorded in the *Dynastic History of Chin*			(14) The dagobas of the monks Hai Yün (海云) and K'e An (可庵), east of Hsi Tan P'ai Lou (西单牌楼) of today, were outside the north wall of the Chin city
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			

(continued)

Table A.3 (continued)

9			
10	892		
11			898
12			
13			
14			

Cf. item (2), Table A.2

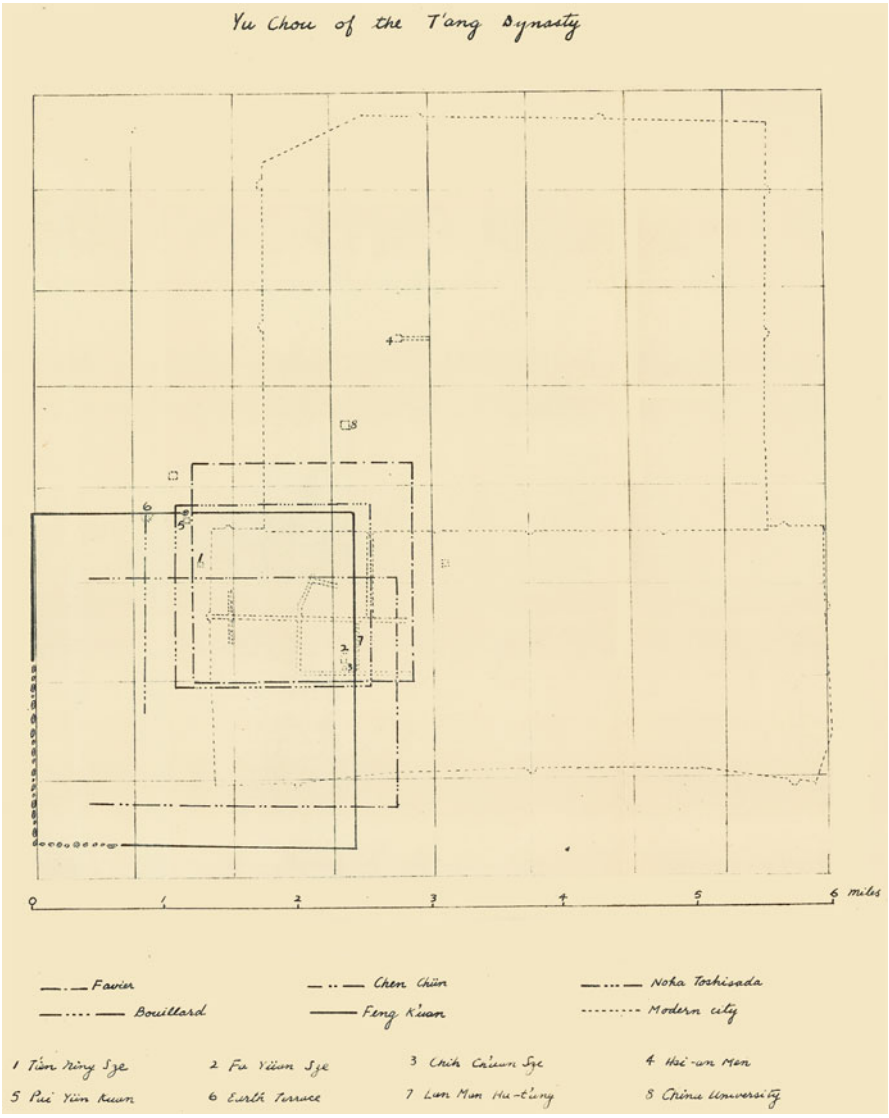

Fig. A.1 Yu Chou of the T'ang dynasty

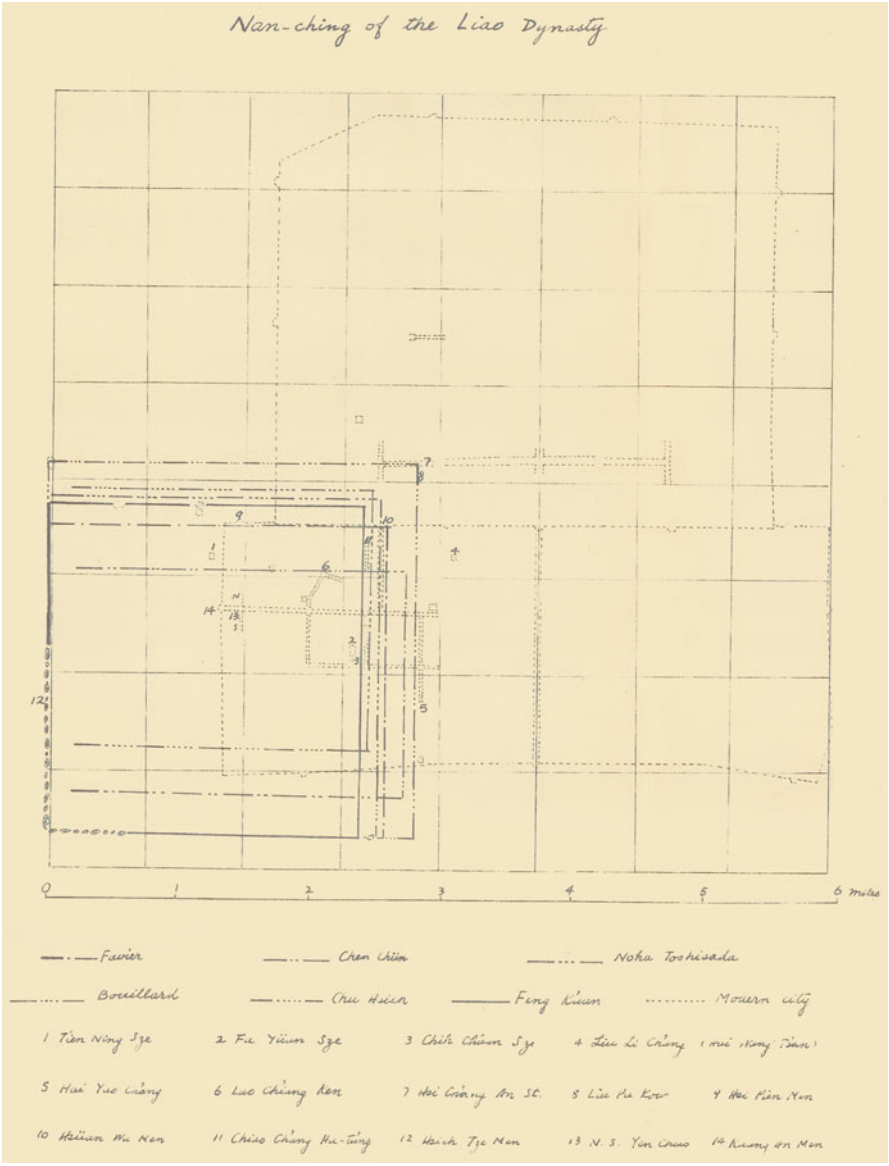

Fig. A.2 Nan-ching of the Liao dynasty

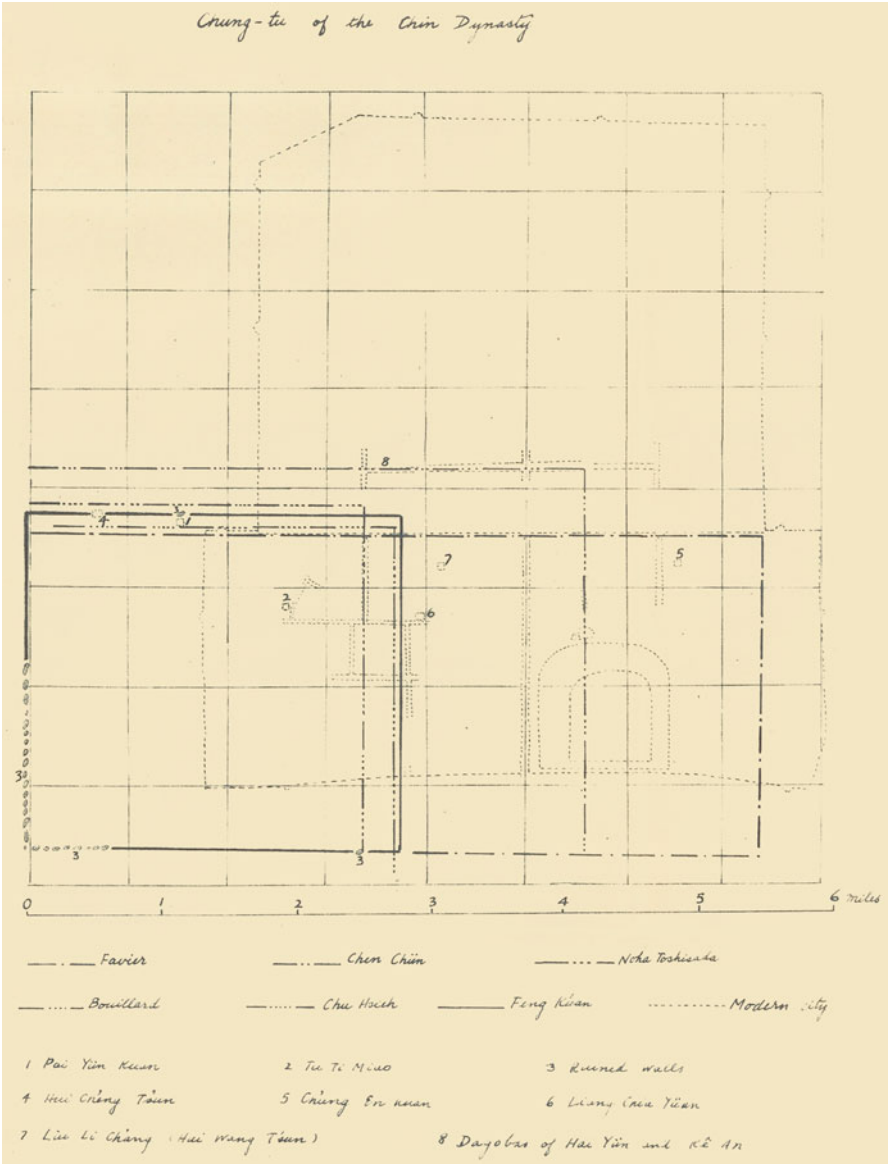

Fig. A.3 Chung-tu of the Chin dynasty

Appendix III: The Ancient Sites

Before embarking on the discussion of the ancient sites of Peiping, it is necessary to define the essential feature of a Chinese city. In Chinese language the word ch'eng (城, i.e. city) means city wall. It also implies a settlement surrounded by walls; otherwise, it would not be called a ch'eng (or city) in the strict sense of the word. Therefore the surrounding rampart may be considered as the essential feature of a Chinese city. Thus the Swedish author Osvald Sirén writes:

> Walls, walls, and yet again walls form, so to say, the skeleton or framework of every Chinese city. They surround it, they divide it into lots and compounds, they mark more than any other structures the common basic features of these Chinese communities. There is no real city in Northern China without a surrounding wall, a condition which, indeed, is expressed by the fact that the Chinese use the same word Ch'eng for a city and a city-wall: for there is no such thing as a city without a wall. It is just as inconceivable as a house without a roof. It matters little how large, important, and well-ordered a settlement may be: if not properly defined and enclosed by walls it is not a city in the traditional Chinese sense. [6]

Ever since the dawn of Chinese history, the inhabitants of the North China Plain began to build their cities—i.e. cities in the Chinese sense of the word [7]. This again can be proved from the etymology of the word used for city by the ancient Chinese of the Shang dynasty, the first authentic period in Chinese history. This is described by H. G. Creel as follows:

> The word which the Shang people used most in speaking of their own city was. The upper half of this character represents an enclosure. The lower half is a man sitting on his haunches. The whole means "an enclosed place where men dwell", that is, a city. [7, p. 71]

Thus no matter whether it is in ancient times or in the present day, the word city in Chinese always implies a settlement with a surrounding wall. It is exactly in this sense that the word city is used in the following discussion.

1. The Problem of the Site of the Ancient City Chi[4]

So far as we know the first city which came into existence on, or near to, the present site of Peiping was the city Chi (薊). Strictly speaking, there is not a single piece of historical evidence which will help directly to locate the exact site of it. Only once, in the classical work Shui Ching Chu (《水经注》, Commentaries on the Book of Rivers) of the early sixth century A. D. we find evidence which throws some light on the problem. The passage reads:

> In the old days, the descendent of the emperor Yao (尧) was invested with a fief at Chi by the emperor Wu-wang of Chou (周武王). Now, inside the present city, at the north east corner, there is the (hillock) Chi Ch'iu (薊丘, or the Hillock of Chi). And the city was named after the hillock. This is the same with (the cities of) Ch'ü Fu (曲阜, "Fu" is another

[4] The Ancient Chi must not be confused with the present Chi, about 60 miles northeast of Peiping, the name of which dates back only as far as A.D. 730.

> Chinese character for the word "hillock") of Lu (鲁). And Ying Ch'iu (营丘) of Ch'i (Lu and Ch'i are the names of two feudal states of the Chou dynasty).[5]

A similar assertion was made by the author of *Chang-an Ko Hua* (《长安客话》, A Visitor's Notes on the Capital) in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) who went on to identify the so-called Chi Ch'iu with a ruined rampart in the north west environs of the present city:

> Outside Te Sheng Men (德胜门, the west gate on the north side of the city wall of Peiping) of the capital of today (i.e. Peiping), there is the Tu Ch'eng Kuan (土城关) or the Earth City Pass. Tradition records here are the ruins of ancient Chi. It is also called Chi Ch'iu. In ancient times there were buildings and towers on top of it. But nothing exists now except two earth hillocks which mark the site of the ancient gate.[6]

Finally, a monument was erected by emperor Ch'ien-lung (乾隆) of the early Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911) on the top of this ruin, which has been preserved till the present day, with an inscription and verses stating that here was one of the gates of ancient Chi.[7]

The inscription of the emperor Ch'ien-lung has been taken for granted again and again by most of the Western writers such as Favier, Madrolle and Bouillard, and each of them has marked arbitrarily on their maps a square representing the ancient city of Chi outside the northwest corner of the present city, thus:

However, this conclusion is hardly acceptable to any critical mind, for the simple reason that the rampart, by which the ancient hillock of Chi was identified, and on top of which the monument of the emperor Ch'ien-lung was erected, is nothing else but the ruined wall of Khanbaliq of the Yüan dynasty (1260–1368).[8] Unless there is further evidence to be found, we have no reason to believe that the ancient city of Chi was here. A dogmatic inscription of an emperor should not exercise any influence on the pursuit of scientific knowledge.

On the other hand, the value of the information contained in the original passage of *Shui Ching Chu* ought not to be overlooked either. It clearly states that 'inside the present city, at the northwest corner, there is the (hillock) Chi Ch'iu. And the city was named after the hillock'. Since the city was mentioned by the author as 'the present city', evidently it was still existing at the author's time. But in the same passage quoted in *Jih-hsia Chiu-wen K'ao*, the word 'present' was omitted.[9] The original text of *Shui Ching* (《水经》) was written during the fourth century A.D. and the commentaries (Chu) were added during the early sixth century. If this is so, it seems to me that the ancient site of the city Chi had never changed from the twelfth century B.C. down to the sixth century A.D.[10] Unfortunately the hillock Chi Ch'iu is no more identifiable at the present day and I am afraid that the exact site of the old city is buried in oblivion.

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[5] Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition, 13/21a.

[6] As quoted by Yü Min-chung, op. cit., 167/4b.

[7] Ibid., 8/4b.

[8] See discussion in Chap. 7.

[9] 107/4a.

[10] See discussion on p. 590.

2. An Approximate Location of the Yu Chou City of T'ang (618–906)

The earliest city whose site can be traced is that of Yu Chou of the T'ang dynasty. All the evidence that has been collected by previous authors in order to help to locate the site is listed in Table A.1 of Appendix II, and there is no more which has been found other than this. But it is still insufficient for us to reconstruct the whole plan. The only evidence of value in fixing the site is the second one in the table. It states clearly that the present monastery Fa Yuan Szu (法源寺), then called Min Chung Ssu (悯忠寺) in the western part of the South City of today, was situated at the southeast corner of Yu Chou.[11] If this is the case, then the original site of both the east wall and the south wall could not be very far from the monastery. But so far as I know, no single piece of evidence concerning the south wall of Yu Chou has ever been found.

The east wall as located by Feng K'uan is quite trustworthy. But he made a mistake in continuing it too long to the south and consequently left the monastery almost in the middle between the north wall and the south wall. This is because he took the following account from Wen T'ien-hsiang's *Lu-ting Chi-shih* (文天祥《虏廷记实》, Information about the Barbarians Court) as his authority:

> Along the east wall of Yen-shan (燕山) city, there is a great monastery which is called Min Chung Ssu.[12]

It is indicated in the Historical Chart (Appendix I) that the name Yen-shan had not been given to the city by the Northern Sung dynasty until 1123, and Wen Tien-hsiang, a great patriot of the Southern Sung dynasty, had not been able to visit the city until he was captured and brought there by the Mongols in 1276.[13] Therefore the city Wen T'ien-hsiang described was a city of a much later date (i.e. the Chung-tu city of Chin) whose east wall had been extended much farther to the south than that of the T'ang city.[14] This is the reason why he recorded Min Chung Ssu as 'along the east wall of Yen-shah city' instead 'at the southeast corner of Yu Chou city'. He was perfectly right but Feng K'uan was wrong when he quoted the above passage and applied it to the T'ang city.

In regard to the north wall, two tombs with monumental inscription of the T'ang dynasty, which have been discovered inside the North City of modern Peiping, are important. The inscription of one tomb indicated that it was 5 *li*

[11] See item (2) in Table A.1, item (9) and (10) in Table A.2, and maps of Tables A.1 and A.2, Appendix II. Feng K'uan holds the theory that the city of Yu Chou is the same as that of the following period, i.e. the Liao city of Nan-ching. Therefore what he has said of the Liao city is equally applicable to Yu Chou.

[12] As quoted by Feng K'uan, op. cit., p. 887.

[13] See *Sung Shih*, *Wen T'ien-hsiang Chuan* (Dynastic History of Sung, Biography of Wen T'ien-hsiang), pp. 154–155.

[14] See the following discussion.

northeast of Yu Chou while the other was 5 *li* due north. If the two tombs were not very far from each other, it would not be difficult to locate the site of the north wall of the city. But, as is mentioned in Table A.1 of Appendix II, the first tomb was discovered inside Hsi An Men (item 4) and the second one in the campus of China University (item 9). And the distance between the two is more than 2.5 modern *li* on a straight line in the N. E. to S. W. direction.[15] This apparent difference discounts in no mean degree the numerical value of the exact distance given by the stones and eventually made the location of the north wall not so easy as it seems to be. I personally believe the distance given by the inscription of the first tomb is more reliable.

As to the west wall, we are perfectly sure that the present temple T'ien Ning Szu (天宁寺), which is outside the west wall of the South City of today, was inside the city of Yu Chou.[16] But this cannot help to define the west boundary of the T'ang city. Noha Toshisada believes that the earth terrace west of the present monastery Pai Yün Kuan is the only remain of the west wall of Yu Chou.[17] He is probably right. At least the west limit of the city could not be too far from the line defined by him. Further evidence in favour of Naba Toshisada might be discovered from archaeological excavation. But this has never been done before.

Finally, there is an interesting quotation in *Yüan-ho Chün Hsien Chih* (《元和郡县志》) of the late T'ang dynasty stating that the city of the district of Chi was 9 *li* from north to south and 7 *li* from east to west.[18] Here the city of the district of Chi was at the same time the provincial city of Yu Chou (see Historical Chart). If this is the case, then the city of Yu Chou was rectangular in shape instead of square as most of the previous authors believed to be. But I doubt whether the actual distance given here is absolutely reliable.[19]

The above discussion is summed up in Fig. A.4.

3. The Nan-ching City of Liao (916–1125)

All important Chinese authors agree that the Nan-ching city of Liao was exactly the same as the Yu Chou city of T'ang (see Table A.2, Appendix II). Though their opinions vary on the actual extent of the T'ang city, the above statement as a whole is

[15] If 1 *li* of the T'ang dynasty is shorter than 1 *li* of today as it is generally believed to be, then the difference is even greater.

[16] Item (1), Table A.1, Appendix II.

[17] Item (5), Table A.1, Appendix II.

[18] Quotation from C*hüt Kuo Chih* (《郡国志》) by Li Chi-fu (李吉甫) in *Yüan-ho Chüt Hsien Chih* (Geography of the Provinces and Districts of the Reign of Yüan-ho, i.e. 806–821), 1882 edition, 3/3a.

[19] According to Noha Toshisada (op. cit., 3/8b), the Yu Chou city of T'ang would be a little more than 7 *li* from north to south and 5.5 *li* from east to west by modem measurement.

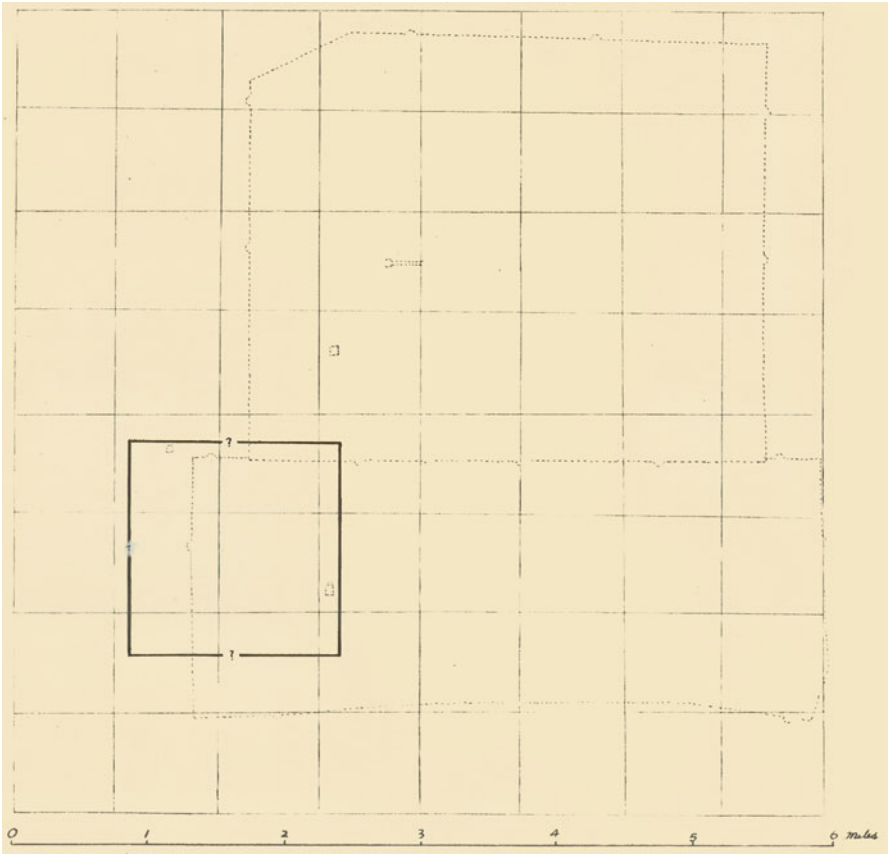

Fig. A.4 Chi of the T'ang dynasty

quite trustworthy. The reason is that no alteration has ever been mentioned in any record, and there was no reason for the Liao rulers to do so, because the city remained only a secondary capital during the Liao dynasty. It was not made the seat of government until the Chin dynasty, and it was only then that extensive alteration took place (Fig. A.2).

4. The Chung-tu City of Chin (1115–1234)

The Chin capital, Chung-tu, was simply an extension of the Liao city, and the extension was made towards the east, south and west, while the northern side probably remained unchanged (Fig. A.3).

In regard to the extension made on the eastern side, the following quotation from *Chin Shih* (Dynastic History of Chin) is of special interest:

> Formerly the tombs of the two princes of Yen Kuo were in the east environs. When the (Liao) city was enlarged by the (Chin) emperor Hai-ling, the tombs were inclosed inside the city. In the ninth year of Ta-ting (1173) they were moved to the environs again by the order of the emperor (Shih-tsung, 1161–1189).[20]

This is a definite documentary proof about the eastern extension of the Liao city.

Concerning the extension on the southern side, the available documentary evidence is less sure. There is an account in the *Chin Shih* similar to the one quoted above which contains the following information:

> Formerly there was a tombstone of the T'ang dynasty in the South Garden with the inscription: "In the Tenth Year of the Reign of Chen-yüan (贞元, 785–805), the censor Liu Ping Buried." The emperor (Shih-tsung) noticed it and remarked that a tomb should not be allowed to remain in the garden…and ordered it to be removed.[21]

It was based upon this account that Chao I as well as Miu Ch'uan-sun reached their conclusion about the southern extension of the Liao city.[22] But if we make a closer examination of the above quotation, we shall find that it neither refers to a southern extension of the Liao city nor locates the South Garden inside the Chin City. The tomb might be outside the south wall of the Liao city and have been enclosed inside the Chin city at a later date. And the name 'South Garden' may seem to lead to the same assumption. Certainly an inference along this line sounds quite reasonable. But before any positive proof is found, we must refrain from accepting it as an established fact. Finally, as to the extension towards the west side, no documentary evidence is available at all.

However, the reconstruction of the Chung-tu city of Chin is not merely based upon written records. The most valuable evidence is the actual remains of the outer rampart of the Chin city.

Certain parts of the ruins of the outer rampart of the Chin city can still be traced in the environs of the present city. The most conspicuous of these are the remains of the southwestern corner of the Chin city near the village O Fang Ying (鹅房营). It was first recorded by Bretschneider and his first-hand description runs as follows:

> The rampart of an ancient city is found about eight *li* to the southwest of the Chang I Men (彰义门), and at about the same distance from Yu An Men (右安门), which is the western gate in the southern wall of the Chinese City (i.e. the South City). Proceeding from this gate, about two *li* to the south, one arrived at a small fiver running from west to east, through low-lying swampy meadows, forming here and there ponds… Proceeding upward on the northern shore of this river of several *li*, one meets an ancient rampart,

[20] *Ts'ai Kuei Chuan* (《蔡珪传》, Biography of Ts'ai Kuei).

[21] *Liu K'uei Chuan* (《刘 传》, Biography of Liu K'uei).

[22] See item (6), Table A.3, Appendix II.

> from 20 to 30 feet high, which stretches parallel with it. The rampart can be traced for more than seven *li*, and is generally well preserved. At the hamlet O Fang Ying the rampart turns to the north. Here was evidently the southwestern corner of the ancient city. Before reaching the stone road the rampart disappears…According to the popular tradition, the rampart in question belonged in former times to the capital of Kin (i.e. Chin), and this tradition is not in contradiction with the statements of Chinese authors regarding ancient Chung-tu.[23]

These ruined walls stretching from O Fang Ying both northward and eastward are the most irrefutable monuments of the Chin city.

Farther on, along a projected straight line of the east branch of the ruined walls of O Fang Ying, another piece of the same wall is found north of the village Ma Chia P'u (马家堡).[24] Since it is very near the present city, only a very small part has been preserved. It is only about half a *li* long. This was first identified by Noha Toshisada.[25]

On the north side again there are two pieces of the remains of the same broken wall standing side by side, north of the present monastery Pai Yün Kuan.[26] This part of the ruined wall has long been noticed by Chinese writers. For instance, as far back as 1423, Yang Shih-ch'I (杨士奇), a well-known author and a distinguished government official of that time, in one of his essays entitled 'A Trip to the Environs' had made the following accounts:

> …(I) went out (the city) through Ping Tse Men (平则门, the south gate on the west wall of the present North City)…walked along about seven or eight *li*, then turned southward… farther on, after crossing a stone bridge, (I) entered an earth wall, and Pai Yün Kuan, about one *li* away, was in sight. This earth wall was the old city wall of the Liao and Chin dynasties. It is only this northwestern corner that has been partly preserved. It is possible to get a good view on top of certain part of it. But I had no time to go up.[27]

To judge from his own words, he was probably ignorant of the existence of some other parts of the same wall and made the mistake by alleging that the part he had seen was the northwestern corner of the old city. Nevertheless he had given us a good picture of a part of the ruined wall in the early fifteenth century. And very little of the same stretch of the wall has been preserved today.

About 2 *li* due west of the abovementioned rampart, there is a village called Hui Ch'eng. And Hui Ch'eng is exactly the name of the west gate on the north side of the Chin city. The fact is simply this: The village has grown eventually from the ruin of the city gate, and the name of the city gate has thus been preserved to the present day. Yet a fact as clear as this had never been pointed out

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[23] Bretschneider, op. cit., pp. 171–172.

[24] See item (8), Table A.3, Appendix II.

[25] Noha Toshisada, op. cit., 3/81–82.

[26] See item (7), Table A.3. Appendix II.

[27] Quotation by Sun Ch'eng-tse, op. cit., 64/22a-23a.

until Noha Toshisada and Feng K'uan. But Noha Toshisada went wrong in locating the northwest corner of the Chin city at the village Hwang Ting Tsu (黄亭子) and alleged arbitrarily that the Hui Ch'eng village is on an east-west straight line from Hwang Ting Tsu, and consequently the site fixed by Noha Toshisada for the north wall of the Chin city is too far to the north and he missed the ruined wall north of Pai Yün Kuan completely.[28]

Now the only problem confronting us is the location of the east wall of the Chin city. And this problem has been a most controversial one. Since the west part of the present South City has long overlapped the east part of the Chin city, practically no remains of the east wall of the Chin city have been preserved to the present day. However, in the early Ming dynasty, before the building of the present South City, there was actually a ruined wall in existence. And fortunately this wall had been described by an eyewitness Liu Ting-chih (刘定之) as follows:

> Liang Shih Yüan (梁氏园, Liang's Garden) is about five or six *li* southwest of the present capital (i.e. the North City of Modem Peiping). Outside the garden, there is a mined wall which is the city wall of the chief city of the T'ang (Yu Chou) and the Secondary Capital of the Liao and Chin dynasties.[29]

Though the ruined wall has long disappeared, the original site of the Liang's garden can still be identified, because the name of the garden has been preserved. It is now generally called Liang Chia Yüan. The word Chia (家) is simply a colloquial form of the original word Shih (氏). It is no longer a garden, but the general shape of a garden is recognizable.

Besides this, Feng K'uan definitely indicates that though the Chin city extended considerably farther to the east than the Liao city, Hai Wang Ts'un (海王村) which was formerly situated in the east environs of the Liao city still remained outside the east wall of the Chin city.[30] Hai Wang Ts'un has been identified with the present Liu Li Ch'ang Street (琉璃厂街) by the discovery of the tombstone of Li Nei-chen (李内贞) of the Liao dynasty in 1770.[31] The west end of the street is approximately on the same north-south straight line with the east end of Liang Chia Yüan. Therefore, knowing the location of Hai Wang Ts'un, we can conclude that the rampart once existing outside Liang Chia Yüan was nothing else but the remains of the east wall of the Chin city (Fig. A.4).

With the evidence mentioned above, the whole plan of the Chung-tu city of Chin can be precisely drawn (Fig. A.5).

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[28] Noha Toshisada, op. cit., 3/93–95.

[29] As quoted by Sun Ch'eng-tse, op. eit., 3/4b.

[30] See item (13), Table A.3, Appendix II.

[31] See item (2), Table A.2, Appendix II.

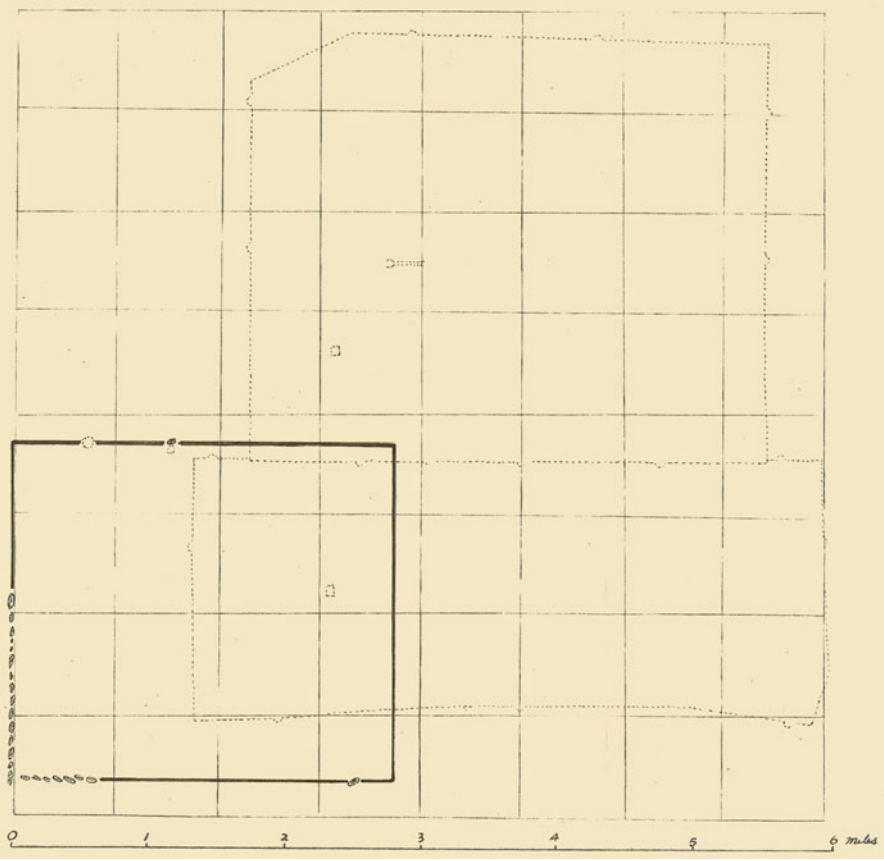

Fig. A.5 Plan of the Chung-tu city of Chin

Appendix IV: The Changing River Courses in the Neighbourhood of Peiping

1. Early Waterways (Sixth Century)

The classical work *Shui Ching Chu*, or the *Commentaries on the Book of Rivers* of the early sixth century, is the earliest available record to contain information about the waterways in the neighbourhood of the city Chi. It is especially valuable because it gives in great detail the relative locations of these waterways in regard to the old city Chi. It is true that the exact site of Chi of the early sixth century is still in question. But in the following discussion, all historical data are in conformity with the idea of the present author that the ancient site of Chi is more or less the same as that of the Yu Chou city of T'ang (Fig. A.6).

Fig. A.6 Reconstruction of the watercourses in the early sixth century based on *Shui Ching Chu* (*Commentaries on the Book of Rivers*)

In the *Commentaries* three rivers in close relationship with the city of Chi are mentioned. They are the Lei Shui (水), the Hsi-ma Kou (洗马沟) and the Kao-liang Ho (高梁河). Lei Shui is the name for the present river Hun (浑). Hsi-ma Kou is the ancient name of a little stream, the remaining bed of which can still be recognized in the west environs of the South City of today, while Kao-liang Ho is now partially preserved under other names, partially lost owing to the intensive diversion of its water into other channels for different purposes in different periods. But in the early sixth century, both Hsi-ma Kou and Kao-liang Ho were tributaries of Lei Shui, and the relative direction of each in regard to the city of Chi is given.

There is no need to translate the whole section of the original text of the *Commentaries*. It would be enough to pick out from the text those passages which are essential to the reconstruction of the original courses of these rivers. Each passage is numbered according to the order in the original text.

A. Lei Shui (i.e. the River Hun of Today)

1. 'Lei Shui flows out from the hills toward the south and is called Ch'ing-ch'uan Ho (清泉河) … Farther to the southeast, it passes through the northern border of the district of Liang-hsiang (良乡)'.
2. 'Farther east… it flows to the north of the old city of Kuang-yang (广阳)'.

3. ‘Farther northeast it flows to the south of the old city of Chi. As is mentioned in *Wei T’u-ti Chi* (《魏土地记》) seven *li* south of the city of Chi, there is the Ch’ing-ch’uan Ho’.
4. ‘Farther east it is joined by Hsi-ma Kou …’.
5. ‘Again to the east, it passes by the tombs of the princes of Yen from the south. There is a tunnel which leads from the tombs northwestward into the city Chi. During the reign of Ching-ming (景明, 500–504) the tunnel was reached by chance when the foundations of a temple and its accompanying pagoda were laid. Since the access to it is prohibited by the local authority nobody has ever traced it. This tunnel leads on (under the city) to another big tomb in the northwest of the city. The foundations of the (first mentioned) two tombs are so strongly built that they are still high and imposing. However, the names of the princes to whom these tombs belong are unknown’.
6. ‘Farther southeast, Kao-liang Ho discharges its water into the river’.
7. ‘… As is recorded in the *Wei T’u-ti Chi*: Ch’ing-Ch’uan Ho receives its water from Sang-ch’ien Ho (桑干河, i.e. a name for the upper course of the Hun even to the present day). And flows eastward merging into the Lu Ho (潞河, an old name for the present river Pei). Lei Shui flows eastward into the territory of the prefecture of Yü-yang (渔阳), from where it spreads out into numerous streams. There is the common saying that ‘Ch’ing-ch’uan has no tail’, because as soon as Ch’ing-ch’uan flows into the district of Lu (潞, a name derived from the river Lu Ho which passes through its territory, and the present name for this district is T’ung, 通) it spreads out into small streams from place to place, and these small streams are so much scattered that their courses are almost impossible to follow’.[32]

The above passages from the *Commentaries* indicate clearly that the course of the Ch’ing-ch’uan Ho in the early sixth century was very different from the present course of the Hun River if the city Chi of that time was actually on the same site as the Yu Chou city of the T’ang dynasty. Fortunately enough this hypothesis is eventually proved with the aid of one of the above passages. It is the passage that gives the story of the tunnel which leads from the tombs of the princes of Yen into the city of Chi. It has no importance to the present study at all. It might be considered as an anecdote which has been thrown in by the author quite freely without any particular intention. And he has confessed frankly that he does not know the names of the princes either. Now it is actually this accidental reference which provides the clue of the first magnitude that will help us to solve the puzzle of the ancient site of Chi.

In the discussion of the sites of the Nan-ching city of Liao and the Chung-tu city of Chin in Appendix III, one paragraph has been quoted from *Chin Shih* in order to

[32] Li Tao-yüan, *Shui Ching Chu* (郦道元《水经注》), Ssu-pu Pei-yao edition, 13/20b-22b. In the original text of *shui Ching*, it is recorded that the river Lei once flowed to the north of Chi. Li thought that it was a mistake.

prove that the east side of the Liao city was extended by the Chin emperor Hai-ling. It would be helpful if the same quotation is given here once more:

> Formerly the tombs of the two princes of Yen Kuo were in the east environs. When the (Liao) city was enlarged by the (Chin) emperor Hai-ling, the tombs were enclosed inside the city… In the ninth year of Ta-ting (1173) they were moved to the environs again by the order of the emperor (Shih-tsung, 1161–1189).

Evidently 'the tombs of the two princes of Yen Kuo' as mentioned here are the same tombs recorded by Li Tao-yüan in his *Commentaries*. These have been assumed to be the tombs of different princes of Yen according to different traditions as mentioned in different records.[33] But no exact evidence had ever been produced until the twelfth century. It is probably owing to this uncertainty that Li Tao-yüan refrained from giving any positive assertion and rather preferred to confess frankly his ignorance of the princes to whom the tombs belong.

But the fact was revealed when the tombs were moved away from the Chung-tu city of Chin in 1173. The inscription on the coffins proved that the east tomb belonged to Yen Ling-wang Liu Chien (燕灵王刘建) and the west one to Yen Kang-wang Liu Chia (燕康王刘嘉). Yen Ling-wang (or the Prince Ling of Yen) Liu Chien is the son of the founder of the great Han dynasty whose reign lasts from 206 to 195 B.C., and Liu Chia must be also the descendent of the same line.[34]

Now, from the information of the commentaries of the sixth century, we know that the city Chi was situated to the northwest of the tombs of the Yen princes. From the information of *Chin Shih*, or the Dynastic History of Chin, we know that the same tombs were situated in the east environs of the Nan-ching city of Liao. And the east wall of the Liao city, as has been mentioned in Appendix III, is the same with that of the Yu Chou city of T'ang. With all these facts before us, we are bound to come to the conclusion that the Yu Chow city of T'ang is definitely on the same site as the Chi city of the early sixth century, and apparently no change of site between the two has ever been mentioned in any extant historical records. And it may well be doubted whether the original site was ever shifted until the early Yüan dynasty. At least there are firm grounds for believing that during the three centuries immediately previous to the early sixth century, the city of Chi has always been there on the same site. For there are several works and documents as early as the third century A.D. which were quoted by Li Tao-yüan to illustrate the relative distances and directions of the waterways in regard to the city of his own time. The abovementioned Wei T'u-ti Chi of the third century is one of these. And some others will be mentioned later. Thus once the ancient site of Chi is identified, a map which shows the old courses of Lei Shui together with the following two rivers is made possible.

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[33] For instance, it is recorded in *Wei Shu*, *Ti-hsing Chih* (《魏书·地形志》, Section on Geography in the History of Wei) that in the district of Chi, there are the tombs of Yen Chao-wang (燕昭王) and Yen Hui-wang (燕惠王). According to popular tradition in the early twelfth century, the two tombs were considered to be those of the King of Yen of the third century B.C. and his prince Tan (旦). Once they were mistaken for the tombs of Yen La-wang (燕剌王). See new commentaries collected by Wang Hsien-ch'ien (王先谦) in *Shui Ching Chu*, op. cit., 13/22a.

[34] *Ts'ai Kuei Chuan* (《蔡珪传》, Biography of Ts'ai Kuei), op. cit.

B. Hsi-ma Kou

1. 'Hsi-ma Kou … has its head waters in the vicinity of Chi'.
2. 'It is connected with a big lake on the west'.
3. 'The lake has two sources. Both of them flow from the springs in the plain northwest of the city, and converging into the Western Lake. The lake is two *li* from east to west, and three *li* from south to north. This is an old lake of Yen. Its water is clear and clean. Pavilions appear in the distance. It is certainly a grand place for recreation'.
4. 'The water from the lake flows out toward the east and this is Hsi-ma Kou'.
5. 'It flows farther eastward by the side of the south gate of the city'.
6. 'Farther east, it flows into Lei Shui'.[35]

The Western Lake mentioned here has always been mistaken by Chinese writers as the present Kun-ming Lake (昆明湖) in the Summer Palace about five miles northwest of the present city, because it was also called the Western Lake (Hsi Hu, 西湖) during the Ming dynasty.[36] Judging from the relative position and direction between the river Hsi-ma Kou and the city Chi as given above, the lake from which the river Hsi-ma Kou issued could not be far from the city, and it was definitely situated to the west of the city. Now, in the west environs of the South City of today, there is a shallow pond about 1 *li* in circumference which is called Lien Hua Chih (莲花池) or Lotus Pond. During the rainy season, a little stream flows from it southeastward into the city moat.[37] I believe this is the place where the original Western Lake ought to be sought. The lake disappeared because it was most probably occupied by the course of the Sang-ch'ien River during the tenth century.[38]

C. Kao-liang Ho

1. 'Kao-liang Ho … has its head waters from the springs in the plain northwest of the city Chi'.
2. 'It flows eastward and passes by the tomb of Yen Wang (Prince of Yen) to the north of it'.
3. 'Farther east it flows to the north of the city Chi'.
4. 'Farther on, it turns southeastward. As is recorded in *Wei T'u-ti Chi* that ten *li* east of Chi, there is the river of Kao-liang'.
5. 'Farther southeast, it flows into Lei Shui'.

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[35] Li Tao-yüan, op. cit., 13/21b.

[36] See Miu Ch'uan-sun, op. cit., 36/16b.

[37] See *Shih Ts'e Ching-shih Ssu-chiao Ti-t'u* (《实测师四郊地图》, Map of Peking and Its Environs, based upon actual survey by the government), 1915.

[38] See the following discussion.

6. '(Again) it is recorded in *Wei T'u-ti Chi* that.., there is the common saying: Kao-liang has no upper course … because Kao-liang is very small and shallow (in its upper course), it is merely a little stream. But by gathering together these shallow waters, it eventually becomes a river'.[39]

From the above information, a map may be prepared to show the general distribution of the waterways in the vicinity of the city Chi during the early sixth century. The numbers on the map along each river refer to the corresponding passage in the above translation.

2. River Hun (Early Seventh Century)

In the early seventh century A.D. Lei Shui or Ch'ing-ch'uan Ho is referred to as Sang-ch'ien Ho in *Sui Shu* (《隋书》, Dynastic History of Sui). Since then, the name Lei Shui, or Ch'ing-ch'uan Ho, was no more used, but the name Sang-ch'ien Ho has been preserved to the present day. Now it is only applied to the upper course of the river.

In the *Li Chih* (《礼志》, or Book on Rites, of the Dynastic History of Sui), the following passage is given:

In the 7th year of Ta-yeh (大业, i.e. the reign title of the emperor Yang 炀), a military expedition to Liao-tung took place. The emperor Yang dispatched his generals to build the altars to She (社, i.e. the god of the earth) and Chi (稷, i.e. the god of the grain) on Sang-ch'ien Ho south of (the city) Chi … The ceremony for the sacrifice to the gods was performed.

A similar account is given in the celebrated work of Ssu-ma Kuang's *Tzu Chih T'ung Chien* (《资治通鉴》), General Political History of China), which was compiled in the eleventh century. It reads:

> In the 1st month of the Spring, the 8th year of Ta-yeh (612), troops from all parts of the country were assembled at Cho Chün (涿郡, then Chi was the chief city of Cho Chün). The soldiers numbered one million one hundred and thirty-three thousand and eight hundred. It was claimed that they were two millions. But the number was doubled by those who were employed in transportation. Sacrifices were offered to the gods of the earth on Sang-ch'ien Ho to the south (of the city), and to the god of heaven south of Lin-shuo Palace (临朔宫), also to the god of horse north of the city of Chi.[40]

It is very interesting to observe here that a gigantic military campaign against a foreign power in Korea was prepared with the city Chi as a military base, at the time when the capital was far south in the valley of the Yellow River. A canal was constructed by diverting and connecting a number of streams from the Yellow River in the south of the Sang-ch'ien Ho in the north. This has been fully discussed in Chap. 4. The point that deserves attention here is the geographical relationship between the city Chi and the river Sang-ch'ien. It is true that no clear and direct

[39] Li Tao-yüan, op. cit., 13/22b.

[40] Ssu-ma Kuang, op. cit., 181/13a-14a.

statement is given in either of the above quotations. But judging from the fact that the altars built to the gods of the earth and grain are mentioned to be on the river of Sang-ch'ien and south of the city Chi, I am inclined to think that the course of Sang-ch'ien of the early seventh century did not change very much from that of the early sixth century as discussed in the above section. And the city did not shift either. Nearly 400 years were to elapse before a new phase of the river course is revealed by further historical literature.

3. River Hun (Late Tenth Century)

The following passage is translated from *Sung Shih*, *Sung Ch'i Chuan* (《宋史•宋琪传》, Dynastic History of Sung, Biography of Sung Ch'i). Sung Ch'i was a minister in the Sung court and a native of Yu Chou which then became the Nan-ching city of Liao. He knew the environs of the city very well. When the Sung emperor proposed a military campaign against Liao in 989, Sung Ch'i made the following memorial to the throne:

> With a great number of crack troops to conquer it, with the imperial banner pointing the way to victory, the city of Yen (i.e. Yen-ching, or Nan-ching of Liao) is bound to surrender. But the route to take is not without strategic importance… (It is better) to march along the hills … to reach Sang-ch'ien River (from the hill) and pass through An-tsu Fort (安祖砦). Then looking down to the city of Yen in the east, it is only 30 *li* away… Northwest of An-tsu Fort, (beside) the Lu-shih Temple (卢师祠),[41] there is the gap where Sang-ch'ien River flows out from the hills. It is about 40 *li* to Yu Chou in the east… The water of Sang-ch'ien River skirts along the west wall of the city of Yen from its north corner. If the troops arrive at the vicinity of the city and dam up the river northeast of the Yen Tan Tomb (燕旦陵)[42] in order to divert its water into the Kao-liang River, a flood is bound to occur, because the banks of Kao-liang are too narrow to hold it. This flooded water can be farther directed into Chiao-t'ing Tien (郊亭淀)[43] from the east of Chu Pi Szu (驻跸寺). It will spread out over hundred *li* within only a few days. Thus the city of Yu Chou will be isolated to the south of the flooded water. The imperial troops can approach the city with pontoon bridges from the north. If there are reinforcements of the enemy from the north, they will be separated by the water. An isolated city like this would certainly fall before long.

This is a passage of great value to the present study. It shows clearly that the river Sang-ch'ien must be very near to the city. The city then was exactly the same with the T'ang city according to the above discussion in Appendix III.

But it seems that the river had shifted a little bit to the north, while its exact course is not easy to locate. However, I am rather inclined to think that the river turned

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[41] The temple cannot be identified now, but Lu-shih is still a name for the hill east of the river.

[42] The tomb was probably at the present Shih Ching Shan (石景山); see discussion in Chap. 3.

[43] During the Yuan dynasty, a sluice on the T'ung Hui (通惠) Canal was named Chiao-t'ing Sluice (郊亭闸) since a village Chiao-t'ing Ts'un (郊亭村) was nearby. According to *Shun-chin Shui-li Wei-yüan-hui Ti-hsing T'u*, two villages, named Big Chiao-t'ing Ts'un and Small Chiao-t'ing Ts'un (大小郊亭村), respectively, were located on the eastern suburban of the present Outer City. The work to find out Chiao-t'ing Tien (郊亭淀) in the Sung dynasty would be proceeded in the same area.

eastward immediately after it had passed the hill which is now called Shih-ching Shan and skirted along the west and south sides of the city, and finally entered into the old channel southeast of the city. This retains the old name Sang-ch'ien.

B. Willis notices also from geological evidence the fact of the latest excursions of the river in the west environs of the South City of today:

> Three miles west of the west gate of the Chinese city (i.e. the South City) on the road to Lu-kow Ch'iao, very coarse gravel mingled with fine sand begins and is continuous thence to the Hun. This gravel is plainly the material distributed by the Hun in its latest excursions over the plain, together with dune sand and dust blown from other areas.[44]

So far as we know, the river has never shifted its course above Lu-kow Bridge which is southwest of the present city since the middle of the Chin dynasty. Though floods were recorded in this area, the flooded water never went as far as the immediate environs of the city. I wonder whether this gravel in the region nearest to the city was distributed by the river while it was flowing to the west of the city during the Liao dynasty.

As to the south of the city, there is definite evidence that Sang-ch'ien River did flow there. The information is given by another Sung official, Wang Tseng (王曾), who was sent to the Liao capital as an envoy. He made a detailed account about his travel to the city:

> …Forty *li* after crossing a river at Pai-kou, I (白沟驿)[45] arrived at Hsin-ch'eng (新城) … Another seventy *li* to Cho Chou (涿州). Sixty *li* farther north by crossing the Fan Shui (范水) and Liu-li Ho (琉璃河) to Liang-hsiang (良乡). Crossed the Lu-kou River (at Liang-hsiang, another) sixty *li* to Yu Chou. It is called Yen-ching… South of it, there is the Sang-ch'ien River.[46]

The account is given by a person who has first-hand knowledge about it, and the reliability of the information is without question. However, a new problem arises here. Everybody knows that Lu-kow Ho as mentioned in the above account is simply another name for Sang-ch'ien Ho. But here it seems to suggest that two rivers actually existed. One was Sang-ch'ien Ho which flowed in the south environs of the city. The other was Lu-kow Ho whose course was 60 *li* southwest of the city and was very near to the district city of Liang-hsiang. And the latter one is almost identical with the present course of the Hun east of Liang-hsiang. Is it possible?

The only explanation seems to be that the river divided into two branches during the tenth century when it came to the plain from the hills. One branch flowed towards the southeast and was called Sang-ch'ien, while the other ran straight southward and was called Lu-kow. Probably owing to the straighter course of the southern branch, greater velocity was gained by it day by day.

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[44] B. Willis, op. cit., p. 198.

[45] Now it is called Pai-kou Chen (白沟镇) which is about 65 miles south of Peiping.

[46] Quotation in *Liao Shih*, *Ti-li Chih* (《辽史·地理南》, Dynastic History of Liao, Book on Geography).

As time went on, more water was directed into its course, and finally the southeastern branch was completely abandoned. Sang-ch'ien Ho disappeared; Lu-kou Ho received all the water from the upper course of the river. This change took place most probably during the eventful years of the inter-dynastic strife between Liao and Chin in the early twelfth century. This might be the reason why the change was not recorded.

Finally, the whole picture of the waterways of the period would not be complete without a mention of the Kao-liang River. A battle was fought between the Sung troops and the Liao cavalry on the Kao-liang River in the year 979. It was a decisive one and was described in Chinese history as the 'Battle of Kao-liang Ho' (高梁河之战). But the actual ground where this battle was fought is not easy to locate. Again in his memorial to the throne, Sung Ch'i suggested the damming up of the Sang-ch'ien Ho northeast of Yen Tan tomb in order to divert its water into Kao-liang Ho. This suggestion seems to be made after an irrigation project of the third century which has been fully discussed in Chap. 3. In both cases, the evidence is clear that Kao-liang Ho was still in the north environs of the city during the tenth century. Moreover it flowed to the east of the city also and eventually entered into Sang-ch'ien Ho southeast of the city as it did with Ch'ing-ch'üan Ho in the early sixth century. This is recorded by Yueh Shih (乐史) in his *Tai-p'ing nüan-yü Chi* (《太平寰宇记》, A Comprehensive Geography of the Sung Dynasty) as follows:

> Kao-liang Ho is four *li* east of the city of Chi. It flows southward and joins Sang-ch'ien Ho. Sang-ch'ien Ho comes from the district of Ch'ang-p'ing in the northeast. It flows southward and passes by the west of the city. Farther on, it turns eastward and passes by the south of the city. Farther southeast it is joined by Kao-liang Ho.
>
> The only difference in the course of Kao-liang Ho mentioned here as compared with that of the early 6th century is the difference of the distance from the river to the city in the east environs. Formerly it was ten *li* east of the city, now it is said to be four. I think the word 'four' in the latter case is a misprint, because in Chinese the pronunciation of the word 'four' and the word 'ten' is very similar.

To illustrate the above discussion, another map has been prepared (Figs. A.7). Again it only shows the rough direction, for the exact courses of these waterways are impossible to establish definitely .

4. River Hun (Since the Twelfth Century)

Soon after the rebuilding of the Chung-tu city of Chin in 1153, we find that the Sang-ch'ien Ho had already disappeared. Lu-kow Ho was then the only stream flowing southward, more or less following the same course of the present river Hun. But the name Sang-ch'ien was preserved and was constantly confused with Lu-kow. Hence we have the following account given by a famous Southern Sung official and scholar, Fan Ch'eng-ta (范成大), who was sent to the Chin court as a special envoy in 1170:

> Lu-kow Ho which is thirty *li* from Yen-shan is mentioned by Sung Min-ch'iu, (宋敏求, another famous Sung scholar) as Lu-kow Ho. It is (also called) Sang-ch'ien Ho.[47]

[47] As quoted by Miu Ch'uan-sun, op. cit., 36/2a.

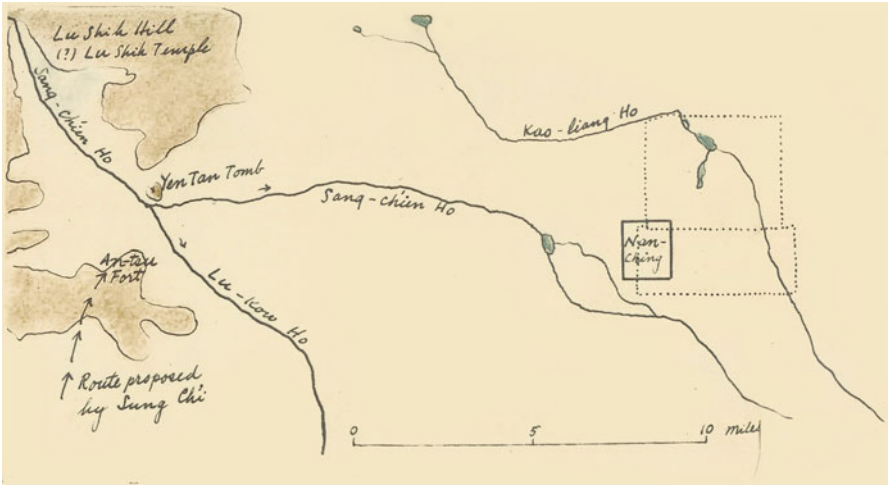

Fig. A.7 The watercourses in the environs of Peiping of Liao and Chin dynasties in the early twelfth century

Strictly speaking this is a mistake. But this mistake was soon forgotten. Later on the name 'Sang-ch'ien' began to be applied only to the upper course of the river in the mountains, while the lower course in the plain, 'Lu-kow' was the proper name. Now, 'Sang-ch'ien' has been preserved to the present day, but a new name 'Hun' was adopted for 'Lu-kow' during the Yüan dynasty and an official name 'Yung-ting' (which means stable for ever) was added to it in the early Ch'ing dynasty. The last two names are interchangeable (Fig. A.8).

According to Fan Ch'eng-ta, the river Lu-kow was 35 *li* from the capital. Apparently this is the distance between the city and the place where Fan crossed the river. But of the exact spot of his crossing we are not told. However, a permanent fording place was actually emerging during the late years of Liao and the early years of Chin. This is an important fact which deserves full attention. Here let us examine first how and where this permanent ford came into existence. The earliest data available is the account given by another Sung envoy Hsü K'ang-tsung (许亢宗) who visited the city in 1123. He wrote:

> We left Liang-hsiang, and after thirty *li* arrived at the Lu-kow Ho. The river runs very rapidly. It was usual to wait until low water and then cross it by a (temporary) small bridge. This was the practice for many years. Only in recent years has a pontoon bridge connecting both banks of the river been built.[48]

But exactly where this pontoon bridge was built we do not know either. As late as 1188, the construction of a stone bridge was suggested by the Chin emperor

[48] Hsü Meng-hsin, *San Ch'ao Pei Meng Hui-pien* (徐梦莘《三朝北盟会编》), vol. 20, 1st Part of Ch'eng and Hsüan (承宣第一), the 12th day of the 1st month in the 7th year of Hsüan-ho (宣和).

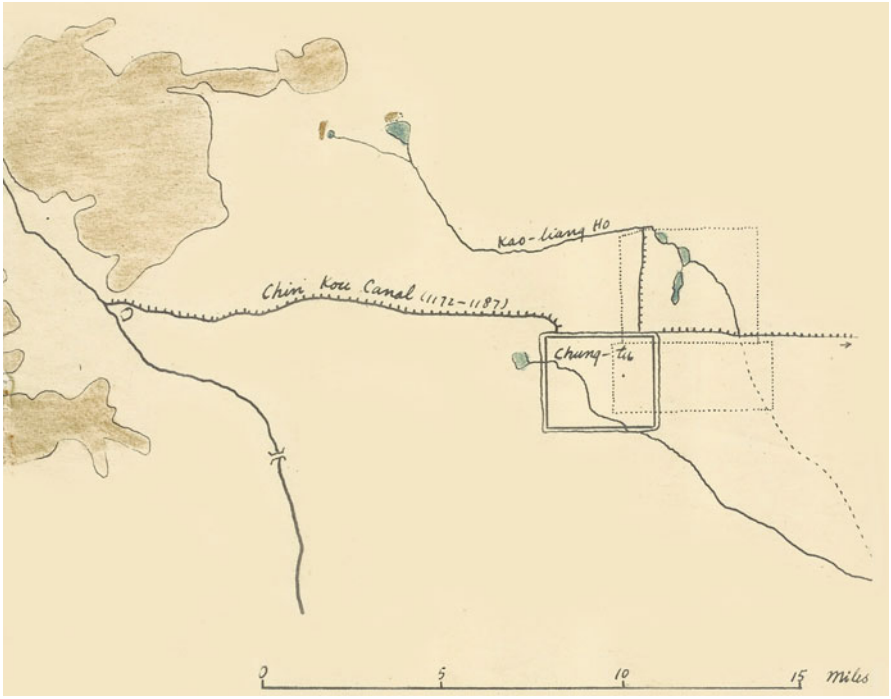

Fig. A.8 The watercourses in the environs of Peiping in the Song dynasty

Shih-tsung shortly before his death. This project was taken up by his successor in the following year. And the whole construction was not finished until 1192. This remains as a great architectural feat in the vicinity of Peiping, but its geographical importance is even greater. Moreover, it has a great hold on sentiment not only for Chinese but also for Westerners. To Westerners it is known as the Marco Polo Bridge, because Marco Polo, who saw the bridge a hundred years after it had been built, was the first Westerner to give a detailed description of it, and in his *Travels* a whole chapter has been devoted to it.[49] To the Chinese, this bridge bears the very witness of the perfidy of the Japanese who purposely started a well-planned war here in order to attempt to subdue China, yet fully described it as the 'Incident of the Lu-kow Bridge'. Eight years of bloody war ended in the victory of the righteous and the bridge will stand forever as an immortal monument of millions of those who resisted without fear and who fell without regret. But the geographical importance of the bridge lies not in its architecture, nor in its strategic importance, but in its nature as a determining factor in the following events. First, it fixed the route which leads from the city in the northeast to the great plain in the south, and vice versa, and

[49] Marco Polo, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 1–2.

consequently itself becomes a vital link in this great historical highway. It symbolizes the gate of the Bay of Peiping. Second, it fixed the river course which is liable to radical changes from time to time. Since the building of the bridge, no shifting above the bridge has taken place.

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