

Chinese Gates of Late Imperial China in the Context of Cosmo-Religious Rituals

by

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BOOK I

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Abbreviations

Some considerably ancient documents, historical records and monographs in relatively old Chinese language are mainly original references in this thesis. In order to simplify their long and rather complicated titles as a result of the high frequency of quotations and mentions in the writing, the block initials of them are applied and listed here for both convenience of writing and reading, followed by the times of their first editions being published if known. More details and introductions of the references are delivered in the Bibliography, the main body texts and the notes.

DQHD, Da Qing Hui Dian 大清会典 (Collected Statutes of the Qing Dynasty), five editions in total, each was compiled during a reign of one emperor of the Qing. And the 5th one of 1899 edited during the reign of Guanxu Emperor was named the *QDDQHD*.

DMHD, Da Ming Hui Dian 大明会典 (Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty), the last edition in 1587.

EY, Er Ya 尔雅 (Approaching Elegance), the 3rd century BCE.

FHQS, Fu Hui Quan Shu 福惠全书 (A Complete Book Concerning Happiness and Benevolence), 1699.

GBGCZFZL, Gong Bu Gong Cheng Zuo Fa Ze Li 工部工程做法则例 (Structural Regulations), 1734.

GDYZL, Gong Duan Ying Zao Lu 工段营造录 (The Record of Constructions), 1795.

GJTSJC, Gu Jin Tu Shu Ji Cheng 古今图书集成 (Complete Collection of Illustrations and Writings from the Earliest to Current Times), 1728.

- HMZS, Huang Ming Zhi Shu* 皇明制书 (The Imperial Regulations of the Ming), 1579.
- HQJJ, Huang Qing Jing Jie* 皇清经解 (The Royal Annotations of Classics of the Qing Dynasty), the 18th Century.
- HQJJXB, Huang Qing Jing Jie Xu Bian* 皇清经解续编 (The Sequel of Royal Annotations of Classics of the Qing Dynasty), 1888.
- JTS, Jiu Tang Shu* 旧唐书 (The Old Book of Tang), 945 CE.
- KGJ, Kao Gong Ji* 考工记 (Code Book of Works, Record of Trade, Book of Diverse Crafts, or Record of Artificers), first collected in the *Zhou Li*, about 500 BCE.
- LBCBJ, Lu Ban Cun Bai Ji* 鲁班寸白集 (A Small Anthology of Lu Ban),
- LBJ, Lu Ban Jing* 鲁班经 (The Treatise of Lu Ban), the 15th to 16th century.
- LH, Lun Heng* 论衡 (Discourse Weighted in the Balance), 80 CE.
- LJ, Li Ji* 礼记 (The Book of Rites), before the 3rd century BCE.
- LS, Luo Shu*, 洛书 (The Luo River Diagram)
- MSLLZ, Ming Shi Lu Lei Zuan* 明实录类纂 (Veritable Records of the Ming), based on the historical *Ming Shi Lu*, the part that is quoted in this thesis dating in the 14th century CE.
- QDDQHD, Qin Ding Da Qing Hui Dian* 钦定大清会典 (Collected Statutes of the Qing Dynasty 5th Edition), edited during the reign of the Guangxu Emperor 光绪, compiled in 1886-1899, based on the four previous editions.
- QDHCTD, Qin Ding Huang Chao Tong Dian* 钦定皇朝通典 (The Collective Regulations of the Qing Royal Dynasty), or *Qing Chao Tong Dian* 清朝通典, 1787.
- QSG, Qing Shi Gao* 清史稿 (Draft History of the Qing), 1928.
- SCTH, San Cai Tu Hui* 三才图会 (Illustrations of the Three Powers), 1609.
- SHJ, Shan Hai Jing* 山海经 (The Classic of Mountains and Seas), the 4th century BCE.
- SJ, Shi Jing* 诗经 (Book of Poetry), poems dating before the 7th century BCE.

- SLGJ, Shi Lin Guang Ji* 事林广记 (The Extensive Notes from the Forest of Facts), the 13th century.
- SLT, San Li Tu* 三礼图 (Illustrations of the Three Classics of Rites), 1175.
- SS, Shang Shu* 尚书 (The Classic of History, the Book of History, or the Book of Documents), before the 1st century CE.
- SWJZ, Shuo Wen Jie Zi* 说文解字 (Explaining Simple and Analyzing Compound Characters), the 2nd century CE.
- SKQS, Si Ku Quan Shu* 四库全书 (Imperial Collection of Four Treasuries), 1782.
- TFGJ, Tian Fu Guan Ji* 天府广记 (The Broad Record of Tian Fu), the 17th century.
- THY, Tang Hui Yao* 唐会要 (The Institutional History of the Tang), 961.
- TLD, Tang Liu Dian* 唐六典 (The Six Institutions of the Tang), 738.
- TLDQY, Tang Liu Dian Quan Yi* 唐六典全译 (The Complete Annotation of the TLD)
- TTMSTH, Tang Tu Ming Sheng Tu Hui* 唐土名胜图绘 (The Illustrations of Grand Sights in China), 1805.
- WSSDCJ, Wan Shou Sheng Dian Chu Ji* 万寿盛典初集 (Long Live Celebration Anthology), 1717.
- WSSDT, Wan Shou Sheng Dian Tu* 万寿盛典图 (Long Live Celebration Drawings), 1717.
- XJZ, Xi Jin Zhi* 析津志 (Records), about the 14th century.
- YJ, Yi Jing* 易经 (The Book of Changes), before the 2nd century BCE.
- YL, Yi Li* 仪礼 (Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial), before the 2nd century BCE.
- YS, Yuan Shi* 元史 (History of the Yuan), 1370.
- YY, Yuan Ye* 园冶 (The Garden Treatise), 1631.
- YZFS, Ying Zao Fa Shi* 营造法式 (Building Standards, translated by Liang Sicheng, or Architectural Methods and Patterns, translated by Andrew Boyd), the Song compendium of architectural practice, 1103.

YZFY, Ying Zao Fa Yuan 营造法原 (The Root and Principles of Building), finished in 1929.

YZXS, Ying Zao Xue She 营造学社 (The Society for Research in Chinese Architecture), founded in 1930.

YZZZ, Yang Zhai Zheng Zong 阳宅正宗 (The Authentic Classic of Houses for the Living), the mid 19th century.

ZGC, Zhan Guo Ce 战国策 (Records of the Warring States), the 1st century BCE.

ZL, Zhou Li 周礼 (The Rites of Zhou), before the 2nd century BCE.

Notes on Chinese Language and *Pin-yin* System

The *pin-yin* system for Chinese language, presenting Chinese words in pronunciations using the English alphabet, has been most widely accepted among modern sinologists and applied in their monographs and researches, but there are still some problems and difficulties in understanding without a complete and unified agreement on the system, especially when it comes to details of names and translation of ancient phrases.

For accuracy in dealing with original literature dating back to 200 BCE and even earlier, in this thesis, some ground notes have to be standardised here first. Every Chinese character has only one syllable in *pin-yin*, with one or several meanings, most of which could be used either individually or combined with others in a phrase. A noun could consist of either one character or more, for instance, panda in Chinese, is *xiong-mao*, while book is *shu*. Meanwhile, many characters share the same *pin-yin* with same pronunciation, for instance, *shu* could be the word for book or tree. So, unlike the way in some monographs the author puts the *pin-yin* of all characters of one phrase into one for the convenience of pronunciation, all characters' *pin-yin* in a phrase are here written independently but linked with en dash '-' to form a complete-meaning unit. For instance, the word *feng-shui*, a philosophical and practical concept of geomancy, is composed of two characters *feng* 风 and *shui* 水 individually meaning wind and water respectively. To them, italics are applied.

When it comes to the names of people and locations, the usual conventions are followed: surnames are stressed individually apart from the first names, both without en dashes, such as Xiong Guoying, Shangguan Wan'er; names of locations, consisting of normally two or more characters of syllables, are written in one word without en dashes, such as Beijing 北京 (two characters). For this group, italics are not applied.

Exceptions are made for the names of city gates in Chapter 6 which are given with first letter capital and en dash to link up every character, but no italics are applied, such as Zheng-yang Gate 正阳门.

The characters in titles of references appearing in both main body, notes and Bibliography are presented one by one in italics without en dash connecting each other, for the convenience of readers to look up the original Chinese data and for less risks in misunderstanding the characters that each *pin-yin* (syllable) represents. Moreover, it is not necessary to group the *pin-yin* of characters which compose meaningful words in a title as is done for nouns in general translations. For example, for the paper *Ding Cun Min Ju De Pai Lou* (The *Pai-lou* Gateways in Ding Village) 丁村民居的牌楼, the full *pin-yin* of the title is listed one character by one character in italics block capitals first, then the English translation of it is given in brackets, in which *pai-lou* appears as a two-character word and Ding is the village's name, followed by the Chinese title. For some ancient and original materials, the titles are presented in italics block capitals and listed in the Abbreviations to look up.

To distinguish between traditional Chinese characters and simplified ones, the former are only introduced when their origins need to be explained, while the latter are the majority.

When it comes to original citations from references, they are fully and honestly based on the texts, no matter what spelling forms are used. But the *pin-yin* forms and Chinese texts are provided in notes for convenience and standardisation.

To those popular words that have been collected in English, such as yamen (衙门, with two syllables) and kowtow (叩头, which is from Cantonese, with two syllables), even though they are in form of *pin-yin*, the spellings are not changed.

Notes on Chinese Length Units on Rulers

The Chinese names for the length units on regular rulers since the Qin dynasty (221 – 207 BCE) are *chi* 尺 (Chinese foot), *cun* 寸 (Chinese inch), and *fen* 分 (one tenth of a Chinese inch). However, the length of each basic unit has varied from time to time. But the terms *chi*, *cun*, and *fen* are applied to all Chinese rulers, including the carpenter's square (except for the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*) in the thesis for convenience, without distinguishing the dynasties the rulers belonged to. And the real measurements of different rulers are listed and explained in notes of the thesis when it is necessary.

For the symbolic ruler *lu-ban-zhen-chi* in Chapter 5, because it has no regular and fixed dimensional relationship with the carpenter's square and it has various versions depending on time and region, the units on it are named as the Chinese foot and the Chinese inch, in order to differentiate both from western rulers and from regular Chinese ones.

The quotations in the thesis from others' translations of Chinese texts, which refer to the issue, are kept untouched but with notes to clarify which unit system is applied.

Notes on Chinese Dynasties

In Chinese dynastic calendar, each dynasty was ruled by males of one family/clan (except for the only female emperor in the Tang dynasty). Each emperor of each dynasty has not only his own names and titles, but also a new dynastic calendar. A brand new way of numbering the years restarted from the first year of an emperor's reign. Instead of having the birth year of Jesus Christ as the opening of Christian era, the Chinese had the years re-numbered every less than a hundred years. The titles of dynasties and emperors are much more than just terms for those reigns, but symbols of times representing certain historic events, achievements, and the Chinese dynastic way of thinking. In documents before modern times, chronography was tied up with emperors and dynasties, such as in which year of which emperor's reign in which dynasty. For reading and researching convenience, the dynasties that are mentioned and dealt with in this thesis are listed below, in both English and Chinese:

Three Sovereigns and The Five Emperors (Mythical Times)	三皇五帝	Before 2070 BCE	
The Xia Dynasty	夏	2070 – 1600 BCE	
The Shang Dynasty	商	1600 – 1046 BCE	
The Zhou Dynasty	周	1046 – 256 BCE	
	Spring and Autumn Period	春秋	722 – 476 BCE
	Warring States Period	战国	475 – 221 BCE
The Qin Dynasty	秦	221 – 206 BCE	

The Han Dynasty	汉	206 BCE – 220 CE
The Tang Dynasty	唐	618 – 907 CE
The Song Dynasty	宋	960 – 1279 CE
The Yuan Dynasty	元	1271 – 1368 CE
The Ming Dynasty	明	1368 – 1644 CE
The Qing Dynasty	清	1644 – 1911 CE

Abstract

Previous studies on Chinese traditional gates, gatehouses, gateways or city gates were either embedded implicitly in the studies on physical forms and structures of general timber buildings since the 1920s, or dependently hidden in the vast researches on popular customs, literature and religions. In both of these contexts, Chinese gate buildings appeared as beautiful and typical figures as other types of Chinese architecture, with sometimes elaborate yet seemingly randomly and irrational decorations and ornaments that have been taken for granted by the Chinese. The question ‘what could Chinese gates mean’ in this background is not properly answered.

This thesis is an excursion into the true character of traditional Chinese gate buildings in their relationships with space, rituals and possible cosmological origins, beyond their vivid images of Chinese style. It is proposed in this thesis that traditional Chinese gates, both of imperial palace gates and domestic entrances, are understood as thresholds, a symbol that marks spatial and political class boundaries in need of social protocols, rites and orders, and a unique intermediary that has been taken for granted by people (the Human World) to correspond to ancient Chinese cosmological understandings. This threshold is the result and dynamic symbol of cosmos of the time.

From the oracle bone inscripts for gates/doors of the Shang period to the repeated greetings from the main gate via the U-shaped passage to the main hall in the pre-Han and Han period; from sacrifices to gates to ceremonial *pai-lou* gateways built for the imperial parade; from the *ming-tang* in classical texts to the Beijing city gates that practiced the *ming-tang* ideal; from the symbolic rules for lucky gates to the ritual of opening Wealth gates, sources over a long time span are collected, and arguments are mounted to discover how Chinese gates as architecture might be associated with cosmic symbols and ritual significance, and to further

express the fundamental concerns of the implicit and inherent meanings of gates, which truly define them.

The ideas proposed in this thesis are radical. However, what is delivered here attempts to bridge some gaps in the field and to provide a base for understanding and a possible direction for further research on the subjects relevant to Chinese architecture.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Where is the Research Beginning

The origin of this research is the great interest in Chinese gates aroused by two very fine books on Beijing city gates: one is Osvald Sirén's *The Walls and Gates of Peking*, showing with great passion the artistic characteristics of those grand monumental structures as the landmarks of 1920s Beijing, and with some regret and hope from Sirén about the possible future studies on them; the other is Wang Jun's *Cheng Ji 城记 (Records of the City)*, collecting a surfeit of complex political and historic information and arguments about the conservation and demolition of the old shabby gates during the early years of New China, which had been standing for 500 years, involved with the complex emotions of witnessing the irreversible loss of the material memories of the past. After reading them, one can hardly avoid raising the question of what would the city and its life be like if

the city walls, gates and all the courtyard residences were conserved? This compassionate interest has quickly awakened the desire to explore more about the origins that make what gate buildings are, the history of wall and gate constructions, and gradually led to inquiries into customs and rituals that are defined by gates.

The term 'gate' is universally popular in many academic fields and in daily life for its metaphorical and ritualised usages. On the 19th of May 2011, for celebrating the resumption of Air China flight services between Athens and Beijing which stopped for two years, and for welcoming the first flight¹, the airplane taking off from Beijing went through a water arch that was organised by the airport authorities when it touched down at Athens, symbolising the start of the brand new age and cooperation with this airline (Figure 1-1). The usage is ancient, going back to antiquity. The first entry made by the Spartan winners of the Panhellenic games to their towns was not via an existing gate but via a gap as a temporary gate made in the town wall, part of which was knocked down beforehand and restored after the entry as if nothing had happened, so that the good fortune the victors brought to towns could be retained by removing 'all traces of the passage through which they entered'². In general life, the Chinese used a mock-bridge and a mock-arch made of bamboo and paper to send spirits passing over and to get them rescued³. The first and third examples indicate that the concept of 'gate' can be transformed from a structure into a symbolic ritual threshold in social life, while the second touches on the original belief that caused the early gate constructions.

¹ See the news from the official website of Embassy of Greece in Beijing, <http://www.gpressbeijing.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1994%3Afirst-air-china-flight-from-beijing-touches-down-at-athens-airport&catid=1%3Aflash-news&Itemid=10&lang=en> [accessed 20 May 2011].

² H. S. Versnel, *Triumphus: an inquiry into the origin, development and meaning of the Roman triumph* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), pp.157-159.

³ Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese: a daguerreotype of daily life in China*, vol.2 (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, Milton House, Ludgate Hill, 1868), pp.104-106.

Research Questions, Aims and Objectives

In China, the cosmological and religious significance of buildings and monuments has a long and rich history, including the construction of gateways. It is largely taken for granted that, like other types of traditional Chinese architecture, gate buildings were conceived hierarchically through the assembly of roofs, columns, door-leaves and ornaments, and arranged sequentially through cardinally oriented openings that pass through layers of well-organised courtyards and terminate in the main compound.

But what meanings and significance can be drawn from these examples of ceremonial structures that look so characteristically Chinese? Why did Chinese architecture change so little over the centuries, from appearance to structure, and what are the origins and impulses behind the ‘designing’ and ‘planning’ of those gates and threshold spaces? In what way should we understand them as an integral part of the fabric of Chinese society?

This thesis attempts to discuss Chinese Gates in three aspects which are not separable but focused on differently in each chapter. Firstly, as architectural structures, gates were built with traditional techniques, customs and regulations that, to a certain degree, indicated either symbolic or ideological significance by applying constructing elaboration. Even though many questions about traditional carpentry have not been answered yet, the gate’s character as a physical structure cannot be overlooked. The primitive oral teaching method in the society of craftsmen who were the actual ‘architects’ in China for thousands of years, has directly influenced the processes of construction, and caused the fact that the physical appearances of buildings remained in a relatively more ancient and traditional form. As a type of architecture, the gate certainly has its own history of evolution, for which an analysis of partial building classics cannot be avoided. The documents about architecture include not only the two official building regulations compiled by the imperial governments of the Song and the

Qing⁴ as mentioned previously, but also the craftsmen's manuals and miscellaneous others⁵ scattered through some elites' compilations of certain time and locations. The annotations and translations of the former two classics were the targets of the initial studies⁶ on the traditional Chinese architecture by Chinese scholars in the 1920s⁷, and have become the foundation of China's historical architectural research and an academic school since then. Based on this context, key points of their achievements are introduced and used to build the background of carpenter's rules when necessary, but repetitious details are not given.

Secondly, the more is understood about gate buildings, the more important the philosophies, ideas and folklore of the Chinese become. On this level, the complex of China's religious beliefs is given, which directly influences the research scope of gate rites. It will be argued that the definition of Chinese religious beliefs is different from the common sense of the western religions, therefore the rituals cited and studied in this thesis are uniquely Chinese. The religious ideas introduced in each chapter are categorised into three stages, according to their influence on Chinese gates: the primitive cosmologies and early beliefs of the Shang and the Western Zhou; Confucianism founded by Confucius and interpreted by the Han scholars around 500 BCE, which was called the golden age⁸ of Chinese

⁴ The two official books are the *YZFS* (Building Standards) of the Song Dynasty published in 1103 and the *GCZFZL* (Structural Regulations) of the Qing Dynasty published in 1734. For more details, see the following chapters.

⁵ Of all the folk manuals, the *LBJ* (*the Classic of Lu Ban*) is the most representative one. See Chapter 5.

⁶ All the studies started with the discovery of the handwriting copy of the *YZFS* in Jiang Nan Library by Zhu Qiqian in 1919. See Lin Zhu, *Zhong Guo Ying Zao Xue She Shi Lue* (Tianjin: Baihua Literature and Art Publishing House 2008), p.23; Lin Zhu, *Zhong Guo Gu Jian Zhu Tu Dian* (Beijing: Beijing Press, 1999), pp. 918-957.

⁷ The commencement of the ancient architectural research by the Chinese began with the discovery of the old copy of the *YZFS* of the Song.

⁸ This period is well known as the Hundred Schools of Thought 诸子百家, of which the four most influential ones are Confucianism, Daoism, Mohism and Legalism.

philosophy; and Neo-Confucianism and Daoism roughly since the Song dynasty in the 12th century.

Last but not least, the rites, the process of passage, are embedded in the symbolic images of Chinese gates and gateways. The sources of this part are scattered through various old books – the earliest articles may date back to the Western Zhou (1046 – 771 BCE) – and their annotations over centuries. The modern monographs on general Chinese rituals cover a large range of topics, due to the vague circumscription of the Chinese religions mentioned above. Most of these topics are folklore and life customs under the imperial dynasties, which have carried on from their predecessors. And the science of customs and folklores has the characteristics of being altered, influenced and developed along with the passage of time, although the precise time and references in those monographs are often absent or ambiguous. Charles Stafford's research on separation and reunion in modern China, from the angle of anthropology and sociology, is one of the exceptions⁹. One thing to be clarified is that modern studies on rituals have merely aimed at the Chinese ancient architecture in general, and the elements concerning gates are fragments accordingly. In the west, the Chinese rituals are always a reminder of the ancient *li*, rites of the Zhou and the three classics of rites, which have been translated and well known since the mid 19th century¹⁰. To combine the rite texts and gate architecture into an integral complex was the initial quest of this thesis, even though the interpretations of rites and the gate itself include suppositions and assumptions that need to be proved or can be refuted in the future because of the deficiency of further discovery on ancient buildings.

⁹ Charles Stafford, *Separation and Reunion in Modern China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹⁰ The three classics of rites are *Li Ji (Book of Rites)*, *Zhou Li (Rites of the Zhou)* and *Yi Li (Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial)*, all of which date back to the Han and before. There are several English translations of them, and the most famous one should be James Legge's, but only the *Li Ji* was translated.

The three factors – the gates’ architectural attributes, the religious ideas, and the practised rites – have interacted with each other to compose an inseparable threshold complex. In this thesis, it has been impossible to discuss one without the other two. By doing so, this study aims to make Chinese gates ritually accessible in terms of traditional architecture. Sometimes, in the description of a rite the religious thoughts take a larger section before the gate buildings involved in the rite are introduced. In the research on the greeting rite of the Zhou, for example, the quotation and interpretation of the rite must take the lead, for no buildings of the Zhou have survived and most of evidence about them has decayed or been destroyed. In some other instances involving gates that are standing and functioning well, the gates are studied first, followed by the associated rituals and beliefs.

The whole structure of this thesis is organised in the following order: introduction – literature review – domestic gates/passages and associated rituals – the carpenter’s symbolic rule – city and palace gates and associated state rites, varying with the scales and forms of the gates dealt with. Usually, city gates are more involved in political attitudes and connections with city planning than other types of gates.

The Contents and the Structure

After having given the core ideas of this thesis in the Abstract and the frame in Chapter 1, the complex contexts of research on Chinese gates are provided in Chapter 2 as the basic background where this research embeds and as arguments for the positions of gates as architecture and ritual threshold. The chapter consists of two parts, the first starting with the outline of previous and current studies relevant to the subject. Also necessarily engaged is the discussions about the ways of understanding by analysing the differences between studies in China and in the West which are caused possibly by ambiguities in both Chinese architecture and Chinese

religious philosophies. The discussions are deployed along two lines: the physical forms and space planning, and the religious origins that lie beyond them. Some images of gates as part of a normal courtyard compound, a temple and a yamen are compared in drawings, plans and photos to help understand the ambiguities in general appearance and functions.

The second part focuses on two old Chinese terms that are believed to be significantly architecture-associated: the *si-fang* and the *ming-tang*, both over 2,000 years old. The *si-fang* is the four cardinal directions/lands in the ancient cosmology that has something to do with mythological deities and perhaps is the radical cosmo-structure framing the planning of gates before modern time. On the other hand, the *ming-tang* is much more directly connected to architecture inasmuch as it was originally a ritualised sacred building documented as the place for the Son of Heaven corresponding ritually to Heaven. After dynasties of practising and interpreting in both constructions and texts literally, the *ming-tang* disappeared as architecture, but has been transformed into a representative planning tradition and a symbol of *feng-shui*, both of which have much more direct influences on the imperial and domestic building trades in the late imperial time.

From Chapter 3 to Chapter 6, gate buildings are explored in regard to scale (from dwelling to city) and from secular to imperial settings, which will show where the regulations on gates stood in organising and controlling social structure.

Chapter 3 focuses on the classification and hierarchy of gates, starting with an explanation of the Chinese terms for gates, ‘*men*’ 门 and ‘*hu*’ 户, along with their different written forms and metaphorical usages in literature, which, for the first time in this thesis, brings up the idea of classifying gates by making them in a symmetrical pattern with two door leaves or not. It leads to an introduction to the physical forms, or to be more precise, the ‘orders’ of Chinese gates, complemented by some discussions on general Chinese architectural forms and styles.

Then follows an inquiry into the symmetrical planning of the entrance space and the associated greeting rituals in the Han period and before, which reveals the relationship between the gate and the hall, and builds up the concept of the ‘gate-and-courtyard’. According to some archaeological excavations, before the Song of the 11th century, it could have been common to entre residential houses and palaces symmetrically on no central pavement and central door, but on a Y- or U-shaped road connecting the main entrance to the even number-bayed reception hall. This planning is very rare in main stream modern studies that mainly base on the buildings since the Song dynasty. It emphasised the balanced form not only in space but also in rituals, in contrast with the form of palaces and compounds of late imperial time with only one central passage in north-south in the late imperial time which is considered as the standard icon of Chinese architectural planning. This leads to questioning the philosophical/religious motive behind the change from the fairly balanced planning to that with the demanding central line. And under the strict ‘central’ control, the imperial orders of gates for ranking the society are discussed in the end.

Chapter 4 focuses on the sacrifices to gate and gate gods, and other relevant ceremonies and customs. After explaining the gate-and-courtyard in the previous chapter, rituals and rites have been framed and practised in this pattern. The *pai-lou* gateways in the parade for a national event in the early 18th century presents the monumental impression of a remarkable structure. The documented materials about *pai-lou* gateways themselves – the history, the building techniques, ornaments and associated ceremonies – cannot be less. Hence, the investigation begins with an emperor’s birthday parade of the Qing dynasty, in which hundreds of timber *pai-lou* gateways were built temporarily for this short-lived ceremony. And the usage of the *pai-lou* gateways emphasises the Chinese way of understanding gates. In the studies of gates as threshold linking human and spiritual worlds, I also attempt to separate the concepts of gate and gate god and their affinity by interpreting the sacrifices to them.

The Chinese carpentry, especially in the domestic building trade, is essential yet mysterious in current research, due to the insufficient data and documents. However, the technique-relative approach to building gates in this thesis is not completely hopeless under the circumstances. In Chapter 5, the unique ruler specially for making gates provides a possible perspective of understanding Chinese carpentry before the modern era. We move away from the social-and-political-hierarchy related planning and regulations into a symbolic carpenter's tool: the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* 鲁般真尺. Bearing the differentiation between the official/imperial and the domestic building trades in mind, this unique ruler and its relation with the Chinese carpenter's square, the *qu-chi* 曲尺, are introduced and discussed. The *lu-ban-zhen-chi*, named after the carpenter Sage Lu Ban of the 5th century BCE, was a rule made for measuring gates, without any dimensions marked on. The *qu-chi*, a common carpenter's square which remains as a tool of many craftsmen today, worked with the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* by being applied to the 'nine palaces' as the form of the *feng-shui* theory converted from the *ming-tang*. The entire concept and measuring practice are shockingly complex, which were invented merely for making a lucky gate by matching the 'right' measurements that were believed to work harmoniously with the residential house and Heaven. The 'opening Wealth gate' ceremony of the Dong people confirms the theory on many levels, although the sources on both rules have mostly depended on written records.

Chapter 6 goes back to where the entire research started: the Beijing inner city gates, the central three gates and five courts of the emperor's palace, and the ceremony of greeting the emperor's bride associated with the central gates in the north-south line. Previous studies have covered almost every aspect of Beijing city – the significance of city walls, the origins of city planning, the city's history and so forth, but the city gates seem always to be in a supporting role, mentioned as names in historical events or as part of constructions of the city walls. It would merely be more complex to deal with architecture in both city-spatial and historic terms,

especially when there are so many layers to define: the historical layer where the constructions are embedded and dynastic changes are involved; the spatial layer where inquiries to origins of Chinese urban planning and rituals have to be confronted; the social life layer where the political regimes of the Mongolian Yuan, the Han Ming, and the Manchu Qing (in chronological order) cannot be avoided, because as the imperial capital, the layout of Beijing had its constructions rooted in these three dynasties. After exploration in documented sources, the subject is limited to the nine Inner City gates and main gates emphasising the central line through the Forbidden City. The attempts are to clarify the constructions of the gates in the transformation of the last three dynasties in history, and to discover how the ancient gate-and-courtyard planning ideal was applied to the emperor's palace and emphasised by imperial rites. The state and court rites are always carried out along the space formed by the central gates and courts positioned in the north-south line, easily understood as the rites praising the ultimate power of the emperors. But there are exceptions, as when greeting the bride who was to become the empress after going through the ceremony held along the central line. The nine Inner City gates that enclosed the city from four cardinal directions, and the central gates and courts of the Forbidden City have perfectly imaged the ancient Chinese city planning ideal, symbolising the cosmo-philosophical idea of 'pivot' 中.

Boundaries and Translation

Chinese traditional carpentry is tricky territory, having been very much a blank in academic research, and studies on Chinese traditional architecture, based on the two books the *YZFS* 营造法式 (1103 CE), the *GCZFZL* 工程做法则例 (1734 CE) and several other manuals since the foundation of the *YZXS* 营造学社 in 1919, are only a start. Firstly, these two manuals above only record the standard orders and regulations for the imperial buildings (or official buildings) of the Song and Qing dynasties respectively, without any

project drawings, designs or textual records. Secondly, for the domestic building trade, architectural notes are scattered in miscellaneous essays and travel books, most of which are non-technological, concerned, for example, with taboos and local conventions. Thirdly, for both imperial and domestic trades, the team of carpenters and craftsmen is still a mystery, on which so many questions have not been answered satisfactorily: the size of the team, the numbers of each type of craftsman, how they communicated with each other about constructions without or with very few drawings, whether they had special drawings, how those oral communications were connected with technological terms and drawings, the order of the building process from day one, and so forth. All these aspects are more or less missing in case studies, and so are also lacking in this thesis, as will be especially obvious in Chapter 5 concerning the symbolic rule and the lucky measurements applied to gates. To provide firm evidence on those rules concerning gate buildings or to re-imagine the entire process of building a traditional gate seems hopeless so far, even though some scholars have tried to use the rules to explain the measurements of gates that they surveyed¹¹, because the domestic houses of the Ming dynasty (a period when the rules were supposed to be current in the domestic building trade) can barely be found and the traditional building craft has long gone with few records¹².

Translation is always an issue in studies on traditional Chinese architecture. As addressed by Joseph Needham in his book *Clerk and Craftsmen*, the difficulties of translating an old-time Chinese text are not only about the ancient language but also about the fundamental background and main ideas behind it which are absolutely essential to understand first.

¹¹ Chen Yaodong, *Lu Ban Jing Jiang Jia Jing Yan Jiu* (Beijing: China Architectural Industry Press, 2009), pp.198-225; Cheng Jianjun, 'Ya Bai Chi Fa Chu Tan', *The Journal of Huazhong Architecture*, 02 (1988), pp.47-59; Li Zheyang and Wang Dan, 'Lu Ban Chi Fei Zhi Liang Men Ke Yong', *Journal of Traditional Chinese Architecture and Gardens*, Issue 03 (2006), pp.3-7.

¹² In some rural areas, timbers sometimes are still used to frame the structure but the technology and form have nothing to do with tradition. The research on carpentry of national minorities in China has launched its first step, for they have kept some old building technologies which seem to have much affinity with the Han culture.

As Needham quoted from Friedrich Hirth to support his opinion: ‘Generally speaking, anyone can translate a chapter of Livy without difficulty with a grammar and dictionary, but you cannot do that with a Chinese text from antiquity or the Middle Ages, because there is so much more than the mere meaning of the words and sentences. The European reader must understand, be familiar with, and know the places, the people, and the things; he must not only translate, he must identify. Only when he has realised what the author is really talking about, can his translation have the breath of life. Even those who know the language extremely well must also be collectors, or as we might say, students of things, if the things are going to be talked about.’¹³ And these translating difficulties have so much to do with the Chinese imperial education system and its literary conventions. Since the Han court established the first Confucian-based education at the imperial university in 124 BCE, the Four Books and Five Classics¹⁴ of Confucianism were the only authentic contents of ‘literati teachings’ and civil service examinations for the remaining 2,000 years¹⁵, which was called the

¹³ Joseph Needham, *Clerk and Craftsmen in China and the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p.93.

¹⁴ The Four Books are *Great Learning* 大学 (originally a chapter from the *LJ*, the Classic/Book of Rites), *Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸 (originally a chapter from the *LJ*, the Classic/Book of Rites), *The Analects* 论语 (a compilation of selected speeches of Confucius), and *Mencius* 孟子 (a compilation of conversations of Mencius with kings). And the Five Classics are *Shi Jing* 诗经 (*SJ*, Classic of Poetry), *Shang Shu* 尚书 (*SS*, Classic of History), *Li Ji* (*LJ*, Classic/Book of Rites), *Yi Jing* 易经 (*YJ*, Classic/Book of Rites), and *Chun Qiu* 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals). For more information, see *Sources of Chinese Tradition: from earliest times to 1600*, ed. by WM. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom (Columbia University Press, 2000), pp.24-27, 41-63; and *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: from the origins of civilization to 221 B.C.*, ed. by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.313-323.

¹⁵ It has to be clarified that the Confucian education started much earlier than the imperial service examinations in the Han. From the Han to Tang till around 1,000 CE, the ‘principal means of entry into the social and political elite was by official recommendation or kinship relations’. See Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2000), p.5. And after that in the early Northern Song, the anonymous civil service examinations were set up to measure talents. This educational system and contents then were passed down not only by the empire ruled by the Han Chinese but also by the Mongolian and Manchurian emperors till the end of the imperial age in the early 20th century. For more information, see Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*, pp.1-65.

‘orthodox’ education. During this long period, the elite, who possessed the main wealth of the society and controlled the politics of empires, set up and maintained the Confucian values and standards for the whole society, by repeating, re-editing and reinterpreting the key terms and ideas of Confucianism and quoting them in their own literary sources for following generations¹⁶. In the building trade, on the one hand, the elite asked for architecture following their values; on the other hand, the carpenters, craftsmen and the entire business were at the bottom of society, lacking Classics education but relying mainly on oral communications in work cooperation. All these situations produced an insufficiency of writing and drawing records and difficulties in translation for both architectural and philosophical terminologies. All the terms that appear in this thesis are either defined in relation to a certain time and a certain location (which is very difficult, for the meanings of a term usually have a strong continuity of interpretations and origins in history)¹⁷, such as the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* 鲁般真尺, or are given a brief study beforehand in Chapter 2, as is the case with the *ming-tang* 明堂. Either way, there are risks of gaps in the arguments, which are normally identified and marked in the notes or in the main text. And technically, there will never be accurate English translations for the Chinese terms, especially the ancient ones when they carry information of the early civilisation. For example, the word ‘axis’ is avoided as much as possible in describing the planning of Chinese architecture, since it has its roots in western mathematics and geometry and therefore has a very different set of

¹⁶ Every official or semi-official classic of each dynasty, edited and managed by either the emperor himself or the high ranking officers and scholars, such as History of the Ming (the *MS*) and Collective Regulations of the Qing Royal Dynasty (the *HCTD*), always emphasises, with no exception, at the beginning of each chapter of rites, that the regulations of the royal rite as follows are carefully in accordance with rites of the Zhou (which, in fact, mean the doctrines of Confucianism that were modified from the thoughts of the Zhou by scholars of the Han and the new values of the Neo-Confucianism dominating since the Song), in order to stress the sacred and orthodox regime of the emperor as Son of Heaven. On the other hand, it indicates the lineage of the three: the Zhou cosmos, Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism.

¹⁷ The building terminology has its own history of evolution. See Li Yunhe, *Hua Xia Yi Jiang* (Tianjin: Tianjin University Press, 2005), pp.52-62.

meanings to the ones investigated here. Instead, such terms as ‘central line’, ‘central route’ and ‘line’ are applied to convey the idea of alignments of openings that do not presume any predisposed geometrical and perspectival layout. These more ambiguous terms seek to demonstrate that conscious references by Chinese carpenters to central (‘axial’) routes in planning were relatively unknown. And this problem, technically, also refers to the translation ‘gate’. The Chinese word *men* (literally, gate) can be used to define all kinds of gate architecture, including gate towers, gate buildings, gate-shape structures and so forth, even though there are many other more accurate and specific terms. However, the word ‘gate’ clearly resides in a different context of architecture.

As stated above, till the late imperial time, Chinese architecture was all about social hierarchies and orders that were set up by the imperial government and had historical roots in Confucianism and Daoism. The ties between architecture, religion, rituals and politics are inseparable, as Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow explained in the introduction of their edited book: the process of constructing a culture is ‘connected to questions of power’¹⁸. However, politics is not much argued about in this thesis, but is discussed in a historic context when necessary. The gates themselves, their origins, and the possible rituals related with them are the focus of attention, although they do always reflect, on many levels, the political power balance, such as the arrangements for guarding the nine Inner City gates of Beijing during the Manchu rule.

In Chapter 6, the discussions on city gates focus on the gates of the Inner City and on the centre-line through the Forbidden City, for the Outer City was in fact an uncompleted project which was intended originally to enclose

¹⁸ In the argument of Zito and Barlow, it is assumed that ‘power resides in the processes of social construction, intrinsic to the creation of language, people, and things’, because ‘common sense doesn’t just happen; it is generated under specific conditions of inequity, sustained over long periods, benefiting some people more than others.’ See Angela Zito, ‘Introduction’, in *Body, Subject and Power in China*, ed. by Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp.1-2.

the entire Inner City but ended up only attaching to the south wall of the Inner partly due to financial difficulties. Hence, the original design ideas about the Outer City are unknown, particularly the outer city gates and their intended relationships with those of the inner layer.

When speaking of Chinese architecture, the *feng-shui* theory is in no way to be avoided, there being no exceptions for gates. The deeper one digs into the matter of gates, the more complex and confusing are the connections with *feng-shui*, for there have been too many schools of the theory, which influenced the building trade and often contradict each other. For example, there are several different correspondences between the nine stars and the two rules of the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* and the *qu-chi* in Chapter 5, each of which leads to different lucky measurements for gates. Such situations seem to have been very common in the past, and could be adjusted by performing sacrifices, pasting magical charms and so forth, as described in Volume 3 of the *LBJ*.

The term ‘late imperial time’ in the thesis normally means the Ming and the Qing dynasties, especially the 400 years from the early Ming onwards to the middle Qing in the *pai-lou* gateways of Chapter 4 and the Beijing City of Chapter 6. There have been many cities on the site of Beijing over 3,000 years, but the physical layout of the city as left at the end of the imperial history of China was achieved in the 15th century under the Ming. Although the two dynasties were ruled by the Han and Manchurians respectively, who had different cultural origins and religious beliefs, the Manchurian authority adopted the same institutional structures, the same religious architecture, and the same Han customs and philosophical thoughts, and only improved gradually on detailed aspects of imperial regulations without much fundamental change, when they inherited the capital.

This thesis has had to tackle a wide range of ancient sources, because, as Nelson Wu remarked, most information on traditional architecture can only be found in the ‘preserved quantities of literature dealing not so much with

architecture itself but with rituals, symbolism, and life in general as it involves architecture'¹⁹. And it is also because the ancient sources are what the entire research is meant to lead to. This easily and inevitably causes gaps in arguments and points to substantial future work. Each chapter can be further developed: the direct connections and indirect correspondences between the Shang and Zhou cosmos and the later Confucianism and Daoism in Chapter 2; more studies and evidence on the pure symmetrical form of architecture and its associated rituals before the Tang dynasty in Chapter 3, which has not been found particularly in researches since the 1920s in China; the relations between the urban *fang* 坊 ward system and origins of *pai-lou* gateways, and more historical documents on them in Chapter 4; the traditional carpentry, evidence of gates having lucky measurements applied, and more solid explanations on how the carpenter's rules worked in Chapter 5; and the detailed social life around each city gate area to define city gates' role in influencing or even controlling life mode in the Qing dynasty in Chapter 6.

¹⁹ Nelson Wu, *Chinese and Indian Architecture: the city of man, the mountain of God and the realm of the immortals* (London; New York: Prentice-Hall International; Braziller, 1963), p.9.

Chapter 2

Literature and Philosophies (Part I): General Ideas and Problematic Ambiguities

In terms of the uniqueness of Chinese architecture, gates and gate buildings are functionally and ritually independent but not structurally. In the few ancient architectural monographs, such as the *YY* and the *LBJ*, gates are normally recorded in separate chapters, sometimes in the first chapter placed above all other parts of structures. However, building gates and the importance of threshold have gone along with the traditional carpentry in the early 20th century. The traditional construction and beliefs in threshold are mysterious and are raising questions that cannot be properly answered by current studies based on the methodology of western architecture. The differentiations between the traditional Chinese architecture and the modern Chinese and between the Chinese culture and the western have caused a great deal of ambiguity in understanding and studying Chinese architecture.

Previous and Current Studies

Li Yunhe puts it in this way that, not only before the modern times were the documents on Chinese traditional architecture meagre in quantity, but since the 20th century the number of valuable monographs on the very subject is also slim²⁰. And, borrowed from Paul Wheatley's opinions on the Chinese materials of urban genesis, they are 'fragmented', 'both spatially and temporally discontinuous' and 'poorly elucidated'²¹.

The previous and current research on Chinese traditional architecture divides mainly into two streams. The first, mainly done by Chinese scholars since the early 20th century, is concerned with physical structure, dynastic forms and styles, and various regional decorations. It is based on the investigation and conservation of existent buildings and historical relics and on studying the limited number of carpentry monographs and manuals preserved from the old time. The second is the main stream by western scholars, moving beyond the physical to an anthropological level, and focuses on the religious and symbolic meanings that Chinese architecture and cities have carried. By going through a surfeit of ancient literature and relying on limited archaeological discoveries (especially ones reflected in urban planning studies), it is believed that the symbolism of Chinese architecture is deeply rooted in the development of Chinese philosophies. However, specific inquiries about Chinese gates are lacking from both, probably due to the ambiguities of Chinese architecture and the complexity of Chinese religions. These ambiguities need to be explained before going on through the study on the subject of the Chinese gate.

²⁰ Li Yunhe, *Hua Xia Yi Jiang*, p.5. Trans. by Bing Jiang.

²¹ Paul Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters: a preliminary enquiry into the origins and character of the ancient Chinese city* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), p.3.

Western scholars preferred to take traditional Chinese architecture as a part of its landscape or to connect it tightly with the Chinese philosophies²², for, compared with their own complex of architectural art and history, from the stone Roman triumphal arches to the lofty Gothic cathedrals, the Chinese simplicity of timber buildings with their almost monotonous appearance and usual restriction to one storey present a more peaceful picture with a less unique character. It has taken nearly 300 years for westerners to modify their attitudes and perspectives from arrogance and prejudice to appreciating the chinoiserie, then on to architectural researches on the exotic yet cosmological planning and constructions and deeper studies on its soul: the connections with the profound background philosophies and their continuing practices – the rituals. In the early 19th century, the attractions that Chinese architecture drew from the west were only enough to be given three pages of introduction out of 500 pages in *A Handbook of Architectural Styles*, in which it was stated to have much affinity with late Indian architecture²³. On Sir. Banister Fletcher's drawing Tree of Architecture, Chinese and Japanese architecture was drawn on a small branch at the bottom, considered as a primitive non-significant minority²⁴. Needham and his collaborators in their famous series of books on Chinese science and civilisation were not concerned enough with architecture to compile a complete chapter on it. But of course, as Li Yunhe put it, the Chinese themselves should be blamed for not doing much work on studying their own architecture²⁵. To westerners, the most fascinating thing about China has never been its traditional architectural style but the unique

²² Before the modern times, *feng-shui* theory deeply influenced common people's daily life. And *huang-li* 黄历, the yellow calendar was the manual guide for the folks and gave advice on daily plans. In building activities, *feng-shui* gave advice on choosing a location and suggested when to start the groundwork and to put the main beam on. However, it is not just about architecture or a theoretical research on it. The *feng-shui* masters were basically getting their skills from the book *Yi Jing* and their masters, half orally and half practically. For more information on *huang-li*, see Martin Palmer, *T'ung Shu: the ancient Chinese Almanac* (Boston: Shambhala, 1986).

²³ See Albert Rosengarten, *A Handbook of Architectural Styles* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1912), pp.54-56.

²⁴ See Li Yunhe, *Hua Xia Yi Jiang*, p.12; and Sir. Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (London: Athlone Press, 1961), pp.1197-1202.

²⁵ Li Yunhe, *Hua Xia Yi Jiang*, p.13.

theories behind, even though they might be amazed at the first sight by the special curved roofs and the bold colours, for the building technologies and materials seemed way too simple. In both early pictorial studies on traditional Chinese architecture from Siren and Boerschmann and in the records of early impressions on the Chinese social and family life of the 19th century and early 20th century, the strong power of philosophies is felt. The philosophies (mainly Confucianism and Daoism) that emphasise and discuss the social orders and the relationship between man and nature, have influenced every aspect of Chinese daily activities in a way that makes them quite different from or even independent from and parallel to the west, especially as regards building activities. This relationship reflected in the spirit of architecture is beautifully declared by Needham:

In no other field of expression (but in architecture) have the Chinese so faithfully incarnated their great principles that Man cannot be thought of apart from Nature, and that man is not to be divided from social man.²⁶

The power of philosophies is so strong that it has dominated the imperial ruler-ship, the social structure, the daily life, and the development of thought and science in China through dynasties for 2,000 years. Yet it might also be considered weak in a way that it never became officially a ‘religion’ with a set of strict religious doctrines and rite performances like those of Buddhism or Christianity. Its role as an impediment to science is described particularly in Needham’s enormous and fundamental work *The Science and Civilisation in China*, in which he found it necessary to integrate certain religious and philosophical aspects. Even though the beginning and development of science take the major part of the study and are categorised and organised following western scientific disciplines, not only does the research on various schools of religion take an entire Volume II titled ‘Scientific Thought’ but such matters inevitably also intrude in the other volumes, considered as the original notions of science or pseudo-science. At

²⁶ Joseph Needham, *The Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), vol.4, pp.60-61.

the same time, Chinese philosophical religions themselves caught the eyes of the western scholars' right after Chinese architecture started to be discussed in the West, and became the key to explaining building trades and activities:

The basis of Chinese architecture is religious resonance. Once we understand this, we have the key to understanding the buildings themselves. The finest considerations of the Chinese people found their expression in religion. Here lies the root of all action. The inner forces released by it should move us when we consider the outer image of the Chinese landscape, of nature and what people added to it – when we consider what it was, and how through works of architecture the Chinese give their land its soul.²⁷

As a coincidence, it can be acknowledged that the ancient Chinese did not seem to be much interested in studying or developing the science and technology of architecture, at least not in the surface. In the early 1930s, only a small number of architectural monographs²⁸ were found in China, a country with thousands of years of building activities. Before modern China, there was no such occupation as the professional architect like those in Europe, but only carpenters, masons, craftsmen and so forth. They were categorised according to the materials they dealt with, and did not just work in the building business, but in furniture-making and other fields where the same materials were applied. Oral and practical education dominated in the crafts business, for most craftsmen were not educated properly in reading and writing. The social status of craftsmen remained very low over millennia of imperial time²⁹, partly because, as Andrew Boyd analyses,

²⁷ Ernst Boerschmann, *Baukunst und Landschaft in China*, translated by Professor Peter Blundell Jones (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1926), p.V.

²⁸ The official works on buildings, which were compiled and published by the imperial central governments, are the *YZFS* (Building Standards) and the *GCZFZL* (Structural Regulations). From the folk society, the most famous one was the *LBJ*. All of them are discussed on in this chapter or in the following ones.

²⁹In fact, it is since the Han dynasty that Confucian classics had become the 'basis of a nation-wide examination for recruiting officials, and as primary material for education as schools.' See Jianfei Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies* (London; New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), p.37. Since the 13th century, Zhu Xi's compilation of the Confucian Four Classics was canonised as the texts for civil examinations, which officially brought the

craftsmen had developed from slaves since the Qin dynasty, ‘a class formed principally from prisoners captured in the many wars, and peasants, not tied to the land, but not owning the land either’³⁰; and partly because of the crucial influence of Confucianism. Confucian doctrine, strongly advocated by almost every emperor in every dynasty ever since, assumes that government service through literary education and exams is the ideal mode of life for a *jun-zi*, a superior man. And clearly, the class of craftsmen did not belong to the *jun-zi* society. As stated in Chapter 1, the Classics of Confucianism dominated the contents of the imperial educations and civil service examinations for selecting officials working for the government, while other professions were considered neither ‘orthodox’ nor ‘superior’ for a civilised man. Hence, the only approbatory and regular education was the studying of Confucian classics, and anything apart from that was regarded as vulgar, including the crafts.

The term ‘architect’ had no accurate translation in Chinese, but was imported from the west, along with modern architectural education, in the early 20th century after the first Chinese architects³¹ took western education

Neo-Confucianism to the political stage in history. For more information, see Jianfei Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies*, pp.37-44.

³⁰ Andrew Boyd, ‘*Chinese Architecture*’, in *World Architecture: An Illustrated History*, ed. by Seton Lloyd (London: Reprint Society, 1964), p.87. For more information, see Li Zhi’an and Sun Liqun, *She Hui Jie Ceng Zhi Du Zhi* (Shanghai: Shanghai People Press, 1998), pp.367-385.

³¹ Liang Sicheng 梁思成 and Lin Huiyin 林徽因 who were the founders of modern architectural education in the School of Architecture in Tsinghua University graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1920s. Tan Yuan 谭垣 who also took architectural education in University of Pennsylvania became the professor of Tongji University in Shanghai and devoted himself to monumental architecture in his late years. Tong Jun 童寓 practiced design for two decades after his graduation from University of Pennsylvania and spread his studies and ideas of Chinese gardens in Nanjing University for the rest of life. Huang Zuoshen 黄作燊, after graduating from the School of the Architectural Association, London, and the Graduate School of Design, Harvard University, as the first Chinese student of Walter Gropius, introduced Beaux-Arts architecture, which was popular at that time in the west, to the Chinese in St. John’s University, Shanghai, which he founded. He was influenced deeply by western modern architecture and applied himself to compiling Chinese architectural theory. Liu Dunzhen, who took architecture courses in Japan, was one of the most important members of *Ying Zao Xue She* (the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture).

abroad and came back to China. Not surprisingly yet interestingly, most of these disciples influenced by modern architectural education chose the technological path as a start to reading Chinese traditional buildings, following the way that the western architects expressed, analysed and recorded their own constructions. And it all started from the discovery of the 12th century treatise *YZFS*.

The discovery of the *YZFS* in the early 1920s triggered the passion of Chinese scholars, literati, social activists and young architects to study, understand and conserve those obsolete, forgotten yet grand artistic structures, especially the fascinating temples, palaces, halls and pagodas that survived, and this led to the foundation of the *Ying Zao Xue She* 营造学社 (Society for Research in Chinese Architecture). It was a research group founded in 1930³² by Zhu Qiqian³³ and some other specialists at that time, some of whom had received an architectural education abroad. They had surveyed and drawn many surviving buildings for the first time in Chinese history, and translated the major technological books in ancient Chinese into modern Chinese³⁴. After the dissolution of the Society in 1946 due to financial problems and wars in China, the study of Chinese architecture continued in several newborn schools of architecture in universities. Their main research concerns, based on the two official books, the *YZFS* of the Song and *GCZFZL* of the Qing, were dedicated to confirming the general dates of some buildings by studying the relationship between them and the technological monographs, especially in relation to the terminology that had

³² There is another point of view that the Society was founded in 1929. But in this thesis, it is considered that it was 1930, for the inaugural meeting was held that year, and the first issue of their bulletin was published in the same year.

³³ For more information on Zhu's work, see Ronald Knapp, *China's Living Houses: folk beliefs, symbols, and household ornamentation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), pp.1-2; Cui Yong, *Zhong Guo Ying Zao Xue She Yan Jiu* (Nanjing: Southeast University Press, 2004), pp.97-108; and Lin Zhu, *Zhong Guo Ying Zao Xue She Shi Lue*, pp.22-28.

³⁴ For more information on their works, see *Bulletins of the Society for the Research in Chinese Architecture*; Cui Yong, *Guo Ying Zao Xue She Yan Jiu*, pp.60-202; and Lin Zhu, *Zhong Guo Ying Zao Xue She Shi Lue*, pp.84-187.

been reinterpreted over hundreds of years. They also sought to understand the building techniques of craftsmen and to recover details of some historical buildings that had not survived. Although those two treatises only documented well a small part of the building trade such as imperial palaces and government buildings, and were not much concerned with vernacular buildings, both of them, in the academic studies on Chinese traditional architecture and history, have aroused a passion and waves of research on Chinese traditional buildings. It is apparent from the contents of the books that the attention of the authors had not been on specific methods for designing plans or facades as in the West, but on regulatory uses of several materials, and on the standard measurements of every small structural member and the proportions between them. It is clear, too, that the research and recording means are completely different from those used by the traditional western world³⁵.

Connections between the East and West on the study of Chinese traditional architecture were surprisingly close in the environment of the early 20th century, for only a decade after the discovery of the mysterious manual *YZFS* of building techniques of the Song, Kelling and Schindler already made some research on it in their monograph³⁶ published in 1935, although by that time the translation of the manual's obscure ancient Chinese into modern Chinese was still not completed, not to mention the lost techniques recorded in it and the special terms for them³⁷. The studies on techniques never stopped, but there was not one systematically organised publication until Andrew Boyd's technical monograph *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning 1500 B.C. – A.D. 1911*³⁸ was published in 1962, which,

³⁵ For more information, see Lin Zhu, *Zhong Guo Ying Zao Xue She Shi Lue*, pp.22-8, 84-187, 218-225; and *Bulletins of the Society for the Research in Chinese Architecture* from 1930 to 1945.

³⁶ For more information on the monograph, see Needham, *The Science and Civilisation in China*, vol.4, pp.59, 791.

³⁷ Liang Sicheng started the research on the *YZFS* only in 1930.

³⁸ Boyd's book is remarkably broad, with coverage from the historical background, structural principles, evolution and style of Chinese architecture to city, house, and garden principles and some religious buildings.

again, responded to *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture* written in English by the Chinese architectural scholar Liang Sicheng, and finished in the 1940s³⁹. Maybe because of the language barriers both between Chinese and English and between Chinese and ancient Chinese, and with more and more timber relics demolished before and during urban modernisation, the studies on old fashioned building techniques gradually moved on from ancient literature to conservation and case studies, especially in the cases of temples and residential houses that had luckily been preserved in rural areas. Ronald Knapp is particularly interested in dwelling houses and vernacular architecture of China, and his works concern not only the various structures and decorations but also the settlement landscape and folk traditions. His approach departed from the usual situation in China, where *feng-shui* practices (settlement sites of houses), decorative folklore and constructive buildings are usually studied separately under three departments: *feng-shui* theory, the folklore and vernacular architecture. The field of Chinese social and imperial rituals has opened up another route to discover how philosophical attitudes have dominated and controlled the daily life of the Chinese and then been carried through to planning and construction. And Doolittle's work on Chinese social life was one of the earliest. Zito's research, largely based on the original literature, historical gazetteers and the Chinese culture studies of the first decades in the 20th century⁴⁰ and some earlier works which collected and examined a body of folklore stories, customs and explanations of cultural cosmologies, has provided an impressive and detailed account of analyses on state rituals and rites of the last millennium of China and systematically defined the *li* 礼, the correct rituals, as a hegemonic term that is much more than a system of beliefs but

³⁹ The draft of *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture* by Liang was lost during the Second World War, and later found by Liang's friend Wilma Fairbank in Singapore, who helped publish it in 1984.

⁴⁰ Such as works of F. Ayscough, F. Wolf, C. K. Yang, Raymond Williams, and John Watt.

goes beyond ‘ideology’⁴¹. Zito is one of the followers of van Gennep’s theory of the rite of passage, which is borrowed to analyse rituals. While the imperial rites and the hegemony of *li* were being taken care of, Ebrey made an enormous contribution to the studies on Chinese family rituals by translating and annotating the entire *Chu Hsi’s Family Rituals* that had been of the most influence on the family and common social behaviour since the Song dynasty, and by collating the key classic literature to interpret Chinese civilization. Combining the enormous body of literature and monographs on family rituals with the discussions on house and compound planning, one can picture a vivid life of a common kind in the late imperial period, and

⁴¹ Raymond Williams presented his argument on it in his book *Marxism and Literature* earlier than Angela Zito: ‘What is decisive is not only the conscious system of ideas and beliefs, but the whole lived social process as practically organized by specific meanings and values... (The hegemonic) thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in the society, a sense of the absolute because it is experienced reality beyond which it is very difficult for most members of the society to move.’ See Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp.109-110; and Angela Zito, ‘*City Gods, Filiality, and Hegemony in Late Imperial China*’, in *Modern China*, vol.13, No.3, Symposium on Hegemony and Chinese Folk Ideologies, Part II, (Sage Publications, Inc., July 1987), p.336. However, Angela Zito has pushed it further with her deep research on the imperial rites. See Zito, ‘*City Gods, Filiality, and Hegemony in Late Imperial China*’, pp.333-71. The first impression and claim on Chinese imperial ‘*li*’ of the European missions in the late 18th century, such as the ritual of the *san-gui jiu-kou* (the three kneeling and nine prostrations of the full kowtow 三跪九叩) from the eunuchs and officials to the emperor were that it was the ritual of ‘abject servitude’ (from the review John Fairbank wrote of Bernardo Bertolucci’s *The Last Emperor* for the *New York Review of Books* in 1988) and that the Qing state was ‘despotic’. See James L. Hevia, ‘*Sovereignty and Subject: Constituting Relations of Power in Qing Guest Ritual, in Body*’, in *Subject and Power in China*, ed. by Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp.181-200, and more papers from Hevia. For more information on the kowtow ritual to emperors in the grand audience in court, see Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1963), pp.12-13; and Wang Qi and Wang Siyi, the *SCTH* (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Press, 1988), pp.1801-1805. In fact, the ritual of kowtow was performed not only to emperors but also to parents, respected elder family members, gods and spirits, and especially to ancestors in festival and grave ceremonies, which shows how it is deeply rooted in the primitive ancestral worships and beliefs. Even in modern China, kowtow to parents and ancestors is still popular in daily life. Andrew Kipnis describes the ritual of kowtow in rural Shandong Province in the late 1980s. See Andrew Kipnis, ‘*(Re)inventing Li: Koutou and Subjectification in Rural Shandong*’, in *Body, Subject and Power in China*, ed. by Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow (Chicago, London: University of Chicago press, 1994), pp.201-217. Evelyn Rawski argues that by kneeling and kowtowing, the legitimate power from Heaven flows from Heaven to the emperor and his officials. It is an action symbolising power, authority and order, of which the significance was broadly understood and passed on by continuing performing it, ‘the young bride to her new parents-in-law’, ‘a concubine to her husband’s wife’, ‘a maidservant to her mistress’. See Evelyn Rawski, *The Last Emperors: a social history of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1998), p.205.

one can also imagine living that life, sharing its social values and conventions. However, the element of architecture has been thin or absent from most ritual and religious studies.

Among the recognised Chinese treatises on traditional architecture, monographs and volumes on Chinese gates are even fewer, but in the field of Chinese religious and ritual studies, sinologists' anthropological works are seemingly too many. In the latter, the role played by gates in religious life is unfortunately generally too blurred and vague in detail to provide a good foundation for study.

The Ambiguities in Chinese Architecture

The ambiguities in Chinese architecture, which have emerged during the past studies, raise two difficulties. One is that buildings of different uses and hierarchies had fairly stereotyped physical forms and planning layouts⁴²; the other is that some architectural concepts, after being reinterpreted repeatedly over hundreds of years, have given rise to a confusing variety of terms and names in the Chinese language, since oral culture in craft apprenticeship was the most important tradition of Chinese building trade while most records about architecture were kept in literary works.

Due to the former, the problem is that Chinese gates and gate buildings physically blend into the general images of other functional types of buildings, either in the form of their appearance or in the planning of a compound, so that gates earned no special attention in the construction monographs compiled by the official imperial governments or in those of modern scholars. This was perhaps due to the nature of Chinese architectural philosophies in which planning a group of buildings seemed more prominent and dominant than designing a single one. Of course there was 'designing', but the 'designing' usually referred to ornament or

⁴² Only if the multi-ethnic and multi-topographic situations of China are not considered.

decoration tied up with cosmological beliefs rather than triggered by aesthetic intentions. Hence, gates were treated architecturally as single buildings and planned in accordance with the philosophical rules, especially in the official building trade. And it explains why gate buildings looked similar to the audience halls of a palace, to the bedroom halls of residential courtyards, and even to the ancestral halls of a temple. Meanwhile, the different terms for gates/gateways of different materials but of the same appearance (such as *pai-lou* and *pai-fang*), or of different functions but located in the same position in a compound (such as the second gate in a house, a yamen or a palace)⁴³ also cause confusions, which are just accepted as normal by the Chinese. All these ambiguities have influenced the few studies on Chinese gates and passages: Liang Sicheng's measurement and drawings of temple gates in North China during the mid 20th century; Osvald Sirén's measurement, photographs and technical studies on Beijing city gates in the 1920s; Lou Qingxi's photographs of various gates; Wu Yucheng's Chinese gate culture and Zhu Qingsheng's Ph.D thesis on the commander gods of gates in the late 20th century⁴⁴; Stafford's particular discussion on Chinese gates/door that play prominent and symbolic roles in modern rural daily life in North China⁴⁵.

To understand a gate building one should, therefore, start by studying the general history of Chinese architectural research and of the ordinary

⁴³ The religious and regional diversity of Chinese buildings is not discussed here, such as Buddhist architecture, but only the generosity of the mainstream. The villages and clans of minorities in rural areas which could be far beyond the Han culture influences may have very different architecture responding to their particular geographic, cultural and religious conditions.

⁴⁴ These are the major ones that lead in their perspective fields. There are miscellaneous journal papers that are related to the subject. See the Bibliography and other chapters. But studies from an anthropological point of view are very rare.

⁴⁵ On the specific subject that comes to the relationship between the gates/doors and rituals, Stafford is one of the few scholars, who, in one chapter of his anthropological monograph, raises the question of why doors and gates should play such prominent and symbolic roles in Chinese daily life and argues that it must be part of the 'separation and reunion' culture of Chinese, supported by his personal interviews and observations in a small rural village in northeast China, especially during the Chinese Spring Festival, even though it only takes less than 20 pages without any gate being illustrated.

single building. In Needham's work, the main features of Chinese buildings include the curved roof, the grouping arrangement, the post-and-lintel construction and even the use of colours on walls, but not gates and gateways⁴⁶. In academic textbooks for undergraduate education, studies on Chinese ancient architecture are clearly categorised into the field of 'architectural history': the buildings are studied chronologically and dynastically rather than as particular cases⁴⁷, especially regarding those of the last millennium since the Tang dynasty. The concerns are what the roofs looked like in which dynasty, how the widths of the bays between columns were arranged in which dynasty, what the scale of the columns was in which dynasty, and so forth. The basic 'orders' of the official buildings in different periods were a particular focus, following art-historical practice in the west. This is partly because not many old buildings of the last 400 years have survived to be studied as cases, and meanwhile the illustrated records are very rare⁴⁸, not to mention that the ancient architecture from the long period

⁴⁶ Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol.4, p.65.

⁴⁷ The scholars and architects in the *Ying Zao Xue She* 营造学社 (Society for Research in Chinese Architecture) in the first half of the 20th century found and surveyed some old buildings most of which were destroyed in wars. They left many drawings and published papers of case studies on the Journals of the Society. Most of their research focused on comprehending the structure according to the terminology and technology recorded in the *YZFS*. For the Society's work, see *Bulletin of the Society for the Research in Chinese Architecture*. For textbooks, see Liang Sicheng, *Zhong Guo Jian Zhu Shi* (Tianjin: Baihua Literature and Art Publishing House, 2005); Liu Dunzhen, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Jian Zhu Shi* (Beijing: China Architectural Industry Press, 1979); and Fu Xinian, *Chinese Architecture* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2002); Fu Xinian, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Jian Zhu Shi Lun* (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2004), pp.2-59. But for many buildings in history famous in historical documents, there has not been enough evidence to reconstruct their entire appearance. See Li Yunhe, *Hua Xia Yi Jiang*, p.18.

⁴⁸ Due to their vulnerability to fire, insects and humidity, most timber structures dating from before the Tang dynasty (618 – 907) have gone. The oldest surviving one known today is the Main Hall of Fo Guang Temple in Wutai Mountains, Shanxi Province, dated exactly to the year 857. The second oldest timber building is the Guan Yin Hall 观音阁 of the Du Le Temple 独乐寺 in Jixian 蓟县, Tianjin, built in 984, a finest example of the Song architecture. See Boyd, 'Chinese Architecture', in *World Architecture: An Illustrated History*, ed. by Seton Lloyd (London: Reprint Society, 1964), pp.95-96. Most surviving timber buildings are of the Qing period (1644 – 1912), or as originally built in the Ming dynasty (1368 – 1644) but refurbished or rebuilt many times since. The studies on the architecture of the Song dynasty (960 – 1127) are vitally based on the building regulative treatise book the *YZFS* compiled by the imperial government. Fu Xinian, in his *Ten Lectures on Ancient Chinese Architecture* (2004), tries to summarise the characteristics of architecture before the Ming period in images on brass vessels, drawings discovered in

before the 10th century is almost absent, knowledge of it based mainly on archaeological relics, or images on vessels, paintings and works of literature. Differentiation by period is made more difficult by building technologies and materials that saw hardly any fundamental breaks and changes until modernism came in the early 20th century. In other words, not only did temple buildings have a similar planning method and layout to residential house compounds, but the buildings of different periods also look very much alike (Figures 2-1, 2-2, 2-3 and 2-4). It is astonishing that this structure had changed so little from the Qin period, 200 years before Christ, to the end of the last dynasty in the twentieth century, and that the way the Chinese had been building in columniation of a single building and in the planning of a group of them has not changed, even though the structure allowed a great level of flexibility in interior space, and the simple square-planned one-storey unit building gave freedom for variations in planning⁴⁹. Comparing this with the western culture of architecture, no wonder Albert Rosengarten in the 19th century concluded that Chinese architecture was as ‘invariable as everything else in the Celestial Empire, and Chinese art, generally, is the same as it was many hundreds of years ago’⁵⁰, which is, of course, narrow from today’s point of view, but represents the first and general impression of Chinese architecture gained by the West.

As a typical Chinese building, the basic structure is a timber post-and-lintel skeleton on a platform made of stone or bricks, with a pitched roof and overhanging eaves supported by bracket sets or not (only high-ranked

tombs, paintings in caves, and so forth, due to the lack of real cases. In his comparison of Chinese and western building attitudes, Li Yunhe argues that the Chinese were never enthusiastic about making buildings immortal. To support it, he cites Ji Cheng’s ideas on making a house: humans and material things have different lengths of life span; things can be passed on for a thousand years, while human beings only live to less than a hundred; the living environment that we create should match the years that we can enjoy; there is no need for our descendants to live in what we create, which they may not be satisfied with. See Li Yunhe, *Hua Xia Yi Jiang*, pp.23-25.

⁴⁹ Andrew Boyd, *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning, 1500 B.C. – A.D. 1911* (London: Tiranti, 1962), p.34.

⁵⁰ Rosengarten, *A Handbook of Architectural Styles*, p.56.

buildings have bracket sets), which leads to a considerable flexibility in partitioning the space inside⁵¹. So this single building could be arranged as a family hall, a bedroom, a temple hall, or a gatehouse (Figure 2-5). Timber was always the first-choice of building material to construct the frame and to make furniture and ornaments, ‘light for its strength, cheap to transport, easy to work and to carve, easy to mass produce and to standardise’⁵². According to the *YZFS*, the structural frame and most of the interior walls and furniture were made of timber, constructively belonging to the ‘major’ and ‘minor’ carpentries⁵³. The unique part of the frame is the bracket sets, *dou-gong* 斗拱, which are positioned between beams and columns to transfer the load from the horizontal members above to the vertical ones below. Each set of brackets consists of several pieces of *dou* (blocks), *gong*

⁵¹ It is commonly claimed by Chinese scholars that the interior freedom of Chinese timber buildings is due to the timber structure. See Liang Sicheng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture: a study of the development of its structural system and the evolution of its types* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1985), p.8; and Fu Xinian, *Chinese Architecture*, pp.29-30. However, in fact, this ‘freedom’ was not taken advantage of in practice. The interior space of most house buildings, temple halls and palace halls was simply divided into three parts – the middle, the left and the right. Usually the middle one was used as a social space, with the furniture arranged symmetrically according to the middle axis, with an interior wall separating the front and back to connect the back courtyard if there is one; and the two side rooms are more private for bed rooms. For official halls, such as the Taihe Hall in the Forbidden City and the main hall in yamens and temples, the only theme of the interior space is the middle axis, on which the only chair and desk for the head officer or emperor, or images and offerings to the god addressed there, are set in the middle of the hall to draw most attention.

⁵² Boyd, *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning, 1500 B.C. – A.D. 1911*, p.24.

⁵³ The *YZFS* was a construction bible of imperial buildings of the Song period, first published in 1103. The treatise was compiled by Li Jie, a great superintendent of the construction department of the government, who worked there for seventeen years starting as a basic officer and rising to being the head in charge of imperial building projects. The *YZFS* is composed of thirty-six chapters: the first two are an introduction and summary of building experience before the Song; the next thirteen chapters are the essential rules of building, including ‘major carpentry’ (structural frames, beams, brackets, purlins, lintels, columns, etc.), ‘minor carpentry’ (doors, windows, screens, rails, shrines, partitions, ceilings, etc.), stone masonry (the use and fabrication of stone, stone sculptures, etc.), brick and tile masonry (the rank and usage of different tiles and bricks), foundations (groundworks of a building, building walls, measuring, etc.), painted decoration (the patterns of paintings on a building, the colour materials and painting methods and rules), sculptural decoration (themes about wood sculpture, skills, etc.); the following fifteen chapters are a summary of standard material costs; and in the final six chapters, one hundred and ninety three detailed drawings of different parts of buildings are illustrated.

(arms) and *ang*. Each part is named according to position and function⁵⁴. One of the measurements of the base *dou* (the one at the bottom of the whole set), called *dou-kou*⁵⁵ 斗口, is the basic measure unit of every structural member of a building, from the height of columns to the length of the plan. It means that, by setting the dimension of *dou-kou*, the scale and measures of the entire building are fixed in advance. For imperial buildings, there were 11 *dou-kou* applied (Figure 2-6). The column-and-lintel structure, never braced diagonally as a triangle, leaves a considerable freedom of the roof line possible, and the construction of the bracket sets directly influences the shape of roof, the measurements of *dou*, *gong* and *ang*, leading to the change of curve⁵⁶.

The typical rectangular plan of a single building in the late imperial time is as follows: the gate/door opened into the central bay of the long side façade, on which columns of even number from 4 to 12 were placed to guarantee a central bay; solid walls of clay or bricks were built to seal the short side facades; the central gate/door is approached by a flight of steps (Figure 2-7).

As the Chinese had no interest in building multiple storeys, the easiest way to heighten a building vertically was to build a high platform. And it is also one of the effective ways to emphasise the importance of a building. The Tai-he Hall in the Forbidden City is the best example, which is not just

⁵⁴ For more details see Liang Sicheng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, pp.12-13; and Laurence Liu, *Chinese Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1989), pp.30-31.

⁵⁵ The *dou-kou* was regulated and applied in the Qing period. According to the *YZFS* of the Song (960 - 1127), the term for the basic measure unit was *cai* 材, and there were 8 of *cai*. See Liang Sicheng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, pp.15-16, 18-19; Wang Qijun, *Zhong Guo Jian Zhu Tu Jie Ci Dian* (Beijing: China Machine Press, 2007), pp.95-96.

⁵⁶ There is another factor that makes the roof curve very smooth. According to Liang Sicheng and other scholars' research, 'the profile of the roof plane is determined by means of a *ju* 举, or raising of the ridge purlin, and a *zhe* 折, or depression of the rafter line'. For more information on the curved roofs, see Liang Sicheng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, pp.17-18; and Boyd, *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning, 1500 B.C. - A.D. 1911*, pp.39-46.

located at the heart of the City but also stands on the highest platform approximately 10 metres above ground. For city gates, the gate towers were built on the high city walls instead of on platforms (Figure 2-8).

In the late imperial time of the Ming and Qing dynasties, the forms of roofs were regulated and determined by the rank and importance of the building⁵⁷ (Figure 2-9): the gable, the hip, the gable-and-hip and the pyramidal roof. Excepting the gable, the other three have double-eaved forms which are naturally higher ranked than the single-eaved. And the pyramidal roofs were often applied to pavilions in Chinese gardens, corner towers and other cases where biaxial symmetry was required. Of all the four forms, the hip roof was applied to buildings of greatest importance, and the double-eaved hip speaks for the paramount. Among existing buildings, there are only three with double-eaved hip roofs: the Taihe Hall 太和殿 in the Forbidden City 紫禁城 which represents the centralised power of the empire and the centre of universe in the sense of philosophy; the main hall of the Confucian Temple in Shandong Province which represents the religious sacredness of Confucianism (the centre of religious power), and the Tiankuang Hall 天况殿 of the Dai Temple 岱庙 in Tai Mountain 泰山 which represents the supreme power of Heaven as the site of the most important annual sacrifice performed by emperors (the centre of Heavenly power) (Figures 2-10, 2-11, and 2-12). In the buildings for the residences of princes, the nobility, and high-ranking officers, the single-eaved gable and gable-and-hip roofs were mostly applied. The ornaments on the ridge tips of curved roofs were applied only to imperial buildings and extremely important temples. They consist of mythical sitting beasts⁵⁸ (*zou-shou* 坐兽)

⁵⁷ There were flat and other humble forms of roofs apparently, often seen in vernacular and domestic building trades. Laurence Liu gives nine types of roofs with Chinese names, which exhibit no crucial differences. See Laurence Liu, *Chinese Architecture*, p.32; Wang Qijun, *Zhong Guo Jian Zhu Tu Jie Ci Dian* (Beijing: China Machine Press, 2007), pp.1-4, 5-6, 11.

⁵⁸ Each of these beasts is associated with mythical stories. The first, the furthest from *xian-ren*, is *chao-feng* (dragon), which is the third son of the Dragon and can deter ghosts from getting close to the building. It looks like a dog, a symbol of prestige. Since he enjoys

and one celestial being (*xian-ren* 仙人) as the finial on the end of ridge. The number of these sitting beasts can vary from one to ten, depending on the form and official rank of the building, so that the maximum is eleven, including the celestial being.

In planning, the uniqueness of arranging a group of single buildings into a courtyard compound enclosed by walls reached its peak in the late imperial period after 3,000 years of development. Residential houses, temples, yamens and palaces shared the same pattern: the entire compound consisted of chains of courtyards; each courtyard was dominated by a main hall placed on the north on the north-south central line, with its long side façades facing south, while two side halls, lower, smaller and more lowly ranked, were arranged to the east and west respectively; for the important courtyards, a gate in a wall or a gatehouse was placed to the south in the centre. The southernmost courtyards were relatively larger and more friendly for greeting visitors, audiences, feasts or other more public and formal events, while the northern ones were for more private life, surrounded by bedrooms, kitchens and all sorts of places where only certain

more distant views than other sons of the Dragon, *chao-feng* always stays on the ridge to watch. The next one standing a little lower along the ridge is the phoenix. Phoenix in Chinese culture is not just the symbol of empresses – as dragon is the symbol of emperors – but is also the representative of people of great reputation meriting respect. In the historical work *Shi Ji* (Records of the Grand Historian), it is recorded that ‘phoenix never fly with other birds’. Hence, using phoenix to decorate roofs implies the supreme power of the emperors. The lion stands next to the phoenix, representing valour and dignity as in most cultures. In the old book *Chuan Deng Ji*, it records that ‘the lion shouted: in the whole nature from the highest sky to the deepest ocean, I am the most powerful. All the other animals are scared with the lion.’ The *tian-ma* (flying horse) and *hai-ma* (swimming horse) are next, which are all auspicious animals in old Chinese myth. The *jia-yu* (fish) is a precious beast of the sea in old myth. Both *suan-ni*, right next to it, and *jia-yu* can make rain to prevent fires. This may be one of the reasons why they are placed on roofs. The *zhi* is a violent beast, looking like a lion. The book *Yi Wu Zhi* that records strange beasts and monsters, says that ‘*zhi*, living in the area of northeast, has one horn, and is very loyal, with the ability of judging right and wrong.’ So *zhi* is a symbol of justice and bravery. The number nine is *dou-niu* (bull) which is one type of *Qiu* Dragon *Chen Yuan Shi Lue* records that *dou-niu* live in the western sea and create clouds when it is raining, so they like to stay on roofs. Just like *jia-yu* and *suan-ni*, *dou-niu* is also believed to protect houses from fires. The *xing-shi* (monkey) is next to *dou-niu*, which has wings and a golden stick in its hands and has the magic power to make monsters and ghosts surrender. For more information, see Wang Qijun, *Zhong Guo Jian Zhu Tu Jie Ci Dian* (Beijing: China Machine Press, 2007), pp.8-10.

family members and servants were allowed. This planning principle produced a visiting experience that, following the central line from the main gate in the south, the more gates one passed through, the deeper inside one is entering towards the north, and the more private life one touches. Each gate on the chain defined the character of the courtyard it led to and built the boundaries of morality and hierarchy for people.

Taking the Shuntian yamen of the Qing dynasty for example (Figure 2-13), the main gate in the far south end, blocked by a screen wall opposite the street, was a three bay building placed on a platform with a flight of steps leading up to it in front. Behind was a long courtyard, along which small temples, grain storage, and prisons were planned, respectively to east and west. At the far north end of the first courtyard was the more elaborate second gate 二门, more often described in literature as the ceremonial gate 仪门, consisting of a major three-bay building in the middle and two side buildings attached. The gate in the central bay of the middle building was only opened for formal and big occasions, such as greeting new magistrates and higher-ups, and for the audience at a public trial; the east gate of the east side building was opened for officers' daily use, and called the 'human gate', while the west gate of the west side building was opened specially for criminals who had just been given the death penalty in the trial and were to be sent to wait in prison, giving it the name of 'ghost gate'⁵⁹ (Figures 2-14, 2-15). To the north of the main audience hall in the second courtyard, a small gate was placed to mark the end of public and official space, and to lead to the entrance of another compound of courtyards as the residential house of the magistrate, opposite an alley which allowed intercommunication. The main gate itself could be considered as a gate compound, which consisted of a main gate building of three bays enclosed by walls in the front and two side openings in the wall named as the *ba* 轂 and the *yuan* 辕 (literally, road sacrifice and shafts of a carriage,

⁵⁹ For more information on the names 'human gate' and 'ghost gate', see Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua* (Tianjin: Tianjin People Press, 2004), p.326.

respectively) symbolising safety and threshold⁶⁰. Through the main gate, there was a small gate with a screen wall to the north, behind which was located the second hall and another three private courtyards at the northern end.

The plans of residential houses, temples and palaces were similar to those of yamens. They were different in scale, either smaller down to one humble courtyard or larger to an elaboration of courtyards connected by numerous gates with different names. The similarity of planning and growing courtyards in a compound, which was formed by placing the dominant halls and gates on the south-north central line and symmetrically placing side halls and gates to the east and west, distracts people from observing the differentiation of gates.

The Confusing ‘Religious’ and ‘Ritual’ Context

The ambiguity of status between ‘non-religion’ (the fact that Confucianism or Daoism did not become the real strict ‘religion’ as stated previously) and ‘all-religion’ (the situation that everything can be taken as spiritual and that doctrines of other religions are easily adopted as long as

⁶⁰ According to the *SJ*, the *ba* was the sacrifice to the road god: ‘...Our sacrifice, what it is like? Some pound (the grain), some bale it out, some sift it, some tread it; we wash it so as to become soaked, we steam it so as to become steamed through; and then we lay plans, we think it over, we take southern wood, we sacrifice fat; we take a ram to sacrifice to the Spirits of the road; and then we roast, we broil, in order to start the following year’. See the poem *Sheng Min* 生民 of the *SJ*, trans. by Bernhard Karlgren (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), pp.201-202. According to the *SWJZ*, *ba* was originally the god of mountain travel, also naming the sacrifice to the god; then it was extended to include all the sacrifices to the god of road/path. The sacrifice was performed before a long journey, praying for safety: a simple altar was set at a crossroads, covered with earth to symbolise the mountain that would be passed by in the journey. On top a bundle of straws was erected to mark the position for the god. After the sacrifice, the small ‘mountain’ of earth and offerings had to be rolled over by wheels of carts or chariots, which symbolised the safe trip along the road. See Xu Shen, the *SWJZ*, ed. by Li Enjiang (Zhengzhou: Zhongyuan Nongmin Press, 2000), p.1356; and the *Offices of Summer* of the *ZL* on the army, <<http://ctext.org/rites-of-zhou/xia-guan-si-ma>> [accessed 15 October 2009]. It is recorded in the *Offices of Heaven* and *Offices of Winter* of the *ZL* that when kings of the Zhou travelled, the chariots were placed with the *yuan*, face to face to form a temporal gate for kings to pass through (which is considered to be ceremonial in the Zhou dynasty). See the *ZL*, <<http://ctext.org/rites-of-zhou/tian-guan-zhong-zai>> and <<http://ctext.org/rites-of-zhou/dong-guan-kao-gong-ji>> [accessed 15 October 2009]; Xu Shen, the *SWJZ*, p.1354.

they are thought to be helpful) causes a big problem of interpretation. Today most Chinese, especially Han Chinese (approximately 94% of the population⁶¹), would claim that they do not have a religion but just ‘act Chinese’⁶² and do things in Chinese ways, even though they take part in rituals⁶³ of a religious-like kind. And this kind of confusion seems common and has been taken for granted by the Chinese. The very popular fiction *Xi You Ji* (*Journey to the West* 西游记) of the 1590s, known in the western world as *Adventures of the Monkey God*, one of the four great classical novels of Chinese literature, tells a mythologized story about a Buddhist monk travelling to the Western Regions of China to obtain Buddhist religious classics, in which the Buddhist deities and Daoist gods coexist perfectly, as do their doctrines harmoniously. The main figure, the Monkey God⁶⁴, does not belong to any religious philosophy or religion but is created to be born in stone and later after assisting the Monk to be offered grand titles and positions by both Buddha and the Heavenly Emperor of Daoism. Interestingly, most of the evils he fights on his journey are gods of some sort on Earth, which makes them more Daoist, and at last it turns out that it is some transformations of Buddha’s riding beasts that are subdued by the Monkey God. In another fictional work consisting of four classic novels, *Hong Lou Meng* 红楼梦, usually translated as *Dream of the Red Chamber*, a maid’s spirit was believed to take the position of the Cottonrose God after her death, and appeared to her master in his dream. Her master had no doubt

⁶¹ Edward L. Farmer, ‘*The Hierarchy of Ming City Walls*’, in *City Walls: the urban enceinte in global perspective*, ed. by James D. Tracy (Cambridge: The Press Syndicate of The University of Cambridge, 2000), p.461.

⁶² Richard Gunde, *Culture and Customs of China* (Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood Press, 2002), p.35.

⁶³ Ancestor worship, for example, at certain times and certain places with certain members of a family and a prayer, does seem like a religious rite. But technically it is a traditional belief of the Chinese since very early times, one of the earliest religious beliefs and rituals. And the worshipping ceremony varies in detail from one family to another, for there is hardly a systematic routine for this kind of private rite. The later the period, the less systematic the rite is.

⁶⁴ Valentine Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs* (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post, 1982), pp.172-173.

about it and went to worship the God in a small Buddhist temple. This work, being widely accepted and loved by the Chinese ever since it was published, indicates either that the line between different philosophies and religions is commonly blurred in the minds of the Chinese, or that they just accept and combine different doctrines with a low sense of consistency when it comes to religion.

This tolerance of alternatives may have been developed by following the doctrine of the Mean of Confucianism and later applies to the building practices of the *feng-shui* theory (which yet again reflects a combination of ideas drawn from different schools). As James Legge interpreted in his translation, the goal of the Mean is to maintain balance and harmony by directing the mind to a state of constant equilibrium. Following the Mean, it is not so surprising that Neo-Confucianism borrowed some cosmology from the *YJ, The Book of Changes*, from Daoism and that the notion that ‘humans should strive to achieve enlightenment that is sagehood instead of Buddhahood’ was borrowed from Buddhism, even though parts of the doctrines of the three faiths are contradictory⁶⁵.

For the purposes of this thesis, the situation regarding Chinese religious culture can be summarised under three points: 1 Confucianism cannot be technically defined as a religion, nor can Neo-Confucianism; 2 Buddhism was imported and flourished during the Tang dynasty over many centuries from 900 BCE; in the late imperial time, emperors, especially the Emperor Yongzheng 雍正 of the early Qing in 18th century, perpetuated Lamaism but with a policy of liberty of belief; 3 Daoism could be considered the body of ideas closest to a religion that originated in China and endured

⁶⁵ Especially Confucianism and Daoism. All efforts of Confucius were to put his ideas into practice for reforming society and the doctrine encouraging one to be a *jun-zi* 君子, a superior man, obeying the rules of propriety and leading society. However, Daoism is ‘a philosophy that emphasizes nature and escapes from rigid, rule-bound society’. Despite the difference, Chinese people still have managed to merge them together. As for Daoism and Buddhism, they stand opposite each other in the attitude toward human desire and life. The former views it positively, the latter negatively. See Gunde, *Culture and Customs of China*, pp.37-39, 40-42, 50-51.

throughout its history. Although some of its doctrines have influenced Chinese philosophies and social life very deeply, it never dominates⁶⁶. Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism⁶⁷, theoretically, have been complemented mainly by the other two religions, and yet when it comes to folk society, instead of one dominating at a time, none of the religions has become official nationwide, although their ideas and doctrines are popularly accepted as beliefs and lead straight into practices and conventions. As long as they help cope with the difficulties in life, all kinds of gods and doctrines are accepted by the Chinese, no matter what religions or philosophies they belong to, in keeping with Werner's statement that 'Chinese religion is inherently an attitude toward the spirits or gods with the object of obtaining a benefit or averting a calamity'⁶⁸. One of the most convincing proofs of this pluralism and tolerance is the ceremony of the universal rescue of destitute and unfortunate spirits. Both Buddhist and Daoist priests, over one hundred in all performing in a large-scale ceremony, are employed to pray for the benefit of those spirits. At the site of the ceremony, each group has altars on which they arrange idols or images belonging to their own religions⁶⁹. In these mixed ceremonies related to ghosts, some general Chinese religious

⁶⁶ The Five Elements theory started from the observation and perception of nature and came out to the five elements and their relations – Water, Fire, Wood, Metal and Earth that represent the five natures of all substances. The *yin-yang* theory categorises the natures of things into two main groups – the *yin* and *yang* that generate more subcategories. And the whole hexagram chart illustrating this theory can be explained by modern mathematics. However, although it has been derived from the two theories, *feng-shui* and its practices in people's life today are apparently much developed and have had added to them more folklore aspects, such as how the appropriate arrangement of furniture can benefit the host's good luck, or how to avoid unsettled ghosts coming into a house, unlike the original *yin-yang* theory and the five elements which focused on explaining the nature of the universe and the relations among things in the universe.

⁶⁷ Strictly speaking, Confucianism has never been a religion, but a philosophy. And Daoism, as a religion, 'appears to be far less popular than Buddhism, Christianity, or Islam'. See Gunde, *Culture and Customs of China*, p.51.

⁶⁸ E. T. C. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China*, The Project Gutenberg Ebook <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15250/15250-h/15250-h.htm>>[accessed 15 October 2009], pp.52-53.

⁶⁹ Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, vol.2, pp.99-103.

values are shared, such as paper made models, offering food, respects for ghosts and so forth.

Not only do the Chinese worship various gods and goddesses, but they also create them out of non-religions. Any things or human beings could be apotheosized as long as it or he/she is considered mysterious enough to help the good or to punish the bad, such as the historical figures of different periods that have been designated as gate gods early or late. Then a shrine or temple, if the figure becomes really popular, might be built for him/her so that more and more people can come and worship. Through years of worshipping and ritual practice, a shared belief is generated. The famous temples for memorizing and worshipping *Guan-di* 关帝⁷⁰, a god representative of bravery and loyalty created and personalised from a real general Guan Yu of the 3rd century CE, can be found everywhere in China, in villages, in huge city gates; they are usually small yet very respected. In the map of Fengshun Town 丰顺县, Guangdong Province, recorded in the 1865-edition local gazetteer⁷¹, there were 14 grand temples and shrines shown in the map and possibly many small ones in map uncounted for a population of 75,276⁷² (Figure 2-16). In the West the creation of divine figures and totem worship is reported as common only at the early stage of anthropological and religious histories, in fact, such inventions are rare since Jesus Christ became dominant in people's beliefs and Christianity forbade idolatry, yet such practices have continued in China maybe due to the lack of a dominating religion or religion-like belief. Therefore, a definition of 'Chinese religion' is needed which might resonate with that for Chinese folk religion given by Richard Gunda:

⁷⁰ Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, vol.1, pp.266-267.

⁷¹ The first edition was published in the 11th year of Emperor Qianlong's reign 乾隆十一年, 1746.

⁷² Fengshun Town local gazetteer, the copy of the 1746 edition, vol.3 (1865), p.2.

Folk religion, or popular religion as it is sometimes called, refers to a uniquely Chinese conglomeration of practices and beliefs that have no unified theology, no full-time clergy, no structured organization. In fact, there is not even a Chinese term for what scholars call folk religion.⁷³

The court classic *QDDQHD* even regulates the types and numbers of temples and altars each rank of city or town can and must build: for instance, for a provincial city, there must be at least an altar of land and grain, an altar of mountains and rivers⁷⁴, an altar of agriculture, a temple(s) of literature, a temple(s) of Guan Di, a temple(s) of Literacy Sage, a temple(s) of City God, a temple(s) of village saints, a temple(s) of famous officials, a temple(s) of Chastity, a temple(s) of Filial Piety, a temple(s) of Loyalty and Righteousness, a temple(s) of Dragon God⁷⁵.

This leads to the conclusion that the sheer diversity of folk religion is the explanation for polytheism and the diversity of folk rituals, which also explains the lack of precise and detailed official records about ‘Chinese rituals’ and about the common phenomena of randomly created beliefs, divinities and tales that are followed, including folk rituals in which gates are involved.

From this point of view, it seems to be much more commonsense for Chinese scholars to absorb ideas that are taken for granted, and easy for them to interpret and reinterpret those handed down from the period of the Hundred Schools of Thought, considered in the West the Golden Age of Chinese philosophy⁷⁶. Some primitive myths arose even earlier, because ‘people do apparently always feel that their own culture’s way of doing

⁷³ Gunde, *Culture and Customs of China*, p.51.

⁷⁴ Also for sacrificing to wind, cloud, thunder and rain.

⁷⁵ The *QDDQHD*, vol.58, pp.43-44.

⁷⁶ The period from 770 to 221 BCE during the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period, 春秋战国时期.

things is natural'⁷⁷. The mingling of religious schools and ideas has also created an ambiguity in their practices – rituals and conventions, and an even greater ambiguity in building activities geared to the practice of rituals. Confucianism and Daoism, which have been studied and are considered to be the most influential philosophical influences on Chinese architecture and landscape, as Maggie Keswick argues⁷⁸, are generalised definitions that are combined with ideas from other schools, involving many historical events and figures. For instance, Confucianism as founded by Confucius was refurbished by Zhu Xi⁷⁹ and some others as Neo-Confucianism in the 12th century. This was supposed to be a more rational form of Confucianism by eliminating influence from Buddhism and Daoism, and became the context for the creation of the famous *Zhu Xi's Family Rituals*⁸⁰.

Conclusion

As Andrew Boyd put it, Chinese architecture, as 'a typical and in some ways integral part of Chinese civilisation', 'early developed its own special characteristics, with an unusual degree of systematisation,' and 'continued, too, in a more or less unbroken tradition, into the twentieth century'⁸¹. The independence of development of Chinese architecture from other forms of art and science, somehow, causes the extreme insufficiency in recorded

⁷⁷ Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow, 1994:2. Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow do give an argument on 'common sense' and the balance between 'nature' and 'culture' when writing about China. Even though the argument is for the Introduction of a symposium, the issue always exists in studies on Chinese culture and related issues. For more information, see Zito, 'Introduction' in *Body, Subject and Power in China*, pp.1-5.

⁷⁸ 'The Chinese (who are practical people) found both philosophies valuable and applied them side by side. Thus while the Chinese house mirrored the Confucian desire to regulate human society, the Chinese garden followed the Taoist principle of harmony with nature.' See Maggie Keswick, *The Chinese Garden: history, art and architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1986), pp.14-15.

⁷⁹ In fact, the 'refurbishment' started by Han Yu and Li Ao of the Tang dynasty in the late 8th century.

⁸⁰ Angela Zito translates the title as *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*.

⁸¹ Boyd, 'Chinese Architecture', in *World Architecture*, p.83.

documents and systematic study. The persistent choice of timber as the major and sometimes the only building material also directly leads to the consequence that ‘there are fewer old buildings in China than in Europe; none of the age of the Pantheon, none of the age of St Sophia, few, indeed of the age of Salisbury Cathedral’⁸². The oral teaching tradition in master-apprentice carpentry blocked any irrelevant social classes from peeking into the carpentry trade, whether upper class or lower class. It allowed the trade to develop in a considerably independent and mysterious way, especially regarded from today’s perspectives. And the characteristics of Chinese timber architecture – making standard modules and assembling them on site by jointing pieces – are another convenient reason for the very slim number of construction and design drawings, building sources, and chief carpenters’ information. Compared to some temples’ names scattered in local gazetteers in the domestic building trade, the construction data of the Forbidden City and imperial tombs, especially the master carpenters in Lei’s family (样式雷) since the 17th century, is relatively sufficient and valuable. However, it is a pity that most of Lei’s drawings and files are not yet published and so not yet accessible. This difficulty has continuously challenged the research in this thesis: while the plan based on archaeological excavation is found, the actual building does not exist; the documented records of the ritual are pinned down, but the architectural environment for the ritual is hard to restore; a carpenter’s ruler has survived, but the domestic buildings built with it are long gone; the traditional carpentry and carpenters over centuries have left very few traces, although the official imperial monographs about building standards and regulations have been interpreted.

For Chinese religious culture, the period from the 9th to the 12th century CE (the end of the Tang to the mid Song) is dramatic, if not revolutionary. That the Buddhism and Daoism were especially advocated in succession by the Tang ruling class somehow gave some space for the re-interpreted

⁸² Boyd, ‘*Chinese Architecture*’, in *World Architecture*, p.83.

Confucianism – Neo-Confucianism – to take a dominant position in the imperial regime since the early Song, controlling the social superstructure from national rites down to the orders of tablets in family shrines; from the number of door nails to the height of a gate platform; and meanwhile, the Daoism had another branch prosperous in *feng-shui* which probably ruled the domestic business in common life. Originally, the two have possibly been derived from the basic cosmo-perceptions of the universe of the Zhou and mutually interacted with one another. The ambiguities in the religious culture have, no doubt, framed and defined a similar confusion in Chinese architecture.

For an architectural culture with a long history of timber buildings like the Chinese, its carpentry is indeed the core to rehabilitate the integral picture of the building trade. There are many studies and monographs on Chinese traditional architecture by Chinese architects and scholars, but with heavy perspectives derived from western architecture and western architectural education, for, just as Li Yunhe states, Chinese and western architecture were embedded in two different sets of values. However, what this thesis is eager to bring is another potential approach to filling the gaps in the picture by trying to uncover the relationship between gate and cosmo-philosophical rituals. This relationship could be a supplement to comprehending what timber architecture was, and what it meant to the ancient Chinese and for the Chinese values behind it.

Chapter 2

Literature and Philosophies (Part II): Two Terms

In the context of the complexity structured by many aspects of Chinese civilisation as discussed in Part I, two terms, originating from ancient philosophical or even earlier cosmological awareness of nature in the early stage of Chinese civilisation, have become collective concepts. They have combined layers of meanings, through centuries, in the sense of space, time, constellations, religious perception and architecture. The first, *si-fang* 四方, known as a symbol of four cardinal directions and four states, represents the Chinese fundamental comprehension of space and its relationship with nature. Other terms in this space category, such as *ba-fang* 八方 (literally, the eight directions) and *jiu-guo* 九国 (literally, the nine states), as ideas extended from or parallel with the *si-fang*, have formed together the philosophical structure by which, even nowadays, the Chinese understand

the world. These terms have a direct and crucial impact on architecture, especially on planning and organising halls and gates. Based on this cosmological series of terms for orientation, my second term, or to be more specific, a description of the sacred hall, was developed – the *ming-tang* 明堂. Although no real relics survive, as the last *ming-tang*⁸³ was built in the Tang dynasty before the 11th century⁸⁴, the images of the *ming-tang* mainly remain in descriptions in historic classics and interpretations by scholars of the late imperial times. Due to this context, studies on the *ming-tang* have turned from investigating types in historic architecture to arguing about the symbolic meanings it possibly bears as a collective concept beyond the realm of architecture.

The two terms *si-fang* 四方 and *ming-tang* 明堂 are the key to understanding the profound relationship between Chinese traditional building trade and its civilisation.

***Si-fang*, Four Orientations 四方**

Si-fang, translated into English as four lands, four quadrates⁸⁵, four orientations, or four cardinal directions, is a collective term for the south, north⁸⁶, east, and west directions/lands dating back to the oracle bone scripts


⁸³ Here the *ming-tang* means the buildings that were actually named *ming-tang*, not the buildings that had the form of the *ming-tang*.


⁸⁴ Du You, ‘*The Ming-tang*’, in the *TD*, Volume 44, Rites 4, Auspicious Rite 3 (Changsha 长沙: Yue Lu Book Publishing House, 1995), pp.379-392; and Jiang Bo, ‘*Han Tang Du Cheng Li Zhi Jian Zhu Yan Jiu*’ (Ph.D thesis, Department of Archaeology, The Graduate School of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 2001), p.106.

⁸⁵ ‘Quadrate’ is the translation by Sarah Allan, and also cited by Hwang Chornng-ming. See Sarah Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle: myth, art, and cosmos in early China* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991); Hwang Chornng-ming, ‘*Ming-Tang: cosmology, political order and monuments in early China*’ (Ph.D thesis, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1996).

⁸⁶ Among the four, it is confirmed that the term *bei-fang* 北方, the north, represented a real state in the north. See CASS, *Xin Zhong Guo De Kao Gu Fa Xian He Yan Jiu* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1984), p.245.

of the Shang dynasty, representing four territories that surround a central one. The term is formed by two Chinese characters: *si* 四 as a pictographic

character  ⁸⁷, explained in the *SWJZ*, is the *yin* number four,

representing a square divided into four parts⁸⁸; and *fang* 方  ⁸⁹, refers to two boats that are tied up or to a plough⁹⁰, while in the *ZL* and other ancient classics, it describes the right angle or square⁹¹, which indicate its original connection with field or land⁹². Combining the two characters, the concept of the term was, in the oracle bone scripts, tied up with another term *si-fang-feng* 四方风, literally the four directional winds, who were also the spirits in charge of *si-fang*: ‘the east *fang* is *xi* 析, and the wind is *xie* 协; the south *fang* is *yin* 因, and the wind is *wei* 微; the west *fang* is *yi* 夷, and the wind is *yi* 彝; the north is *wan* 宛, and the wind is *yi* 役’⁹³ (Figure 2-17, 2-

⁸⁷ Both are bronze characters of *si*, popular in the Zhou period. See Richard Sears, ‘*si*’, *Chinese Etymology* <<http://www.chineseetymology.org/CharacterEtymology.aspx?submitButton1=Etymology&characterInput=%E5%9B%9B>> (accessed July 2011).

⁸⁸ Xu Shen, the *SWJZ*, p.1376.

⁸⁹ Both are bronze characters of *fang*, popular in the Zhou period. See Richard Sears, ‘*fang*’, *Chinese Etymology* <<http://www.chineseetymology.org/CharacterEtymology.aspx?submitButton1=Etymology&characterInput=%E6%96%B9>> (accessed July 2011).

⁹⁰ Xu Shen, the *SWJZ*, p.774; Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, p.76.

⁹¹ As Allan analyses, originally, *fang* is not a cube, but one side of a wooden cube, which can explain the frequent contrast in the ancient expression ‘Heaven is round and the earth, square (*fang*)’ or ‘the carpenter’s square is not square (*fang*)’. See Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, p.76.

⁹² Allan argues that ‘this must be a carpenter’s tool used for making squares’. Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, p.78.

⁹³ Hu Houxuan, ‘*Jia Gu Wen Si Fang Feng Ming Kao*’, *Journal of Ze Shan* (1941), pp.2-4. The contents of the text vary and interpretations have remained in debate for decades. Some archaeologists consider that the term ‘*fang*’ of the ‘*si-fang*’ did not mean ‘direction’ or ‘quadrate’ as in the usage of late literature, but was the specific term for the deities of *si-fang*. See Song Zhenhao, *Jia Gu Xue Yin Shang Shi Yan Jiu* (Fuzhou: Fujian

18). Later during the period of the *SJ*, there are different interpretations: the south wind is called *kai-feng* 凯风; the east wind is called *gu-feng* 谷风; the north wind is called *liang-feng* 凉风; and the west wind is called *tai-feng* 泰风⁹⁴. Some scholars argue that *si-fang*, presenting the four legendary lands in combination with four associated wind deities, derives from the original meaning of the character *fang* as heavenly god⁹⁵.

The term *si-fang* has extended its meanings in not only a pure geographical sense but more importantly a cosmo-magical way, to be woven into ceremonial literature and myths. The *SHJ*, the *Classic of Mountains and Seas*, the geographical classic of myths with the earliest version dating from the 4th century BCE, was compiled in 18 volumes, specially according to the regions and the four directions: five volumes on the Mountains, south, west, north, east and central; four on the regions beyond the Seas, south, west, north and east; four on the regions within the Seas, south, west, north and east; four on the Great Wilderness, east, south, west and north; and one more on regions within the Seas⁹⁶. And in the Zhou dynasty, tortoises were categorised into six kinds: Heavenly tortoises, Earthly tortoises, the east tortoises, the west tortoises, the south tortoises, and the north tortoises, among which only the shells of the Heavenly ones could be used for

People's Publishing House, 2006), pp.291-292, 299; Hwang Ming-chorng, '*Ming-Tang: cosmology, political order and monuments in early China*', p.16; and Wang Yongqian, *Tu Di Yu Cheng Huang Xin Yang* (Beijing: Xue Yuan Publishing House, 1995), pp.47-49. There are more interpretations on *si-fang-feng*, the deities of the winds from the four quadrates in the *SHJ*. See Yuan Ke, *Zhong Guo Shen Hua Shi* (Shanghai: Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House, 1988), pp.270-271, 275, 278, 284, 289, 297, 302; and Wei Cide, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Feng Shen Chong Bai* (Taipei: Taiwan Classics Publishing Co. Ltd, 2002). For the analysis on the ancient characters of the *fang*, see Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, pp.76-78.

⁹⁴ Xu Zhaohua, *Er Ya Jin Zhu* (Tianjin: Nankai University Press, 1994), p.203; and Karlgren, trans., the *SJ*, pp.19-22, 26-27, 220-223.

⁹⁵ Wang Yongqian, *Tu Di Yu Cheng Huang Xin Yang*, pp.26-28.

⁹⁶ Yuan Ke, *Shan Hai Jing Quan Yi* (Guiyang: Guizhou People's Publishing House, 1992), pp.1-9 (contents); Xu Zhaohua, *Er Ya Jin Zhu*, pp.225-228; Hwang Ming-chorng, '*Ming-Tang: cosmology, political order and monuments in early China*', pp.16-26, 584-587.

divination⁹⁷. Despite the four mountains, four seas (*si-hai* 四海), four wildernesses (*si-huang* 四荒), there are also the four ultimate terras (*si-ji* 四极) and so forth. All these ‘fours’ could represent the similar meanings that the *si-fang* carries in certain contexts. Marcel Granet states, and Wolfram Eberhard agrees and cites in his book, that ‘the Four Mountains was the title given to the leaders who entrusted the feudal lord with the maintenance of the peace in the Four Directions⁹⁸, a charge which he accepted by opening the Four Portals of his residence’⁹⁹. Apparently, those ‘fours’ have generated symbolic significance far beyond their literal meanings as the natural mountains, lands, seas, or gates.

The significance of the *si-fang* varies from context to context: the political (or the cosmo-geographical) and the ritual. In the *Qu Li II* (*Summary of the Rules of Propriety Part 2*), the second chapter of the *LJ*, the hierarchical rules are given when his subjects from the territories of the nine surrounding provinces come to an audience with the Son of Heaven. The four tribal territories in the four cardinal directions: *dong-yi* 东夷 (Eastern Yi), *bei-di* 北狄 (Northern Di), *xi-rong* 西戎 (Western Rong), and *nan-man* 南蛮 (Southern Man), are ranked below the nine provinces and above other small remote states. This accords with their distance from the central land of the Son of Heaven, which is probably also the distance to the centre of civilisation in this context¹⁰⁰. This political hierarchy was

⁹⁷ Xu Zhaohua, *Er Ya Jin Zhu*, p.311; and ‘Chun Guan Zong Bo’, the *ZL, Chinese Text Project* <<http://ctext.org/rites-of-zhou/chun-guan-zong-bo>> (accessed September 2008).

⁹⁸ ‘The Four Directions’ here is Marcel Granet’s direct translation of the *si-fang*.

⁹⁹ Wolfram Eberhard, *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: hidden symbols in Chinese life and thought* (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), pp.115-116.

¹⁰⁰ The original text is: ‘九州之长入天子之国，曰牧。天子同姓，谓之叔父；异姓，谓之叔舅；于外曰侯，于其国曰君。其在东夷、北狄、西戎、南蛮，虽大，曰子。于内自称曰不谷，于外自称曰王老。庶方小侯，入天子之国，曰某人，于外曰子，自称曰孤。’ And James Legge’s translation is: ‘The head prince in each of the nine provinces, on entering the state of the son of Heaven, is styled ‘pastor’. If he be of the same surname as himself, the son of Heaven calls him ‘my paternal uncle’; if he be of a different surname, ‘my maternal uncle’. Outside (his own state) he is called ‘marquis’; in it, ‘ruler’. The (chiefs) among (the wild tribes of) the Yi on the east, the Di on the north, the Rong on

interpreted in drawings and embraced by late imperial courts¹⁰¹. In the same chapter, it is also recorded that the Son of Heaven should make sacrifices to the *si-fang*, which, in this context, refers to the spirits or deities of the four cardinal lands¹⁰².

In later interpretations of the classics and literature, the four quadrates not only represented the four states surrounding the central land of the Son of Heaven, but were also represented by mythical creatures and colours and connected with seasons and time. Including the centre, the five square lands formed the basic structure of the early cosmos of the Chinese: the crossing shape was applied to the ceremonial architecture *ming-tang*¹⁰³. In the *EY* and *SHJ*, the legend has it that the five lands, consisting of the centre and *si-fang*, are called *wu-fang* 五方, in each of which a mythical creature resides: the flatfish *ta* 鰐 live in the east quadrate; the birds *jianjian* 鷩鷩 who have only one eye and one wing live in the south quadrate; the beasts *qiongqiong* 邛邛 who have longer forelegs and shorter back legs live in the west quadrate; the people who have only one eye, one nose, one arm and one leg live in the north quadrate; and the snake *zhishou* 枳首 with two heads lives in the centre¹⁰⁴. In the Shang state court, there were officials who took charge of sacrifices to *si-fang*, and the titles of those officials were named

the west, and the *Man* on the south, however great (their territories), are called ‘counts’. In his own territories each one calls himself ‘the unworthy one’; outside them, ‘the king’s ancient’. Any of the princelets of their various tracts, on entering the state of the son of Heaven, is styled, ‘Such and such a person’. Outside it he is called ‘count’, and calls himself ‘the solitary’. See ‘Qu Li II’, *Chinese Text Project* <<http://ctext.org/liji/qu-li-ii/ens>> (accessed September 2008). These four terms for the legendary tribes are still popularly used in today’s Chinese language.

¹⁰¹ There will be more explanation on this in the text below of the *ming-tang*. See Figure 2-30.

¹⁰² See ‘Qu Li II’, *Chinese Text Project* <<http://ctext.org/liji/qu-li-ii/ens>> (accessed September 2008).

¹⁰³ ‘The capital of Hal (had) the (Hall of the) Circular Moat; from west, from east, from south, from north, there were none who thought of not submitting.’ See Karlgren, trans. the *SJ*, pp.198-200.

¹⁰⁴ Xu Zhaohua, *Er Ya Jin Zhu*, pp.222-224; Yuan Ke, *Zhong Guo Shen Hua Shi* (Shanghai: Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House, 1988), pp.36, 41, 203, 206.

after the Five Phases: *mu-zheng* 木正 (Wood official) was in charge of spring in the east; *huo-zheng* 火正 (Fire official) was in charge of summer in the south; *jin-zheng* 金正 (Metal official) was in charge of autumn in the west; *shui-zheng* 水正 (Water official) was in charge of winter in the north; and *tu-zheng* 土正 (Earth official) was in charge of centre, higher ranked than the other four¹⁰⁵. There were four seasonal sacrifices in the Zhou dynasty: *ci* 祠 in spring, *yue* 禘 in summer, *chang* 嘗 in autumn, and *zheng* 烝 in winter, after which the altars were named accordingly¹⁰⁶. Therefore, *si-fang* was officially involved in the relationship net of the Five Phases, with new meanings far beyond merely symbolising the ancient spatial awareness. Being connected with the Five Phases meant being connected with everything that had been categorised. The mythological Five Emperors from ancient China who preceded the Xia dynasty in tales, but were recorded in the *LJ* period¹⁰⁷, are assigned as the symbolic rulers of the *si-fang* and the central land: in spring, its divine ruler is Taihao who is in charge of the East, and his attendant is the Wood spirit Goumang (句芒); in summer, its divine ruler is Yan Emperor who is in charge of the South, and his attendant is the Fire spirit Zhurong (祝融); in autumn, its divine ruler is Shaohao (少昊) who is in charge of the West, and his attendant is the Metal spirit Rushou (蓐收); in winter, its divine ruler is Zhuanxu (颛顼) who is in charge of the North, and his attendant is the Water spirit Xuanming (玄冥); and Huangdi is in the centre with his attendant Earth spirit Houtu (后土)¹⁰⁸. The offering

¹⁰⁵ Wang Yongqian, *Tu Di Yu Cheng Huang Xin Yang*, pp.49-50.

¹⁰⁶ Xu Zhaohua, *Er Ya Jin Zhu*, pp.210-211; Karlgren, trans. the *SJ*, pp.108-110; and James Legge, trans. *The Li Ki* (Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2004), pp.277-285.

¹⁰⁷ In the *Yue Ling* (*Proceedings of Government in the Different Months*) of the *LJ*, the Five Emperors are Yellow Emperor (Huangdi 黄帝), Taihao (太昊) or Dahao (大皞), Yan Emperor (Yandi 炎帝), Shaohao (少昊), and Zhuanxu (颛顼). In different documents, the names and titles of the five vary. For more information, see Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, vol.1, pp.276-287.

¹⁰⁸ Legge, trans. *The Li Ki*, pp.202-252; Liu Tuo, *Huang Ling Jian Zhu* (Beijing: China Federation of Literary and Art Circles Publishing House, 2009), p.12.

performances of sacrifices to the *si-fang* and to all the saints, lands, and deities that are related to the *si-fang* not only survived through centuries of dynastic changes, but were also carried out strictly and developed in the imperial court until the end of the imperial time¹⁰⁹.

From the Han dynasty, the four mythical animals, known as the Four Symbols, *si-shou* 四兽, were chosen from earlier myths to symbolise *si-fang*, the cardinal orientations/quadrates. And they were soon used to name four constellations in development of Chinese astrology and had their core places in the *feng-shui* theory and Daoism by carrying the mythical and symbolic information of both space and time (Figure 2-19). On the left is the Azure (sometimes blue or green) Dragon, standing for east land (in both Earth and Heaven), the element Wood, and a prosperous spring; clockwise on the top is the Red Bird (or Vermeil Phoenix) the symbol of south, Fire and summer; on west and the right is the White Tiger, symbolising autumn, Metal, wars and weapons; and north at the bottom is the Black Xuan-wu, a mixture of tortoise and snake (both are, in myths, sons of dragon), which stands for Water, coldness and winter. In *feng-shui* theory, they stand for symbols of various landscapes, so that the divination in geomancy works for both auspicious timing and harmonious landscape. In the Confucian classics *LJ*, the Son of Heaven should live properly in the *ming-tang*, corresponding to the four and the information the four carry. City gates in the four directions were always named after them¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁹ Zhang Jiuling, the *TLDQY*, ed. by Yuan Wenxing and Pan Yinsheng (Lanzhou: Gansu People Press, 1997), pp.144-155; the *DMHD*, *Da Ming Hui Dian (Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty)* 大明会典, *Guoxue Daohang Ebooks*, vol.56 < <http://www.guoxue123.com/shibu/0401/01dmhd/0066.htm> > (accessed April 2009), vol.92 < <http://www.guoxue123.com/shibu/0401/01dmhd/0102.htm> > (accessed April 2009).

¹¹⁰ For more information, see Nelson Wu, *Chinese and Indian Architecture*, pp.11-12; Feuchtwang, *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy*, pp.151-158; Legge, the *LJ*, trans., pp.85, 202-252; K. C. Chang, *Art, Myth, and Ritual: the path to political authority in ancient China* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1983), pp.20-21;

Ming-tang and Nine Squares 明堂与九宫

The term *ming-tang* 明堂, has several translations in English: the Hall of Distinction, the Bright Hall, the Luminous Hall, the Brilliant Hall and the Hall of Light¹¹¹. It appears originally in early historical literature as the name of the holy and ritual architecture where the Son of Heaven sacrificed and prayed to Heaven in the Zhou dynasty (1046 – 256 BCE). Before the Zhou, similar sacred buildings were built and named *shi-shi* 世室 (the Chamber of Generations) and *chong-wu* 重屋 (the Layered House) respectively in the Xia (2100 – 1600 BCE) and Shang (1600 – 1046 BCE) dynasties¹¹². *Ming-tang*, also named *kun-lun*, appeared in the grand historical work *Shi Ji* (*Records of the Grand Historian*) by Sima Qian of the Han dynasty, dating far back to the 27th century BCE, the reign of the Yellow Emperor. It was described as a double-storey pavilion with a round straw roof at the top and a square bottom, surrounded by a wall and located on elevated ground surrounded by a water-filled moat¹¹³, which one should

¹¹¹ For more information on the translations, see Hwang Ming-chorng, '*Ming-Tang: cosmology, political order and monuments in early China*', p.7.

¹¹² It was analysed by a scholar Cai Yong 蔡邕 (133 – 192 CE) of the Han dynasty in his *Ming Tang Yue Ling Lun* 明堂月令论 (A Study of *Ming-tang* and *Yue Ling*) that '...People of the Xia dynasty called this building *Shi-shi* (the Chamber of Generations); people of the Shang named it *Chong-wu* (the Layered House); and people of the Zhou gave it the name *Ming-tang*...' (夏后氏曰世室，殷人曰重屋，周人曰明堂。) It is translated by Wu Hong in 'The Monumental City of Chang'an' manuscript in 1992. See Hwang Ming-chorng, '*Ming-Tang: cosmology, political order and monuments in early China*', p.9.

¹¹³ Sima Qian, born some time in the 2nd century BCE, is regarded as the originator of Chinese historiography. The Yellow Emperor, Huangdi, one of the Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors 三皇五帝 in Chinese culture, is thought as the initiator of Chinese civilisation. This image of *ming-tang* is recorded in a story in the *Treatise of Religious and Sacrificial Ceremonies* of the *Shi Ji* (史记: 封禅书): the king intended to build a *ming-tang* to northeast of the Tai Mountain where ancient *ming-tang* relics had been located, but he did not know the form for it. Gong Yu, from Jinan brought a drawing of the Yellow Emperor's *ming-tang* to the king. However, it is not known whether it was the plan of the upper storey or the roof that was round shaped, for the original text reads '*shang-yuan-xia-fang*' 上圆下方 (round top and square bottom). And there is no explanation why it was entered from the southwest side. Hwang, in his thesis, also translated the part: '...It was a building without the four walls, covered with thatched roof, and surrounded by circulating water. The walls of the complex were constructed with a walkway on top. The building had two storeys and could be entered through the walkway from the southwest. It (the passage) is called Kunlun. The Son of Heaven enters through this passage and offers sacrifices to Shangdi.' See Hwang Ming-chorng, '*Ming-Tang: cosmology, political order and*

enter from southwest. The last *ming-tang* ever built was during the reign of Empress Wu in 696, and was renamed as *tong-tian-gong* 通天宮 (the palace leading to Heaven)¹¹⁴. The principles defining the form of the building discussed before construction were: *shang-yuan-xia-fang* 上圓下方; the upper storey was the space for sacrifice to Heaven and to ancestors together¹¹⁵, and the ground storey was used for administrative audiences by the Emperors¹¹⁶ (Figure 2-20); there were nine halls on the ground floor¹¹⁷; the location must have been three to seven *li* to the south of the capital¹¹⁸.

monuments in early China, p.51; ‘Feng Shan Shu’, the *Shi Ji*, vol.28, *Wikisource (Chinese)* <<http://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E5%8F%B2%E8%A8%98/%E5%8D%B7028>> (accessed August 2008); Cheng Guozheng, ed., *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Jian Zhu Wen Xian Jing Xuan: xian qin dao wu dai* (Shanghai 上海: Tongji University Press 同济大学出版社, 2008), pp.72-73; Gu Jianjun, ‘Shang Gu Ming Tang Xing Zhi Yu Zhong Guo Gu Dai Wen Hua’, *Tangdu Journal*, vol.10, issue 5 (1994), pp.12-20.

¹¹⁴ In the *TLD*, it records that one of the 55 auspicious imperial rites performed every year is the grand sacrifice in the *ming-tang*. See Zhang Jiuling, the *TLDQY*, pp.125-128.

¹¹⁵ There is a Chinese term for the co-sacrifices, *yan-pei* 严配, literally, the reverential awe (of father) and correlate (sacrifice to Heaven), coming from the essay *The Government of the Sages* of the Confucian classic *Xiao Jing, the Classic of Filial Piety*: ‘Of all the actions of man there is none greater than filial piety. In filial piety there is nothing greater than the reverential awe of one’s father. In the reverential awe shown to one’s father there is nothing greater than the making him the correlate of Heaven.’ See the *Xiao Jing*, trans. by James Legge, *Chinese Text Project* <<http://ctext.org/xiao-jing>> (accessed September 2008); Henry Rosemont and Roger Ames, *The Chinese Classic of Family Reverence: a philosophical translation of the Xiaojing* (University of Hawaii Press, 2009), pp.109-111.

¹¹⁶ According to the *Ming Tang Wei (The Places in the Hall of Distinction)* of the *LJ*, in the Zhou dynasty, the son of Heaven gave audiences for discussing state affairs in the *ming-tang*: ‘Formerly, when the duke of Zhou gave audience to the feudal princes in their several places in the Hall of Distinction, the Son of Heaven stood with his back to the axe-embroidered screen, and his face towards the south. The three dukes were in front of the steps, in the middle, with their faces to the north, inclining to the east as the most honourable position. The places of the marquises were at the east of the eastern steps, with their faces to the west, inclining to the north as the most honourable position. The lords of the earldoms were at the west of the western steps, with their faces to the east, inclining also and for the same reason to the north. The counts were on the east of the gate, with their faces to the north, inclining to the east as the more honourable position. The barons were on the west of the gate, with their faces to the north, inclining also and for the same reason to the east. The chiefs of the nine Yi (states) were outside the eastern door, with their faces to the west, inclining to the north as the position of honour; those of the eight Man (states) were outside the door on the south, with their faces to the north, inclining for the same reason to the east; those of the six Rong (states) were outside the door on the west, with their faces to the east, inclining for the same reason to the south; and those of the five Di (states) were outside the door on the north, with their faces to the south, inclining for the same reason to the east. The chiefs of the nine Cai (states) were outside the Ying Gate, with their faces to the north, inclining to the east as the position of honour for them; those of the four Sai (states also) came, who had only once in their time to announce their arrival (at the

Originally in the Zhou period, the plan of *ming-tang* is believed to have been symbolically tied up with the ceremonies recorded in the *Yue Ling* (*Proceedings of Government in the Different Months*) of the *LJ*: there are five halls named, one in the centre and four surrounding it in the cardinal directions, each connected with a colour; each of the four halls has three rooms, representing the three months of one season, 12 rooms in total representing the 12 months a year; the Son of Heaven moves to live in each of the 12 rooms each month in a year, dresses in the colour accordingly, has flags in the colour accordingly and eats food accordingly, which expresses the changes and the cycle of the time and seasons¹¹⁹ (Figures 2-21, 2-22, 2-23, 2-24).

court). These were the places of the lords in the Hall of Distinction (when they appeared before) the duke of Zhou. The Hall of Distinction was so called, because in it the rank of the princes was clearly shown as high or low.’ The translation is slightly edited by me, based on Legge’s. See Legge, trans. *The Li Ki*, p.401. For more information, see Hwang Ming-chorng, ‘*Ming-Tang: cosmology, political order and monuments in early China*’, pp.38-41. For more information on the Ying Gate, see Chapter 6. For more information on nine Yi states, eight Man states, six Rong states, five Di states, nine Cai states, and four Sai states, see Qian Xuan and Qian Yuqi, *San Li Ci Dian* (Nanjing: Jiangsu Ancient Books Press, 1998), pp.7, 11, 33, 155, 186, 282. See Figure 2-30.

¹¹⁷ There was a debate on the number of halls in the Tang court in the 7th century, five or nine. See Liu Xu, the *JTS* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1975), p.856; and Jiang Bo, ‘*Han Tang Du Cheng Li Zhi Jian Zhu Yan Jiu*’, pp.112-115.

¹¹⁸ Wang Pu, the *THY* (Kyoto: Chinesebook Publishing Co. Ltd, 1978), pp.271-280. According to archaeological excavation, the *ming-tang* of the Tang period was a three-storey building, with the upper two storeys of round plan and the bottom of square plan, placed on an octagonal shaped platform. See Jiang Bo, ‘*Han Tang Du Cheng Li Zhi Jian Zhu Yan Jiu*’, pp.115-117. It reads in the *THY* that the square ground plan symbolised the four seasons and four cardinal directions, that the middle circle represented twelve watches a day (one watch equals two hours today), and that the top round floor represented the solar term of the twenty-four points. See Wang Pu, the *THY*, pp.271-280.

¹¹⁹ The ceremony performed by the son of Heaven is recorded in the chapter *Yue Ling* in the *LJ*: ‘In the first month of spring...its number is 8; the son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the *Qing-yang* (Fane); rides in the carriage with the phoenix (bells), drawn by the azure-dragon (horses), and carrying the green flag; wears the green robes, and the (pieces of) green jade (on his cap and at his girdle pendant)...In the second month of spring...the son of Heaven occupies the *Qing-yang* Grand Fane...In the last month of spring...the son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the *Qing-yang* (Fane)...In the first month of summer...its number is 7; the son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the *Ming-tang* (Grand Fane); rides in the vermilion carriage, drawn by the red horses with black tails, and bearing the red flag. He dresses in the red robes, and wears the carnation jade....In the second month of summer...the son of Heaven occupies the *Ming-tang* Grand Fane...In the third month of summer...the son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the *Ming-tang* (Fane)...In the first month of autumn...its

The nine-hall form of *ming-tang* of the Zhou was later interpreted and elaborated during the centuries of the pre-Han and Han dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE), and became the basic plan of various kinds of architecture including ancestral temples and schools, though the archaeological evidence is thin¹²⁰. Sarah Allan argues that this pattern has its origins in the Shang cosmos, and that, in *The Shape of the Turtle*, the *ya*-shape 亞, defined by her, as the shape of the turtle plastron, is the ideal structure of the Shang cosmology, based on sources mainly from oracle bone and bronze inscriptions, early mythology and archaeological discoveries. The *ya*-shape, simply speaking, is a cross shape consisting of the central square and four others projecting from it in the four cardinal directions, based on the planning of the Shang tombs (Figure 2-25). Allan extends the structure by adding important cosmological terms from myths and inscriptions¹²¹: a circular shape represents the turtle plastron and four pillars in the corners on

number is 9; the son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the *Zong-zhang* (Fane); rides in the war chariot, drawn by the white horses with black manes, and bearing the white flag. He is clothed in the white robes, and wears the white jade...In the second month of autumn...the son of Heaven occupies the *Zong-zhang* Grand Fane...In the last month of autumn...the son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the *Zong-zhang* (Fane)...In the first month of winter...its number is 6; the son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the *Xuan-tang* (Fane); rides in the dark-coloured carriage, drawn by the iron black horses, and bearing the dark-coloured flag; is dressed in the black robes, and wears the dark-coloured jade...In the second month of winter...the son of Heaven occupies the Grand Fang *Xuan-tang*...In the third month of winter...the son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the *Xuan-tang* (Fane)...’ See Legge, trans. *The Li Ki*, pp.202-252; Hwang Ming-chorng, ‘*Ming-Tang: cosmology, political order and monuments in early China*’, pp.44-46; and Figure 2-21.

¹²⁰ Cai Yong, the Han scholar of the 2nd century CE, in his *Ming Tang Yue Ling Lun* (*A Study of Ming-tang and Yue Ling*), states that: ‘...Taking the aspect of ancestral worship, it is called *Qing-miao*. Considering the face of the frontal chamber, it is called *Tai-miao*. Taking the aspect of veneration, it is called *Tai-shi*. Taking the aspect of facing the brightness, it is called *Ming-tang*. Taking the aspect of schools of four gates, it is called *Da-xue*. Taking the aspect of (being) surrounded by water in the shape of a jade *bi* disk, it is called *Pi-yong*. They are different names of the same matter. It is one matter.’ It is translated by Wu Hung, in his manuscript *The Monumental City of Chang’an* in 1992. See Hwang, ‘*Ming-Tang*’, p.9; Qian Xuan, *San Li Tu Ming Shi*, pp.120-126; and Luo Tianxiang, *Lei Bian Chang An Zhi* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1990), pp.75-77, 105. Luo Zhenyu argues that *ming-tang* is the basic pattern of other architecture, and gives illustrations of temples and private chambers taking the *ming-tang* pattern. See Luo Zhenyu, *Xue Tang Cong Ke* (Beijing: National Library of China Publishing House, 2000), pp.338-339.

¹²¹ Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, pp.105-111.

the circle represent the turtle's four legs. Both reflect myths of the magical turtle supporting the sky with its legs; besides the five squares, another four squares are added in the corners to form a larger square, so that there are eight squares representing the eight quadrates (*si-fang*, the four cardinal, and the four corners), *ba-fang* 八方, and surrounding the central one; eight pillars, four of them representing the turtle's legs, and two of the east and the west symbolising the Mulberry Tree and the Ruo Mu from myths¹²² (Figure 2-26). Wolfram Eberhard also states that the eight pillars of the ancient cosmology are not only tied up with the eight directions, but also 'the eight mountains and the eight gates through which the rain clouds and the eight winds enter'¹²³. So the basic pattern of nine squares is argued, by the end of the Shang and the early Zhou, to have taken form mainly based on the term *ba-fang*, the eight quadrates.

Hwang set down *ming-tang* as a collective term for the concepts of the physical structure of the cosmos that influenced the philosophical golden age hundreds of years later, and can be easily traced in the *feng-shui* theories today. This includes the tripartite vertical structure (the spatial model of Heaven, Humans and Earth, from the myth of the origins of the world, one of the fundamental concepts of Daoism in later time), *ya*-shaped 亞 earth (the cosmos of the Shang according to the Shang oracle bone inscriptions: the cross-shape land composed of four 'mythical' quadrates/states/lands and the central square/state/land surrounded), *bi*-shaped (circular) sea surrounding the earth (which is symbolised by *pi-yong*

¹²² The other two pillars are added in the north and south. In literal sources before the Han, it is recorded that each of the eight quadrates had a pillar. For more information, see Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle: myth, art, and cosmos in early China*, pp.106-107.

¹²³ Apparently, the *si-fang*, the fours, extends to the *ba-fang*, the eights, from four directions/winds/mountains/portals to eight directions/winds/mountains/gates. In the *LJ*, the eight winds are described as follows: 'Which are the eight winds? From the North-east comes the burning wind; from the East comes the roaring wind; from the South-east comes the cheerful wind; from the South comes the great storm; from the South-west comes the cool wind; from the West comes the wind that lasts; from the North-west comes the sharp wind; from the North comes the cold wind.' (Translated by Richard Wilhelm) See Eberhard, *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: hidden symbols in Chinese life and thought*, pp.92-93.

辟雍, a narrow circular moat called *bi* 璧 was built surrounding the *ming-tang* hall in the centre since the Western Zhou, Figure 2-27, 2-28, 2-29), and the concepts about ‘four’¹²⁴. All these terms formed a vivid diagrammatic structure of the Chinese cosmos *ming-tang* by the end of the Han period: the central square representing the central state is surrounded by the four lands representing the feudal quadrates/states or barbarians in the four cardinal directions, and they form a cross shape called the *ya* shape inherited from the Shang; the circular *bi* moat surrounds the holy hall in the centre; there are four gates in the four cardinal directions. In the *ming-tang*, the son of Heaven used to perform ceremonies according the celestial calendar and to hold audiences for the lords, the officials from the five states, and guests from beyond the five states (Figure 2-30). Bearing the meanings of the terms used for architecture, ceremony and cosmological structure, the *ming-tang* stressed concepts of space and time¹²⁵, building up the fundamental relationships between architecture and nature, and laying out the framework for Chinese geomancy – the *feng-shui* theories and practices, especially for the pattern and usage of the magic square.

¹²⁴ Hwang Ming-chorng, ‘*Ming-Tang: cosmology, political order and monuments in early China*’, p.i. Hwang’s thesis on the *ming-tang* is mainly based on the mythological literature, historical classics mainly after the Zhou period, and archaeological discoveries such as *Da Huang Jing* (the *DHJ*) 大荒经, *Shan Hai Jing* (the *SHJ*) 山海经, *Li Ji* (the *LJ*) 礼记, *Yi Zhou Shu* 逸周书, *Shi Jing* (the *SJ*) 诗经, to search the origins and transforms of the terms that form the concept of the *ming-tang*. The terms including the ‘four’ were, originally, applied to describing and defining the directions, landscape and the associated political powers, such as *si-fang* 四方 (the four quadrates/directions), *si-guo* 四国 (the four states), *si-yi* 四夷 (the four barbarians), *si-hai* 四海 (the four oceans/seas), *si-fang-feng* 四方风 (the four directional winds), *si-fang-hui* 四方^迨 (a type of meeting held in the *ming-tang*), *si-mu* 四木 (the four cosmic trees) and so forth. For more information on the terms, see Hwang Ming-chorng, ‘*Ming-Tang: cosmology, political order and monuments in early China*’, pp.5, 7, 16-26, 328-361.

¹²⁵ The term for the word cosmos since the Warring States period (3rd century BCE) is *yu-zhou* 宇宙, of which *yu* 宇 means *shang-xia-si-fang* 上下四方 (above, below, and four directions) and *zhou* 宙 means *wang-gu-lai-jin* 往古来今 (going past and coming present). Originally, they represent the eaves of the roof and the primary beam supporting the ridge of a roof. See Hwang Ming-chorng, ‘*Ming-Tang: cosmology, political order and monuments in early China*’, pp.11-12.

The magic square is the concept presented and interpreted by Schinz in his work *The Magic Square*, which is his understanding of this Chinese cosmological pattern of nine squares/halls in the building trade and urban planning, and how it became one of the fundamental theories of Chinese geomancy in the imperial time since the 9th century CE. Schinz has collected a plurality of archaeological discoveries of tombs and vessels, existent temples, ancient city plans and literature sources, dating from before the 11th century BCE to modern times, and has tried to connect the pieces with the concept of the Magic Square as the basic structure of Chinese cities and towns. It is an ambitious attempt to handle an enormous quantity of data and evidences over a time span of at least 4,000 years. But the insufficient or inadequate translations of relative Chinese terms and unsystematic imported explanations of Chinese philosophies and customs produce some gaps and blanks in his arguments, sometimes at important moments. However, it is not surprising that Schinz chose the Magic Square as the symbol of the Chinese philosophical world¹²⁶, and many other scholars are working in that direction.

The pattern of nine palaces, which can be considered as the symbolic *ming-tang* in the *feng-shui*¹²⁷ theory, is originally based on the contents of the *luo-shu* 洛书¹²⁸ (*LS*, literally the book of *luo*, also named *jiu-gong-tu* 九宫

¹²⁶ Alfred Schinz, *The Magic Square: cities in ancient China* (Edition Axel Menges, Stuttgart, printed by Sungnam, Korea: Daehan Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd, 1996), pp.8-10.

¹²⁷ Technically, the magic square carries meanings and symbols that can be categorised under both Daoism and Confucianism (if the *feng-shui* schools and their practices are roughly included in Daoism). The later the period, the more geomantic practices, the more information the concept carries.

¹²⁸ The term *luo-shu* always comes up with the term *he-tu* 河图 (the Yellow River Chart, another symbolic pattern of numbers, recorded in the *SS*), and there were arguments about which pattern was the *luo-shu*. Liu Mu 刘牧 of the Northern Song re-edited Chen Tuan's dragon chart of the 10th century and split it into two: *jiu-gong* (Nine Palaces) as *he-tu* and the generation of Five Elements as *luo-shu*. Cai Yuanding 蔡元定 and Zhu Xi 朱熹, two famous and influential rationalist Neo-Confucians and geomancers of the Southern Song, took them as the other way round: naming *jiu-gong* as the *luo-shu* and Five Elements as the *he-tu*. And since then, the patterns and meanings of the two terms have been authentic and stable. For more information, see Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, Vol.4, p. 4.

图 or *jiu-gong-ge* 九宫格, Nine Palaces/Halls, referred to as the *Luo* River Diagram by Aylward), a remote and almost legendary diagram of Chinese mathematical and divinatory traditions. In legends, the *luo-shu* was the pattern on the plastron of the magical turtle which emerged from the *Luo* River in front of the Great Yu¹²⁹. The literal contents of the *luo-shu* are:

(One) wears nine (like a hat on the head) and steps on one underneath. (There are) three on the left and seven on the right. Two and four are (on one's) shoulders (respectively). Six and eight are the feet and five occupies the centre.¹³⁰

There were no illustrated or diagrammatic records but only literary ones in the contents of the *luo-shu* until the Daoist sage Chen Tuan 陈抟¹³¹ (872 –

¹²⁹ The term *luo-shu* appeared for the first time in historical literature – in two chapters *gu-ming* 顾命 (Testamentary Charge) and *hong-fan* 洪范 (Great Plan), in the *Books of the Zhou* 周书 (recording speeches of the Zhou dynasty in the 11th century BCE) of the *SS* 尚书 (Classic of History), both considered to be authentic works composed in or before the 4th century BCE. There are mainly three versions about the time of the *luo-shu* myth: one is during Fu Xi 伏羲 period, the first of the Three Sovereigns in ancient China around 29th century BCE, who was a sage as the inventor of writing, fishing and trapping in legendary stories. And legend has it that it was Fu Xi that recorded the patterns on the dragon-like horse when he saw it. For more information, see Yang Lihui, An Deming and Jessica Turner, *Handbook of Chinese Mythology* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2005), pp.118-123. A second was during the period of the Yellow Emperor 黄帝 (*huangdi* in *pin-yin*, one of the legendary Five Emperors in Chinese myths, whose reign was traditionally considered to have occurred during the 26th century BCE. He is claimed to be the ancestor of the *Hua-xia* 华夏 Chinese and the founder of Chinese civilisation). The third was one during the Great Yu 大禹 (the founder of the Xia dynasty, living approximately in the 22nd century BCE, famous for his flood control in the deluge). The exact time of the myth is hard to trace and confirm, and the last version is taken for the purposes of this thesis. Thomas Aylward also introduced the last version in English in his book on Chinese astrology, although without any references. See Thomas F. Aylward, *The Imperial Guide to Feng Shui and Chinese Astrology* (London: Watkins Publishing, 2007), pp.62-63; Legge, trans. *The Li Ki*, p.393; and Eberhard, *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: hidden symbols in Chinese life and thought*, p.254.

¹³⁰ The original Chinese text: ‘戴九履一，左三右七，二四为肩，六八为足，五居中央’。 See Chen Yuanliang, *SLGJ*, Vol.4, 1963:4. In Thomas Aylward's interpretation, he refers to the body of the tortoise with the pattern on its plastron in the *Luo* River: ‘In the Luo River Diagram, nine is at the head and one is at the tail (of the turtle). Three is on the left side and seven is on the right side. Two (right) and four (left) are the shoulders. Six (right) and eight (left) are the feet. Five occupies the centre.’ See Aylward, *The Imperial Guide to Feng Shui and Chinese Astrology*, p.62.

¹³¹ He was also the first one to interpret *tai-ji* 太极 (the diagram of ultimate power) in illustrations. Many sinologists argue that the Daoism that is talked about today should be technically defined as ‘Generalised Daoism’ which has two branches: ‘Philosophical Daoism’ founded by Laozi and Zhuangzi and ‘Religious Daoism’ pursuing immortality and

989 CE) of the early Song, who is claimed as the founder of certain Daoist schools right before the age of Neo-Confucianism. He made a drawing of it named *long-tu* 龙图 (literally the dragon chart) that was the prototype of the later diagrams of the *luo-shu* and *he-tu* (Figures 2-31, 2-32). In the diagram of the *luo-shu* (Figure 2-33, 2-34), which is a square evenly divided into nine smaller squares by two lines orthogonally crossing two other lines, each small square occupied with a number of 1-9¹³².

The *ming-tang* and the nine squares, in some way, had dominated the Chinese philosophy of building trade and urban planning, and had become the core of sacrifices to Heaven before the period of Neo-Confucianism. In historical records, classics and in the miscellanea of different dynasties involved in describing or regulating architecture, the *ming-tang* pattern of nine squares (sometimes five squares that form the crossing pattern of the *ya*-shape in the nine squares) was always set as the classic and official plan of a formal hall in either secular courtyards or sacred palaces and temples¹³³. In the *Treatise of Religious and Sacrificial Ceremonies* of the *Shi Ji* (史记: 封禅书), the first five dynasties were cosmologically connected with the Five Elements and five colours that have become the fundamental theories of the *feng-shui*: '(When the first emperor of the Qing founded his state, it was taken that) the Yellow Emperor has the virtues of Earth, so the yellow dragon emerged from earth. The Xia dynasty has the virtues of Wood, so the green/azure dragon is located at the flourishing bushes in the suburbs. The Yin dynasty has the virtues of Metal, so the silver overflows from mountains. The Zhou dynasty has the virtues of Fire, so the

worshipping spirits. The *Yin-Yang* School and the Five Elements theory were not originally part of the doctrines of Laozi and Zhuangzi.

¹³² Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, Vol.4, pp.1-4; and Legge, *The Li Ki*, pp.392-393.

¹³³ Luo Tianxiang (13th century CE), *Lei Bian Chang An Zhi* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1990), pp.105-108; Wang Qi and Wang Siyi (17th century CE), the *SCTH*, pp.990, 999-1000, 1007-1009; Qian Xuan, *San Li Ming Wu Tong Shi* (Nanjing: Jiangsu Ancient Books Press, 1987), pp.120-124; Qian Xuan, *San Li Tong Lun* (Nanjing: Nanjing Normal University Press, 1996), pp.181-185; Luo Zhenyu, *Xue Tang Cong Ke*, pp.297-340; and He Qinggu, *San Fu Huang Tu Jiao Shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2005), pp.291-303.

red/vermeil bird/phoenix becomes its symbol. Today when the Qin conquered and took place of the Zhou, it is the time for the virtues of Water. Before, the Duke Wen of the Qin hunting a black dragon was the auspicious sign of the Water virtues.¹³⁴ Then in the reign of Emperor Wen of the Han dynasty, a ceremonial building, *wu-di-miao* (五帝庙, literally, Temple of Five Emperors), was constructed to sacrifice to the god of Heaven (Shangdi) on the north of the Wei River 渭水, the plan of which took the five-hall shape: there were five halls under one big roof; the gate of each hall was painted with the colour of the five which corresponded to the hall¹³⁵.

Conclusion

The two terms *si-fang* 四方 and *ming-tang* 明堂 symbolise the structure of the cosmos of the ancient Chinese and the human architectural practices of the cosmos, respectively, which form the basis of Chinese pre-modern building trades.

The concept of the *si-fang* and centre has been rooted profoundly in Chinese culture and daily life, and set the foundation of the cosmological frame of ritualised architecture *ming-tang*, and of all other types of architecture for the following dynasties. It is far more than a spatial idea, for it represents the basis of Chinese cosmology and later the rulership, the ultimate cosmos under the reign of the Son of Heaven. In one of the personal letters of Kangxi, the second emperor after the Manchus took over power in Beijing from the Ming in the mid 17th century, he ‘pointed out with

¹³⁴ For the Chinese text, see Sima Qian, ‘Feng Shan Shu’, the *Shi Ji*, vol.28, Wikisource <<http://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E5%8F%B2%E8%A8%98/%E5%8D%B7028>> (accessed August 2008). Trans. by Bing Jiang.

¹³⁵ See Sima Qian, ‘Feng Shan Shu’, the *Shi Ji*, vol.28, Wikisource <<http://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E5%8F%B2%E8%A8%98/%E5%8D%B7028>> (accessed August 2008); Zhu Qingsheng, *Jiang Jun Men Shen Qi Yuan Yan Jiu* (Beijing: Peking University Press, 1998), p.125; Wang Shiren, ‘Han Chang An Cheng Nan Jiao Li Zhi Jian Zhu Yuan Zhuan De Tui Ce’, *Archaeology*, issue 09 (1963), pp.501-515; and Wang Yongqian, *Tu Di Yu Cheng Huang Xin Yang*, pp.43-45.

pride that he had travelled over 2,000 *li* in each of the four cardinal directions: west to the provinces of Shansi and Shensi, north across the Gobi to the Kerulen River, east through Manchuria to Ula, and south through China proper to Shao-hsing, below the Yangtze.¹³⁶ Even today, the Chinese prefer saying ‘turn to the west/southeast or west’ to saying ‘turn left or right’ when directing the way.

The philosophical thoughts of the ‘fours’ and ‘fives’, deriving from the early cosmos of the Chinese, have kept their characteristics of independent development through centuries, involved with architectural activities and social rituals at very early stage, and have a great impact on them all the way through to modern time. By the end of 19th century, the Chinese had the ceremony of ‘marching out the city’ to greet spring every year (Figure 2-35). The greeting procession carried a paper buffalo and marched out of the city through the eastern city gate to a certain temple, perhaps because the east symbolises sun, green and life and corresponds to spring in the Five Phases. The paper of the buffalo consists of five colors — red, black, white, green and yellow, representing the Five Phases¹³⁷. The court officials worshipped ‘the approaching spring’ and came back through the same city gate, bringing spring into the city.

The five-room or nine-room plan of the *ming-tang*, extending and symbolising the spirit of *si-fang*, and the associated ritualised occupation by the Son of Heaven recorded in the *LJ*, determined the fundamental planning ideal of Chinese architecture¹³⁸ and its profound significance. The layout of *ming-tang* was a sacred architectural model where rituals should take place and where the Son of Heaven should rule: a square hall in the centre, four gates in cardinal directions. And to extend it, this was also what the son of

¹³⁶ Jonathan Spence, *Emperor of China: self-portrait of K'ang-hsi* (New York: A Division of Random House, 1988), p.xiii.

¹³⁷ Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, vol.3, pp.21-23.

¹³⁸ And even the ideal plan of Chinese city/town, according to Alfred Schinz's arguments.

Heaven's city should look like (Figure 2-36). The symbols of the nine palaces were also borrowed in *feng-shui* theory and connected practices from about the 12th century CE or even earlier, exploited in the market of the domestic building trade to emphasise the relationships between nature and human beings. To a large extent, the *ming-tang* ideal demonstrates that a reflection of early Chinese civilisation remained in Chinese architecture and city planning.

This cosmo-ritual background that Chinese architecture has generated, and grown within, identifies its nature and values. The relationships that architecture has built with other issues in the background need eagerly to be dug up and demonstrated. Through the study of gate buildings, a small part of this network of relationships will hopefully be revealed and identified.

Chapter 3

Classification and Hierarchy In the Context of Rituals

It has been widely taken for granted, by both Chinese and western scholars, that there is always an invisible north-south 'axis' in perhaps any plan of a Chinese palace, temple or dwelling compound in perhaps any dynasty. Along the axis, series of courtyards of the compound are stretching horizontally, and the main buildings or halls are arranged with their long side facing the south, while the less important buildings are planned symmetrically on both sides of the axis. This central line is of much importance, often emphasised by the distinction of raised pavement made of regular-shaped stones for imperial palaces or neat bricks for residential dwellings, compared to clay without any pavement or obviously lower-graded paving in the rest of the courtyard. And the fine-built central pavement simply leads one to nowhere but a gate opening (or a gatehouse)

after a gate, a hall after a hall, to the very deep and most private part of the compound, if there is a series of courtyards rather than just one. There must be a flight of steps that ends the central pavement in front of a hall or a gate, and bridges up to a higher platform of the hall or sometimes to a threshold that is built significantly high and leads back to the next courtyard of lower-ground (Figure 3-1).


However, all the above is only what has been left from the late imperial times, most of which are not more than four hundred years old. Could there be a period when the Chinese cared about something else in planning over this central axis? If so, what was the original impulse for the turn? Bearing in mind the general differentiation and problems of the Chinese understanding architecture and construction, it could be easier to go through in detail the rules and regulations in planning and the construction of gates.


The Chinese Terms for Gate/Door: *men* 門

There are at least three Chinese terms in history, which can be translated directly as the English words ‘gate’ or ‘door’, but only one of them interprets the meaning of the formal/proper ‘gate’ in Chinese language, *men* 門 (in original form, 𠂔 as the simplified character), displaying an obvious gate structure and also covering the extended meanings of ‘gateway’, ‘arch’ and sometimes ‘passage’ that involve concepts not only of space but also of time. The earliest forms of the character were inscribed on ox scapulae and tortoise plastrons that are believed to have something to do with ancient divinations (Figure 3-2). They were found near the place Anyang 安阳 and date from 1,200 BCE. They show that a gate was composed of two posts and two door leaves fixed to the posts, with or without a lintel on top (Figure 3-3). Soon after (approximately the same period as the oracle bone scripts), *men*, as a gatehouse, had a roof over it and a person within it (Figure 3-4), or it can be understood as the gate in a house compound. In small seal scripts, a style of calligraphy standardised in the Qin dynasty and widely spread and

used since then, some of the images of *men* showed the consideration of doorsill and threshold (Figure 3-5). Including the modern Chinese calligraphy of *men* 門 that shows a similar structure of a gate as a typical pictogram, the writings of *men* have changed little over more than 2,000 years.

The other two terms are *hu* 戶, half in writing form of *men*, and *ta* 闕 that was not much used as meaning ‘gate/door’ in the late imperial time.

The *hu*  ¹³⁹, has a fundamental form and meaning as a one-leaf door made of wood (the ‘wood’ derived from another ancient written form of *hu*

 with an additional ‘tree’ pictogram¹⁴⁰, meaning ‘guard’¹⁴¹). A *men*, with the *hu*’s meaning carried into it, was supposed to be made of wood and was only regarded as complete with double door leaves, while a single-leaf door *hu* was not taken as a ‘gate’ at all. According to the archaeological discoveries, the form of two-leaved gates appeared at least by the end of the Shang period¹⁴². On the one hand, it presents the earliest symmetric form in architecture, and indicates the possible ceremonial significance and

¹³⁹ For more information on the writing forms of *hu*, see Richard Sears’s research website, ‘Hu’, Chinese Etymology <<http://www.chineseetymology.org/CharacterEtymology.aspx?submitButton1=Etymology&characterInput=%E6%88%B7>> (accessed 30 December 2011); Zou Xiaoli, *Ji Chu Han Zi Xing Yi Shi Yuan* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2007), p.133; Xiong Guoying, *Tu Shi Gu Han Zi* (Jinan: Qi Lu Bookshop, 2006), p.91; Xu Shen, the *SWJZ*, ed. by Li Enjiang, p.1100.

¹⁴⁰ The earliest oracle scripts for *hu* that have been found so far are without the ‘tree’ image. Yet again there is no solid evidence to prove that the oracle bone scripts must be of an earlier period than the bronze ones (such as the one above without ‘tree’), even though it is generally agreed that the former appeared earlier. Hence, it cannot be concluded whether wood became the door-building material at the very beginning of construction activity (grass or straw could have been used very early) or later when the writing with the image of it appeared.

¹⁴¹ Xu Shen, the *SWJZ*, ed. by Li Enjiang, p.1100; Xiong Guoying, *Tu Shi Gu Han Zi*, p.91.

¹⁴² CASS, *Xin Zhong Guo De Kao Gu Fa Xian He Yan Jiu*, pp.224-226.

opportunities of the symmetry of gates in later times, which are stressed in daily family rituals, state/court rites, opening gate ceremonies and literatures.

On the other hand, this differentiation leads to the extant usage of both characters in literature, presenting the households living inside hierarchically and metaphorically: according to Xu Shen's explanation from the *SWJZ*, *hu* represents the 'humble homes with small doors' (*xiao-hu-ren-jia* 小户人家), in contrast with *men* the 'grand houses with high gates' (*gao-men-da-zhai* 高门大宅)¹⁴³. The sacrifices to *men* (gate) and *hu* (door) were performed even separated in time, one in autumn and the other in spring¹⁴⁴. And the gods that guard them are also different: the *men* gods are paired and the *hu* gods are individual (see Chapter 4). In the ancient dictionary *SWJZ*¹⁴⁵, the character *men* (gate) was explained, at least in the Han and maybe much longer afterwards¹⁴⁶, as *wen* (listen/hear) 闻, through which the inside can be heard from outside and the outside from inside. The physical conditions of gates and doors have been naturally connected with the family population

¹⁴³ Zou Xiaoli, *Ji Chu Han Zi Xing Yi Shi Yuan*, pp.133-134.

¹⁴⁴ The sacrifices to *men* and *hu* were two of the Five Sacrifices that the Son of Heaven should perform every year, which were recorded in the early classics of the Zhou rites compiled by scholars and philosophers during the Golden Age of Chinese philosophies and the Han period and in some other miscellanies in the following imperial time. For more information, see following chapters.

¹⁴⁵ *Shuo Wen Jie Zi* (the *SWJZ*, Explaining Simple and Analyzing Compound Characters) 说文解字 was an old character dictionary written by the Han Confucian scholar Xu Shen 许慎 in the second century. It was the first to analyse the structure of the characters and organise characters according to their shared graphic components, compared to the oldest extant dictionary *Er Ya* that was more like an encyclopaedia: as Karlgren explains it 'is not a dictionary in abstract, it is a collection of direct glosses to concrete passages in ancient texts'. See Bernhard Karlgren, 'The Early History of the Chou Li and Tso Chuan Texts', *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 3 (1931), p.46. For more information about the *EY* and the *SWJZ*, see *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: from the origins of civilization to 221 B.C.*, ed. by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, pp.94-99, 429-442.

¹⁴⁶ According to Richard Sears' s research on *SWJZ* and seal characters (or the Qin-Han characters), 'Xu Shen had little or no access to texts before 221 BCE', and 'perhaps 30% of the descriptions have some degree of error ranging from minor to just wrong', even though the *SWJZ* could be seen as the Rosetta stone of Chinese. See Sears, 'Seal Characters – Zhuan-ti-zi', *Chinese Etymology* <http://www.chineseetymology.org/why_study.aspx#seal> (accessed 05 March 2011).

and economics: thus the saying *men-dan-hu-bo* 门单户薄 (the gate is single-door-leaved while the door/door-leaf is thin) delivers the message that there are not many family members¹⁴⁷ in the household, sadly. Similar sayings include ‘the straw-made door and the firewood gate’ (*peng-hu-chai-men* 蓬户柴门¹⁴⁸), ‘the long *ji*¹⁴⁹ are shown off inside the high gate’ (*chang-ji-gao-men* 长戟高门) and so forth. The colour of gates is another way of showing the content inside, especially the colour vermilion: *zhu-men* (vermilion gates 朱门) which became the symbol of prominent and grand noble families¹⁵⁰. Extending its meaning from representing a family, it is not surprising that *men* came to stand for a political party, an academic association, or simply a patriarchal kinship, as the terms in *men-hu-zhi-jian* (sectarian bias 门户之见), *zuo-dao-pang-men* (heterodox schools 左道旁门), *men-pai* (academic schools 门派), and *jia-men-rong-ru* (the glory and disgrace of the clan/family 家门荣辱) show. In its meaning of threshold, *men* has been playing a crucial role in marking territories and guarding

¹⁴⁷ The prosperous offspring and large and continuously-growing family trees were very much expected and wished for in a lowly developed society before modern times when manpower was the main productive power and human lives were easily threatened by disease. ‘The more the merrier’ and ‘the larger the family is, the more the properties are’ were adhered to in the traditional ancestral worship assuming harmonious happiness of the kinship (*duo-zi-duo-fu* 多子多福, the more children in the family, the more happiness and blessings are brought in).

¹⁴⁸ It was used in a Yuan poem (*yuan-qu* 元曲) *ju-an-qi-mei* concerning a couple respecting each other, meaning literally that the wife holds the small eating table above the height of her eyebrow to her husband, 举案齐眉), which takes the approximately first time of usage back to the first half of the 14th century or before.

¹⁴⁹ *Ji*, 戟 in Chinese, halberd, a pike fixed with an axe at the head, was a common weapon in ancient times. The phrase appeared in Zhang Zhuo’s 张鷟 poem of the Tang dynasty, at least before 1,000 BCE. It is regulated in the *TLD* of the Tang that for the gates of the imperial ancestral temples and palaces, 24 *ji* should be set; for the gates of the crown prince’s palace, 18 *ji*; for the ones of the 1st rank’s, 16 *ji*...only the officials over rank 3 were granted to set some certain number of *ji* at their main gates (the smallest number is 10 *ji*). So in the Tang period, having *ji* at gates meant a very high social status. See Zhang Jiuling, the *TLDQY*, pp.137-138.

¹⁵⁰ From the poem of Du Fu of the Tang dynasty: inside the gates of the wealthy (the vermilion gates) meat lies rotting and wine has gone bad, while outside the gates the poor suffer and die in cold by the roadside. In Chinese, 朱门酒肉臭, 路有冻死鬼. Trans. by Bing Jiang.

boundaries, physically, psychologically, and anthropologically, which is directly or indirectly reflected in literature. There is an old tale in Chinese myths, mirroring one's qualitative transformation from a lower status to a higher, which tells how carps, living in the Yellow River, in order to transform to dragon, have to swim upstream and jump over the dragon gate until using up all their strength (Figure 3-6). Dragon gives the gate more sense of specific Chinese culture to establish the threshold between ordinary creatures and mythical, the secular and the sacred in the story of *li-yu-tiao-long-men*¹⁵¹ (the carp jumping over the dragon gate 鲤鱼跳龙门). Dragon has been always a numinous beast whose patterns and images were restricted in use for anyone but the emperors since the imperial time¹⁵², representing the powerful and sacred imperial stateliness. Therefore, *men*, at least in literature, is not just an entrance for the living, but a transition point for the dead, the spirits, fortunes or calamities and for *qi* 气 (the essential energy, a concept from the Daoism) to make contact with the above-ground world – the passage between the spiritual world and the physical one. This is reflected in the saying *fu-huo-tong-men* (the fortunes and calamities share one gate 福祸同门), in *wu-fu-lin-men* (the five good fortunes come to the gate 五福临门, Figure 3-8), and in *gui-men-guan* 鬼门关 (the ghost gate which spirits could go around and get back alive).

In terms of architecture, the *GDYZZ* of the Qing gives some fairly descriptions of the three characters:

¹⁵¹ As recorded in Lu Dian's 陆佃 work *Pi Ya* 埤雅 of the 11th century, a sequel of the cyclopaedia *EY*, carp are the only fish to jump over the dragon gate in fairy tales. Li Yuan of the Qing embellished it with more details: '...every spring carp swims upstream to the Dragon Gate Mountain (Figure 3-7); and they transform into dragons after their tails are burnt out by the fire from Heaven.' See 'long-men', *ZDICnet 汉典* <<http://www.zdic.net/cd/ci/5/ZdicE9ZdicBEZdic9974049.htm>> (accessed 28 June 2010). The *Pi Ya* is composed of 20 volumes, explaining fishes, beasts, birds, bugs, horses, trees, grass, and Heaven. See Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, p.199.

¹⁵² When images of dragons had to appear in drama costumes, some trouble was taken to demonstrate that they were not real dragons: there were only four claws on the fake dragons, for example, compared with the five on the real ones for the emperors.

The grand (main) gate is *men*; the middle sized gate/door is *ta*. As a *men*, it must follow the forms and regulations; while as a *hu*, there is no forms or regulations to be pursuant to.¹⁵³

The forms and regulations of *men* are not just those in ceremonial building conventions, but also the hierarchies and classifications represented in social rituals and court regulation documents. ‘The *men* has orders, while the *hu* does not.’¹⁵⁴

The Early Two Flights of Steps and The Y- or U-Shape Pavement before the Han

The archaeologists in Zhou Yuan’s team have amply confirmed a relics site of a dwelling of a *shi*¹⁵⁵ 士 family of the late Western Zhou (1076 – 771 BCE) in the village of Yuntang, Fufeng Town of Shaanxi Province¹⁵⁶, in the late twentieth century¹⁵⁷. The dwelling plan is a shape of 冂 enclosed by walls (Figure 3-9). At first glance, the planning seems to belong to the same catalogue as the existing ones dating back to not more than four hundred

¹⁵³ Li Dou, the *GDYZL*, in the *Yangzhou Hua Fang Lu*, 2nd edition, vol.17 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1997), p.410. Translated by Bing Jiang.

¹⁵⁴ The Chinese text: ‘门有制，户无制’. Li Dou, the *GDYZL*, in the *Yangzhou Hua Fang Lu*, 2nd edition, vol.17, p.410. Trans. by Bing Jiang.

¹⁵⁵ *Shi* 士 was the aristocrat of the lowest rank, as translated by Patricia Ebrey, ‘upper-class, educated gentlemen’. See Patricia Ebrey, ed., *Chinese Civilization and Society: a sourcebook* (New York: Free Press, 1981), p.27. In the Zhou Dynasty, the noble society had four ranks: the Son of Heaven 天子, the feudal lords 诸侯, *da-fu* 大夫 and *shi* 士. The eldest son of the Son of Heaven usually succeeded to the crown and upon other sons were conferred the title of feudal lords. And the title of feudal lords was passed to the eldest son, while other sons became *da-fu*. Likewise, the eldest son of *da-fu* took the title while other sons became *shi*. And except for the eldest son of *shi* who stayed in the aristocratic class, the other sons were degraded to common people. In John Steele’s translation, the *shi* was a low-level noble; yeoman; common officer; scholar. For more information, see Patricia Ebrey, ‘Toward a Better Understanding of the Later Han Upper Class’, in *State and Society in Early Medieval China*, ed. by Albert Dien (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp.49-72.

¹⁵⁶ 陕西省扶风县云塘村 in Chinese.

¹⁵⁷ Yang Hongxun, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Ju Zhu Tu Dian* (Kunming: Yunnan People Press, 2007), p.100; CASS, *Xin Zhong Guo De Kao Gu Fa Xian He Yan Jiu*, pp.252-253.

years ago: there is a proper north-south axis to which buildings are symmetrically arranged, the large hall and gate house sitting on the invisible axis, in the north and south respectively, together with the walls and eastern and western halls enclosing a courtyard.

However, there are significant differences that make the axis less strong than it seems to be, and symmetry seems to have been chosen over axial form for some reason other than pure architectural design. The main hall takes the bulging area in the north, of which, on the south façade, the middle five columns of the seven form four bays of the entrance, one column in the middle, two bays on the east and west side respectively that are led to by two flights of steps. The western flight (when facing the north in front of the main hall, the left set) has a special term for it dating from that time, the *bin-jie*, 宾阶, literally ‘the steps for guests’, and the eastern (a scene when facing north in front of the main hall, the right set) the *zuo-jie*, 阼阶, ‘the steps for hosts’. Between the main hall and the front gate house, is a small courtyard surrounded by the hall, gate house and two side buildings. In the courtyard, uniquely, there is a recognisable pass-road in the U shape, connecting the *bin* and *zuo-jie* steps and the gate house, for which the old term is the *chen* 陈 as explained in the ancient dictionary *EY*: ‘the pass-road linking the hall and the gate is called the *chen*’¹⁵⁸.

The gate house in the south has four pillars and three bays on the long façade, unlike the even-number bayed main hall, but with approximately equal width of about two metres each bay. The use of equal-length bays on the long side of a building is very rare in the late imperial time when the hierarchical *li* in architecture was canonised, as according to the observation

¹⁵⁸ The original explanatory text of the *chen* is: ‘堂涂谓之陈’, ‘the road leading to the main hall is called *chen*’, from the chapter of Explaining Dwellings, see Xu Zhaohua, *Er Ya Jin Zhu*, p.172; Qian Xuan, *San Li Ming Wu Tong Shi*, p.115; ‘Shi Gong’ (‘Explaining Dwellings’) 释宫, the *EY*, *Guoxue* 国学网 <http://www.guoxue.com/jinbu/13jing/erya/ey_005.htm> (accessed 05 March 2011).

and survey of the existing buildings and certain building regulations¹⁵⁹, the central bay is stressed as widest and the space of the bays decreases progressively from the central down to the last bays at both ends.

It could be adventurously assumed that symmetry was a popular and easy form aesthetically in the very early and primitive civilisations all over the world as well as in China. However, the usage and ritual interpretation of the symmetry make it regionally and culturally different and unique. There has been some argument on how much rites affected architectural forms originally, and apparently one influences the other in turns from time to time. But for this archaeological site discovery and the period to which it belonged, it seems that the rites dominated. Two passages below are referred to which help interpret the relationship between the gate, the gateway and steps, and which reveal the ‘rules of propriety’, the Confucian term of *li*¹⁶⁰ 礼, and the ancient ceremonial usages of the gate and gate space. This is one of the earliest records.

Whenever (a host has received and) is entering with a guest, at every door he should give place to him. When the guest arrives at the innermost door (or that leading to the feast-room), the host will ask to be allowed to enter first and arrange the mats. Having done this, he will come out to receive the guest, who will refuse firmly (to enter first). The host having made a bow to him, they will enter (together). When they have entered the door, the host moves to the right, and the guest to the left, the former going to the steps on the east, and the latter to those on the west. If the guest be of the lower rank, he goes to the steps of the host (as if to follow him up them). The host firmly declines this, and he returns to the

¹⁵⁹ It is obvious in the appearances of the buildings in the late imperial time. In the *YZFS* and the *GCZFZL*, the measurements of bays are regulated.

¹⁶⁰ The rules of propriety are how Confucius defined the *li* 礼: ‘it is by the Odes that the mind is aroused; by the Rules of Propriety that the character is established; from Music that the finish is received... Without the Rules of Propriety, respectfulness becomes laborious bustle; carefulness, timidity; boldness, insubordination; and straightforwardness, rudeness’. See Legge, trans. *The Li Ki*, p.10. *Li*, through which the savage becomes the superior, can be interpreted as the process or the passage of the transition which, most of the time, is ceremonial rites. ‘These are two specimens of the manner in which Confucius expressed himself about the *Li*, the Rules of Propriety or Ceremonial Usages, recognised in his time.’ See Legge, trans. *The Li Ki*, p.10.

other steps on the west. They then offer each other precedence in going up, but the host steps up first, followed (immediately) by the other. They bring their feet together on every step, thus ascending by successive paces. He who ascends by the steps on the east should move his right foot first, and the other at the western steps his left foot.¹⁶¹

The host, with an attendant, receives (the guests) outside the (college) gate. The host bows twice to the guests, and the guests bow back. The host bows to the rite attendant¹⁶² of the guests, and the rite attendant bows back. The host makes a bow with hands folded in front¹⁶³ to all the guests. Then he does it again and goes into the gate first. After he makes a bow with hands folded in front to the rite attendant, the head of the guests goes in and then takes the western (road). The rite attendant bows to the other guests with hands folded in front for a prolonged moment, and goes in. The rest of the guests go in then take the western (road). The northern (seat) is the most honourable. The host and the guests thrice salute¹⁶⁴ each other with bows and hands folded in front till they come to the steps. There each thrice yields the precedence to the other, and then the host ascends and the guests ascend (after). The host, facing north, bows twice up on the *zuo-jie* steps (under) the front beam¹⁶⁵. And the guests, facing north, bow back in appreciation on the western steps (under) the front beam.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Legge, trans. *The Li Ki*, p.69. The Chinese original text is ‘凡与客入者，每门让于客。客至于寝门，则主人请入为席，然后出迎客。客固辞，主人肃客而入。主人入门而右，客入门而左。主人就东阶，客就西阶，客若降等，则就主人之阶。主人固辞，然后客复就西阶。主人与客让登，主人先登，客从之，拾级聚足，连步以上。上于东阶则先右足，上于西阶则先左足。’

¹⁶² Here ‘the rite attendant’, *jie* in *pinyin* and 介 in Chinese, is not one of the servants of the guests but a gentleman from the neighbourhood who helps with rites during the visit. But in his annotation of *The Meaning of the Drinking Festivity in the Districts*, James Legge simply translates *jie* as ‘attendant’. This usage is followed in the present thesis with the additional word ‘rite’ added as qualifier.

¹⁶³ The gesture of bowing with the hands folded in front has been a social protocol called *yi* 揖 in Chinese. Triple *yi* is the politest form of courtesy.

¹⁶⁴ Here ‘salute thrice’ is literally, in the original text, bowing with hands folded in front three times, the ‘three-*yi*’ rite, 三揖 in Chinese. However, where and when to make each *yi* are not explicit in the quotation, but will be explained in the following interpretation.

¹⁶⁵ The front beam is called *mei* 楣 in Chinese traditional terminology. See detailed annotation in the following passages.

¹⁶⁶ The original text is ‘主人一相，迎于门外，再拜宾，宾答拜。拜介，介答拜。揖众宾。主人揖，先入。宾厌介，入门左。介厌众宾，入。众宾皆入门左。北上。’

These two passages have described the customs and rites of a host greeting guests in the Zhou period, recorded in the *LJ*, the *Book of Rites* as one of the Five Classics, and in the *YL*, the *Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial* as one of the three ancient ritual texts respectively¹⁶⁷. It is commonly believed that the *YL* is a book of the Zhou dynasty while the *LJ* could date back to the time of Confucius, re-edited and compiled by his disciples and various scholars of the Han after it was lost in the Qin dynasty¹⁶⁸. So it is an appropriate source to interpret the rites at gateways on the basis of the archaeological discovery of dwellings of the Han Dynasty and before.

To interpret the ancient greeting ritual, Qing scholars made a diagrammatic annotation (Figure 3-10) which incidentally corresponds to the excavated dwelling plan above. The three-bay main gatehouse consists of two side-rooms, the *tang* 堂 or *shu* 塾, or *men-tang* 门堂, *men-shu* 门塾, and the central gate, the *zhong-men* 中门¹⁶⁹ which is blocked by a screen

主人与宾三揖至于阶。三让，主人升，宾升。主人阼阶上当楣北面再拜。宾西阶上当楣北面答再拜’。Trans. by Bing Jiang. See Yang Hongxun, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Ju Zhu Tu Dian*, p.102. According to Qian Xuan’s annotation, in front of the stele the host and guests arrive, before they step up, they should bow and fold hands in front to each other (making a *yi*). Qian Xuan, *San Li Ming Wu Tong Shi*, pp.116-117.

¹⁶⁷ There are far more customs for visits and giving gifts between gentlemen, the right words to say and the right time. For more information, see *Chinese Civilization and Society: a sourcebook*, ed. by Patricia Ebrey (New York: Free Press, 1981), pp.27-29.

¹⁶⁸ James Legge affirmed that the *YL* is a book of the Zhou and the *LJ* ‘may contain passages of an earlier date than’ the *YL* ‘but as a collection in its present form it does not go higher than the Han dynasty and was not completed till the second century’ A.D.. See Legge, trans. *The Li Ki*, p.11. In the opinion of the sinologist William Boltz, the *YL* ‘seems reasonable to accept as likely the supposition that the extant *YL* is in origin a part of a larger corpus of similar ceremonial and ritual texts dating from pre-Han times, perhaps as early as the time of Confucius; that much of this was lost by Han; and that some may have come to be preserved in the text known today as the *LJ*’. See William Boltz, ‘I-li’, in *Early Chinese Texts: a bibliographical guide*, ed. by Michael Loewe (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China, 1993), p.237.

¹⁶⁹ In the *EY*, *shu* 塾 is ‘the side halls of the gate’, and the original text is: ‘门侧之堂谓之塾’. A main gate, normally with one, three, or at most five bays (odd numbers), has the central bay as the passage and side bays as side halls or *shu* if there is more than one bay. See Xu Zhaohua, *Er Ya Jin Zhu*, p.172; ‘Shi Gong’ (‘Explaining Dwellings’) 释宫, the *EY*, *Guoxue* 国学网 <http://www.guoxue.com/jinbu/13jing/erya/ey_005.htm> (accessed 05

wall. According to the *ZL*, the measurements of *men* as the entrance in the central bay and the two *tang* or *shu* on both sides should correspond to the size of the main hall¹⁷⁰. In the aristocratic class *shi* of the Zhou, the hosts were expected to salute guests outside the *men-tang* with a screen wall that was blocking the entrance opposite it on the street (Figure 3-11). And the space formed by the gate and the screen wall is *zhu* 宁¹⁷¹. The first part of *li* takes place on the *zhu*: the host bows with the hand gesture, and the guests bow back to return the salute. The next step takes place around the *men-tang*. Before they step over the threshold of the gate, the host and guests bow to each other with hands folded in front again. Then they go in successively and take up positions on the eastern and western sides respectively inside the courtyard in the front of the gate, at the bottom of the U-shaped road. Then the ‘three-*yi*’ rite starts: the host bows with hands gesture first and the guests salute back in the same way, which is the first *yi*; whereafter they walk along their own roads respectively – the host turns to the east and the guests to the west – stop at the turning points and make the second *yi* to each other. Subsequently each walks to their own steps, the host at the eastern and the guests at the western ones, stop, and make the third *yi*. After three episodes of yielding gestures to each other, the host steps up into the hall first, and the guests follow up. The triple *yi* and triple yieldings were the highest form of greeting: ‘after making three *yi* (to each other, they) walk up

March 2011); Qian Xuan, *San Li Ming Wu Tong Shi*, pp.111-114; Qian Xuan, *San Li Tong Lun* (Nanjing: Nanjing Normal University Press, 1996), pp.174-175.

¹⁷⁰ Qian Xuan, *San Li Ming Wu Tong Shi*, pp.118-119.

¹⁷¹ In the *EY*, *zhu* 宁 is ‘the space between the main gate and the screen wall’, and the original text is: ‘门屏之间谓之宁’. See Xu Zhaohua, *Er Ya Jin Zhu*, p.170; Qian Xuan, *San Li Ming Wu Tong Shi*, p.114; ‘Shi Gong’ (‘Explaining Dwellings’) 释宫, the *EY*, *Guoxue* 国学网 <http://www.guoxue.com/jinbu/13jing/erya/ey_005.htm> (accessed 05 March 2011). According to the illustration from Zhan Huiyan, Figure 3-10, *zhu* was marked as the space inside the gate, and not as was usually understood the space outside the gate, because the screen wall was built normally outside the gate. However, in late imperial time, there were two screen walls built both outside and inside the main gate, which became a really common arrangement. Even though in Zhang’s, (born in 1761), illustration of a *shi*’s house in the Zhou dynasty, there was no screen wall, it does not prove that dwelling houses of the Zhou had no screen walls or that *zhu* could not be outside the gate in the time of the Zhou, considering the date of the *EY*.

to the steps; after yielding thrice (to each other, they) ascend to the hall. These are the most honourable etiquette.¹⁷² (Figure 3-12)

Before they are seated in the hall, there is a last piece of etiquette: the host makes a *yi* under the front beam *mei* to the north on the eastern side, followed by the guests on the western side. In the annotation of *Xiang She Li* (Rites of the District Archery Meet) of the *YL* in the *Kangxi Dictionary*, the *mei* are, for the five-purlin houses, the side lintels referred to in relation to the main one as central¹⁷³. In *EY*, the oldest dictionary, the *mei* is the lintel over a door/gate¹⁷⁴ (See Figure 3-9). Yang Hongxun in his monograph defines the *mei* as the lintel linking the pillars on the facades, which delimits the territory of the hall¹⁷⁵. In Figure 3-9, the hall can be considered as a five-purlin entity, even though it has added to it two side wings *e* and *f*. Two of the four *mei*¹⁷⁶ marked in grey dotted lines define the northern and the southern borderlines of the hall and the main girder has a grey line. We assume that the doors should be fixed under the southern *mei* right opposite the two sets of steps. Back to the last *yi* the host and guests make under the front *mei*, the positions in which they stand can be conjectured to be at the doors, the host at the eastern and the guests at the western. And this time they do not make *yi* to each other but to the north, the hall. Then they walk

¹⁷² The original text is ‘三揖而后至阶，三让而后升（堂），所以至尊让也’。See Yang Hongxun, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Ju Zhu Tu Dian*, p.102.

¹⁷³ The original text in the *Kangxi Dictionary* is: ‘《注》五架之屋，正中曰栋，次曰楣’。The *Kangxi Dictionary* was a standard Chinese dictionary during the Qing dynasty since it was published in 1716, the compilation of which was ordered by the Emperor *Kangxi*, edited by a group of great literati, and named after the Emperor’s era name. The dictionary contains more than 47,000 characters that are rare and archaic, however, less than a quarter of these characters are in common use today. And it is proper to refer to it for annotation of a word commonly used in the ancient Zhou dynasty, for it quotes the word’s usage in the context of the Zhou’s essay and gives the interpretation of the late imperial times. See ‘*mei*’ 楣, *ZDICnet 汉典* <<http://www.zdic.net/zd/zi/ZdicE6ZdicA5ZdicA3.htm>> (accessed 05 March 2011); Qian Xuan, *San Li Ming Wu Tong Shi*, pp.101, 113.

¹⁷⁴ The original text is: ‘楣谓之梁，谓门上横梁也’。See Xu Zhaohua, *Er Ya Jin Zhu*, pp.166-167; <http://www.guoxue.com/jinbu/13jing/erya/ey_005.htm> (accessed 05 March 2011); Qian Xuan, *San Li Ming Wu Tong Shi*, pp.111-114.

¹⁷⁵ Yang Hongxun, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Ju Zhu Tu Dian*, p.103.

¹⁷⁶ Except for the central one, all the other beams are called *mei*.

in and sit down. The guests sit on the western side, the most respected seat in the Zhou, as they walk through the western door from the western passage, facing the east that is the direction of the rising sun.

It is surprisingly explicit to find so many details regulated in this common social form of greeting at every door/gate and set of steps for the people in the Zhou Dynasty before the second century BCE. The whole process of greeting, passing from one door to another by the *chen* road, ending at the steps of the main hall, has given the image of a common house with courtyards, as Legge explains: ‘the palace, mansion, or public office was an aggregate of courts, with buildings in them, so that the visitor passed from one to another through a gateway, till he reached the inner court which conducted to the hall’¹⁷⁷.

According to the rare surviving material about the Zhou period and related time before the Han, most rites were performed either starting with the greeting one or based on it. In the sixteen *li*¹⁷⁸ recorded in the *YL*, all the greetings are following similar rules if there are only two groups of people, the hosts and the guests.

¹⁷⁷ Legge, trans. *The Li Ki*, p.69.

¹⁷⁸ The sixteen *li* are *Shi Guan Li* (capping rites for the son of a common officer) 士冠礼, *Shi Hun Li* (nuptial rites for a common officer) 士昏礼, *Shi Xiang Jian Li* (rites attendant on the meeting of common officers with each other) 士相见礼, *Xiang Yin Jiu Li* (rites of the district symposium) 乡饮酒礼, *Xiang She Li* (rites of the district archery meet) 乡射礼, *Yan Li* (banquet rites at state, not imperial, level) 燕礼, *Da She* (the great archery meet at state level) 大射, *Pin Li* (rites of courtesy calls, state to state) 聘礼, *Gong Shi Da Fu Li* (rites of the gong feasting a great officer) 公食大夫礼, *Jin Li* (rites of the imperial audience) 覲礼, *Sang Fu* (mourning attire) 丧服, *Shi Sang Li* (mourning rites for the common officer) 士丧礼, *Ji Xi Li* (mourning procedures of the evening preceding burial) 既夕礼, *Shi Yu Li* (post burial rites for a common officer) 士虞礼, *Te Sheng Kui Shi Li* (rites of the single victim food offering) 特牲馈食礼, and *Shao Lao Kui Shi Li* (rites of the secondary pen victim food offering) 少牢馈食礼. There are seventeen chapters of *Yi Li*, for the first sixteen chapters each a *li*, but the last one has been considered widely as the second part of the sixteenth chapter *Shao Lao Kui Shi Li* or the continuation of it, which is *You Si Che* (the servant clearing the way) 有司撤. The translations of the titles of chapters are quoted from John Steele, trans. with introd., notes and plans, *The Yi-li, or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial* (London: Probsthain & Co., 1917).

It is very hard to tell, according to archaeological discoveries that are far from abundant because the Zhou culture was too long ago to leave enough traces, whether the thinkings and rituals of this greeting process were established first to define the arrangement of gate space – the screen wall, the main gate, the courtyard, the U-shape road *chen*, the double-set steps, and the relations among them – or whether this combination of architectural elements was created by other sources of culture which the religious factors followed up. However, so far, based on the content of rituals and the situation of architectural relics, the *chen* road and the two sets of two steps could have been developed in accordance with the greeting customs.

In the recovered images of the Tang palaces (between the 7th and 10th century CE) based on archaeological excavations¹⁷⁹, the U-shape pavement and double steps were still popularly applied to the audience rite where two groups took apart separately, and so were the three flights of steps with an extra one in the middle connected to an extra central pavement (Figure 3-13). It is assumed that this co-existing situation of double- and three-steps forms in architecture had lasted in the period from the end of the Tang to the early or mid Song, since it is possibly from the early Northern Song Dynasty onwards that the *chen* road and the two sets of steps were seldom built in either dwelling compounds or imperial palaces or temples, and instead the central axis has dominated and been underlined in the layout of Chinese architecture ever afterwards. Instead of the two sets of steps to which the diverging pavement of the *chen* led, the single central pavement links the gate and one central set of steps to the hall, which is also the basic pattern of the imperial palace in Beijing.

The real evolution is more complicated. For instance, the offering hall where to sacrifice to ancestors in common family rituals advocated by Zhu Xi, the leading founder of Neo-Confucianism. In his regulations and drawings about family rituals, the ‘offering hall’ *ci-tang* 祠堂 in the family

¹⁷⁹ Li Yunhe, *Hua Xia Yi Jiang*, pp.98.

ancestral shrine clearly should have double flights of steps to associate with the offering ritual: the offering hall should be located in the centre of an enclosed courtyard with a front gate in the south wall; the hall has three bays that clearly have emphasised the central bay where the double-leaf entrance is fixed, ‘and in front of it the two staircases, each with three steps. The one on the east is called the ceremonial stairs, the one on the west the western stairs’¹⁸⁰ (Figure 3-14). When performing the sacrifice, ‘only the presiding man in the family uses the ceremonial steps to go up and down; the presiding woman and other people, even seniors, use the western steps’¹⁸¹ (Figure 3-15). It is apparently different from the main hall in the earlier case of the Zhou period, which had even-numbered bays corresponding to two entrances and two sets of steps, representing the fairly balance between the host and guest. In the offering hall, the double sets of steps stressed the ultimate status of the presiding male in the family or the clan. However, according to the existing ancestral shrines of the Qing period, the double sets of steps are mostly replaced by either three sets or only one set in the centre.

The rise of Neo-Confucianism in the early Song Dynasty, of which the leading thinker was Zhu Xi, could have resulted in this change of rituals and passage form that, as stated in the first part of this Chapter, has been the dominant impression of Chinese architecture¹⁸².

¹⁸⁰ Zhu Xi, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: a twelfth-century Chinese manual for the performance of cappings, weddings, funerals, and ancestral rites*, trans. with annotation and introduction by Patricia Buckley Ebrey (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 6-8.

¹⁸¹ Zhu Xi, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, pp.11-12.

¹⁸² However, it does not mean that the form of double- or three-steps has never been applied since the Song. For more information, see Patricia Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: a social history of writing about rites* (Princeton, N.J.; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp.45-67.

When the Central Line was Prosperous Since the Early Song

Compared with the Forbidden City in which the north-south axis cannot be more clear and straight, or with palaces for princes which are just smaller models of the emperor's having straight axis in its south end directly from the main gatehouse of three bays, a much smaller and simpler house compound for commoners in Beijing, which is called *si-he-yuan* 四合院 (literally courtyards enclosed on four sides) starts its axis not from the low, humble main gate in the south, but from the second gate, the ceremonial gate. And this cannot be more reasonable in the name of the spirit of *li*. A common dwelling compound with three courtyards is usually popular and typical in the late imperial time¹⁸³ (Figure 3-16, 3-17, and 3-18). On the street, or alley to be more accurate in some cases, from outside of the main gate, nothing about the buildings or courtyards inside can be seen but continuous grey walls with several gate openings at every distance with a similar look and size to the one in front (Figure 3-19, 3-20). And a guest starts from here, at the humble main gate, some with a short screen wall of carved decorative patterns outside in response to the entrance/exit space so that there can be some view rather than the wall of others when one comes out from inside, and more importantly the *qi* 气 (flowing energy or luck), could be kept a little bit longer rather than running out of the gate immediately. Compared to those of palaces with grand vermeil door-leaves with golden doornails, shining roofs, and bays of odd numbers (Figures 3-21, 3-22), the main gate no doubt seems humble and rough, with wooden grey double door-leaves opening in the exterior wall, or a simple one-bay gatehouse if the family is more affluent. However, though it may seem humble it is not simple or carelessly built (Figure 3-23).

¹⁸³ In the 1980s, the government repaired some dwelling courtyards in Beijing. One of them, which has three courtyards, has become a model for research, commercial models and publications ever since, as shown in the Figure 3-16 and Figure 3-17. Ma Bingjian, *Beijing Si He Yuan Jian Zhu* (Tianjin: Tianjin University Press, 2004), pp.8-9.

The guest gets off the horse or out of a vehicle at the exterior screen wall and waits for the gate keeper/attendant¹⁸⁴, who lives in the room right next to gate, to inform the host. The host, normally coming out from the main hall down the steps and walking on the pavement, comes up and stops at the second gate, or ceremonial gate, to welcome the visitor. The attendant runs ahead and admits the guest, or another attendant has let the guest in already, bringing him to the second gate for them to meet. Then they both walk to the main hall on the central pavement leading to it. It is the convention that the guest is formally welcomed by the male host at the second gate, and sent off by the host from it again, without any further step out of the gate. The fact that the guest and host share the same and only pavement and flight of steps to the main hall makes the second gate the ceremonial one to perform the *li* 礼.

The second gate, 二门, is named literally according to the order of encountering gates in one's tour in a courtyard compound (Figure 3-24). It is much more taken care of both technically and decoratively than the main gate, for firstly, there were extremely strict official orders on the main gate, and secondly, the second gate usually indicates ceremonial which is placed on the central north-south axis as the threshold to the main courtyard where the main hall locates. In the old Beijing conventions, the second gate has another more popular name, the flower-covered gate, *chui-hua-men* 垂花门, after a Chinese architectural term for inner gates other than the main gate, technically with two short columns in front supporting the roof which do not stand on the ground but hang from under the roof. These two short columns are decorated at the bottom as a flower bud upside down and painted with flower petal patterns. Their names on the basis of building technology indicate non-touching-ground columns and the flower pattern decoration. For wealthy families, the ceremonial gates leading to the main courtyard with the main hall for sitting in, and other inner courtyards for living, are

¹⁸⁴ Most of times the attendant also played the role of gate keeper for an ordinary family, so that it is hard to categorise them under a special role of keeping gate.

commonly the flower-covered gates. It may not be necessarily the second gate, but the second one is normally built in this way.

How ceremonial the second gate of a common compound was in rituals can be hardly found in documents. However, for a family of high social rank, with one or more males holding important posts in the central imperial court, the gates, entrances and the passage through them are made progressively more complicated. A classic description is given in the famous Qing novel *Dream of the Red Chamber*, about the first time Black Jade, a young lady, approaching her much wealthier grandmother's family in the capital:

Suddenly she saw on the north side of a street an imposing entrance, consisting of a great gate and a smaller one on either side¹⁸⁵. Two huge¹⁸⁶ stone lions flanked the approach, and over the main gate there was a panel bearing the characters *ning kuo fu*¹⁸⁷. The centre gate was closed, but one of the side doors¹⁸⁸ was open and under it there were more than a score of manservants lounging about on long benches. A little farther to the west, there was another entrance of similar proportions with the inscription *yung kuo fu* over the main gate. Black Jade's sedan was carried through the side door to the west¹⁸⁹. After proceeding a distance of an arrow's flight the bearers stopped and withdrew, as four well-dressed boys of about seventeen came up and took their places. The maidservants alighted from their carriages and followed the

¹⁸⁵ Here, in the original Chinese text, the main gate has three bays, with beast head decorations. See Cao Xueqin, *Hong Lou Meng*, vol.1 (Hong Kong: Guang Zhi Book Company, 1960), p.33.

¹⁸⁶ In the original text, it is 'hugh' that could be a printing error.

¹⁸⁷ *Ning-guo-fu* in pinyin, 宁国府 in Chinese, the Residence/Mansion of Duke Ningguo. Ningguo is the title conferred by the emperor upon one of the ancestors of the Jia family that Black Jade is visiting in the quotation of the novel. Similarly *yung-kuo-fu* mentioned in the following context, *rong-guo-fu* in pinyin, 荣国府 in Chinese, literally means the Residence/Mansion of Duke Rongguo. Rongguo is the title of the other ancestor of the family. The two huge residences planned with enclosed walls are built side by side along a street.

¹⁸⁸ In the original Chinese text, two side doors are called corner doors, *jiao-men* 角门. And both of them were open in the text with people coming in and going out but only the one in the middle bay was closed. See Cao Xueqin, *Hong Lou Meng*, vol.1, p.33.

¹⁸⁹ To be clear, Black Jade's sedan went into the west side door of *Rong-guo-fu*, not the *Ning-guo-fu* appearing in the previous text.

sedan on foot until they reached another gate, covered with overhanging flowers¹⁹⁰. Here the bearers stopped again and withdrew. The maids raised the curtain of the sedan for Black Jade to descend.

Inside the flower-covered gate two verandas led to a passage hall with a large marble screen in the centre. Beyond, there was a large court dominated by the main hall with carved beams and painted pillars¹⁹¹. From the rafters of the side chambers hung cages of parrots, thrushes, and other pet birds. The maids sitting on the moon terrace of the main hall rose at the approach of Black Jade. “Lao Tai-tai¹⁹² was just asking about Ku-niang¹⁹³,” they said. Then raising the door curtain, they announced, “Lin Ku-niang is here.”¹⁹⁴

Although it is a narrative concerning a noble young girl’s arrival, not that of an important official or noble male, the rule and routine are indicated clearly. In a noble or high-ranked official’s house in the Qing period in which the novel was completed, the main entrance, which is assumed to face the south¹⁹⁵, consists of a main gate house, three-bayed, with two stone lions in front. Each bay is a double-leaf door opening. The central bay is usually closed, only being opened for special occasions and important guests. The gates in the side bays are opened during day time with gate keepers and attendants sitting or standing in front. But Black Jade’s sedan was carried through neither of the three main gate openings, but through the west corner gate that is a door opening in the south wall. In a large residence, the gate house normally has three bays on the long side, built up on a

¹⁹⁰ *Chui-hua-men* 垂花门.

¹⁹¹ In the original Chinese text, it is narrated clearly that the main hall is five-bayed, see Cao Xueqin, *Hong Lou Meng*, vol.1, p.33.

¹⁹² Lao-tai-tai, 老太太 in Chinese, literally the elder madam, a moderate appellation for old ladies, indicates Black Jade’s grandmother, the most authoritative matriarch of the Jia family in the novel.

¹⁹³ Ku-niang, *gu-niang* in pinyin, 姑娘 in Chinese, literally the young lady, a respectful yet genial appellation for the unmarried young girls, indicates, in the context, Black Jade.

¹⁹⁴ Cao Xueqin, *Dream of the Red Chamber*, trans. by Chi-chen Wang (New York: Twayne Publisher, 1958), pp.31-32.

¹⁹⁵ The entrance is on the north side of the street that is apparently in east-west direction.

platform, with steps leading up, lanterns hanging under the roof and of course the stone lions guarding in front. Inside the main gate house, there is a series of courtyards stretching from south to north with main halls sitting on the axis, while two other groups of courtyards, growing from the main ones to both east and west sides, sit on sub-axes parallel with the main one and are entered by the two small openings at the south end, which are called corner gates (Figure 3-25).

There are two significant stops after Black Jade's sedan was carried into the west corner gate: at the first stop, at a gate I assume, the previous sedan carriers are replaced by some higher-class young male attendants, and the maids who were sitting in sedans come out and walk alongside Black Jade's. The length of 'an arrow's flight' could be assumed as approximately the length of two or three courtyards in the north-south direction. Apparently, this ceremonial gate is the boundary to categorise attendants of different levels, for only the high-ranked male attendants are allowed to go through in from this point, and the female maids walk instead of sitting in a sedan. It is of importance that behind this gate the female maids can show their faces and walk freely, without being afraid of running into male strangers. It is this gate that leads to a more private living area of the residence.

The second stop, clearly indicated as a flower-covered gate in the eye of Black Jade, is the restriction line for all the males, for behind it is the most private female life of the family. It is only after the male sedan carriers withdraw that Black Jade comes out of the sedan, so that she will not be seen by irrelevant male servants. Behind the gate, there is another hierarchy of rules and rites, or to be more accurate, *li* 礼, the counterpart of the one observed by the males, but, only performed by the females in the family and led by the matriarch.

Every gate highly represents the *li* 礼, by being hierarchically regulated in terms of which rank of servants serve at which gates and the courtyards defined by them and at which gates the males and females are separated.

These ‘hiding from male strangers’ and ‘protecting female privacy’ for women are typical results of Neo-Confucianism since the early Northern Song. And it can be imagined how much more ceremonious and intricate things are when an important male guest is arriving, for they had much more respect and social status than females in the past.

This beautifully managed interpretation in controlling hierarchy in pavement, steps and gates indicates implicitly the Neo-Confucian understanding of *li* 禮 as the principle in which the way of Heaven is expressed¹⁹⁶. It obviously reached a peak in the late imperial time when the worship of Heaven was more embodied in the respectful esteem of the emperor¹⁹⁷, the Son of Heaven. Obeying the moral order and hierarchy, which is obviously the counterpart of Heaven, from the highest emperor living in the grandeur of the palace down to the commoner whose house gate humbly stands in narrow alley, was considered essential to keep the universe integral and orderly. So, to deliver the doctrine in the form of architecture, the central line had to be strongly stressed for the supreme representative of power of Heaven – the emperor, the major god/goddess if in a temple, or the presiding male¹⁹⁸ as the head of the family, or ancestors in some cases of family rites¹⁹⁹, in a dwelling.

¹⁹⁶ For the relation between the will of Heaven and rituals, see Benjamin Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985), p.50.

¹⁹⁷ For the immense power of emperor and central government in late imperial time, see Boyd, *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning, 1500 B.C. – A.D. 1911*, pp.12-13.

¹⁹⁸ There have been situations in which an oldest woman might have the most authority ritually over the younger generations of men in family, such as Lao-tai-tai in the great novel of the 18th century, *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. For more discussion on the hierarchy of a Chinese family, see Boyd, *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning, 1500 B.C. – A.D. 1911*, pp.75-76; Zhu Xi, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, pp.13-14; and more works of Joseph Needham.

¹⁹⁹ There are an enormous abundance of examples of rites that concern the ancestors. And in fact, the worship of ancestors has the longest history and the strongest influence of all the other various rites in Chinese culture and philosophy. See Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China*, pp.15-16.

The Imperial Orders of *Men* 门制

The Chinese gate had its own characters, rules, and systems which formed its own orders identifying imperial and social hierarchy. The orders of planning, hierarchy and elaboration of gates reached the peak in the late imperial time. As shown in the previous case of the Zhou gate and the greeting rite, in ancient books of rites, every rite held in a courtyard complex would start with the greeting at the main gate, which makes it the very basic and common yet regulated for other rites. Meanwhile, the form of a courtyard composed of a hall and a gate (and side-halls later) for the greeting rite, has somehow become the basic architectural unit of larger compounds, especially in North China where the political powers resided. The planning of the main gate (*men-tang*) and the Y- or U-shape pavement leading to the separate steps, together with the greeting rite, represents the spirit of the ancient *li* – the differentiations between the inside and the outside, the host and the guest, the former and the latter, and symbolises the orders of space and society. The form of the gate space and the rite initially defines the orders of *men*, the *men-zhi* 门制.

The regulations on the orders of *men* varied dynasty from dynasty, but all the orders concerned essentially is similar: what the gate should be called according to its position in a series of buildings, how many door nails the gate could be fixed in according to its rank, what colour the gate could and should be painted so that it was officially approved and avoided serious punishment from yamen, how big the gate could and should be built so that it would bring luck, what form of the gate should and could be chosen to be suitable and so forth. All these aspects with restricted and limited conditions, which are tightly linked with social conventions and rites, have interacted like a multi-layered net, subsequently narrowed the forms of gates down to countable catalogues, and, more importantly, identified and symbolised gates with unique marks.

The orders of *men* originate from the *li* rites of the Zhou period. Besides the form of *men* described above²⁰⁰, the colours were regulated: ‘fire represented the emperors, therefore yellow and red were the colours of the imperial family’²⁰¹. And it is presumably because yellow symbolises the centre where the Son of Heaven dwells²⁰². The Tang regulations particularly focus on the number of the weapon *ji*²⁰³ placed at gate:

For the gates of imperial ancestral temple, imperial altar of land and grain and imperial palaces, 24 *ji* are placed; for the gates of the crown prince’s palace, 18 *ji*; for the dwellings of the 1st rank officials, 16 *ji*; for dwellings of prince with titles, the 2nd-rank-and-above officials, the governors of the capital, Henan Province and Taiyuan, and the great military generals, 14 *ji*; for the dwellings of the 3rd-rank-and-above officials and the middle military generals, 12 *ji*; for the dwellings of the 3rd-rank lords and the lower military generals, 10 *ji*.²⁰⁴

In the Ming dynasty, the structures of the main gatehouse were regulated in the imperial standards for dwellings of officials:

For the princes and lords with titles, the gatehouse has 3 bays and 5 laved beams. The door leaves of the gate are partly painted golden and decorated the tin beast-face knockers²⁰⁵...For the top two ranked officials, the gatehouse has 3 bays and 5 laved beams, with door leaves painted green and decorated with the tin beast-face knockers...For the officials from 3rd to 5th rank, the gatehouse has 3 bays and 3 laved beams, with door leaves painted black and decorated with the tin knockers...For the 6th to 9th rank, the gatehouse has only one bay and 3 laved beams, with door leaves painted black and decorated with the iron knockers.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁰ Qian Xuan, *San Li Ming Wu Tong Shi*, pp.111-114.

²⁰¹ Laurence Liu, *Chinese Architecture*, p.36.

²⁰² See the *ming-tang*, in Chapter 2.

²⁰³ See previous note.

²⁰⁴ Zhang Jiuling, the *TLDQY*, pp.137-138. Trans. by Bing Jiang.

²⁰⁵ Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua*, pp.32-36.

²⁰⁶ The *HMgateZS*, collected in the *Sequel of the SKQS*, vol.8 (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Press, 2002), pp.347-348. Trans. by Bing Jiang.

A small passage about the formalities of gates for domestic dwellings is cited below from *G DY Z L* of the Qing period to give a brief impression:

The formalities of gates: ‘(there are a beam) above (which is called) *mei*, (a threshold which is called) *he*, (and on the left and right) *cheng*. Two leaved doors are called *he*, and single leaved are called *shan*. The gates with up, middle and bottom parts are for official yamen and temples, which is different from the ones for commoners’ house doors. To open gates, from the main gate to the inner second gate, the passage should be devious but not straight, and the distance, counted from the edge of eave to where to build up the gate, should be odd steps, each step four *chi* five *cun*.²⁰⁷

For imperial gate buildings, the regulations are stricter documented in the *Q D D Q H D*:

For the palaces of Grand Princes²⁰⁸, the main gatehouse, built on a three *chi* high platform, has 5 bays, of which the middle three are openings, a double-leaved vermeil gate with 63 (9 in a column, 7 in a row) golden door nails for each opening. The roof is layed with green glazed²⁰⁹ tiles, decorated with seven sitting beasts²¹⁰ as the finial of the ridge and two dragon beasts²¹¹ at both ends of the main ridge. The columns are painted vermeil, decorated with golden patterns of clouds and dragons without heads.

For the palaces of the *jun-wang* princes²¹² and the crown sons of the Grand Princes, the main gatehouse, built on a two *chi* high platform, has 5 bays, of which the middle three are openings, a double-leaved vermeil gate with 63 (9 in a column, 7 in a row) golden door nails for each opening. The roof is

²⁰⁷ The original text is: ‘门制: 上楣下闑, 左右为枅, 双曰闑, 单曰扇, 有上中下三户门, 及州县寺观, 庶人房门之别。开门自外正大门而入次二重, 宜屈曲, 步数宜单, 每步四尺五寸, 自屋檐滴水起量至立门处止’. Trans. by Bing Jiang.

²⁰⁸ *Qin-wang*, 亲王.

²⁰⁹ *Liu-li* 琉璃, a technique applied to tiles. For more information and illustrations, see Wang Qijun, *Zhong Guo Jian Zhu Tu Jie Ci Dian*, pp.252-264.

²¹⁰ See previous note.

²¹¹ *Wen-shou*, 吻兽. See Song Wen, *Zhong Guo Chuan Tong Jian Zhu Tu Jian* (Beijing: Dong Fang Press, 2010), pp.9, 74; Li Jie, the *YZFS*, vol.1, p.39.

²¹² *Jun-wang*, 郡王.

laid with green glazed tiles, decorated with seven sitting beasts as the finial of the ridge and two golden nails at both ends of the main ridge. The beams and columns are decorated with golden patterns of flowers and cloudy pythons with four-finger claws.

For the palaces of the *bei-le* princes²¹³, the main gatehouse, built on a two *chi* high platform, has one opening²¹⁴, a double-leaved vermeil gate with 63 (9 in a column, 7 in a row) golden door nails. The roof is laid with green glazed tiles, decorated with seven sitting beasts as the finial of the ridge and two golden *tong-wa*²¹⁵ at both ends of the main ridge. The columns are painted red and azure. The beams are painted patterns of flowers.

For the palaces of the *bei-zi* princes²¹⁶, *zhen-guo* and *fu-guo* lords²¹⁷, the main gatehouse, built on a two *chi* high platform, has one opening, a double-leaved vermeil gate with 63 (9 in a column, 7 in a row) golden door nails. The roof is laid with green glazed tiles, decorated with seven sitting beasts as the finial of the ridge and two watching beasts²¹⁸ at both ends of the main ridge. The columns are painted red and azure. The beams are decorated with golden ornaments and painted patterns of flowers.

For the dwellings of the 2nd-rank officials and above, the main gatehouse has a double-leaved vermeil gate with 49 (7 in a column and 7 in a row) iron door nails. The roof has two watching beasts at both ends of the main ridge. The columns of gate are decorated with *you-e*²¹⁹. The beam in the central bay is painted golden. The other beams are painted with five-colour flower patterns.

²¹³ *Bei-le*, 贝勒.

²¹⁴ The number of bays is not given in the original text, and it is assumed to be 3 bays.

²¹⁵ *Tong-wa*, 甬瓦, a carpentry term that is unknown, but presumably a kind of special tile.

²¹⁶ *Bei-zi*, 贝子.

²¹⁷ *Zhen-guo* lords 镇国公, *fu-guo* lords 辅国公.

²¹⁸ *Wang-shou*, 望兽.

²¹⁹ *You-e*, 黝垩, a carpentry term that is unknown exactly, but presumably something made of a kind of white earth.

For the dwellings of the 3rd-rank, the main gatehouse has a double-leaved vermeil gate with 25 (5 in a column and 5 in a row) iron door nails. The columns of gate are decorated with *you-e*. The beam in the central bay is painted golden. The other beams are painted with five-colour flower patterns.

For the dwellings of the 4th-rank and below, the main gatehouse has a double-leaved vermeil gate with 25 (5 in a column and 5 in a row) iron door nails. The columns of gate are decorated with *you-e*. The beam in the central bay is painted with five-colour flower patterns.²²⁰

The orders of *men* were not built for architecture designs initially, but for the rituals that originally regulate the behaviours and lifestyle of a decent civilised man and furthermore were developed to structure the frame of the hierarchical society.

Conclusion

From the terms to the planning and orders, the Chinese have taken gate very coherently and sacredly not only as an architectural structure or frame but also as a dynamic creature in the highly organised society. Any slight alteration about gates and the space they formed could be caused by the transformation of any cultural innovation, even though the continuity of the development of Chinese architecture cannot be smoother. Hence, in the confusion and ambiguity as stated in the previous chapters, gate gave its correspondence: the symmetrical layout as the symbol of the *men* and the upper social class in literature, the pavements and steps adjusted to the rituals, and the hierarchy of formality that derives from ancient planning and the greeting ritual.

The ultimately strict planning and elaborate naming of the gate space, especially the main gate, have made it seemingly quite reasonable to request that one must perform and act absolutely right: the positions to be, the route to go, the gestures to make, the directions to face and presumably the words

²²⁰ The *QDDQHD*, vol.58, pp.41-42. Trans. by Bing Jiang.

to say, the facial expressions to show and the accordingly clothes to wear are awfully significant to the Chinese before the modern time. All of these have become symbols that have formed the significance and identities of gate and the persons who perform rituals at the gate. After dynasties of practices, the rituals and ritualised gates were proved to be the correct things to do under the circumstances where the rituals and gates were of true meanings.

The ritualised arrangement of the gate space, gate buildings and all the associated details actually represents the Chinese obsession with beliefs in their ancient cosmology – the *si-fang*, the Heaven and Earth. Only to follow the orders of the universe, can the harmony be reached; and because the locations, the colours, the directions, and the entire structure of the gates matter, the orders can be followed.

Chapter 4

Sacrifices, Ceremonies and Customs

While the imperial orders of *men* originated ostensibly to organise and give order to the social hierarchy, the Chinese gate was tied up with rituals in another aspect, that of ‘shared’ values and beliefs that seek to bind the community. And this link between social cohesion of ritual remains intact, nourished by the continuity of sacrifices, ceremonies and customs that are practiced from one generation to the next.

Sacrifice to the Ceremonial Gate in Yamen

A special ritual of offerings to the ceremonial gate²²¹ in the yamen of the Qing dynasty was performed for the first entry to the yamen by the

²²¹ In the original Chinese text, it is *yi-men* 仪门, the ceremonial gate. In residential houses, it is called *er-men* 二门, the second gate, or, if it has two non-touching-ground

magistrate (Figure 4-1). In the *li* society of imperial China, the magistrate taking office and making the first entry to the yamen did not only symbolise the dignity of emperors, the Son of Heaven, and the sacredness of Heaven, but also had the significant meaning of threshold – declaring to citizens about the start of administration, delivering the voice from Heaven and emperor, and offering all gods in order to get protection and assistance – as addressed in an old proverb:

A bride's character is judged by her behaviour at the time she first steps over the threshold of the family gate, and that the competence of a new magistrate is judged by his action at the time he takes office.²²²

Before entering the yamen, firstly the fast and overnight stay ceremonies were performed at the temple of the city god²²³ by the new magistrate after he arrived in the district, which included burning incense on the appointed day, reading the oath that was prepared the day before²²⁴. Then the official seal²²⁵ from the emperor was carefully examined and locked in the box. And

short posts decorated in flower pattern, *chui-hua-men* 垂花门, the flower-covered gate, normally seen in North China. Djang Chu translates it as 'the middle gate'. And in the Chinese text, it is not addressed as 'the sacrifice to the god of the ceremonial gate' which Djang Chu translates to, but as 'the sacrifice to the ceremonial gate' 祭仪门. Only in the ode to the ceremonial gate (below), is the god referred to, but it is never addressed the phrase of 'the god of the gate'. So in this thesis, the translations are strictly loyal to the Chinese text but not just simply cited from Djang Chu's translations. See Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, trans. by Djang Chu (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1984), p.96; and Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, the edition of Shi Shan Tang from Japan, vol.2 (1850), p. 6; Wang Qijun, *Zhong Guo Jian Zhu Tu Jie Ci Dian*, p.116.

²²² Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, trans. by Djang Chu, p.91; Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, the edition of Shi Shan Tang from Japan, vol.2, p.1. The Chinese text is: '谚云, 新妇看进门, 新官看到任'.

²²³ The city god, 城隍. For more information, see Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, pp.178-180; Zito, 'City Gods, Filiality, and Hegemony in Late Imperial China', pp.333-371.

²²⁴ For more information, see Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, trans. by Djang Chu, pp.94-95; Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, the edition of Shi Shan Tang from Japan, vol.2, pp.4-5.

²²⁵ The official seal was the symbol of imperial authority of the designation of the magistrate's position. It was normally locked and sealed in a box, sent to the new magistrate who had the right to open and examine it. If there was any damage or broken parts, the new magistrate would make a statement of them, ask other related officials to sign it and organise repairs or ask for a new one if it was too much damaged. For more

then it comes to the highlight of the entire ceremonies of taking the post – the sacrifice to the ceremonial gate of yamen – what the previous ceremonies were for. The date was of course carefully divined and selected. The new magistrate wore the auspicious costume²²⁶ and firstly offered a sacrifice at the temple of the city god at an auspicious hour. None of these could not be possibly missed in the sacrifice, sacrificial animals, paper money to be burned, and sacrificial ode²²⁷. And there is no doubt that the correct times for accomplishing these acts was selected and decided in advance with caution and reverence. Then he was carried in a sedan in a procession to the yamen, and got out of the sedan inside the main gate, in the courtyard between the main gate and the ceremonial gate, where similar offerings and a process of a sacrifice were performed, but only this time dedicated to the ceremonial gate. After offering the animals and burning paper money, he read the ode to the gate, in which the wish for the harmony of *yin* and *yang* and the belief that only with the help of the ceremonial gate god could the new magistrate fulfil his duties are devotionally declared:

Oh God who controls this gate, thou represent the virtues
of *yin* and *yang* combined.

Neither the virtuous nor the wicked can escape thy
scrutiny when they cross thy threshold.

I come to officiate in this district with a trembling heart.

information, see Huang Liuhong, , *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, trans. by Djang Chu, pp.95-96; Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, the edition of Shi Shan Tang from Japan, vol.2, p.5.

²²⁶ Here about the ‘auspicious costume’, in Djang Chu’s translation, it is addressed as the ‘official costume’. However, in the Chinese text, it says *ji-fu* 吉服 with a note of smaller characters saying that ‘or (the magistrate) could wear the official costume and change (to the auspicious costume) after he thanks for the benevolence and kindness (of the emperor)’. See Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, trans. by Djang Chu, p.96; Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, the edition of Shi Shan Tang from Japan, vol.2, p.5.

²²⁷ For the content of the ode to the city god, see Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, trans. by Djang Chu, pp.97-98; Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, the edition of Shi Shan Tang from Japan, vol.2, p.7.

Only with thy silent help can I fulfil duties on my part.²²⁸

Then another sacrifice was performed to the earth god²²⁹ whose shrine is located on the left side of the ceremonial gate. Then he walked on the central pavement to a table with an incense burner on it and performed the typical kneeling and kowtowing toward the north in front of the ceremonial gate, thanking for the emperor for his grace. He stood up and saluted his colleagues and subordinates who were assumed to stand²³⁰ around all this time. He performed all the sacrifices, facing north of course which indicates that he was still outside of the ceremonial gate, symbolically with no power of going further through to the main hall as a magistrate, even though the performance was inside the main gate. Only then, after all these ceremonies, did he for the first time as the new magistrate walk through the ceremonial gate, directly enter the main hall, and sit on the official chair that was placed right in the middle in the hall, facing south²³¹. From this moment of entering and taking the seat, the new magistrate was officially and symbolically granted the title and power by the city god, the god of the ceremonial gate, the earth god and the emperor. The chief officers of various sections then were asked to sign their names in turn in front of the new magistrate, at, again, an auspicious hour that was reported by a clerk from the rites section.

This ceremonial gate ritual is recorded in Huang Liuhong's 黄六鸿 *FHQ* 福惠全书 (A Complete Book Concerning Happiness and Benevolence). The author was twice a district magistrate in the 1670s under the Qing government, and recorded and shared his experiences of good

²²⁸ Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, trans. by Djang Chu, p.98. For the Chinese text, see Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, the edition of Shi Shan Tang from Japan, vol.2, p.7.

²²⁹ The earth god, 土地神. For more information, see Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, pp.157-158.

²³⁰ It is not known if other colleagues and officials took apart in all or part of the ceremonies, such as kneeling, kowtowing and so forth. Huang Liuhong did not mention in his book.

²³¹ Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, trans. by Djang Chu, p.96; Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, the edition of Shi Shan Tang from Japan, vol.2, p.6.

administration and fiscal advice in the book that was written to serve as a magistrate's manual after his retirement.

The ceremonial gate is taken as a threshold at a certain time (the first time of entering) for certain people (the new designated magistrate), which signifies the spatial boundary between the main hall and official seat which belong to the magistrate and the outer courtyard where the runners and constables were allowed to gather²³². It was understood as the power – transmitting medium from the god of the gate to the new magistrate, with a concurrent passage²³³ of social status through which the political position and administrative power of the new magistrate were officially accepted by colleagues, subordinates and local commoners. And moreover, this entering rite is elaborated not only because of the significant passage²³⁴, but also because of the strong request for the *li* and the harmony from all gods, Heaven, Earth and humans, which cannot be more obviously and piously expressed than in the prayer to the god of the ceremonial gate. He was considered the representative of virtues of harmonious *yin* and *yang*, having the power to either punish or bless those crossing the threshold. It did not matter much whether the new magistrate believed in the power of the threshold or not, for the ancient primitive beliefs could have turned into popular conventions eventually as time went by; however, the entering ceremonies were practised nation-wide in the circle of officials to announce the authority of gods, emperor and magistrates, even though the details of the procession varied from locality to locality²³⁵. As with other forms of

²³² For where the runners and constables stayed after the new magistrate took his seat in the main hall, see Huang liuhong, , *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, trans. by Djang Chu, p.96; Huang Liuhong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, the edition of Shi Shan Tang from Japan, vol.2, p.6.

²³³ It works similarly as the Dragon Gate, 'long-men' 龙门, see previous chapters.

²³⁴ For more information on rites of passage, see Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, translated by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp.15-40.

²³⁵ The ceremonies recorded in Huang's book were not a detailed case but more like a guide to other new officials that what must be done. The auspicious hours or the positions of other present officials were not mentioned. And Huang did stress that taking office differed from locality to locality because of various local conditions and customs.

traditional worship in China, the sacrificial food, burning incense, reading prepared or unprepared prayers, kneeling, kowtows and the auspicious timings of all events were the essential aspects, which included the stages of inviting the god, the god enjoying the offerings, communicating with the god, and sending off the god. But other details, such as how many kowtows, what kinds of food are proper, or what time is auspicious, tended to vary, which could be the result of Chinese polytheism and diversity of folk beliefs.

Sacrifices to Gates/Doors 祀门 祀户 and Gods of Gate, *Men-shen*

The tradition of sacrificing to a gate was not just particular in the officialdom for marking a magistrate's first entry to the yamen, but had its regulated roots in the ancient classic *li*, although usually in other literature the rite was not recorded in detail. In the *LJ*, the Book of Rites, the *Law of Sacrifices* 祭法 is recorded:

The king²³⁶, for all the people, appointed (seven altars for) the seven sacrifices – one to the superintendent of the lot; one in the central court, for the admission of light and the rain from the roofs; one at the gates of the city wall; one in the roads leading from the city; one for the discontented ghosts of kings who had died without posterity; one for the guardian of the door; and one for the guardian of the furnace. He also had seven corresponding altars for himself.

A feudal prince²³⁷, for his state, appointed (five altars for) the five sacrifices – one for the superintendent of the lot; one in the central court, for the admission of light and rain; one at the gates of the city wall; one in the roads leading from the city; one for the discontented ghosts of princes who had died without posterity. He also had five corresponding altars for himself.

A great officer²³⁸ appointed (three altars for) the three sacrifices – one for the discontented ghosts of his

²³⁶ Here 'the king' is the Son of Heaven. See note above.

²³⁷ Here 'the feudal prince' is the feudal lord.

²³⁸ Here 'the great officer' is the *da-fu*.

predecessors who had died without posterity; one at the gates of his city; and one on the roads leading from it.

An officer²³⁹ of the first grade appointed (two altars for) the two sacrifices – one at the gates; and one on the roads (outside the gates).

Other officers²⁴⁰ and the common people had one (altar and one) sacrifice. Some raised one altar for the guardian of the door; and others, one for the guardian of the furnace.²⁴¹

In other chapters of the *LJ* and other books of rites usually compiled before the 3rd century CE, the numbers of sacrifices that should be done by all the ranks of society, top class from kings to the lowest ranked commoners are recorded slightly differently, but the list of Five Sacrifices 五祀 is often seen, which in order of importance are the sacrifice to gate (*men* 门), to door (*hu* 户), to well (*jing* 井), to stove (*zao* 灶) and to the central hall (*zhong-liu* 中霤). And the Son of Heaven sacrificed to them with blood²⁴². Although through the dynasties, the contents and order of the Five Sacrifices have varied in different scholars' annotations, the facts record that it is to the five gods of the household that they were performed, and that the first and second of them were to gate and door have never been questioned²⁴³. In the philosopher Wang Chong's 王充 long critical classic

²³⁹ Here 'the officer' is the *shi*.

²⁴⁰ Here 'the other officers' could be the sons of the *shi*, who are still in the aristocratic class but not going to inherit the title *shi* of their fathers.

²⁴¹ Legge, trans. *The Li Ki*, pp.529-535. The original text is: '王为群姓立七祀，曰司命，曰中溜，曰国门，曰国行，曰泰厉，曰户，曰灶。王自为立七祀。诸侯为国立五祀，曰司命，曰中溜，曰国门，曰国行，曰公厉。诸侯自为立五祀。大夫立三祀，曰族厉，曰门，曰行。适士立二祀，曰门，曰行。庶士、庶人立一祀，或立户，或立灶'.

²⁴² 'The Offices of Spring', in the *ZL, Chinese Text Project* <<http://ctext.org/rites-of-zhou/chun-guan-zong-bo>> (accessed September 2008).

²⁴³ In the Chapter *Qu Li* 曲礼 (Summary of the Rules of Propriety) of the *LJ*, it says that the son of Heaven, the feudal princes, great officers should all offer the five sacrifices (of the house) all in the course of the year; in the Chapter *Wang Zhi* 王制 (Royal Regulations), it states that 'the son of Heaven sacrificed to Heaven and Earth; the princes of the states, to the (spirits of the) land and grain; Great officers offered the five sacrifices (of the house)'; in the Chapter *Yue Ling* 月令 (Proceedings of Government in the Different Months), in the first month of winter, the son of Heaven offers the sacrifice three days after

LH 论衡 (Discourse Weighted in the Balance)²⁴⁴ of the first century CE, the reason for sacrifices to gate (*men* 门) and door (*hu* 户) is that they are the thresholds across which people go in and out²⁴⁵. The sacrifice to *hu* with spleens as the main offering should be performed in the first month of spring, and the one to the gate with the liver as the main offering in the first month of autumn, as recorded in the *Yue Ling* of the *LJ*: ‘In the first month of spring...its sacrifice is that at the door (*hu*), and of the parts of the victim the spleen has the foremost place....In the first month of autumn...its sacrifice is that at the gate (*men*); and of the parts of the victim the liver has the foremost place’²⁴⁶, so that the *qi* of *yang* ascending in spring could be collected in the door (*hu*) and that the *qi* of *yin* coming out in autumn could be kept outside the gate (*men*)²⁴⁷. And again in the first month of winter, the Son of Heaven sacrifices at the gates of towns and villages, with an ox, a ram, and a boar and prays for blessings on the coming year²⁴⁸. The seasons,

the winter solstice with the spoils of the chase to all ancestors, and at the five (household) sacrifices. See Legge, trans. *The Li Ki*, pp.102, 185, 241. For the order of the Five Sacrifices, see Fucha Dunchong (19th Century), *Yan Jing Sui Shi Ji* (Beijing: Beijing Ancient Books Press, 1981), pp.95-96. The part of the god of the gate: ‘Gate is the first to sacrifice among the five.’ (夫门为五祀之首) Trans. by Bing Jiang.

²⁴⁴ The title *Lun Heng* has been translated as *Disquisitions* by Alfred Forke, *Critical Essays* by Feng Yulan, *The Balanced Inquiries* by Wing-tsit Chan and *Discourses Weighed in the Balance* by Joseph Needham. The classic comprises 85 essays in total. For more information, see *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: from the origins of civilization to 221 B.C.*, ed. by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy, pp.309-312.

²⁴⁵ The Chinese text is: ‘五祀报门户井灶(室)中溜之功: 门户人所出入, 井灶人所饮食, 中溜人所托处。五者功钧, 故俱祀之’。 See Wang Chong, the *LH*, *Wikisource* <<http://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hans/%E8%AB%96%E8%A1%A1/77>> (accessed 05 March 2011).

²⁴⁶ The Chinese text is: ‘孟春之月, 其祀户, 祭先脾。孟秋之月, 其祀门, 祭先肝’。 See the ‘*Yue Ling*’, the *LJ*, *Chinese Text Project* <<http://ctext.org/liji/yue-ling>> (accessed October 2008).

²⁴⁷ See the annotation by Zheng Xuan. In fact, in the *Yue Ling* of the *LJ*, the weather of every season is analysed and the things associated and proper to do are discussed, even the relative musical note, the star of the month, the divine ruler, the spirit, the number, the taste, the smell, the place the son of Heaven should occupies and all the things about the son of Heaven from his dress and carriage to his food and vessels. See the ‘*Yue Ling*’, the *LJ*, *Chinese Text Project* <<http://ctext.org/liji/yue-ling>> (accessed October 2008).

²⁴⁸ See the ‘*Yue Ling*’, the *LJ*, *Chinese Text Project* <<http://ctext.org/liji/yue-ling>> (accessed October 2008).

weathers and the concepts of the *yin* and *yang* are simply yet profoundly connected with spaces within the door (which can be understood as indoors) and outside the gate (which can be understood as outside the main gate or as outside the residential house). Even though there are merely detailed records on the sacrifices to gate and door performed by state kings, officers, imperial emperors or by commoners, it can be imagined that the ritual might include food offerings and burning incense, with or without kowtows and prayers that could be replaced by other decorations and so forth. In the Qing imperial court life in Beijing, the rite of offerings to gate and door followed the rules of the ancient *li* in the *LJ* to sacrifice to those who ruled the door outside the palace gate²⁴⁹ in the first month of spring every year and that sacrifice to those who ruled the gate outside the Meridian Gate (午门) in the first month of autumn every year²⁵⁰, while for commoners in Jingchu (荆楚, the area of Hubei and Hunan Provinces today) of the 6th century, on the 15th day²⁵¹ of the first month every year (which is the first month of spring), some branches of poplar were cut and inserted in the two door-leaves of the main gate, wine, food, and bean porridge with chopsticks were stuck in and cakes were offered and the ceremony performed to the direction to which the poplar branch pointed²⁵². Gradually, the differentiation between the sacrifices to gate (*men*) and to door (*hu*) in folk society had become blurred and the two sacrifices to gate and door became one, performed only once a year.

In the court documents of the Ming dynasty, the annual sacrifices to gate (*men*) and door (*hu*) are one of the state rites:

²⁴⁹ Which gate(s) of the palace is not clarified in the document.

²⁵⁰ The *QSG*, ed. by Zhao Erxun, Book 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2006), p.1786.

²⁵¹ The 15th day is called *wang-ri* 望日, the day with full moon.

²⁵² Song Lin (the 6th century), *Jing Chu Sui Shi Ji* (Taiyuan: Shanxi People's Publishing House, 1987), pp.23-25, 88-90.

According to the ancient rites, in the first month of spring, officials are appointed to performing the sacrifice to *hu* outside palace gates, on the left side of the road, facing the south...In the first month of autumn, officials are appointed to performing the sacrifice to *men* at the western corner tower in front of the Meridian Gate, facing the east...The sacrificing official takes the position, kneels down and makes four kowtows. In front of the tablet of the god, the valuable cloths and libation are offered for the first sacrifice. Then the official takes the position, kneels down, reads the prayer and finishes the second sacrifice with a kowtow. For the final sacrifice, the official kneels down in front of the tablet, offers libation, makes four kowtows and burns the cloths and prayer.

The prayer: at this very moment, Emperor appoints xxx to offering sacrifices to the guard of *men* (or *hu*), in order to ask hide any whereabouts through the threshold. In this first month of autumn (spring), under the witness of all gods, the sacrifices are made.²⁵³

And the *men-shen* 门神, literally translated the gate/door gods, that are normally seen and talked about in modern China belong to the field of folk conventions rather than to the *li* or primitive cosmologies, very different from the (god of) the ceremonial gate of the yamen or of the ancient gate and door. The Five Sacrifices were performed to no human images or personalities, but rather to what was taken as the ‘immanent spirit’ of gate. *Men-shen*, according to the earliest record of Wang Chong’s *Lun Heng*, were created from the myth about *tao-mu* 桃木 the peach tree. In the remote ages, there was an enormous peach tree growing on the top of the Dushuo Mountain 度朔 in the vast sea, and the gate of ghosts was located among the boughs to the northeast²⁵⁴, which ten thousand ghosts pass in and out of. Two demigods, Shentu 神荼 and Yulei 郁垒 (Figure 4-2), stand at the gate, with weed whips in their hands, and have the superintendence over all the ghosts. They punish the wicked ones that did evil things in the human world

²⁵³ The *DMHD*, *Guoxue Daohang Ebooks*, vol.92 <<http://www.guoxue123.com/shibu/0401/01dmhd/0102.htm>> (accessed April 2009).

²⁵⁴ In stories of versions in later time, the location of the gate of ghosts was simplified as in the direction of northeast.

and feed the tigers²⁵⁵ with them²⁵⁶. There are other gods, demigods or spirits in Chinese myths who control and punish ghosts, but Shentu and Yulei are the only ones who guard the only passage between the ghost world and the human one. In some documents²⁵⁷ dated between the 3rd and the 1st centuries BCE, it is recorded that the statues made of peach wood had the magic power to beat the ghosts. Since then or even much earlier, peach wood has been believed to have an essential power generated at the threshold between evil and human beings, suppressing hundreds of demons, so it is considered a kind of sacred wood²⁵⁸. According to the record of Wang Chong, during his period, it was popular that the district magistrates carved peach tree wood into human statues to place beside (two) door-leaves and painted a tiger over the gate²⁵⁹. Then the gate with peach-wood statues and image of the tiger became the symbol of the threshold between the demons and human beings, and so even the symbol of justice and integrity of the magistrate to punish the evil ones crossed it if it was the yamen gate. In later imperial times, it was popular to carve the names of the two demigods on two small

²⁵⁵ In the *ZL*, it is recorded in the *Offices of Earth* 地官司徒 that the palace gate was decorated with tiger images or statues, called tiger gate, '(Shi) stayed at the left of the tiger gate, in charge of (safety of) the palace' ('居虎门之左, 司王朝'). In some other ancient documents, roosters replaced tigers, so reflected in the decorations of gates that in some regions the image of rooster replaces the one of tiger. See Song Lin, *Jing Chu Sui Shi Ji*, pp.74, 77, 87; Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua*, pp.95-96.

²⁵⁶ Wang Chong, *Lun Heng: philosophical essays of Wang Ch'ung, part 1*, trans. and annotated by Alfred Forke (Leipzig: Tto Harrassowitz; London: Luzac & Co; Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh Limited, 1907), p.243; *Lun Heng: philosophical essay of Wang Ch'ung, part 2*, translated and annotated by Alfred Forke (New York: Paragon Book Gallery, 1962), pp.352-353; Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.1, p.91; Wang Shucun, *Men Yu Men Shen* (Beijing: Xue Yuan Publishing House, 1994), pp.180-181; Song Lin, *Jing Chu Sui Shi Ji*, pp.4-7, 74, 77, 79-81; and Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, p.78.

²⁵⁷ Liu Xiang, the *ZGC*, trans. by Bramwell Seaton Bonsall, vol.10, *HKU Libraries* <<http://lib.hku.hk/bonsall/zhanguoce/index1.html>> (accessed 05 March 2011), p.73.

²⁵⁸ In many Chinese legends and myths, the peach trees always appear to be auspicious: a peach-wood stick was used to murder the hero Yi 羿 who, therefore, turned out to become the superintendent of ten thousand ghosts; and the peach tree forest was transformed from mythological hero Kuafu 夸父 who chased the sun and died. See Song Lin, *Jing Chu Sui Shi Ji*, pp.78-79, 81.

²⁵⁹ Wang Chong, *Lun Heng: philosophical essays of Wang Ch'ung, part 2*, trans. and annotated by Alfred Forke (New York: Paragon Book Gallery, 1962), p.352.

pieces of peach wood called the ‘peach wood charms’, *tao-fu* 桃符, and hang them on the gate, each on a door-leaf, or to inscribe Chinese couplets on two long pieces of peach wood and hang them up on columns or gate pillars²⁶⁰. Most images of *men-shen* are hero-incarnated gate guardians, usually appearing in pairs, of whom people wished that they guard the entrance to protect the household from evils. Zhong Kui 钟馗 is another *men-shen* (Figure 4-3), who failed in the imperial civil examinations in the 8th century and later after his suicide was believed to become the king of ghosts in the underground world. In folklore, according to some sources of the Song dynasty, the Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang, recovering from severe illness after having the dream of Zhong Kui capturing and eating a ghost, commissioned the court painter Wu Daozi to produce an image of Zhong Kui and declared that it be hung on gates on Chinese New Year’s eve²⁶¹. Literally, according to Wu Yucheng’s study, the names of Zhong Kui, Shentu and Yulei have their roots in the *LJ*, literally meaning a big stick²⁶² with which one could beat ghosts. Since the Song dynasty, another pair of *men-shen* was joined to serve as gate protectors, Qin Shubao (with white face) and Yuchi Gong (with black face)²⁶³ (Figure 4-4), who were well-known generals of the Tang period. There were other heroic generals and officers, such as Wei Zheng, Mu Guiying, and Guan Gong²⁶⁴ 关公 (or

²⁶⁰ Song Lin, *Jing Chu Sui Shi Ji*, pp.4-5, 74, 77; Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.1, p.91; Zhu Qingsheng, *Jiang Jun Men Shen Qi Yuan Yan Jiu*, p.134; and Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua*, pp.128-130.

²⁶¹ For more information about Zhong Kui, see Knapp, *China’s Living Houses*, pp.76-78; Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua*, pp.97-104; Liu Xicheng, ‘Zhong Kui Lun (Study on Zhong Kui) 钟馗论’, in *Er Shi Shi Ji Zhong Guo Min Su Xue Jing Dian: xin yang min su juan* (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press China, 2002), pp.318-333; Li Jianping, *Zhong Guo Shen Hua Ren Wu Ci Dian* (Xi’an: Shaanxi People’s Publishing House, 1998), p.482.

²⁶² Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua*, p.102.

²⁶³ Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, pp.8, 78; Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua*, pp.104-106.

²⁶⁴ Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, pp.181-182.

Guan-di 关帝). There is an abundance of fairy tales²⁶⁵ about how the spirits of these heroes began to guard gates/doors after their death and how they slew pestilential ghosts and kept harmonious in the household. In early time when the *men-shen* of heroes started to become widely believed, the wealthy had these deity images painted on their gates and doors, while the commoners and the poor used objects to represent them, such as a light broom or a dark piece of coal²⁶⁶. The paper prints of *men-shen* were only popular and widely seen after woodblock printing was developed during the Song dynasty. Interestingly, deities in pairs, such as Shentu and Yulei, Qin Shubao and Yuchi Gong, are, in ancient Chinese literature, *men-shen* 门神 (literally gate gods), protecting the main gates or front gates, each set on one of the two door-leaves; while those individual ones, such as Zhong Kui, Wei Zheng, are *hu-wei* 户尉 (literally door guardians), guarding the backyard gates or corner gate most of which have only one door-leaf, even though there is no such difference nowadays and all gate deities are called *men-shen*. In late imperial times, the paper prints of many auspicious deities, such as the Wealth God and fairy immortal children, appeared on gates and doors only due to the wish to invite them in to bring wealth and good fortune. They were granted the *men-shen* title although they are not expected to guard the gates (Figure 4-5, 4-6, 4-7, 4-8 and 4-9).

Traditional values are simply and directly reflected in the activities of decorating gates/doors as normally carried out from the winter solstice of the last month in Chinese calendar when everyone has started to prepare for the New Year to come. In the lunar calendar, at the time of the winter solstice, very close to the end of the old year, the *yin* elements, such as evil demons and ghosts, reach their zenith and the *yang* elements begin to

²⁶⁵ The stories of their preventing devils from going in to houses at gates/doors have been collected and recorded in a surfeit of literature, historical classics and local gazetteers, such as *Xi You Ji* 西游记 (Journey to the West), *Xin Tang Shu* 新唐书 (The New Book of Tang), *Chang Sheng Dian* 长生殿 (The Longevity Hall) and so forth. See Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua*, pp.107-116.

²⁶⁶ Knapp, *China's Living Houses*, p.75.

emerge²⁶⁷, so that it becomes extremely crucial to replace the old paper prints of gate guards and other decorations and invite the new ones on gates/doors to stifle the *yin* energy at this point of the year. Among the *men-shen*, Zhong Kui is the different one, for not being a heroic general in history but incarnated as the king of ghosts who quells wicked spirits. Moreover, his power is extended to repel poisonous creatures, diseases, disasters and accidental deaths (Figure 4-10). So at the time of the summer solstice as *Duan-wu* Festival 端午节, the fifth day of the fifth month, when the dark *yin* factors start to emerge and the *yang* has reached its height²⁶⁸, represented by the idea that the poisonous insects and snakes may proliferate, the image of Zhong Kui on gates/doors needs to be renewed because his power could decline as the fragile paper prints were torn or colours faded²⁶⁹. In some regions, the dragon charms made of sweet flag and the tiger ones made of mugwort are affixed on gates/doors or put up by the doorway, for both the symbolic replacement of Zhong Kui quelling the negativities responding to the *yin* and the folk beliefs in their medical remedy²⁷⁰, especially in southeast China where every year there is a very

²⁶⁷ Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.1, pp.107-110.

²⁶⁸ It must be before 200 BCE that Chinese gave a very detailed discussion on the lunar calendar and associated activities of weather and time accordingly. In a chapter of *Yue Ling* (Proceedings of Government in the Different Months 月令) of the *LJ*, for each month, the movements of sun and moon are carefully recorded, the time corresponding to trigrams is named, the deity and Heaven Emperor who are in charge are given, the properly corresponding behaviour and life style of the son of Heaven are regulated, the insects, birds, fish and other animals are observed, the wind, rain, plants and other natural phenomena changes are sensed, and so are the movements of the *yin* and *yang* energies. About the fifth month, it records: ‘...In this month the longest day arrives. The influences in nature of darkness and decay (the *yin*) and those of brightness and growth (the *yang*) struggle together; the tendencies to death and life are divided’. See the ‘Yue Ling’, the *LJ*, *Chinese Text Project* <<http://ctext.org/liji/yue-ling>> (accessed October 2008). About the winter solstice, it records: ‘...In this month the shortest day arrives. The principle of darkness and decay (the *yin*) struggles with that of brightness and growth (the *yang*). The elements of life begin to move’. See the ‘Yue Ling’, the *LJ*, *Chinese Text Project* <<http://ctext.org/liji/yue-ling>> (accessed October 2008). For more information, see Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.1, pp.98-99, 107-110.

²⁶⁹ Knapp, *China's Living Houses*, p.76; Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua*, pp.176-179.

²⁷⁰ In the highly humid summer, the insects, including the poisonous ones, are flourishing. There are so-called Five Poisonous Creatures 五毒: the snake, centipede,

damp and humid month full of rains starting around the summer solstice. In rural villages of northeast China, the pedlars sell paper prints of *men-shen*, calligraphic couplets (*dui-lian* 对联) and other auspicious images of deities from door to door, which are pasted and kept on gates for a whole year. Wishes to summon auspicious things and good fortune are written in pairs on red paper vertically in the form of ancient Chinese couplets, called *dui-lian* 对联, for which, according to some studies²⁷¹, the prototypes were the peach wood charms of the Han dynasty. According to the traditional Chinese writing form, the former line (in Chinese *shang-lian* 上联) is on the right (which is in the east in a typical residence of courtyard compound), and the latter line (*xia-lian* 下联) on the left (in the west), both written vertically on red paper, each line of a couplet containing five, seven, nine or more characters, each couplet pasted on doorframe with or without a horizontal scroll (*heng-pi* 横批) summarising the contents pasted over the gate. For some dainty and exquisite *dui-lian*, especially in imperial times, the contents must reflect or be rooted in the old literary classics and poems, and the characters must be culturally delightful and selected carefully (Figure 4-11). For some interior doors and less important openings, only papers with auspicious words written on are pasted over them, such as ‘pigs fill the pigpen’ over the pigpen door. *Dui-lian* and *men-shen* are universal throughout China, but many other decorations on gates/doors have varied from location to location through history. It is recorded in local gazetteers

scorpion, gecko, and the spider, which are drawn in the prints of Zhong Kui, being stepped on (Figure 4-9). The scents of mugwort and the smoke of burning it are believed to have the function of expelling those noxious insects. The tiger or dragon shaped charms made of the plants give a more symbolic meaning of quelling evil ghosts besides the one of repelling the insects, especially the tiger charms traced back to early story of being fed with ghosts. It is also said that in the Minnan dialect, the homophonous relationship between sweet flag and the character meaning ‘prosperous’ adds a layer of auspiciousness. See Ronald Knapp, *China’s Living Houses*, p.76. For more information, see Pan Rongbi, *Di Jing Sui Shi Ji Sheng* (Beijing: Beijing Ancient Books Press, 1981), p.21; Fucha Dunchong, *Yan Jing Sui Shi Ji*, p.66; Nakagawa Tadateru, *Qing Su Ji Wen*, trans. by Fang Ke and Sun Xuanling (Beijing: Zhong Hua Shu Ju, 2006), pp.31-36; Knapp, *China’s Living Houses*, pp.76-78; Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.1, pp.98-99; Song Lin, *Jing Chu Sui Shi Ji*, pp.47-48, 103-107; Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, vol.2, pp.55-56, 59-60.

²⁷¹ Knapp, *China’s Living Houses*, p.94.

and records of the early 20th century that, on the last day of a year, people in the area of Beijing, Hebei and Henan Provinces affixed sesame straws on gates, as these were believed to filter and absorb ghosts²⁷². Behind the gourd-shaped red paper-cuts it is the meaning of gourds in myths that they have the magic power to subdue demons²⁷³. On gates and doors, the branches of pine trees in Wuhan asked for good fortune and longevity; the floral red paper-cuts in Sichuan and money paper-cuts could bring in wealth; the image of a red horse in Shanxi would bring the Wealth God to visit; hanging mandarins in Guangdong homophonically symbolises auspiciousness (*ji* 吉); the charcoal leaning at the threshold, called the general charcoal 将军炭, either repels diseases (in Shaanxi) or increases the properties²⁷⁴.

The sacrifices to gate and door on new year's eve start with inviting the *men-shen* to come – pasting *dui-lian*, *men-shen* paper prints and other decorations. Then one offers burning incense to the gate and reads the sacrificial ode to invite the *men-shen*:

On the date of xxx, from xxx to Gate Gods and Door Guardians:

It is thou that,
 The civil officials are looking forward to,
 And the military heroes are in high spirits for.
 It is thou that,
 Control the coming in and going out,
 While the stars appear in pattern and glow over the gate.
 It is thou that, for days and nights,
 Can quell the demons and banish the devils,
 What grandeur!

²⁷² Fucha Dunchong, *Yan Jing Sui Shi Ji*, p.41; Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua*, p.151.

²⁷³ *Shun Tian Fu Zhi*, the version of 1886 (Beijing: Peking University Press, 1983), pp.233-235.

²⁷⁴ Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua*, pp.152-154.

I am prostrating myself on the ground,
With the humble offerings and prayer,
Only to beg for the blessing from thou.²⁷⁵

In the prayer, the name of the god had to be called so that he would come and take the offerings. After sacrifices to ancestors, in the end of the day around midnight, the last ritual was to shut the main gate, and seal it with two pieces of red paper bearing calligraphy ‘Great Auspiciousness of Sealing the Gate’ (*feng-men-da-ji* 封门大吉), and put two sugarcanes wrapped in red and green papers, leaning to the gate for the metaphor of sweetness of a whole year. In south China, on the last night of the old year, the house gate is locked and sealed. For the first thing at dawn on the first day of the new year, the house master unlocks the house gate and removes the seal, ‘uttering a few words of good omen for prosperity in the coming year’, the ceremony of which is called Opening the gate of Fortune²⁷⁶.

It is hard to tell if the sacrifices to gate (*men* 门) and door (*hu* 户) meant originally or have meant eventually that they are to threshold or intended for the general gods who guard gates and doors in folklore, or that they refer to some specific gates and doors, for example, burning incenses at the gate of the granary for a better harvest²⁷⁷. In some rural villages in Jiutai city, Jilin Province of northeast China nowadays, the burning incense could be seen at

²⁷⁵ From the data collected by Wang Dengtan, in Chinese ‘特致祭于门丞户尉前曰：于戏惟神，文班鹤立，武烈鹰扬，职司出入，星列门光，除魔挡邪，昼夜繁忙，大显威美，以蕪文表寸心，伏乞神灵护佑’. Trans. by Bing Jiang. For the imperial prayer of the Ming, see the *DMHD*, *Guoxue Daohang Ebooks*, vol.92 <<http://www.guoxue123.com/shibu/0401/01dmhd/0102.htm>> (accessed April 2009).

²⁷⁶ In Chinese 开财门, which is apparently different from the Dong’s opening gate ceremony, even though the Chinese term for the both is the same. See Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, p.7.

²⁷⁷ According to Zhu Qingsheng’s studies on the origins of gate gods, it might be since the Han period that the ‘sacrifices to gates’ have meant offering to gate gods. Before that, the concept of gate gods was blurred in literary records, but it is generally considered that the ‘sacrifices to gates’ included various sacrifices to other gods at gates. See Zhu Qingsheng, *Jiang Jun Men Shen Qi Yuan Yan Jiu*, pp.119-134.

doors and gates²⁷⁸, especially during Chinese Spring Festival. But according to literature and historical records, it can be assured that both the imperial sacrifices to gate and door performed at court, which were performed to the spirits of gates and doors and the family rituals that have been performed to imaged *men-shen*, must have originated from the Five Sacrifices in the *LJ* of around 200 bce or even much earlier.

The *Pai-lou* Gateways in the Birthday Parade of 1713 Beijing

Compared to other Chinese traditional architecture, the studies on *pai-lou* gateways are lacking, although they are often seen today due to a large number of constructions since the Ming dynasty: in Beijing, some districts are named after *pai-lou* gateways; as a part of city gate system, the Zhengyang *pai-lou* gateway (Figure 4-12, 4-13) was lately rebuilt in 2007 referring to its looks of the Qing period; this gateway structure cannot be more familiar to Chinese people in China towns overseas. Chinese *pai-lou* 牌楼 or *pai-fang* 牌坊²⁷⁹, in Needham's fundamental work *Science and*

²⁷⁸ This information comes from Bing Jiang's interview trip in 2007.

²⁷⁹ Some scholars classify *pai-lou* and *pai-fang* by the building materials: *pai-lou* gateways are made of timber, while *pai-fang* made of stone. Some think *pai-lou* are built for the living, while *pai-fang* for the dead (in graveyards). The latter is obviously not correct, for many stone gateways were built to award honour to people while they were alive, such as the stone gateway in yamen. See the *DMHD, Guoxue Daohang Ebooks*, vol.79, 'Jing-biao, Awarding Gateways' < <http://www.guoxue123.com/shibu/0401/01dmhd/0089.htm> > (accessed March 2009). In this thesis, the two titles are not discussed, since the origin of this kind of gateways is still a mystery and not many traces of it are found for this research. For the former views, see Zhao Yusheng and Wang Faxin, 'Wo Guo Gu Dai Jian Zhu Zhong De Pai Fang', *Journal of Shanxi Architecture*, vol.27, 02 (2001), pp.12-13; Ying Qizhen, 'Pai Fang Wen Hua Tan Lue', *Journal of Southeast Culture*, 03 (1999), pp.61-68. And for more information, see Lou Qingxi, *Zhong Guo Jian Zhu De Men Wen Hua* (Zhengzhou: Henan Science and Technology Press, 2001), pp.93-94; Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua*, pp.25-28; Lou Qingxi, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Jian Zhu* (Beijing: The Commercial Press International Co. Ltd, 1997), pp.170-176; Li Yunhe, *Hua Xia Yi Jiang*, pp.65-66. Liang Sicheng argues that *pai-lou* gateways derive from a form of gates *que* 阙 of about the 5th century CE, while Liu Dunzhen thinks *pai-fang* gateways developed from the gates of the residential wards *li-fang* of the Tang and Song dynasties. See Liu Dunzhen, 'Pai Lou Suan Li', *Bulletin of the Society for the Research in Chinese Architecture*, No.4, Vol.1 (April, 1933); Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua*, pp.25-26; Wang Qi and Wang Siyi, the *SCTH*, p.1001. For more information on the *li-fang* wards and the collapse of them, see Laurence Liu, *Chinese Architecture*,

Civilisation in China of the 1970s' edition, is translated as triumphal gateways²⁸⁰. There is an opinion in academic that the *pai-lou*, *pai-fang* and the triple or five-span gateway derived from the Indian *torana*²⁸¹. And we can put a question mark to it. According to some historic documents and general studies in modern China, it is likely that the *pai-lou* or *pai-fang* gateways can derive from *fang* gate of the Han and Tang dynasty (Figure 4-14). As stated by Wu Yucheng in his monograph on gates, *pai-lou* gateways are only taken as architectural decoration in landscape, and their existence is the result of 'spare surplus after fulfilling the need of living function in the building trades'²⁸².

The stone gateways were granted to be built for awarding and advocating sons' filial piety, widows' chastity and faithfulness to their husbands, and scholars' achievements in the civil examinations, while the timber *pai-lou* gateways were more ceremonial and easily built. There are twice in the Qing period recorded in documents that the timber *pai-lou* gateways were largely built for special ceremonies and taken down afterwards: once for Emperor Kangxi's 60th birthday parade in 1713, and another for his grandson Qianlong's 80th which was to follow and honour Kangxi.

The Kangxi birthday parade carried out on the 17th day of March when Kangxi and his fleet returned from the Changchun Garden²⁸³ back to the

pp.42-43, 52; Li Hequn, *Lun Zhong Guo Li Fang Zhi Du De Beng Kui (Discussion on the Collapse of Lifang System in China)*, STUDA.net <<http://www.studa.net/lishi/080729/08400811.html>> (assessed 12 April 2010); He Yeju, 'Tang Song Shi Fang Gui Hua Zhi Du Yan Bian Tan Tao (Discussion on the Development of Lifang System in Tang and Song)', *Architectural Journal*, 02 (1980); Jin Qizhen, 'Lun Pai Fang De Yuan Liu Ji She Hui Gong Neng', *Zhong Hua Wen Hua Lun Tan*, 01 (2003), p.72; Boyd, 'Chinese Architecture', in *World Architecture*, pp.95-96.

²⁸⁰ Needham, *The Science and Civilisation in China*, vol.4, pp.63, 142.

²⁸¹ Needham, *The Science and Civilisation in China*, vol.4, p.69.

²⁸² Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua*, pp.25-28. Trans. by Bing Jiang.

²⁸³ Part of the Peking University campus today.

Forbidden City, which was the most magnificent event in the entire birthday celebration²⁸⁴ for the whole city and citizens ‘who came from far away got the chance to worship the Kangxi’s fleet along the way’²⁸⁵. The entire parade is recorded in a 50 metre long drawing the *WSSDT* that is collected in the *WSSDCJ*. The parade route is about 15 kilometres from the Changchun Garden to the Shen-wu Gate (the north gate of the Forbidden City), via the Xi-zhi Gate of the Inner City (Figure 4-15). The streets decorated with numbers of red lanterns, colourful flags and all sorts, and divided into dozens of areas mainly by *pai-lou* gateways²⁸⁶. The decoration work of each area was delegated to different groups of officials who were from the same province or a department, hence, the more elaborate, the more money was spent and the more worship those represented. Over thirty opera stages were built temporarily, scattered through those areas, not mentioning a variety of bands, exhibitions, classics and dragon²⁸⁷ pavilions. There were many *pai-lou* gateways²⁸⁸ that could be seen every dozens of steps. And the royal procession came through all these complexes.

The day of the procession started (Figure 4-16 and 4-17). The officials were talking to each other or watching the operas which were performed non-stop, while they were waiting in their own area for the emperor’s passing by. Attendants who held dragon flags and poles walked possibly a

²⁸⁴ There were other celebrations, including Kangxi accepting congratulations from officials in the Tai-he Hall and promulgating edicts, having feast with 65 year old and older scholars and officials and having feast with commanders and soldiers of the Eight Banners. See the *QSG*, ed. by Zhao Erxun, vol.8, *benji* 8, Shengzu benji 3, Book 1, pp.193-228.

²⁸⁵ ‘*WSSDCJ*’, *World Digital Library* <<http://www.wdl.org/zh/item/294/zoom/#group=1&page=245&zoom=0.7462¢erX=0.5000¢erY=0.4168>> (accessed March 2010). Trans. by Bing Jiang.

²⁸⁶ Apparently the areas were delegated hierarchically according to the ranks of officials and levels of importance of departments. The ones closer to the centre were distributed to those higher ranks.

²⁸⁷ Classics pavilions 经棚, were temporary buildings in which (用途). And the dragon pavilions 龙棚, were built as a resting place for the emperor so that the officials who built them could perhaps have the chance to be presented to Kangxi in honour.

²⁸⁸ Not all the *pai-lou* gateways were temporarily built.

mile ahead to inform of the coming of the Son of Heaven, followed by a troop of garrison on horsebacks to clear the street. Then came the sedan of the emperor, its frame covered in silk with dragons sewed on it, carried by twenty eight attendants, fourteen in front and fourteen behind. This was followed by the high-ranking officials and royal nobles, walking, dressed in entire official robes that showed their ranks. Walking behind them were musicians with instruments in their hands, playing appropriate music. A sedan followed closely, carried by eight attendants. A group of guards walked in a crescent shape in the rear, armed with arrows and bows. A second group followed several metres behind them, not armed, also walking in an arch shape. A third group, on horsebacks, kept the same formation, armed with arrows and bows, the middle two holding dragon flags in their hands. The final group rode on horses in the formation, unarmed. All the guards were selected from the Yellow Banner²⁸⁹. In the end was a large train of horses carrying goods.²⁹⁰ Along both sides of the street were officials, kneeling with their heads down when the emperor's sedan passed by. So did the opera performers on stage. The whole procession marched like this until the emperor was back in the Forbidden City. Such parades happened again for the eightieth birthday of Qianlong, the grandson of Kangxi, 78 years later.

²⁸⁹ The Yellow Banner was the senior of the Upper Three banners, directly committed and only commanded by emperors. The soldiers were strictly selected and trained from the Manchu aristocracy of high ranks. For more details, see Mark Elliott, *The Manchu Way: the Eight Banners and ethnic identity in late imperial China* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001), p.13. For more information on the Manchu Banners, see Chapter 6.

²⁹⁰ The equipments for emperor's procession and the groups of attendants were much more complicated elaborate than that described here. From the cloth and wood used for emperor's sedan, the number of dragons sewed on the cloth, to the exact measurements of the wheels of emperor's chariots, all details were strictly regulated. See *QDDQHD (Collected Statutes of the Qing Dynasty)*, the 5th version re-edited in 1801-1818 during the reign of the Guangxu Emperor, vol.62, pp.33-35; Zhao Erxun, the *QSG (Qing Shi Gao, the Draft History of the Qing)*, Zhi 77, volume 2, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2006, pp.151-166.

The Chinese procession kept the royal family much further away from the common people²⁹¹, which gave the extreme power of imperial rule more mysterious colour. The significance of this birthday parade, on the surface, concerned the happiness of the people from ‘the four seas’ about their great emperor. But there was nothing more than the indication of the supreme position of Son of Heaven and the hierarchy of the society. The use of decorations in a celebration is quite universal. It is very obvious that the more elaborate, the more important the celebration is, which also counts for the person whom the celebration is for. Among the heavy-decorative complexes, there was nothing more unique than the approximately two hundred *pai-lou* gateways, counted in the drawing. They were constructed and decorated in a completely exaggerated way. All had odd numbers of bays (the span between two pillars) and even numbers of pillars, so that the central bay, the widest with two tallest pillars and a highest roof, was naturally emphasised. Most *pai-lou* gateways have six pillars and five bays, some smaller ones four pillars and three bays, and larger ones even eight pillars and seven bays, each bay covered with roofs. Every gateway has different inscriptions on both pillars and cross boards, which indicated propitious blessings, such as ten thousand benevolences, living as long as the southern mountain, the coming happiness as great as the eastern sea, the brightness of Kangxi as the Son of Heaven and other such joyful sayings. The roofs have silks hanging at cornice level and the cross beams are carved with elaborate flower patterns. *Pai-lou* gateways are usually planned in groups, six or eight together, with two across the streets at each end and two or three along the street side by side. In Figure 4-18, it shows a typical arrangement of a celebrating space. Six *pai-lou* gateways, across the street, divide into three areas, each area gathering officials from certain departments: the left was for the vanguard commanders of four western banners to make an offering of the classic for long live, *wan-shou-jing*; the

²⁹¹ There actually were ‘common’ people who were taking part or, precisely, allowed to appear. But in fact they were not that ‘common’, who were of noble descent and Manchu bannermen at least.

middle for senior eunuchs who set a classics pavilion behind the *pai-lou* gateways, the right for senior eunuchs as well who set a benevolence altar behind *pai-lou* gateways. Each area is maintained by those certain departments. In the each area (Figure 4-19), there are three *pai-lou* gateways standing side by side along the street like an entrance, with an offering table in front. Behind these three stand another three gateways, like a double-layer. And the middle gateway is slightly larger than the other two. Opposite the 'entrance' formed by these three double-layer *pai-lou* gateways, a screen wall made of silk blocks the 'entrance'. Two other *pai-lou* gateways, across the street to the left and right side respectively, mark the area on the street, where the officers and soldiers of certain ranks belonging to the departments can stay and wait for the presence of the emperor. All the gateways are elaborately decorated, built in three bays and with three roofs on each bay. The inscriptions on cross boards and pillars mainly state that the morality (of emperor Kangxi) is complimented through Heaven and Earth from the past to nowadays. There are candles and incense burners on the offering tables.

It is amazing that even a temporary area formed by a group of five *pai-lou* gateways must maintain the planning ideas: the central line reinforced by the three gateways and the silk screen wall, and two others guarding the sides, so that four directions are taken care of. This *pai-lou* area pattern, shown repeatedly in the entire drawing, gives a very small-scale yet typical spatial arrangement for a greeting-in space. Such simple yet elaborate gateway area resembles the entrance space of residences and palaces, although there is nowhere to enter behind those gateways.

It seems universal to use gate-shaped architecture to define entrance and exit or to stress a route of a procession. However, in this celebration, the usage of *pai-lou* gateways is more than that. This gateway area has the axis perpendicular to the route of procession. Officials stayed in those areas, made offerings of incenses, and waited to greet the emperor's fleet to pass

by. It is a miniature gate space with traditional religious beliefs and rituals involved. And it is only temporary. (Figure 4-20 and 4-21)

Conclusion

From the top rulers to the common folks, the Chinese has the tradition to make sacrifices to gate gods, and not only to gods, but also to gate, the concept of architecture. In fact, originally, before to gate gods, the Chinese sacrificed to gate, which may have something to do with the worship of *si-fang*, for the idea of the four cardinal gates of the *ming-tang* is tied up with *si-fang*, guarding the sacred central land. Hence, passing through gates clarifies crossing borders of lands originally and of hierarchies in later times, possibly indicating taboos, restrained orders and etc.. In order to eliminate negative influences or to declare a new identity, elaborate ceremonies, rites and rituals are designed and performed carefully at gates.

What amazes is how the Chinese deliberately built temporary *pai-lou* gateways to form gate space in a parade. It was not a routine parade for every emperor's every birthday, but rather a celebration for greeting the emperor back to palace before his birthday. Hence, there was not a set of ritual regulations for it, or any ancient rites that can be based on. In such an occasion, timber *pai-lou* gateways were chosen, easily built, standing for only days, and broken down afterwards. Many studies suggest that *pai-lou* or *pai-fang* gateways have their origins in the four pillars of the ancient legends and in the criticism pillars: the worships to pillars might have something to do with the sacred turtle whose four legs became four pillars holding up the falling sky²⁹²; and the legend has it that Emperor Yao placed timber pillars for his subjects to criticise his rulership²⁹³. But all these seem

²⁹² Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, p.106.

²⁹³ The legend is recorded in the *YZFS*: 'In Cui Bao's book *Gu Jin Zhu*: Cheng Ya asked what Ruler Yao placed criticism pillars for. The answer is that *hua-biao* 华表 was a pillar with a transverse piece of wood crossing the top, set up along major post roads of transportation. (And) it can also be called *biao* 表 wood to show that rulers were listening

irrelevant to this birthday celebration occasion. *Pai-lou* or *pai-fang* gateways are still a mystery.

to suggestions (from others) and criticism or to mark the roads. The use of *hua-biao* was repealed in Qin dynasty then restored from the beginning of the Han period.’ Trans. by Bing Jiang. See Li Jie, the *YZFS*, vol. 1, chapter 2 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1954), pp.33-34; Li Tao, *Xu Zi Zhi Tong Jian Chang Bian* (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Press Press, 1985), p.430. According to this record, Ruler Yao used to erect pillars along the major post roads in order to collect suggestions and comments from the common folk. And citizens were supposed to write or draw their opinions on those pillars, even though it is very much doubted that common people were educated enough to write. Meanwhile, those pillars also worked as direction signs mainly for postmen. From the Han period on, the *hua-biao* pillars, either made of wood or of stone, were commonly seen in pairs at ends of roads and bridges, outside a yamen, at post stops and grave yards, as a territory mark. See Qiao Yunfei and Luo Wei, ‘Pai Fang Jian Zhu Wen Hua Chu Tan’, *Journal of Sichuan Wen Wu* (Heritages in Sichuan Province), 03 (2003), p.69. There is a theory suggesting that the pillars of many forms of gates either are *hua-biao* or *biao* pillars or have connections with *hua-biao* or *biao* pillars in history, mainly based on the *YZFS*. For instance, the *Wu-tou* Gate 乌头门 is named after its two *biao* pillars. See Li Jie, the *YZFS*, vol.1, pp.33-34; vol.6, pp.121-124. Cui Bao was a famous scholar in West Jin period (265 – 316), whose official post was ranked as one of the top three officials. He wrote a book *Gu Jin Zhu* (*Comments on Ancient Times and Nowadays*) that annotates various creatures and things of ancient and contemporary times, constituted by three volumes: vol. 1 vehicles and clothes, cities; vol. 2 music, birds and beasts, fish and insects; vol. 3 grass and trees, miscellanea, questions and answers.

Chapter 5

Essence of Chinese Harmony: The Symbolic Ruler for Making a Gate

Building gates reflects an important social role, demonstrated through sacrifices and customs that connect everyone in daily life. In the guild of carpentry, moreover, which is a rather mysterious profession both in the past and today, the construction of gates signifies a highly symbolic undertaking that extends beyond their intrinsic technical value.

There is an old idiom in China, appearing in literature at least since the Tang Dynasty²⁹⁴ in the second half of the first millennium: *men-dang-hu-*

²⁹⁴ In *Dunhuang Bian Wen Ji* 敦煌变文集 of the Tang (618-907 A.D.), the idiom appeared in one essay of the collection: ‘*bi ci chi shen xiang feng shi, men dang hu dui qia xiang dang* 彼此赤身相奉侍，门当户对恰相当’(literally, both of us are too poor to afford clothes and should treat each other well, so that our marriage is proper as the gates match just well). Since then, the idiom has been used frequently in various literatures and there has been not much change of its meaning for centuries.

dui 门当户对, literally meaning that the gates (of the two residential houses) match and the doors are equal, which has been used to demonstrate a convention that two families that were bonded in a marriage should be well matched in social and economic status (Figure 5-1). In other words, in the past the social class and wealth of a family could be told from its main gate²⁹⁵. As discussed in Chapter 2 and 3, the dwelling compound tells nothing from outside of walls but the elaborate yet highly ranked gates that represent the mystery on the other side of dreary walls. It is not much exaggeratedly described by Bray that ‘the Chinese house presented a blank face to the outer world...except for a high and elaborate gateway’²⁹⁶. And it is obvious and common universally that the more elaborate the gate is, the wealthier or more exalted the family should be. From the main gate, one reads everything the family delivers to the public: poor or rich, civil officials or regular scholars, aristocrats or commoners. The Chinese took great care of their gates, especially the main gate, not only because they were the first impression speaking for the households, the only impression to some people, but more vitally because it was never doubted that the gate was the passage to connect with Heaven, Earth, nature and the spiritual world, the conditions of which could simply lead to the disintegration of the family or bring in enormous fortune. And it all relies on measurements, site arrangement and details in seemingly complex decorations of the gate, some of which were rigidly regulated by imperial institutions and others of which were contributed to by Chinese ancient cosmological ideology. In the *LBJ*, the sizes of doors for differently-ranked houses are clearly given:

The door of a high-ranking household measures 6 *chi* 6
cun. The door of a middle household measures 3 *chi* 3 *cun*.

²⁹⁵ Chinese vernacular dwellings traditionally were arranged in the form of a compound of courtyards rounded by walls and halls whose facing-outside facades had only a few small windows or were totally without (Figure 5-2). From the alleys only the main gates can be seen and maybe some roofs of halls inside. Hence, the main gate of a dwelling told everything about the family.

²⁹⁶ Francesca Bray, *Technology and Gender: fabrics of power in late imperial China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1997), p.92.

The door of a small household measures 1 *chi* 1 *cun*. The door of a prefectural *yamen*, a district *yamen*, a Buddhist or a Taoist monastery is 11 *chi* 8 *cun* wide. The door of a commoner is 5 *chi* 7 *cun* high and 4 *chi* 8 *cun* wide. The door of an ordinary room is 4 *chi* 7 *cun* high and 2 *chi* 3 *cun* wide.²⁹⁷

And the measurements of auspicious gates/doors must correspond to lucky Chinese inches and feet (寸白, 尺白, *cun*-whites and *chi*-whites²⁹⁸) to achieve the universal harmony. In order to do so, a special ruler for measuring gates/doors was invented, directly showing the relationship between the measurements and the sequent consequence of the fate, and symbolically hiding behind the way too complicated relationships among all creatures and things in nature. Because of the crucial significance of gates/doors, the tradition of sacrifices to them could go back to at least 2,500 years ago. Although nowadays the tradition is only performed in a way of decorating gates/doors, the decorations are not simple at all, which strongly and intuitively reflect the persistent wish of the Chinese to pursue auspiciousness and harmony. To be clear here, all the measurements of gates mentioned in this chapter refer to the sizes of gate openings: the height from the bottom of threshold to the top of gate beam, the width of the gate frame.

It is going to start with one of the major source of the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*, the *Lu Ban Jing (LBJ)*, the only preserved carpenters' treatise of those countable several in the history, to discuss how sacred the treatise has been in the building trade of the imperial times and how sacredly the carpenters and other craftsmen treated their symbol tool – the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*.

²⁹⁷ The original text is: ‘上户门计六尺六寸，中户门计三尺三寸，小户门计三尺一寸。州县寺观门高一丈一尺八寸，阔六尺八寸；庶人门高五尺七寸，阔四尺八寸；房门高四尺七寸，阔二尺三寸’。 See Klaas Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China: a study of the fifteenth-century carpenter's manual, Lu Ban Jing* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1996), p.184; Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing* (Beijing: Hua Wen Publishing House, 2007), p.123; and *Hui Tu Lu Ban Jing*, ed. by Pu Shizhao (Shanghai: Hong Wen Publishing House, 1938), p.11.

²⁹⁸ The two terms are explained in the following part of this Chapter.

The *Lu Ban Jing* (LBJ)

The *Lu Ban Jing*, the Treatise of Lu Ban, is named after Master Lu Ban (507-440 BCE), who was the pioneer of Chinese carpenters in early times and has been treated and worshipped as the originator and sage in artisan industry ever since²⁹⁹. Many crafts' inventions and manuals are contributed to him³⁰⁰, and the *LBJ* is one of them. It is the only surviving monograph on civilian constructions³⁰¹ since the mid Ming Dynasty³⁰², which, as addressed and exemplified in Chen Yaodong's treatise, was worshipped nation-wide as the basic building regulations and taken as a standard for all districts, even though the vernacular dwellings have presented a territorial diversity of appearance³⁰³. It is demonstrated in one source that at least up to the early twentieth century the treatise was sold in the open market, still worshipped

²⁹⁹ For more information on customs, see Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, pp.174-175.

³⁰⁰ Xu Yu, 'Lu Ban Chuan Shuo De Chan Sheng He Fa Zhan' in *Er Shi Shi Ji Zhong Guo Min Su Xue Jing Dian: chuan shuo gu shi juan* (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press (China), 2002), pp.178-180.

³⁰¹ The *Mu Jing* (The Timberwork Manual) 木经 was supposed to be the earlier manual on Chinese constructions, which was anonymously written and later associated with Yu Hao 喻皓, an illiterate carpenter in the early Northern Song who died in 989 CE. But the *Mu Jing* was lost and only mentioned in Shen Kuo's work the *Meng Xi Bi Tan* (Dream Pool Essays), who was a polymathic scientist of the Song Dynasty. The techniques recorded in the *Mu Jing* were out of use in the time of Shen Kuo, based on his description in the *Meng Xi Bi Tan*. According to the research of Chen Yaodong, it is said by some old craftsmen that there are a copybook of *Zhuan Pu* (A Manual of Bricks) in Quanzhou and other secretaries for masons in Fujian Province which are either lost or not found anywhere up to date. See Chen Yaodong, *Lu Ban Jing Jiang Jia Jing Yan Jiu*, p.1; and Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.26.

³⁰² The earliest surviving version of the *LBJ* was accomplished some time during the mid 15th to the early 16th century, and was found in 1931 by Zhao Feiyun in the Tianyi Chamber 天一阁 in Ningbo, the oldest existing library founded in 1561. So it is commonly named as the Tianyi Chamber version in academic circles. But according to the study of Klaas Ruitenbeek, the earliest extant edition of the *Lu Ban Jing* dated from 1600 CE which is a facsimile of only first volumes of the *Lu Ban Jing* and the *Mi Jue Xian Ji* and is now kept in the Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo. See Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.313.

³⁰³ Chen Yaodong, *Lu Ban Jing Jiang Jia Jing Yan Jiu*, p.94. Chen's opinion has been taken to explain the phenomenon so far that for hundreds of years there had been countable manuals for carpenters but dwellings of different regions in a vast country show dissimilar details.

and obviously followed in use by carpenters and other building workers, as is quoted below:

On the last day of the year 1910 a bookshop in Kaixian, east Sichuan, was selling the “Book of Lu Ban” (*Lu Ban Shu*), as it used to do on that day each year. The shop was the only one in the whole of east Sichuan to sell the book, so carpenters, bricklayers and masons had gathered from far and near to purchase a copy. The book, which was tightly wrapped in red paper, was said to contain the whole wisdom of Lu Ban *pusa*³⁰⁴, “Saint Lu Ban”. Before opening the book it was necessary, however, to clean one’s body, burn incense and make a sacrifice, only then might one hope to be able to read it. Otherwise, one could not discern even a single character of the book.³⁰⁵

It is apparent, at least by the early 20th century, that the *LBJ* was worshipped as a sacred bible by carpenters and craftsmen in the business, and that the copies of it were confined to be sold on special days, and maybe were printed on certain days as well. The serial preparation before reading it was completely ritualised, as when prostrating oneself in worship of a god and offering food and incense, one must be devotional. The carpenters and other craftsmen took it solemnly, even though the workers of their society, in those days of China, belonged to the lowest class in society, lacking a basic and the only official education in Confucianism. And all the sanctities of the book and the deficiency of literate ability meant that the coverage construction techniques³⁰⁶ were incomplete.

Since it was compiled and firstly published 400 years ago, there have been many facsimiles of the treatise through centuries, three major ones from the Ming (the mid 14th to mid 17th century) and countless ones from the Qing³⁰⁷ (almost 300 years before 1912), but there are no major

³⁰⁴ *Pu-sa*, 菩薩 in Chinese.

³⁰⁵ Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.1.

³⁰⁶ Only for buildings. The sections for furniture and farm implements are composed of strict techniques.

³⁰⁷ Except for the first version – the Tianyi Chamber 天一閣, the other two versions of the Ming were typographed in the reigns of Emperor Wanli and Emperor Chongzhen,

differences between them except for the occasional and inevitable handwriting errors. However, in various editions, although there is a chapter on taking-large-proportions, also in the first volume, concerning dwelling carpentry and construction, the concrete techniques and operations are not included³⁰⁸, nor are they present in other two treatises³⁰⁹ that were compiled by official authorities in the Song and the Qing. Instead, the non-technical items take a major part of the book: location geomancy, time of building selection, scales of various components, lucky and unlucky measurement rules, and the worship ceremonies for each craft work before it started. The ritual procedures and taboos, which were believed to be magical and related to building activities, are almost entirely amalgamated with the small quantity of technical information given (especially on buildings), and such technical instruction as is included is limited or bounded by the non-technical parts to some extent. This could imply that the building philosophies and beliefs were regarded as much more important than pure technologies and sciences in building activities and that oral education had dominated crafts apprenticeship for a very long time.

The first volume of the edition of the Ming Wanli 明万历, major in architecture, consists of choosing lucky dates, sacrifices, foot-rules³¹⁰, the major carpentry³¹¹ for varieties of buildings and some mnemonic rhythmic

respectively, and are named after them. There are many versions from the Qing to the time of the Republic of China without essential modifications. See more details in Chen Yaodong, *Lu Ban Jing Jiang Jia Jing Yan Jiu*, pp.3-18.

³⁰⁸ The reason has been analysed in Chapter 2 where the old methods to train craftsmen were explained. The specific technologies of each crafts were treated as top secrets in the business, which were taught orally only by master craftsmen to their major apprentices, memorised in minds and could not be noted in papers.

³⁰⁹ The *YZFS* (Building Standards) 营造法式 in the Song and the *GCZFZL* (Structural Regulations) 工程做法则例 in the Qing.

³¹⁰ The ‘foot’ here is the note for the Chinese foot. Klaas Ruitenbeek’s translation is taken here and used in this thesis.

³¹¹ The major construction of wooden skeleton of a house, the *da-mu-zuo* 大木作 as the major carpentry, is the main structure of the post-lintel timber building, which forms the curve-shaped roof and overhanging eaves. The non-structural carpentry, such as windows, doors, wooden partition walls and furniture, is the *xiao-mu-zuo* 小木作, the minor

poems of techniques, which is tightly related to the building process and will be fully discussed in the following paragraphs. The other two volumes are concerned with making furniture and farm implements³¹², and with the auspiciousness and inauspiciousness of house sites³¹³.

The entire treatise is based on the status quo of building techniques and knowledge dating mainly from the Song and Yuan dynasties, however, the building methods were operational until the first half of the twentieth century, which reflects the poor progress of the building industry and the imperial cosmological ideals in politics before modernisation boomed in China.

The thirty six notes of volume one³¹⁴ are: biography of Master Lu Ban; ‘felling trees for building a house’; general remarks for assembling the trestle³¹⁵; general remarks for ‘marking the columns with the ink line’; general remarks about auspicious days³¹⁶; ‘the way to erect the frames and hoist the ridgepole when building a house’; the ‘request to present the prayer for hoisting the main beam, made to the immortal Master Lu Ban,

carpentry. The translations of the major and minor carpentries are quoted from Liang Sicheng’s study, which are considered here more precise. In Ruitenbeek’s book, the *xiao-mu-zuo* is translated as the small carpentry. See Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.76.

³¹² Volume Two.

³¹³ Volume Three.

³¹⁴ Chen Yaodong, *Lu Ban Jing Jiang Jia Jing Yan Jiu*, p.16

³¹⁵ Specifically there are three main situations to assemble the trestle: ‘when erecting a new house after having completely demolished the old house and having torn down the main hall’, ‘when building in a direction which allows the centre of the house to remain on its place’, and ‘when building in a direction which requires transfer of the centre of the house. And there are flexible methods for assembling the trestle’. The translations are quoted from Klaas Ruitenbeek. See Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.viii.

³¹⁶ Specifically auspicious days for starting the groundworks, ‘positioning the plinths and erecting the frames’, for erecting the pillars, for hoisting and placing the main girder, for demolishing the old house, for ‘tiling the roof’, for ‘plastering the roof’, for digging a sewer, for paving the floors, for laying bricks, for digging a well, and auspicious days ‘of all months for laying brick floors, paving courtyards and building masonry stairs’. The notes in single quotation marks are the translations of Klaas Ruitenbeek. See Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, pp.viii-ix.

Lord of the Earth, the second of the Three Worlds'; the remark on the auspicious and inauspicious numbers of bays when building a house; 'the method of the water level'; the drawings of the house; 'the true foot-rule of Lu Ban' and the eight poems³¹⁷ about it; the carpenter's square; 'the determination of the poem which corresponds to the lucky White Star when building a house'; 'the true rule for levelling the building site'; 'the determination of good and bad luck when building a house'; 'design of a three-purlin house with one additional purlin'; 'design of a five-purlin house'; 'design of a regular house with seven purlins and three bays'; swing frame; 'design of a small gate'; 'watch tower kiosk'; 'building a gate house'; building doors of large halls; general remarks on gate houses; 'three poems by Guo Pu for judging the appearance of houses'; illustrations of five-purlin houses; five-purlin houses with two additional purlins at the back; 'design of a regular seven-purlin house'; 'princely palaces'; observation tower; 'joinery for a main hall'; designs of Buddhist and Daoist temples and monasteries; 'joinery for an ancestral hall'; design of a shrine; 'military camp'; and 'kiosk and pavilion over the water'³¹⁸.

From the content of volume one, two points can be deduced. Firstly, the notes were not compiled in a logical and systematic way. Some aspects were commentated on in an independent note, and then were categorised into general remarks as a sub-note. All the notes were apparently not organised on the basis of the sequence of building activity. Secondly, it is attested that the *LBJ* mostly deals with humble buildings for common people most of whom could not afford any luxury. At this point, in the 16th century and after, for the vast rural and even anonymous area of China, it is not hard to comprehend that the *LBJ*³¹⁹ was treated so sacredly and ritually as the

³¹⁷ Here the poems are some of the ones mentioned above, the mnemonic rhythmic poems of techniques.

³¹⁸ Here the notes in single quotation marks are translated by Klaas Ruitenbeek. Klaas Ruitenbeek's annotations consist of more than thirty-six notes that are arranged in a different order. See Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, pp.viii-xi.

³¹⁹ It cannot be overlooked that it also has something to do with Master Lu Ban being apotheosised and associated with the book, even though he had nothing to do with it.

highest-level bible closely connected with the building trade of the populace. Last, the sections related to geomancy and divining take a large part of this volume, which repeatedly demonstrate that building activities were never just a simple physical exercise but an inseparable piece of ritual representing the Chinese archaic cosmology and philosophical conceptions of the universe in which the entire nature is connected and interacted by each other³²⁰. Obviously, if the main beam of their main hall of the household was not hoisted at the right time on the right day as divined by the *feng-shui* master, evil things would happen to the family for sure; if the direction of the house did not correspond to the householder's fate divined according to his birth time, the family would constantly experience calamities such as abnormal deaths³²¹; if the gates of two houses are facing each other, one of the houses is going to decline and end up poor³²² (Figure 5-3). The cosmic beliefs and associated *li* were interwoven so tightly with every aspect of social life – in this situation, building activities, that any research on Chinese traditional architecture would be inaccurate or at least incomplete to dissociate or neglect this non-technical part³²³. As analysed in Chapter 2, the basic structural systems of the Chinese timber buildings are not complicated to explain in terms of present-day sciences. It is the complex between the non-technical and technical that has made it almost impossible

³²⁰ There are good materials on this subject. See Needham, *The Science and Civilisation in China*, vol.4, pp.61-79; Ronald Knapp, *China's Vernacular Architecture: house form and culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989, pp.140-149; Knapp, *China's Living Houses*, pp.29-78; Boerschmann, *Chinesische Architektur*, pp.48-53; Keswick, *The Chinese Garden*, pp.12-15, 29-32, 55-56; Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, vol.2, pp.99-100, 132, 311, 347; Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, pp.75-77, 84-85, 90-98; Aylward, *The Imperial Guide to Feng Shui and Chinese Astrology*, pp.2-5, 17-27.

³²¹ Fu Chonglan, Bai Chenxi, and Cao Wenming, *Zhong Guo Cheng Shi Fa Zhan Shi* (Beijing: Social Scientific Document Publishing House, 2009), p.361.

³²² Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.279; *Hui Tu Lu Ban Jing*, ed. by Pu Shizhao, p.29.

³²³ Recorded in the *LBJ*, most of the illustrations and poems for the favourable and unfavourable situations are referred to gates. In the *SCTH*, there is one volume full of similar-style illustrations and poems, discussing the unfavourable planning of buildings in a residence. See Wang Qi and Wang Siyi, the *SCTH*, pp.1037-1041. One volume of the *LBJ* discussing the unlucky layouts and the surrounding environment of a courtyard compound. See Wang Qi and Wang Siyi, the *SCTH*, pp.1042-1053.

to separate them. In a classic on geomancy of building houses, it is recorded that: ‘As long as the locking bar *guan* 关 is made of chestnut wood, (the door/gate) will keep the burglars away’³²⁴, which shows that the type of material used in making a member for doors/gates was believed to affect their functioning. Among those notes about gates/doors, except for the ones on taboos and charms, all the others are related to only one subject: the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* (the foot-rule of Lu Ban), the symbolic tool for carpenters and craftsmen to help apply successfully ‘lucky’ measurements to gates, or, to be more accurate, to help judge and regulate the lucky measurements when making a gate. Hence, this rather unique and sacred measuring rule is one of the essential keys to crack the code of gates’ symbols and to reveal the imperial society’s hierarchy and the *li* 礼 (rituals and rites) which underlie it.

The Sacred and Symbolic Gate Ruler: The *Lu-ban(-zhen)-chi*

The special ruler the Chinese invented for measuring gates/doors *lu-ban(-zhen)-chi* (the true foot-rule of Lu Ban) 鲁般(真)尺³²⁵ has another name *men-guang-chi* (bright gate rule) 门光尺³²⁶, indicating its usage and

³²⁴ The original text is ‘凡门以栗木为关者，夜可以远盗’，in *pin yin ‘fan men yi li mu wei guan zhe, ye ke yi yuan dao’*, from the book *Zhou Shu Mi Ao Ying Zao Zhai Jing* (The Secret Classic of Building Houses in Book of Zhou) 周书秘奥营造宅经, quoted by Chen Yaodong. See Chen Yaodong, *Lu Ban Jing Jiang Jia Jing Yan Jiu*, p.30. *Guan* 关 was the piece of wood that was fixed inside across two door leaves, working as a lock to block others outside.

³²⁵ Sometimes it is written as 鲁般真尺 in different copies of the *LBJ*, possibly because of clerical errors while it was being transcribed.

³²⁶ In Klaas Ruitenbeek’s work, another name is given as *men-gong-chi* 门公尺, which it is called in Taiwan. Klaas Ruitenbeek considers the *men-gong-chi* and the *men-guang-chi* are different rules, in different lengths, which were used in Taiwan and in Beijing of the Qing period, respectively. And the latter was a standard foot for construction in the Qing dynasty. He does not call either of them the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*. See Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, pp.79, 97. However, for the purposes of this thesis my view is that both, and other foot-rules mentioned, are just different versions of the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*, which accord with aspects of it such as having eight symbolic inches, being used by carpenters and so forth. The appearances and usages of the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* vary from region to region and from time to time. It is hard to designate which could be the real one recorded in the *LBJ*. And there is actually even not an original *LBJ* among the various

symbolism: making measurements of gates/doors and bringing glory to one's ancestors by measuring. The term *guang* 光 has the meaning of 'bright shine', which can be used as a verb meaning to develop and shine with a greater brilliance. There are many editions of the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* from region to region, and from time to time, (16 listed in Klaas Ruitenbeek's book³²⁷, Figure 5-4), with various lengths and different numbers of divided Chinese inches. But they shared the same concept with the one that is recorded in the *LBJ*, the old and authentic carpenters' manual for hundreds of years in the Chinese building trade, and seemingly the length of it does not matter much when it comes to the usage and functioning which will be discussed.

The standard length of a *lu-ban-zhen-chi*, which is regulated in the *LBJ*, is one *chi* 尺, four *cun* 寸 and four *fen* 分³²⁸ on the carpenter's square (Figures 5-5). One *lu-ban-zhen-chi* is divided equally into eight Chinese inches, each not marked with dimensions but named by a Chinese character symbol. According to some real objects kept today, the eight character symbols, inscribed vertically in an order from top to bottom, are *cai* 财 Wealth representing the great fortune, *bing* 病 Illness the inevitable diseases, *li* 离 Separation the pain of being apart from family, *yi* 义 Righteousness the births of filial sons in family, *guan* 官 Office the births of respectable sons with high ranked office positions, *jie* 劫 Plunder the calamities brought by women, *hai* 害 Harm the suffering from pilferages, and the last one *ben* 本 Root or *ji* 吉 Luck the prosperity of the family³²⁹. And nine pieces of

hand-written editions and millions of copies. So far, the *men-guang-chi*, accurately determined to be one from the Qing in Klaas Ruitenbeek's opinion, mostly coincides with the descriptions in the *LBJ*, hence, it is the one used, in this thesis, for illustration.

³²⁷ Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.91.

³²⁸ For explanations on the terms, see the Notes on Chinese Length Units and Glossary.

³²⁹ The original text, from the *LBCBJ*, is: '见财者财帛荣昌，病者灾病难免，离者主人分离，义者主产孝子，官者主生贵子，劫者主祸女方麻，害者主被盗侵，本吉者主家兴隆'. See Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, pp.82, 85. The contents of poems or notes for

doggerel are recorded in the *LBJ*, each for the first seven and two for the last inch³³⁰, for the convenience of the majorly oral education in the business:

The foot-rule of Lu Ban measures one *chi*, four *cun* and four *fen* on the carpenter's square. The foot-rule is divided into eight inches³³¹, each covering one *cun* and eight *fen* on the square. (The inches are marked with the symbols) Wealth (*cai* 财), Illness (*bing* 病), Separation (*li* 离), Righteousness (*yi* 义), Office (*guan* 官), Plunder (*jie* 劫), Harm (*hai* 害) and Root (*ben* 本).³³²

... ..

Wealth:

When a door has been measured according to Wealth with due care, then if it is the outer door, talents and good qualities from outside are obtained.

If it is an inner door, you will always be independent.

To accumulate riches, the main gate must be designed accordingly.

And if in the inner rooms you keep to this (character), then silver and silk will fill a thousand, nay ten thousand chests.

If the carpenter is able to understand this principle well, then happiness and riches will prosper in the house all by themselves³³³.

Illness:

inches have varied in different treatises and been re-edited and re-interpreted through centuries³²⁹, but the major ideas are similar.

³³⁰ Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.173, note 89.

³³¹ In the original translation by Klaas Ruitenbeek, the terms of *chi*, *cun* and *fen* are only applied to the measurements of the carpenter's square, the *qu-chi*. For the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*, the foot-rule in his text, the terms of 'inch' and 'foot' are applied, but the measurements of them are by no means as the same as their original ones in the western dimension system.

³³² The original text is: '按鲁般尺乃有曲尺一尺四寸四分，其尺间有八寸，一寸准曲尺一寸八分。内有财、病、离、义、官、劫、害、本也'。See Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.82; Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, pp.169-170.

³³³ The original text is: '财字：财字临门仔细详，外门招得外财良，若在中门常自有，积财需用大门当。中房若合安于上，银帛千箱与万箱，木匠若能明此理，家中福祿自荣昌。' See Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.87; He Junshou, 'Men Guang Chi Xi Zheng', *The Journal of Traditional Chinese Architecture and Gardens*, 03 (1994), p.26.

When measuring a door according to Illness disease will be brought (in).

If it is the outer door, ghosts and spirits will enter the inner court.

If on an inner door this word is met, the disaster will not be too heavy, and cries of despair may not be heard.

But if in addition it is matched by the measurements of the outer door, then within one year there will twice be a funeral.

If in your house you do not wish evil and calamity, then, for the privy, (this character) is without doubt your good friend³³⁴.

Separation:

When measuring a door according to Separation, your affairs will have no luck.

You may accurately position the door in any direction you wish, but if this word is found for the outer and the inner door both, then father and son will stand opposed to each other and divide their accounts.

The house door will necessarily cause separation, and the love between husband and wife will be forgotten on both sides.

From morning to evening there will be constant quarrelling in the house, in the midst of your sorrow there is no place to stand, who could cope with disaster like this³³⁵?

Righteousness:

When measuring a door according to Righteousness, filial piety is the result.

The first and the middle characters (of the foot-rule) are the truest of all!

If on the “capital door” it brings along three wives.

³³⁴ The original text is: ‘病字: 病字临门招疫疾, 外门神鬼人中庭, 若在中门逢此字, 灾须轻可免危声。更被外门相照对, 一年两度送尸灵。于中若要无凶祸, 厕上无疑是好亲。’ See Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.87; He Junshou, ‘Men Guang Chi Xi Zheng’, p.26.

³³⁵ The original text is: ‘离字: 离字临门事不详, 仔细排来在甚方, 若在外门并中户, 子南父北自分张。房门必主生离别, 夫妇恩情两处忙。朝夕士家常作闹, 凄惶无地祸谁当。’ See Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.87; He Junshou, ‘Men Guang Chi Xi Zheng’, p.26.

If on the verandah door it causes adultery and lust for vicious sounds.

If in the house (the measurements) conform to this word, there will be luck, but there will also arise calamities which afflict the occupants.

If you want to be sure to stay free from calamities, only the kitchen door can really be regarded (as) your friend³³⁶.

When measuring a door according to Office, you must of course be careful, you may not have it used in case of the main gate.

You have to guard against law suits, and keep the magistrate as a friend, then wealth and rank will spontaneously thrive in the house.

If in the house a noble son is born, his family will certainly enter the official's lane³³⁷.

For a rich family this door is fit, but in the house of a commoner it is hard to measure off³³⁸.

Plunder:

When measuring a door according to Plunder, there is no reason to boast.

In the house there will be trouble every day, as tenacious as hemp plants.

And if in addition there is a door opposite which is measured according to Harm, evil will be piled upon evil, disaster will be a certain thing.

³³⁶ The original text is: ‘义字: 义字临门孝顺生, 一字中字最为真, 若在都门招三妇, 廊门淫妇恋花声。于中合字虽为吉, 也有兴灾害及人, 若是十分无灾害, 只有厨门实可亲。’ See Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.87; He Junshou, ‘Men Guang Chi Xi Zheng’, p.26.

³³⁷ *Ruo yao fang men sheng gui zi, qi jia bi ding chu guan lang* 若要房门生贵子, 其家必定出官廊。The translation of this sentence from Ruitenbeek is not accurate at all. It actually means: If a noble son is wanted to be born in the family, there must be an Office verandah door in the house. For the Chinese text, see Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.87; He Junshou, ‘Men Guang Chi Xi Zheng’, p.26.

³³⁸ The original text is: ‘官字: 官字临门自要详, 莫教安在大门场, 须防公事亲州府, 富贵中庭房自昌。若要房门生贵子, 其家必定出官廊, 富家人家有相压, 庶人之屋实难量。’ See Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.87; He Junshou, ‘Men Guang Chi Xi Zheng’, p.26.

Sons and grandsons will go robbing, they will suffer bitterness, and if they persist in their acts, harm will be caused to the house³³⁹.

There will be the four wrongs, the four evils; the stars are not lucky, people's properties will be stolen, harm will be inflicted on others³⁴⁰.

Harm:

When positioning a door according to Harm, you must search carefully.

If used on the outer door you will often be approached by alien people³⁴¹.

If used on the inner doors a lot of misfortune is caused, and the family wealth will certainly be robbed by thieves.

If sons and grandsons pass through a door under the character of Harm, their acts as a consequence will ruin the house.

If a good craftsman is able to understand this principle, it will make the house owner enjoy lasting prosperity³⁴².

Luck:

When measuring a door according to Luck, it is best of all.

You will hold office, and both inside and outside the house you will be strong.

³³⁹ Ruitenbeek translating *lin jia* 邻家 as 'the house' is not accurate, which should be 'the neighbours'. For the Chinese text, see Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.87; He Junshou, 'Men Guang Chi Xi Zheng', p.26.

³⁴⁰ The original text is: '劫字: 劫字临门不足夸, 家中日日事如麻, 更有害门相照看, 凶来叠叠祸无差。儿孙行劫身遭苦, 作事因循害邻家, 四恶四凶星不吉, 偷人物件害其他。' See Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.87; He Junshou, 'Men Guang Chi Xi Zheng', p.26.

³⁴¹ Ruitenbeek has corrected the sentence in the original Chinese text, for the Chinese one does not make sense. 'Wai ren duo bei wai ren lin 外人多被外人临。Read *men* 门 for the first *ren* 人.' See Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.173. For the Chinese text, see Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.88; He Junshou, 'Men Guang Chi Xi Zheng', p.26.

³⁴² The original text is: '害字: 害字安门仔细寻, 外人多被外人临, 若在内门多兴祸, 家财必被贼来侵。儿孙行门于害字, 作事须因破其家, 良匠若能明此理, 管教宅主永兴隆。' See Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.88; He Junshou, 'Men Guang Chi Xi Zheng', p.26.

Sons and grandsons, husband and wife, all will be held in great respect.

Year after year, month after month, they will be engaged in the cultivation of silk.

If there is a door opposite measured according to Wealth, the house will follow an upward course, and will be greatly blessed.

Even if there were to be an evil ghost standing nearby, no harm would be caused, there would be glory nevertheless³⁴³.

Root:

When making a doorway according to Root, it means great luck, beginning and end of the foot-rule are quite in accordance.

When taking measurements, the end of the foot-root must correspond to luck, thereafter one starts anew, and measures from Wealth.

Thus, fortune and riches will be brought to the door, sons and grandsons will certainly be splendid lads.

If the “master of time” follows this divine wisdom in his work, a thousand, nay ten thousand granaries will be filled to the rim^{344 345}.

The name and poem of each Chinese inch have pretty much everything about the characters of them: Wealth (*cai*), Righteousness (*yi*), Office (*guan*) and Luck/Root (*ji* or *ben*) indicate the auspiciousness, and the rests, Illness (*bing*), Separation (*li*), Plunder (*jie*) and Harm (*hai*) foretell the ominousness. However, corresponding to the spirit of *Dao*, it is all not absolute but conditional on the status of hosts and where the gates/doors were fixed. In other words, no matter they are lucky or not, the measurements of gates

³⁴³ The original text is: ‘吉字：吉字临门最是良，中宫内外一起强，子孙夫妇皆荣贵，年年月月在蚕桑。如有财门相照者，家道兴隆大吉昌，使有凶神在傍位，也无灾害亦风光。’ See Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.88; He Junshou, ‘Men Guang Chi Xi Zheng’, p.26.

³⁴⁴ The original text is: ‘本门诗：本字开门大吉昌，尺头尺尾正相当，量来尺尾须当吉，此到头来财上量。福祿乃为门上致，子孙必由好儿郎，时师依此仙贤造，千仓万廩有余粮。’ See Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.88; He Junshou, ‘Men Guang Chi Xi Zheng’, p.26.

³⁴⁵ Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, pp.170-173.

must be harmonious and coinciding with the household, the environment and the sites. So the common folks using the Office (*guan*) gates/doors is ominous, and meanwhile the Illness (*bing*) gates/doors used for toilets turned out to be lucky³⁴⁶.

The Symbols of Auspiciousness And the Lucky Measurements

How the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* worked in making gates without any dimensions on it becomes a question. Firstly, it relied on the carpenter's square that is a normal practical ruler by having a considerably fixed dimension relation that has been mentioned in the quote above: a *lu-ban-zhen-chi* measures 1.44 *chi* on the carpenter's square. By the time of the mid 15th century³⁴⁷ when the *LBJ* was published, the length of a carpenter's square, the *qu-chi*, was 32 cm³⁴⁸ long, which gives the full length of a *lu-ban-zhen-chi* $1.44 \times 32 \text{ cm} = 46.08 \text{ cm}$ that can be testified by the collection of the Qing period in the Palace Museum, a brass *lu-ban-zhen-chi* 46 cm long³⁴⁹ (Figure 5-6, 5-7 and 5-8). More other treatises and monographs have

³⁴⁶ Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.85.

³⁴⁷ The earliest surviving version of the *LBJ* was accomplished some time during the mid 15th to the early 16th century, and was found in 1931 by Zhao Feiyun in the Tianyi Chamber in Ningbo, the oldest existing library founded in 1561. So it is commonly named as the Tianyi Chamber version in academic circles. But according to the study of Klaas Ruitenbeek, the earliest extant edition of the *Lu Ban Jing* dated from 1600 which is a facsimile of only first volumes of the *Lu Ban Jing* and the *Mi Jue Xian Ji* and is now kept in the Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo. See Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.313.

³⁴⁸ For the lengths of carpenter's squares of the Ming around the 15th century, see Qiu Guangming, *Zhong Guo Li Dai Du Liang Heng Kao* (Beijing: Science Press, 1992), pp.100-105. In 1986, Cheng Jianjun made a survey on the lengths of the *qu-chi* in many cities, which shows that in north China it is approximately 31-32 cm long while in south 28-30 cm. See Cheng Jianjun, 'Guan Yu Men Guang Chi: da ying guo Mr. H. W. Tang', *Traditional Chinese Architecture and Gardens, 01* (1991), p.17. Alfred Schinz's studies on the length of one *chi* show that the length during the Ming varies between 30.08 to 31.90 cm and during the Qing 30.80 to 33.52 cm. See Schinz, *The Magic Square*, p.421.

³⁴⁹ For more arguments on the lengths of the *lu-ban-chi* and the carpenter's square in different periods, see Cheng Jianjun, 'Ya Bai Chi Fa Chu Tan', *The Journal of Huazhong Architecture*, 02 (1988), p.54; Cheng Jianjun, 'Guan Yu Men Guang Chi: da ying guo Mr. H. W. Tang', pp.16-17; Chen Yaodong, *Lu Ban Jing Jiang Jia Jing Yan Jiu*, p.25; He Junshou, 'Men Guang Chi Xi Zheng', p.23; He Junshou, 'Shen Yong Bo Lai Lu Ban Chi',

confirmed the scale between the two rulers³⁵⁰. The *qu-chi* 曲尺 or *mu-gong-chi* 木工尺, the carpenter's square (Figure 5-9 and 5-10), the real official rule for carpenters' construction business for centuries³⁵¹, is an 'L' shaped rule, on the drawing and usage of which there are two notes in the *LBJ*:

Illustration of the carpenter's square: the first represents white, the second black, the third azure, the fourth green, the fifth yellow, the sixth white, the seventh vermeil, the eighth white, the ninth purple, and the first white.³⁵² (Figure 5-11)

On the origin of the carpenter's square: The foot (*chi*) of the carpenter's square has ten inches (*cun*), and an inch has ten tenths (*fen*). Whenever a house is built or a door is made, height and width are measured on the square. The measurements should be compared with the eight inches of the foot-rule of Lu Ban. If in comparison there is much luck and little harm it is fine. A good carpenter only has to act in this way, and there will be great luck.³⁵³

Interestingly the first note on the *qu-chi* is all about the colours that each of the ten *cun* represents. And the second, not only stresses the doors as

The Journal of Traditional Chinese Architecture and Gardens, 02 (1995), pp.9, 23; Lu Chang, 'Men Guang Chi', *The Journal of Traditional Chinese Architecture and Gardens*, 01 (1985), p.55-56; and Li Zheyang and Wang Dan, 'Lu Ban Chi Fei Zhi Liang Men Ke Yong', *The Journal of Traditional Chinese Architecture and Gardens*, 03 (2006), pp.3-7.

³⁵⁰ There are quite amount of literatures that record the social and family life and situations in the imperial time of the authors, and the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* are constantly mentioned, such as the *YZSS*, *TFGJ*, *SLGJ*, *SCTH*, *GJTSJC*, *YZZZ*.

³⁵¹ In the history of Chinese measuring rules, there had never been one standard unit system but several for different trades, standard rule, carpenter's rule, tailor's rule, astronomers' rule etc. And the carpenter's square, 木工尺, had been the standard unit rule in the building trade, even though the length of it varied from period to period and region to region. See Cheng Jianjun, 'Ya Bai Chi Fa Chu Tan', p.54; Qiu Guangming, *Zhong Guo Li Dai Du Liang Heng Kao*, pp.105-106, 108, 110, 114, 117-119; He Junshou, 'Shen Yong Bo Lai Lu Ban Chi', pp.21-23.

³⁵² The original text is: '曲尺之图: 一白、二黑、三碧、四绿、五黄、六白、七赤、八白、九紫、一白'. See Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, pp.88-89. Klaas Ruitenbeek translates it in a simpler way: '1 – White, 2 – Black, 3 – Blue, 4 – Green, 5 – Yellow, 6 – White, 7 – Red, 8 – White, 9 – Purple, 10 – White.' See Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.173.

³⁵³ The original text is: '曲尺者, 有十寸, 一寸乃十分。凡遇起造经营, 开门高低、长短、度量, 皆在此上。须当凑对鲁班尺八寸吉凶相度, 则吉多凶少。为佳匠者, 但用仿此大吉也'. See Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.89; Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.174.

equally important as houses should be measured correctly on the square, but also admonishes all the carpenters that as a good carpenter one must compare the measurements both on the square and on the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* in order to attract luck and avoid harm, but how to compare is not included. It must be a common sense or a well-accepted folklore belief among carpenters and other craftsmen of the connections and relations between colours and luckiness. And all the measurements are measured eventually on the *qu-chi* square, for there is no calibration on the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*, to which, however, the measurements must be compared for a judgement of being lucky or not.

Before exploring the colour codes, a crucial explanation needs to be made on Ruitenbeek's translation that in the Chinese text the note on the illustration of the *qu-chi*, it is not '10' that is represented by 'White' but '1' again. In other words, the tenth *cun* on the *qu-chi* is considered as the first when it comes to connecting to colour codes. It could be because the number nine was considered as the biggest *yang* number out of ten and nothing could be perfect as ten that only belongs to Heaven. In literatures, ten, *shi* in the *pin-yin*, represents ultimate perfection without any flaws, such as *shi-quan-shi-mei* 十全十美 (the ten-out-of-ten perfection). Such a ten-score thing or creature does not exist in the world of Human but only in Heaven. So it is not surprising that there has been the tale about the Forbidden City since the day it was built that there were 9,999 rooms (single buildings) in it only to be one less than the 10,000 rooms in the palace of Heaven. Cosmologically it is considered to be customary that, in Human world, the use of numbers from 1 to 9 normally work as a circle: it comes back to one after it hits nine. Hence, in the illustration of the *qu-chi*, the tenth *cun* has symbolically the same representation as the first *cun*. And meanwhile, in order to do so, the ten *cun* of the *qu-chi* could fit in the nine palaces of the magic square. The ideas of the magic square run through the *LBJ* and other ancient documents with contents of the *feng-shui*, when it comes to choosing the favourable and auspicious dates, hours of starting

constructions and measurements of gates. The layout of nine numbers in the magic square has been fixed and regulated in the *LS* of the age of Confucius, as shown in the Figure 5-12: five is in the centre with three and seven on the left and right respectively and with nine on top and one at the bottom, four, two, six and eight are in the corners. With the correspondences between the numbers and colours in the illustration of the *qu-chi*, the square of colours can be set: purple is in the centre on the top and three whites are at the bottom.

Secondly, to make lucky measurements of gates/doors on both rules some basic concepts and terms related to ‘luck’ are eagerly built here. The favourable or lucky measurements that are applied to making a gate have their special terms in the business: *chi-bai* 尺白 or *chi-white* (lucky *chi*) and *cun-bai* 寸白 or *cun-white* (lucky *cun*), which are traditionally reached or calculated respectively. For example, if 3 *chi* 4 *cun* turns out to be a lucky measurement for a gate, 3 *chi* is the lucky *chi*, 4 *cun* the lucky *cun*, and they can be called *chi-white* and *cun-white*. Meanwhile, the methods to calculate the lucky measurements or, in other words, to compare the measurements on the *qu-chi* square with the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* in order to get the lucky ones, are named as *chi-white* and *cun-white*: the methods to get lucky *chi* and lucky *cun* respectively³⁵⁴. It is quite obvious that the colour white represents auspiciousness in the context, which also correspondingly defines the 1st, 6th and 8th *cun* on the *qu-chi*, the commonly auspicious numbers in Chinese culture. But it has to be pointed out that the colour purple and the 9th *cun* it represents are considered as auspiciousness too, only as the minor auspiciousness (*xiao-ji* 小吉) compared to the three whites as the major (*da-*

³⁵⁴ Some scholars deem that there were two methods: *chi-bai* 尺白 (foot white) and *cun-bai* 寸白 (inch white), according to which, by connecting with constellations and colours respectively, the lucky measurements of gates could be calculated. See Cheng Jianjun, ‘Ya Bai Chi Fa Chu Tan’, pp.47-48; and Chen Yaodong, *Lu Ban Jing Jiang Jia Jing Yan Jiu*, pp. 23-24. Some propose that the *Lu-ban-zhen-chi* is tied up with constellations and the *qu-chi* with colours or the other way around. And some combine the two points of views. See He Junshou, ‘Men Guang Chi Xi Zheng’, pp.23, 25; Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, pp.86, 89.

ji 大吉). The colour purple, *zi* 紫, in Chinese culture represents something holy and auspicious, as it is used to name the Forbidden City (literally the Purple Forbidden City, *zi-jin-cheng* 紫禁城) for the city's extreme holiness or as in the literal phrase *zi-qi-dong-lai* 紫气东来 (the purple *qi* is coming from the east) foretelling the coming fortunes. The *zi-bai* 紫白, the purple-white, a term of a *feng-shui* school's theories symbolising auspiciousness, originates from the early Chinese cosmological constellations, which symbolises the *zi-bai* nine constellations 紫白九星 (*zi-bai-jiu-xing*) each of which occupies a palace in the nine palaces of the magic square. The nine cosmic constellations, 'nine moving stars as Edkins calls them, or fate-categories as Needham calls them'³⁵⁵, are 'correlated with the Eight Trigrams, the stems, some of the branches, the Five Elements and with the twelve palaces'³⁵⁶, constituted of the seven of the Big Dipper³⁵⁷ and other two small near them (Figure 5-13): the *tian-shu* (celestial pivot) 天枢, the *tian-xuan* (celestial rotating jade) 天璇, the *tian-ji* (celestial shining pearl) 天玑, and the *tian-quan* (celestial balance) 天权, which shape a quadrangle as a group, were called *kui* 魁; the *yu-heng* (jade sighting-tube) 玉衡, the *kai-yang* (opener of heat) 开阳, the *yao-guang* (twinkling brilliance) 摇光, the three of which form a line called *biao* 杓; the two small darker stars near *kai-yang* and *yao-guang*, *fu* (left assistant) 辅 and *bi* (right assistant) 弼 respectively. Each star, understood as a mansion, has its star deity (*xing-jun* 星君) living in the corresponding one, and their names are much more

³⁵⁵ Stephan Feuchtwang, *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy* (Vithagna, 1974), pp.19, 159-160.

³⁵⁶ Feuchtwang, *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy*, p.19. Here, the 'twelve palaces' mean the ideal ming-tang hall in the ancient time in which there are twelve palaces laid out in four cardinal directions, the son of Heaven should stay in each for each month with all the related rituals. For more information, see Chapter 2 and the studies by Stephan Feuchtwang, Joseph Needham, Hwang Ming-chorn and others.

³⁵⁷ The possible reasons why the stars of the Big Dipper were chosen are analysed by Stephan Feuchtwang: it could be related to the movement of the Big Dipper and the timing of its positions in sky. See Feuchtwang, *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy*, p.160.

important and often applied to naming the Chinese inches of the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*: *tan-lang* (greedy wolf) 贪狼 in the *tian-shu* mansion, *ju-men* (giant gate) 巨门 in the *tian-xuan* mansion, *lu-cun* (fortune collection) 禄存 in the *tian-ji* mansion, *wen-qu* (literati) 文曲 in the *tian-quan* mansion, *lian-zhen* (integrity) 廉贞 in the *tian-heng* mansion, *wu-qu* (generals) 武曲 in the *kai-yang* mansion, *po-jun* (breaking military) 破军 in the *yao-guang* mansion³⁵⁸, and *fu* and *bi* without differences (Table 5-1). It must be clarified here about two concepts that easily confound one: the Nine Star Mansions and the Magic Square, both of which, in Chinese text, share the same name *jiu-gong* 九宫, literally the nine palaces/mansions, but have different origins. The magic square, as stated in Chapter 2, is an ideal cosmic concept originated in the *LS*, shown in numbers 1 to 9, indicating the magic power of the *yin* and *yang*, and later applied to the cosmological layout of the *ming-tang* hall.

On the other hand, the nine star mansions could be, either understood as the result of the considerable perspective or imagination that there should be a central mansion on each star as the residence of the star deity, a mini-

³⁵⁸ There is another explanation about the relations of the stars and their deities, saying that the nine stars, the *tian-shu* (celestial pivot) 天枢, the *tian-xuan* (celestial rotating jade) 天璇, the *tian-ji* (celestial shining pearl) 天玑, the *tian-quan* (celestial balance) 天权, the *yu-heng* (jade sighting-tube) 玉衡, the *kai-yang* (opener of heat) 开阳, the *yao-guang* (twinkling brilliance) 摇光, the *fu* (left assistant) 辅 and the *bi* (right assistant) 弼, are named as the Big Dipper and categorised in astrology, and meanwhile, *tan-lang* (greedy wolf) 贪狼, *ju-men* (giant gate) 巨门, *lu-cun* (fortune collection) 禄存, *wen-qu* (literati) 文曲, *lian-zhen* (integrity) 廉贞, *wu-qu* (generals) 武曲, *po-jun* (breaking military) 破军, *fu* (left assistant) 辅 and *bi* (right assistant) 弼 are only named differently as geomantic nine stars and categorised in geomancy. In other words, each of the nine stars has two names that are used in different contexts. See Cheng Jianjun, 1988:47. In Ruitenbeek's translation, the eight stars linked with inches are the seven stars of the Great Dipper and one of the two arcane stars, which are Greedy Wolf (*tan-lang* 贪狼), Broken Army (*po-jun* 破军), Military Twist (*wu-qu* 武曲), Great Gate (*ju-men* 巨门), Civil Twist (*wen-qu* 文曲), Honest and Steadfast (*lian-zhen* 廉贞), Job Keeper (*lu-cun* 禄存), and Left Assistant (*zuo-fu* 左辅). But the translations of *wu-qu*, *wen-qu* and *lu-cun* are not very precise. See Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.90. For more information of Chinese star gods, see Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, pp.169-171.

counterpart of the Heaven's³⁵⁹, or recognised as the representatives of the *zi-bai* nine stars. However, although they have rooted differently, in some context of the later *feng-shui* theories and practices, the two concepts could be applied to the same situations and the line between them could be blurred, as in the lucky measurements the nine stars are placed in the nine palaces/halls³⁶⁰ of the magic square because of the *qu-chi* and *lu-ban-zhen-chi* (Figure 5-13).

Star Deities (<i>xing-jun</i> 星君)	The <i>Zi-bai</i> Stars/Mansions (紫白九星)	The Colours	<i>Cun</i> on the <i>Qu-chi</i> (carpenter's square)	Chinese inches on the <i>Lu-ban-zhen-chi</i> of the Qing Dynasty
<i>Tan-lang</i>	<i>Tian-shu</i>	White	0-1 <i>cun</i>	<u>0-1 inch</u> Wealth
<i>Ju-men</i>	<i>Tian-xuan</i>	Black	1-2 <i>cun</i>	1-2 inch Illness
<i>Lu-cun</i>	<i>Tian-ji</i>	Azure	2-3 <i>cun</i>	2-3 inch Separation
<i>Wen-qu</i>	<i>Tian-quan</i>	Green	3-4 <i>cun</i>	<u>3-4 inch</u> Righteousness

³⁵⁹ The Chinese have the fundamental understanding of the worlds of Heaven, Earth and Humans that in order to reach the harmony of the three human beings should imitate the patterns of Heaven and Earth but only in a less rank, which is, in Chinese, *xiang-tian-fa-di* 象天法地. It is not surprising that in the early time, humans observed nature and applied their perspectives of the law of nature to human social life and their relationship with nature. The layout of the Forbidden City was stated as the counterpart of the palace in Heaven, the pattern of which, apparently, was the doctrine of the Chinese cosmology after ages of development. And again, the world of a star must be similar, on which there should be a deity in charge who should live in a mansion/palace of the similar layout.

³⁶⁰ The 'Nine Halls' is a translation by Stephan Feuchtwang. See Feuchtwang, *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy*, p.20.

<i>Lian-zhen</i>	<i>Tian-heng</i>	Yellow	4-5 <i>cun</i>	<u>4-5 inch</u> <u>Office</u>
Wu-qu	Kai-yang	White	5-6 <i>cun</i>	5-6 inch Plunder
<i>Po-jun</i>	<i>Yao-guang</i>	Vermei 1	6-7 <i>cun</i>	6-7 inch Harm
Fu	Fu	White	7-8 <i>cun</i>	<u><i>Fu</i> and <i>Bi</i></u> <u>are marked as</u> <u>one in the 7-8</u> <u>inch</u> <u>Luck/Root</u>
Bi	Bi	Purple	8-9 <i>cun</i>	
		White	9-10 <i>cun</i> (= 0-1 <i>cun</i>)	

Table 5-1 The Correspondences among the *Zi-bai* Nine Constellations, Deities, Colours and Two Rulers. Originally, the colours were only represented on the *qu-chi* as stated in the Illustration of the *Qu-chi*. However, according to the extant *lu-ban-zhen-chi* of the Qing period, the colours were symbolically illustrated on it as well. The parts in grey shade are auspicious stars, the ones bordered are preferable on the *qu-chi*, and those underlined are lucky on the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*.

Eventually, the correspondences (Figure 5-14), the *chi*-white corresponding to the nine stars, *cun*-white to the nine colours of the *LS*, and the relationship between the two rules, entwined a rule, or, to be more precise, a logical system, which provides a fairly reasonable frame of working out the lucky measurements of gates and had been improved and perfected after a-long-period interactive practices of geomancy. The contents of the Tables are often recorded in the form of doggerel in various *feng-shui* books and manuals and considered being passed down from carpenters to their apprentices. The contents of doggerel must have varied from region to region, but the concept of the complex relationships and the belief in it never changed. The doggerel for making the lucky gates must be kept firmly in mind by the carpenters in this orally-educated business, which is the key to the usage of the symbolic *lu-ban-zhen-chi* and the relationship

between it and the *qu-chi*. There are four pieces of the doggerel in total, two for *chi*-white, two for *cun*-white: one for *chi*-white on the Heaven-father, one for *chi*-white on the Earth-mother, one for *cun*-white on the Heaven-father, one for *cun*-white on the Earth-mother. It must be explained and stressed here again that in the very beginning, the lucky *chi* and *cun* measurements were separately calculated, and each included the height and width. The special term for the vertical direction is *tian-fu* 天父, the Heaven-father, two words with the strongest *yang* power in the *feng-shui* theory and representing the very *yang* trigram *Qian* of the Eight Trigrams, which indicates the height of a gate. And the term for the horizontal direction is *di-mu* 地母, the Earth-mother, contrarily with the strongest *yin* power and representing the *Kun* trigram, which indicates the width of a gate. The four pieces are³⁶¹ (Figure 5-15):

Chi-white on Heaven-father:

Qian (one trigram of the *ba-gua*) – *Bi* (the Right Assistant, the name of the star), *Li* – *Po-jun*, *Dui* – *Tan-lang*, *Zhen* – *Ju-men*, *Xun* – *Lian-zhen*, *Gen* – *Wu-qu*, *Kan* – *Wen-qu*, *Kun* – *Lu-cun*³⁶².

Chi-white on Earth-mother:

³⁶¹ The contents of the doggerel vary. For example, here is one popular in Taiwan nowadays: ‘天父尺白歌诀：乾右弼属土，离破军金，兑贪狼木，震巨门土，巽廉贞水，艮武曲金，坎文曲水，坤禄存火，左辅属土’ (the translation is ‘the doggerel for lucky foot numbers on Heaven Father is: *Qian* – *Bi* – Earth [an element of the Five Elements], *Li* – *Po-jun* – Metal, *Dui* – *Tan-lang* – Wood, *Zhen* – *Ju-men* – Earth, *Xun* – *Lian-zhen* – Water, *Gen* – *Wu-qu* – Metal, *Kan* – *Wen-qu* – Water, *Kun* – *Lu-cun* – Fire, the Left Assistant – Earth.’ See Xu Yujian, 1996:45-6). This one has no difference in the correspondences but additionally with the responding Five Elements. However, in other versions of the doggerel, the correspondences between stars and the Five Elements are slightly different (marked in grey shades): ‘*Tan-lang* – Wood, *Ju-men* – Earth, *Lu-cun* – Wood, *Wen-qu* – Water, *Lian-zhen* – Fire, *Wu-qu* – Metal, *Po-jun* – Metal, the Left Assistant – Earth, the Right Assistant – Earth.’ See Cheng Jianjun, ‘Ya Bai Chi Fa Chu Tan’, pp.48, 56; He Junshou, ‘Men Guang Chi Xi Zheng’, pp.27, 29, 31; Aylward, *The Imperial Guide to Feng Shui and Chinese Astrology*, pp.240-244.

³⁶² The Chinese text is: ‘天父尺白歌诀：乾右弼，离破军，兑贪狼，震巨门，巽廉贞，艮武曲，坎文曲，坤禄存’. See Chen Yaodong, *Lu Ban Jing Jiang Jia Jing Yan Jiu*, p.24.

Gen – Tan-lang, Xun – Ju-men, Zhen – Lian-zhen, Dui – Wu-qu, Qian – Lu-cun, Li – Wen-qu, Kan – Po-jun, Kun – Bi³⁶³.

Cun-white on Heaven-father:

Qian – the 4th Green, *Zhen* – the 7th Vermeil, *Xun* – the 5th Yellow, *Kan* – the 2nd Black, *Kun* – the 3rd Azure, *Dui* – the 9th Purple, *Gen* – the 6th White, *Li* – the 8th White³⁶⁴.

Cun-white on Earth-mother:

Qian – the 1st White, *Li* – the 2nd Black, *Zhen* – the 3rd Azure, *Dui* – the 4th Green, *Kan* – the 5th Yellow, *Kun* – the 6th White, *Xun* – the 7th Vermeil, *Gen* – the 8th White³⁶⁵.

The doggerel has simply and directly given the correspondences between the Eight Trigrams and the *zi-bai* stars (the first two for the *chi*-white) or the colours (the last two for the *cun*-white). There are many questions that cannot be answered yet: who made those correspondences, when, why those correspond in this way, why the *zi-bai* stars are for the lucky *chi* and the colours for the lucky *cun*, and so forth. All known is that the doggerel must be created before the Qing period, maybe even much earlier than the same age of the *LBJ*. The Eight Trigrams are applied to locating the gate³⁶⁶ and so to connecting the location with the lucky measurements. For instance, if a gate under construction turns out

³⁶³ The Chinese text is: ‘地母尺白歌诀: 艮贪狼, 巽巨门, 震廉贞, 兑武曲, 乾禄存, 离文曲, 坎破军, 坤右弼’. See Chen Yaodong, *Lu Ban Jing Jiang Jia Jing Yan Jiu*, p.24.

³⁶⁴ The Chinese text is: ‘天父寸白歌诀: 乾四绿, 震七赤, 巽五黄, 坎二黑, 坤三碧, 兑九紫, 艮六白, 离八白’. See Chen Yaodong, *Lu Ban Jing Jiang Jia Jing Yan Jiu*, p.24.

³⁶⁵ The Chinese text is: ‘地母寸白歌诀: 乾一白, 离二黑, 震三碧, 兑四绿, 坎五黄, 坤六白, 巽七赤, 艮八白’. See Chen Yaodong, *Lu Ban Jing Jiang Jia Jing Yan Jiu*, p.24.

³⁶⁶ To site a residence and locate the gate in it are one of the major jobs of a *feng-shui* master. To place a house properly and auspiciously in the environment is the first and most important matter for a new construction. It is deep rooted in Chinese mind that a good location can not only bring good fortunes but also shelters the family for generations.

auspicious to be located in the direction of the *qian* trigram, according to the doggerel, its lucky *chi* measurements of height should be counted from the *Bi* star as 1 (*Chi*-White on Heaven-father, *Qian* – *Bi*), and the numbers counted to the lucky stars (Table 5-2) are the lucky measurements.

Given all the ground rules, it is not hard for one to make one's own lucky gate. Say, after investigation, the *feng-shui* master³⁶⁷ says it is better that the position of the gate under construction has been determined to be in the north of the residence and facing south for gaining luck or auspicious *qi* 气 (flowing energy) or matching with fate of the owner of the property. And the trigram *kan* 坎 of the Eight Trigrams occupies in and represents the north³⁶⁸, which connect *wen-qu* star according to the doggerel in Figure 5-15. For *chi*-white in Heaven-Father (the height), count one from the position of *wen-qu* onwards, and the numbers correspond to lucky stars, *tan-lang*, *ju-men*, *wu-qu*, *fu*, *bi*, are considered lucky and suitably applied to measuring gates. Hence, the auspicious height of the gate could be 3, 5, 6, or 7 *chi* and so forth (Table 5-2). Similarly for *chi*-white in Earth-Mother (the width), according to the doggerel, the trigram *kan* connects *po-jun*, which means count one from *po-jun* onwards, and the lucky measurements for width are revealed: 2, 3, 4 or 9³⁶⁹ *chi* and so forth (Table 5-2). To calculate lucky *cun*, the *cun*-white doggerel should be followed, and the numbers counted in the lucky colours' columns are the lucky ones. For the *kan* trigram, which are 5, 7, 8, and 9 *cun* of Father-Heaven, and 2, 4, 5, and 6 *cun* of Earth-Mother

³⁶⁷ Ideally, a thorough survey of the location of a residence and gates should be carried out by a *feng-shui* master. But many carpenters must have the basic knowledge of geomancy, which is convincingly validated by the large portion of the *feng-shui* concerns in the *LBJ* and other related sources. For those poor families who could not afford for a *feng-shui* master's investigation, the carpenters did the job with much simplified skills and procedure. Feuchtwang, in his book *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy*, has given a specific explanation on the importance of the compass and the meanings of its concentric rings.

³⁶⁸ 后天八卦和先天八卦. See Feuchtwang, *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy*, pp.25, 73-74; Aylward, *The Imperial Guide to Feng Shui and Chinese Astrology*, pp.67-70.

³⁶⁹ The lucky numbers of heights over 9 are not listed here for calculating convenience below.

(Table 5-3). To combine the four groups of lucky numbers, the lucky measurements on the *qu-chi* for the gate in the position of *kan* trigram are:

Heights: 5'5", 5'7", 5'8", 5'9"

6'5", 6'7", 6'8", 6'9"

7'5", 7'7", 7'8", 7'9"

Widths: 3'2", 3'4", 3'5", 3'6"

4'2", 4'4", 4'5", 4'6"

9'2", 9'4", 9'5", 9'6"³⁷⁰

<i>Qu-chi</i>	<i>Tan-lang</i>	<i>Ju-men</i>	<i>Lu-cun</i>	<i>Wen-qu</i>	<i>Lian-zhen</i>	<i>Wu-qu</i>	<i>Po-jun</i>	<i>Fu</i>	<i>Bi</i>
Heaven-Father				1	2	3	4	5	6
	7	8	9						
Earth-Mother							1	2	3
	4	5	6	7	8	9			

Table 5-2 The Lucky Numbers for *Chi*-white on the *Kan* trigram, marked in grey shades. The first row are the 9 *cun* dimensions on the *qu-chi* (the first *cun* represents the tenth, see the main text), represented by nine stars in the order from 1 to 9: 1st *Tan-lang*, 2nd *Lu-cun*, 3rd *Wen-qu*, 4th *Ju-men*, 5th *Lian-zhen*, 6th *Wu-qu*, 7th *Po-jun*, 8th *Fu*, 9th *Bi*. Of all, the 1st *Tan-lang*, the 6th *Wu-qu*, the 8th *Fu* and the 9th *Bi* are corresponding to White and Purple, therefore, lucky. Because the gate is located in the *Kan* trigram, according to the doggerel of *chi*-white on Heaven-father and Earth-mother, the correspondences are *Kan* – *Wen-qu* and *Kan* – *Po-jun* respectively. So count 1 from *Wen-qu* and *Po-jun*. The numbers that correspond to the four lucky *cun* dimensions are lucky on the *qu-chi*.

³⁷⁰ Actually, there are two more groups of measurements not included in the text: heights 3'5", 3'7", 3'8", 3'9" and widths 2'2", 2'4", 2'5", 2'6", for the sizes would be too small for a normal gate.

<i>Qu-chi</i>	White	Black	Azure	Green	Yellow	White	Vermeil	White	Purple
Heaven-Father		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	9								
Earth-Mother					1	2	3	4	5
	6	7	8	9					

Table 5-3 The Lucky Numbers for *Cun*-white on the Kan trigram, marked in grey shades. The first row are the 9 *cun* dimensions on the *qu-chi* (the first *cun* represents the tenth, see the main text), represented by colours in the order from 1 to 9: 1st White, 2nd Black, 3rd Azure, 4th Green, 5th Yellow, 6th White, 7th Vermeil, 8th White, 9th Purple. Of all, the 1st, 6th and 8th White and 9th Purple are lucky. According to the doggerel of *cun*-white on Heaven-father and Earth-mother, the correspondences are *Kan* – 2nd Black and *Kan* – 5th Yellow (see the main text), which 1 should be counted from. The numbers that correspond to the four lucky *cun* dimensions are lucky on the *qu-chi*.

However, these are not the final auspicious measurements that can be applied to building the gate, for there is one more factor missing to restrict the sacred decision on the size of the gate – which is also the last step pushing the whole calculation to the complex and religious summit – corresponding to the lucky Chinese inches of the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* which means the lucky heights and widths on the *qu-chi* listed above have to be testified on *lu-ban-zhen-chi* to be lucky. Hence, can only the measurements satisfying the auspiciousness of both rules – the *qu-chi* and the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* – be real auspicious and applied to gates. But different from the *qu-chi*, when it comes to the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*, only the numbers on Chinese inches need to correspond to the four lucky ones of the eight on the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*, in other words, only the Chinese inches of those measurements that have been confirmed to be lucky on the *qu-chi* matter and should be testified on the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*.

The following calculation is pure mathematics. See the length of the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* as 1 unit, and the spans of the four lucky Chinese inches are: Wealth (0 – 0.125), Righteousness (0.375 – 0.5), Office (0.5 – 0.625) and Root/Luck (0.875 - 1) (Figure 5-16). So that the measurements that belong to those lucky spans are lucky. It has been stated above that the length of 1 *lu-ban-zhen-chi* is 1.44 times of the length of the *qu-chi* (Figure 5-17). Change the first-round candidate measurements on the *qu-chi* into the ones on the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*: for example, the height 5'7" that is lucky on the *qu-chi* is 3.96 units of the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*, in which the number of the Chinese inches is 0.96 belonging to the Office, so that 5'7" is a lucky measurement on both the *qu-chi* and the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*. Other lucky measurements for a gate in a position of the *kan* trigram are: for a Wealth gate 5'8" (4.03), 5'9" (4.09), 8'7" (6.04) or 8'8" (6.11) in height and 4'4" (3.06) or 4'5" (3.125) in width; for a Righteousness Gate: 7'8" (5.42) or 7'9" (5.49) in height and 3'5" (2.43), 3'6" (2.50), or 9'2" (6.39) in width; for an Office Gate: 6'5" (4.51) in height and 5'2" (3.61), 9'4" (6.53) or 9'5" (6.59) in width; and for a Root/Luck Gate: 5'7" (3.96), 8'5" (5.90) in height and 4'2" (2.92) or 5'6" (3.89) in width (Figure 5-18).

The principle of the method of calculations is that, whatever the proposed measurements of the gate are, they have to be compared firstly on the *qu-chi* by judging the *chi* and *cun* measurements respectively according to the doggerel, then on the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* according the length scale between the two rules. However, because the complex of various interpretations³⁷¹ on the correspondences between the nine stars and the *qu-*

³⁷¹ In the complex of calculations, it is not hard to conclude that the correspondences between the nine stars and the two rules decide the *chi*-white, and that the correspondences between the colours and the *qu-chi* decide the *cun*-white. It has to be clear here that the correspondences between the nine stars and the *cun* on the *qu-chi* or Chinese inch dimensions on the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* are not universally fixed. The correspondences between the colours and the *qu-chi* are considerably stable, for they are clearly recorded in the note of Illustration of the *Qu-chi* in the *LBJ*. As recorded in the *SLGJ* of the early 13th century, the correspondences were: 1st *cun* (the *qu-chi*) – 1st Wealth (the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*) – *Tan-lang*; 2nd *cun* – 2nd Illness – *Po-jun*; 3rd *cun* – 3rd Separation – *Wu-qu*; 4th *cun* – 4th Righteousness – *Ju-men*; 5th *cun* – 5th Office – *Wen-qu*; 6th *cun* – 6th Plunder – *Lian-zhen*; 7th *cun* – 7th Harm – *Lu-cun*; 8th *cun* – 8th Luck/Root – *Fu*; 9th *cun* – *Bi* (the differences from Table 4-2 are marked in grey shades). See Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, pp.98-99; and

chi, in the civilian building trade, the *chi*-white calculation and measurements were gradually neglected and discarded, and only the *cun*-white were remained, which means the measurements with number 1, 6, 8, 9 (3 whites and 1 purple) as the *cun* measurements were considered to be lucky, such as 5 *chi* 6 *cun*, 7 *chi* 8 *cun* and etc, no matter how many *chi* it is. In the Qing period, the Board of Works in the central government provided and regulated a list of 124 lucky measurements for constructive convenience for imperial buildings. Meanwhile, under the strict control on the building hierarchy by the imperial court, the choices of gate sizes are very limited. Gradually, corresponding to both rulers was replaced with only corresponding to the lucky whites on the *cun* measurements. In the *LBJ*, several lucky measurements of gates are listed possibly for convenience, but the calculation and how the two rules worked together were not mentioned:

Whoever constructs a door has to adhere to the method of the foot-rule. In the case of a small one-leaved door the doorway is taken as two *chi* and one *cun* wide. One = White, and on the foot-rule of Ban the measure corresponds to Righteousness.

A one-leaved door of two *chi* and eight *cun* means eight = White, and on Ban's foot-rule it corresponds to Luck.

A two-leaved door must measure four *chi*, three *cun* and one *fen*. This corresponds to four = Green and one = White, and means that the door corresponds to Luck.

A Wealth door must have a width of four *chi*, three *cun* and eight *fen*; this corresponds to Wealth and is favourable.

Klaas Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.90. However, in Chen Yaodong's research on south China's architecture, especially in the south Fujian Province, there is another interpretation on the correspondences: for the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*, the connections are *Tan-lang* – 1st Wealth, *Po-jun* – 2nd Illness, *Wu-qu* – 3rd Separation, *Ju-men* – 4th Righteousness, *Wen-qu* – Office, *Lian-zhen* – Plunder, *Lu-cun* – Harm and *Fu* – Luck/Root (same with ones above in the *SLGJ*); but for the *qu-chi*, the connections (different from the *SLGJ* or Table 4-2) are *Tan-lang* – 1st *cun*, *Ju-men* – 2nd *cun*, *Lu-cun* – 3rd *cun*, *Wen-qu* – 4th *cun*, *Lian-zhen* – 5th *cun*, *Wu-qu* – 6th *cun*, *Po-jun* – 7th *cun*, *Fu* – 8th *cun*, *Bi* – 9th *cun* (the differences from Table 4-2 are marked in grey shades). See Chen Yaodong, *Lu Ban Jing Jiang Jia Jing Yan Jiu*, pp.20, 23-24. These variations in correspondences could completely change the results of lucky *chi* measurements of gates.

A large two-leaved door must have a width of five *chi*, six *cun* and six *fen*; this corresponds to twice White, and the door ends, moreover on Luck.

Nowadays, the carpenters take a doorway four *chi* and two *cun* wide, this corresponds to two = Black, and in Ban's rule the measure ends on Luck. In the case of five *chi* and six *cun* the measurement covers two *fen* of Luck. If one adds six *fen*, the measurement ends just in the middle of Luck; this is most beautiful.

All measurements have to be in keeping with this method. He who never fails on this point is a good carpenter.³⁷²

The method of the 'foot-rule' that is the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* is stressed as the fundamentally significant principle to construct a gate, but in the examples there is not specific explanation on how the method works: 2 *chi* 1 *cun* and 2 *chi* 8 *cun* for single-leaved doors, 4 *chi* 4 *cun* 1 *fen*, 4 *chi* 3 *cun* 8 *fen*, 5 *chi* 6 *cun* 6 *fen*, 4 *chi* 2 *cun*, and 5 *chi* 6 *cun* for double-leaved doors. And the popular doggerel for making gates in Beijing area of the late Qing has nothing to do with constellations or lucky white but much more simple: 5 *chi* 8 *cun* and 2 *chi* 8 *cun*, are more or less the good match to build (a gate)³⁷³. For the domestic building trade, there are merely records, in existent historic documents since the publishing of the earliest *LBJ*, on how the process of the calculation was performed in a real construction. It is very likely that experienced master carpenters, to simplify the calculation, to

³⁷² The original text is '凡人造门，用依尺法也。假如单扇门，小者开二尺一寸，一白，般尺在“义”上。单扇门开二尺八寸在八百，般尺合“吉”上。双扇门者，用四尺三寸一分，合四禄一白，则为本门，在“吉”上。如财门者，用四尺三寸八分，合“财”门吉。大双扇门，用广五尺六寸六分，合两白，又在“吉”上。今时匠人则开门阔四尺二寸，乃为二黑，般尺又在“吉”上。及五尺六寸者，则“吉”上二分，加六分正在吉中，为佳也。皆用依法，百无一失，则为良匠也'。 In the quotation, the 'foot-rule of Ban' is a short form of the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* in Chinese. See Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.82; Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, pp.169-170. In other treatises the length of the *Lu Ban chi* is different from the one recorded in the *LBJ*. For example, in the *SLGJ* of more than 300 years ahead the *lu-ban-chi* is one *chi* and two *cun* on the official rule of the Southern Song when the *SLGJ* was compiled, which was approximately 31 to 32 cm similar to the carpenter's square, the *qu-chi*. The differentiation could be caused by the handwriting errors or hundreds of years' time span. See Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, pp.99-100; Qiu Guangming, *Zhong Guo Li Dai Du Liang Heng Kao*, pp.90-99.

³⁷³ The Chinese text is: '五尺八，二尺八，死活一起搭'. 5 *chi* 8 *cun* is the height, and 2 *chi* 8 *cun* is the width of the gate opening. For more information, see Li Zhen, *Zhong Guo Chuan Tong Jian Zhu Mu Zuo Gong Ju* (Shanghai: Tongji University Press, 2004), p.237.

shorten building period or for any other reasons, found several groups of lucky measurements that had been used regularly and commonly and passed them down to their apprentices. Furthermore, for most important gates that were located in the south like the example given above, there are not many choices of lucky measurements: normally Office Gate and Righteousness Gate cannot be applied to a commoner's dwellings and the general scale of common house gates was strictly regulated by the imperial government in the past. Other conditions such as financial factor and social status of the host also narrow down the choices to two or three lucky measurements that are suitable. It is only natural that, after hundreds of years of building practices, some lucky gate measurements that had been often applied were passed down eventually, especially in the social circle of the commoners and the poor, and the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* is only worshipped. As described in Ruitenbeek's book, by the early 20th century, the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* had eventually become rather a holy symbol of this business to be worshipped rather than a tool to work with³⁷⁴, only collected by a certain privileged number of master carpenters and wrapped in a piece of red cloth. It took 400 years or maybe less for the change of it, from a true rule to measure lucky gates to just a symbol of master carpenters. No doubt what followed from this change was the decline of the practice of building lucky gates and the belief in it.

The Ritual of 'Opening the Wealth Gate'

Nowadays, along with the increasing dense of population and the innovation of architectural modernisation followed the transforms of the living style, in most metropolises in China, the traditional residential

³⁷⁴ According to Derong Kong's study on the Dong people's carpentry, who is my colleague at the University of Sheffield, the ink master (the chief carpenter) he interviewed was not willing to mention anything about the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* at first, then revealed that he could remember some names of the Chinese inches on it, such as Wealth. So it is hard to know if he has a *lu-ban-zhen-chi* which is so sacred that he does not want to show it to others irrelevant or if he really does not own one. But it is confirmed that the Dong carpenters do not use them in constructions nowadays.

courtyards have been replaced by modern concrete multi-storied buildings of flats with cold, unified, and similar gates as their faces. In Beijing, most courtyards in the old quarters that survive in very bad conditions today are on the list of future demolition; only few either are conserved for their historical values or are kept and refurbished as private houses that become the new luxury living mode. The belief in building a house gate is gone, for there is not such a courtyard compound in which such a gate needs to make. However, in some very remote rural area where some old traditions are still kept and valued, making lucky gates with the symbolic *lu-ban-zhen-chi* leave their traces in modern time. Some of the Dong people, living in the Guizhou Province in south China, according to some studies, conserve the ceremony ‘opening the Wealth gate’ of the main hall in the newly built house, performed by the carpenter who has built the gate and a middle-aged articulate man who is considered lucky for having both female and male children³⁷⁵. In the ceremony, the lucky man plays the Wealth deity³⁷⁶ with a *da-lian* bag 褡裢 on his shoulder, standing outside the gate and holding an umbrella; while the carpenter plays master Lu Ban, standing in the main hall inside the gate. Then they sing to each other:

Wealth Deity: It is brightly new in front of the house
host’s gate which is soaked in the glow of the auspicious
clouds. The azure dragon and the white tiger³⁷⁷ guard (the

³⁷⁵ In the Dong culture, the middle-aged men with both female and male children, which is called *er-nv-shuang-quan* 儿女双全, are considered lucky to take a lot of blessing with them and are believed capable to bring luck to others by performing certain rituals in ceremonies.

³⁷⁶ The Wealth Deity, *cai-bo-xing* 财帛星, literally the Star God of Wealth, has several terms for the name in different contexts and areas, such as *cai-shen-ye* 财神爷 and *cai-shen* 财神. Burkhardt considers that the Wealth Deity is the *lu-xing* 禄星, the Emolument Deity or the Star God of Affluence as his translation, in Chinese popular religions. See Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, p.7. However, the Emolument Deity is mentioned in the song by the singer who plays the Wealth Deity, so apparently, they are two different gods at least in this Dong ceremonial context.

³⁷⁷ The azure dragon (*qing-long* 青龙) occupies the left, the east, and the white tiger (*bai-hu* 白虎) the right, the west. For more information, see Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, pp.186-190.

gate) on both sides, and the *zi-wei-xing* star³⁷⁸ highly above shines in the middle.³⁷⁹

Then he gently knocks the door: Heaven returns and Earth spins³⁸⁰. At the favourable time of the auspicious date, (I) come specially to offer (you) the treasure, so please open the Wealth gate.³⁸¹

³⁷⁸ *Zi-wei-xing*, 紫微星, literally purple forbidden star, is well-known today as the North Star or Polaris. The term *zi-wei* is referred to *zi-wei-yuan* 紫微垣 (the Purple Forbidden Enclosure or Purple Palace Enclosure translated by Hok-lam Chan), a group of stars in the ancient Chinese constellations system, the middle one of the three enclosures (the other two are the *tai-wei-yuan* 太微垣, the Supreme Palace enclosure or Privy Council Enclosure and the *tian-shi-yuan* 天市垣, the Heavenly Market enclosure or Celestial Markets Enclosure, translated by Hok-lam Chan). See Hok-lam Chan, *Legends of the Building of Old Peking* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2008), pp.16-17. The three enclosures together with the twenty-eight mansions (二十八宿) have formed the ancient Chinese constellation map. As a term of Chinese astrology, the *zi-wei-yuan* enclosure is considered to be the residential and administrative palace of Heaven God (*tian-di* 天帝, Heaven), just like the one in the human world for the son of Heaven, only more elaborate. There are 39 star deities/officers of the *zi-wei-yuan* enclosure, some of them referring to one star, some to a group of several. And *zi-wei-xing* star belongs to the Officer Northern Pole of five, representing *tian-di*, the Heaven God, others representing the crown prince, other princes, the imperial harem, and the *tian-shu* (天枢, one star of the Big Dipper, a Chinese inch on the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* rule is tied up with it). The term *zi-wei-xing* is not often seen in the ancient Chinese astronomical sources but widely used in astrological and *feng-shui* geomancy. About the Heaven God, in both Chinese and English translations, there are many terms for it, which will appear in this thesis, such as *tian* 天 (Heaven), *tian-di* 天帝 (Heaven God), *shang-di* 上帝 (High Sovereign), *hao-tian-shang-di* 昊天上帝 (Grand Heaven God), and *yu-huang-da-di* 玉皇大帝 (Jade Emperor). These terms, in different religious contexts (early Shang cosmos, Confucianism, Daoism, popular religions and so forth), are all referred to the same god figure and to the terms *zi-wei-yuan* and *zi-wei-xing*. Please refer to Glossary if necessary. For more information on the three enclosures, see Ding Miansun, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Tian Wen Li Fa Ji Chu Zhi Shi* (Tianjin: Tianjin Ancient Books Publishing House, 1989), pp.169-202. For more information on the origins of *shang-di*, see *Sources of Chinese Tradition: from earliest times to 1600* William ed. by WM. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom (Columbia University Press, 2000), p.27.

³⁷⁹ The Chinese text is: ‘财帛星：主家前景象新，霞光瑞霭罩门庭，青龙白虎两边护，中间高照紫微星’. See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su* (Guiyang: Guizhou People’s Publishing, 1997), p.191.

³⁸⁰ It is a straight literal translation for 天回地转, which actually describes the cycle changes in sky and on earth – the alternation of day and night and the seasonal changes in a year – and indicates that the time flies.

³⁸¹ The Chinese text is: ‘天回地转，吉日良辰，特来献宝，请开财门’. See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.191.

Lu Ban: Outside the gold gate that is built with the gold axe, who is there? It is not opened easily unless the guests come from Heaven.³⁸²

Wealth Deity: (I) will not come for nothing. I am the Wealth Deity in Heaven.³⁸³

Lu Ban: What are you coming for?³⁸⁴

Wealth Deity: I am here to open the Wealth gate for the house master.³⁸⁵

Lu Ban: What cap do you wear and what robe do you dress? What belt is around your waist and what shoes are your feet in?³⁸⁶

Wealth Deity: I wear the black-yarn cap over my head, the purple dragon robe wrapping my body, the gold-jade belt around my waist, and the dragon-phoenix shoes on my feet.³⁸⁷

Lu Ban: Do you come via land or waterway? How many mountains do you climb over and how many rivers and lakes do you wade across?³⁸⁸

Wealth Deity: I go via neither land nor waterway. The mountains cannot be seen and the shores of the endless water are nowhere to reach (while I am travelling) over clouds and through mist.³⁸⁹

³⁸² The Chinese text is: ‘鲁班：金斧造金门，门外是何人？除非天上客，不得乱开门’。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.191.

³⁸³ The Chinese text is: ‘无事不登门，我乃天上财帛星’。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.191.

³⁸⁴ The Chinese text is: ‘你来有何事’。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.191.

³⁸⁵ The Chinese text is: ‘我来主家开财门’。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.191.

³⁸⁶ The Chinese text is: ‘你头戴什么帽，身穿什么衣？腰捆什么带，脚穿什么鞋’。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.191.

³⁸⁷ The Chinese text is: ‘我头戴乌纱帽，身穿紫龙袍，腰缠金玉带，脚踏龙凤鞋’。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.191.

³⁸⁸ The Chinese text is: ‘你从旱路来，或从水路来？翻了几道岭，过了几道滩’。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.191.

³⁸⁹ The Chinese text is: ‘旱路我不走，水路我不行，腾云驾雾不见岭，大水茫茫不见滩’。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.191.

Wealth Deity asks back: Where are you from and what is your name? On what day what month and what year were you born? Which gate did the house master ask you to make?³⁹⁰

Lu Ban: I am from the Lu State in the Spring and Autumn Period. Gongshu is the surname and Ban is the first name. (I was) born on the 7th of the fifth month of the *ren-si* 壬巳 year. And I am here especially to build the Wealth gates.³⁹¹

Wealth Deity: How long in total are the four sides of the frame of the Wealth gate?³⁹²

Lu Ban: (It must be) 1 *zhang* 6 *chi* and 6 *cun*³⁹³, so that (the family) will not worry about food and clothes.³⁹⁴

Wealth Deity: What is the measure of the height of the gate? What is the measure of the width of the gate? Where on the gate to chisel the hole? What is the measure of the gate bolt? What is waited to come out? And who unlocks the bolt?³⁹⁵

Lu Ban: The gate is 5 *chi* and 6 *cun* high and 4 *chi* and 3 *cun* wide. The hole is at the 4 *chi* and 3 *cun*. And the latch is 4 *fen* and 8 *li*. (We) only wait until the sun comes up from the

³⁹⁰ The Chinese text is: ‘你是何方人氏，姓甚名谁？哪年哪月哪日生？主家要你做哪门’。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, pp.191-192.

³⁹¹ Here the birthday of Lu Ban is different from the one celebrated in the Han Chinese culture which is the 13th day of the sixth month of the Chinese calendar. See Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, p.174. The Chinese text is: ‘我乃春秋鲁国人，公输为姓般为名，壬巳年五月七日生，专在这里造财门’。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.192.

³⁹² The Chinese text is: ‘财门四角枋，总共有多长’。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.192.

³⁹³ 1 *zhang* = 10 *chi*. 1 *zhang* 6 *chi* 6 *cun* approximately equals to 5.48 metre.

³⁹⁴ The Chinese text is: ‘一丈六尺六，吃穿不用愁’。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.192.

³⁹⁵ It is not mentioned in the song where is the accurate position to chisel the hole. 4 *chi* and 3 *cun*, approximately 1.4 metres, could be the height from the bottom to the position of the hole, but it is not certain. The Chinese text is: ‘门高几尺几？几尺几寸宽？几尺几寸凿门眼？几尺几寸安门闩？要等什么出？什么人开栓’。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.192.

east, (when) the wife of the house master will unlock the bolt.³⁹⁶

Lu Ban asks back: How many bays does the Heaven River have along its coasts? How many shoals does the Milky Way have along its shores? Which deities are playing chess? Which deity is making the alchemic panaceas? Which deity is sitting with crossed legs? Which deity cannot stop laughing? By whose house gate did you pass? And how many places wet and how many dry?³⁹⁷

Wealth Deity: There are nine bays along the Heaven River. There are nine shoals along the Milky Way. The Luck Deity and the Emolument Deity are playing chess. The Grand Supreme Elderly Lord is making the alchemic panaceas. The Mercy Goddess is sitting with her legs crossed. The two deities of peace and happiness are always laughing. I passed by the gate of the Longevity Deity's and there are three places wet and three dry.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁶ The Chinese text is: '门高五尺六，宽有四尺三，四尺三寸开门眼，四分八厘做门闩。只等东方日出，主家媳妇开门闩'。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.192.

³⁹⁷ In Chinese literature, there are many terms for the Milky Way, and the Heaven River is one of them. See Ding Miansun, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Tian Wen Li Fa Ji Chu Zhi Shi*, pp.218-229. The Chinese text is: '天河岸边几个湾？银河岸边几个滩？什么仙人在下棋？什么仙人在炼丹？什么仙人盘脚坐？什么仙人笑连天？你从哪家门前过？几处湿来几处干'。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.192.

³⁹⁸ All the deities are universal in Chinese culture, not special ones for the Dong people. The Luck Deity, the Emolument Deity and the Longevity Deity are three Daoist deifications 福禄寿三星, always mentioned and appearing in drawings together, very popular in folk religions, each with several other names in different cultural contexts. The Longevity Deity has names the Old Man of the South Pole (南极老人), the Star of the Old Man (老人星), the Star of Old Age (寿星), and the Star of the Man of the Old Age (寿星老). The Grand Supreme Elderly Lord is the name of the Univerally Honoured Virtuous One in popular religions, who actually is one of the Three Pure Ones (the Daoist Trinity) 三清, the three highest Gods in the Daoist pantheon. Laozi 老子, the founder of the Daoism, is regarded as the incarnation of the God. The Mercy Goddess, a bodhisattva of Buddhism, originated as the Sanskrit, is well revered by the Chinese and Daoists as an immortal, but in Daoism the goddess has different origination stories from the Buddhist ones. See Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, pp.7-8, 13-14. For the two deities of peace and happiness, see Eberhard, *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: hidden symbols in Chinese life and thought*, pp.142-143. The Chinese text is: '天河岸边九个湾，银河岸边九个滩；福禄星君在下棋，太上老君在炼丹；观音老母盘脚坐，和合二仙笑连天；我从寿星门前过，三处湿来三处干'。See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.192.

Lu Ban: Do (you) know who comes forward? Who walks in the middle? Who has just come? Please tell me straight forward.³⁹⁹

Wealth Deity: In the front is the *Zi-wei* Star shining, and *Wen-qu* and *Wu-qu* Stars are in the middle. Today it is I that have just come. And I am telling you straight forward now.⁴⁰⁰

Lu Ban: Who are (you) taking in the front? What are (you) taking in the back? And what are (you) taking on the left and right? Please tell me in detail.⁴⁰¹

Wealth Deity: (I am) taking five boys and two girls in the front (of me), house-full gold and jade in the back, the enormous wealth on the left, and the fulfilled barns of grains on the right. I am here today in order to congratulate and bring the house family blessing and good health.⁴⁰²

Lu Ban: What presents do you bring in your hands?⁴⁰³

Wealth Deity: Gold in one hand and silver in the other.⁴⁰⁴

Lu Ban: Since it is the Wealth Deity coming, I will open the Wealth gate.⁴⁰⁵

Master Lu Ban unlocks the bolt, and the Wealth Deity pushes the two door leaves open with both hands.

Wealth Deity: I open the two door leaves with both hands, one door leaf (with the hand holding) gold and one door leaf

³⁹⁹ The Chinese text is: ‘不知哪位走上前? 不知哪位走中间? 不知哪位刚来到? 请你对我来直言’. See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.192.

⁴⁰⁰ The Chinese text is: ‘前有紫微来高照, 中有文曲武曲星, 今日是我刚来到, 如今对你来直言’. See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.192.

⁴⁰¹ The Chinese text is: ‘前头带的哪几样? 后头带的哪几行? 左右带的是什么? 请你对我说端详’. See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.192.

⁴⁰² The Chinese text is: ‘前头带的五男和二女, 后头带的金玉满屋堂。左带财源滚滚, 右带陈谷满仓。我今特意来恭贺, 恭贺主家福安康’. See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.192.

⁴⁰³ The Chinese text is: ‘你手中带的事什么礼’. See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.192.

⁴⁰⁴ The Chinese text is: ‘一手提金, 一手提银’. See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.192.

⁴⁰⁵ The Chinese text is: ‘既是财帛星君来, 我把财门开’. See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.192.

(with the hand holding) silver. The gold rooster crows when (I open with my) left hand and the phoenix sings when (I open with my) right hand. Thousands of pieces of treasure come along with my left foot stepping in, and tens of thousands of *hu* 斛⁴⁰⁶ of silver follow with my right foot stepping in. Congratulations to the house family: prosperous offspring and wealth, happiness being seen (when) opening the gate, and flourishing for thousands of generations.⁴⁰⁷

After they have sang, the Wealth Deity is welcome into the hall and offered food and drinks. That Lu Ban and the Wealth Deity, facing each other at the gate, one inside the gate representing the gate builder and one outside representing the auspiciousness that wishes to come in, sing the song, is the core of the entire opening ceremony. It is not known if they are dressed like their characters that they play. They question each other to identify: as the Wealth Deity, he must dress properly, travel in proper ways, know well about other deities, and bring wealthy gifts; as the carpenter who has built it, he must know that it is a Wealth gate that he has made and the precise measures of it, and the favourable time to open it. The measurements of the Wealth gate are the key for the Deity to confirm that the inside one is the carpenter, has built the right gate and has the right to block him. In other words, a good carpenter must master the lucky measurements of gates, which is essential for making gates. And ‘Lu Ban’ must make sure that it is the Wealth Deity that has come to open the gate with right gifts, which emphasises again the lucky threshold. In the songs, the importance of having double door leaves are clearly and strongly emphasised: the spatial concepts of the left and right, the east and west (azure dragon and white tiger) are stressed and transferred into the ceremonial moment and gestures of the Wealth Deity pushing the door leaves and stepping over the threshold. For a newly built house, the first

⁴⁰⁶ The *hu* was an implement in ancient China to measure grains and other food products.

⁴⁰⁷ The Chinese text is: ‘双手推开两扇门，一扇金来一扇银。左手开门金鸡叫，右手开门凤凰鸣。左脚踏进千宗宝，右脚带进万斛银。恭贺主家，人财两发，开门见喜，万代兴隆’。 See Fu Anhui and Yu Dazhong, *Jiu Zhai Min Su*, p.193. The entire song is translated by Bing Jiang.

time of opening the main gate is marked by this ceremony, indicating not only that the gate is the threshold it is through which that luck, wealth and harmony come to the family from then on, but also that the opening ritual is the threshold that brings the piece of newly built architecture to its symbolic functions of being a threshold between the human world and the spiritual one. The house is in use after the ceremony even though other decorative construction is still carried on for a couple of days.

The rituals of opening the Wealth Gate vary from location to location. For the Buyi⁴⁰⁸ people, a piece of red cloth must be nailed over the gate during the ritual, which is believed to bring in a great fortune⁴⁰⁹.

Although it is not known if the contents of the song are changed when it comes to initially opening other types of gates such as the Luck/Root gates or when the measurements of the gates are different, the ceremony ties up the gate with significant symbolic meanings. The opening gate ceremony is furthermore a ritual threshold that brings the gate and the entire house alive, symbolising the start of new life inside the gate and the inseparable connection between the house and the family, but also shares the value with people in the community and announces the new household to the whole village.

Other Collections and Translations

During centuries, there have been many versions and types of the ruler before the 20th century, some described in words, some illustrated, and only a few real existing ones made in the very late imperial time. As many versions of it as possible are collected and translated here chronologically

⁴⁰⁸ 布依族.

⁴⁰⁹ Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo Men Wen Hua*, p.258.

for the convenience of future studies. In the *GDYZL* of the late 18th century, the ruler is named the *ba-zi-chi* 八字尺, ‘Eight-Symbol Ruler’⁴¹⁰.

The uniqueness about the ruler is how it is defined in terms of the cosmology of auspiciousness, fate and timing rather than with dimension as a normal ruler, and how it worked as a symbol of fortune rather than as a real measuring tool, which is why the length of it was neither standardised nor, according to old documents and literature, recorded directly, but scaled to the length of construction rulers (*ying-zao-chi* 营造尺) of certain dynasties. The scales were very necessary at the beginning and helped to apply the ruler without any dimension marks whatsoever to real gate constructions. 1.2 times and 1.44 times lengths of the construction ruler standardised by the imperial government are the most common scales of all. However, fixed scales do not mean fixed lengths, for the lengths of construction rulers varied. Every newly born imperial power eagerly re-established a system of measurement standards which were normally rigidly applied to imperial buildings such as palaces and temples, but for many vernacular constructions in vast country like China the flexibility was in the hands of craftsmen, and collections of rulers from different dynasties have proved it⁴¹¹. Besides, it is still vague even if construction rules belonged to the standardised system. A small piece of doggerel for each Chinese inch reveals titles such as Wealth, Illness, Separation, Righteousness, Office, Plunder, Harm and Root.

The earliest known documentary and historical notice of the ruler is recorded in the *SLGJ* by Chen Yuanliang 陈元靓 around the second half of the 13th century, called *lu-ban-chi-fa* 鲁般尺法, the ruler rule of Lu Ban, one Chinese foot being divided into eight Chinese inches. It does

⁴¹⁰ Li Dou, the *GDYZL*, in the *Yangzhou Hua Fang Lu*, 2nd edition, vol.17, p.411. Trans. by Bing Jiang.

⁴¹¹ For more information on types of ruler collections, see Qiu Guangming, *Zhong Guo Li Dai Du Liang Heng Kao*.

not mention if those Chinese inches were equal in measure, but the illustration confirms that they were. There are four notes on the rule:

The Ruler Rule of Lu Ban (Figure 5-19): In the book *Huai Nan Zi*⁴¹² 淮南子, Lu Ban 鲁般, or Gongshu Ban 公输般, from the State Chu was an artful and skilful craftsman, who could make Cloud Ladders⁴¹³ (*yun-ti*, 云梯). His ruler is 1.2 times long of the official/standard one⁴¹⁴, divided into eight Chinese inches with character marks, Wealth (*cai* 财), Illness (*bing* 病), Separation (*li* 离), Righteousness (*yi* 义), Office (*guan* 官), Plunder (*jie* 劫), Harm (*hai* 害) and Auspiciousness (*ji* 吉). Those are connected with the seven stars of the Big Dipper and another star called *fu* (辅 literally assistant). The usage is measuring from Wealth, ignoring the measurements on Chinese foot and *zhang*⁴¹⁵, and only taking the ones on auspicious Chinese inches to apply, so that it will be lucky when the measurements meet the lucky stars, and that it will be ominous when they meet the ominous stars. Since the ancient time up to now, following the rule of the measurements in official, public and private building projects is the root and always auspicious, especially when building gates and doors. There is another ruler similar, 1.1 times long of the official/standard ruler, divided into long and short Chinese inches (in other words, it was divided into unequal-length Chinese inches), with the last inch character as Root (*ben* 本) instead of Auspiciousness (*ji* 吉). However, just like weighing the millet seeds in the instrument that can make the sound of *huang-zhong* key⁴¹⁶, there are no long or short

⁴¹² For more information, see Yang Lihui, An Deming and Jessica Turner, *Handbook of Chinese Mythology* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2005), pp.10-11.

⁴¹³ The ladders that were used in wars to reach the height of city walls in ancient China.

⁴¹⁴ The original text for the 'official/standard ruler' is 官尺, *guan-chi*, which, in some other contexts, could mean the same one as construction ruler 营造尺, *ying-zao-chi*. Both of them were regulated and standardised by the central imperial government. According to archaeological discoveries, one foot on most of rulers of the Song dynasty (960-1279) is no longer than 32 centimetres, so that it makes the Lu Ban ruler approximately 38.4 centimetres long as 0.2 times longer. See Qiu Guangming, *Zhong Guo Li Dai Du Liang Heng Kao*, pp.90-99.

⁴¹⁵ *Zhang*, 丈, is a Chinese length unit. Ten Chinese feet equals one *zhang* (three and one third metres).

⁴¹⁶ The relationship between millet seeds 黍 and the *huang-zhong*-sound instrument 黄钟律 refers to the origins of ancient weight-measuring utensils: it was found out that the instrument that could make the sound of *huang-zhong* key happened to contain exact 1,200

measurements on *fen*⁴¹⁷, Chinese inch, Chinese foot, or *zhang* according the rule for the latter ruler. So nowadays people use the former one much more frequently⁴¹⁸.

The Sample of the Ruler⁴¹⁹: (Figure 5-19).

Fixing the Rule by Using the Ruler: the measurement of one Chinese inch corresponds to the White Star and Wealth, the measurement of six Chinese inches corresponds to White and Righteousness, that of one Chinese feet and six Chinese inches to White Wealth, that of two Chinese feet and one Chinese inch to White Auspiciousness, that of three Chinese feet and six Chinese inches to White and Righteousness, that of five Chinese feet and six Chinese inches to White and Auspiciousness, that of seven Chinese feet and one Chinese inch to White and Auspiciousness, that of seven Chinese feet and eight Chinese inches to White and Righteousness, that of eight Chinese feet and eight Chinese inches to White and Auspiciousness, and that of one *zhang* and one Chinese inch to White and Wealth. More similar (lucky) measurements can be predicted and counted accordingly⁴²⁰.

The Doggerel of the Lu Ban Ruler: The eight stars were rarely known (before) they have been arranged to correspond to Heaven and Earth⁴²¹. The harmonious *yin* and *yang* necessarily depend on the (landscape of) mountain and water,

millet seeds, so the measure of the instrument became a standard and the very basic unit for weight-measuring implements invented later.

⁴¹⁷ *Fen*, 分, is a Chinese length unit. Ten *fen* equals one Chinese inch.

⁴¹⁸ The original text is: ‘鲁般尺法: (淮南子曰) 鲁般即公输般, 楚人也, 乃天下之巧士, 能作云梯之械。其尺也以官尺一尺二寸为准, 均分为八寸, 其文曰财曰病曰离曰义曰官曰劫曰害曰吉, 乃北斗中七星与辅星主之。用尺之法从财字量起, 虽一丈十丈皆不论, 但于丈尺之内量取吉寸, 用之遇吉星则吉, 遇凶星则凶。亘古及今, 公私造作、大小方直, 皆本乎。是作门尤宜仔细。又有以官尺一尺一寸而分作长短寸者, 但改吉字作本字, 其余并同。然而黄钟积黍之法, 其为分为寸为尺为丈, 即无长短之说。今人多只用一尺二寸者为法’。 See Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, p.98. Trans. by Bing Jiang.

⁴¹⁹ The original text is: ‘造尺样范’。 See Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, pp.98-99.

⁴²⁰ The original text is: ‘用尺定法: 一寸合白星与财, 六寸合白又合义, 一尺六寸合白财, 二尺一寸合白义, 二尺八寸合白吉, 三尺六寸合白义, 五尺六寸合白吉, 七尺一寸合白吉, 七尺八寸合白义, 八尺八寸合白吉, 一丈一寸合白财。推而上之筭一同’。 See Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, p.99.

⁴²¹ The original texts for Heaven and Earth are the *Qian* and *Kun* out of the Eight Trigrams which apparently represent Heaven and Earth respectively.

and half the causes of calamities and fortunes come from gates and doors.⁴²²

The Wealth Gate, is also called the Heaven Gate: the Wealth gate brings in a great fortune, and it can be seen by one's own eyes that the amount of gold and silver increase every day. Everything goes extremely well and the number of six domestic animals is increasing. The happiness and wealth are so prosperous in this family.⁴²³

The Illness Gate, is also called the Bitterness Gate: making an Illness gate can bring illness in (the family). The servants and maids will all die and the family is completely broken down. There is no chance to keep wife and children alive, even though (one) exorcises (the evil/illness) to the east and west right away.⁴²⁴

The Separation Gate, is also called the Ominous Gate: a gate built according to Separation leads to separation. No matter whether men or women do not come back from trips, married couples will be apart eventually. Moreover (one) will be troubled with official affairs.⁴²⁵

The Righteousness Gate, is also called the Appropriate Gate: there will be (good morals of) filial piety and righteousness and as well the happy atmosphere in the family if a Righteousness gate is built. It must be believed that top level scholars⁴²⁶ will be born (in the family) because of (the

⁴²² The original text is: ‘鲁般尺诗: 八位星辰世罕闻, 古今排定合乾坤, 阴阳未必全山水, 祸福由来半在门’. See Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, p.99.

⁴²³ The original text is: ‘财门, 一名天门: 财门开者便多财, 自见金银日日来, 万事皆和增六畜, 家中福祿甚荣哉’. See Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, p.99.

⁴²⁴ The original text is: ‘病门, 一名冤门: 病门开者能招病, 婢走奴亡家已尽, 急改向东及向西, 庶几可保妻儿命’. See Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, p.99.

⁴²⁵ The original text is: ‘离门, 一名凶门: 离门开者主分离, 男女潜游不见归, 夫妇终须相别去, 更兼公事闷依依’. See Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, p.100.

⁴²⁶ In the original text, it is 状元, the *optimus* in Elman's translation, the first rank talent through the final examination, the triennial metropolitan examination, held and graded by the emperor himself. For more information on imperial civil service examinations in China, see Huang Lihong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, p.25; Benjamin Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*, pp.133-134, 153-154, 157-158, 162, 180, 290, 313, 428-429, 739.

gate). And everything is harmonious with all five kinds of happiness.⁴²⁷

The Office Gate, is also called the Glory Gate: one will be happily offered a post if an Office gate is made. The officials love to have them. The commoners should not have them and Buddhist monks and nuns are forbidden to use them. Anyone that breaks the rule (above) is always defeated in lawsuits.⁴²⁸

The Plunder Gate, is also called the Decadence Gate: one that has a Plunder gate (at home) is most likely robbed and get injured or (even) killed with no fields left. The whole house is shrouded with calamities and the wife will have a stillborn child. Moreover, (one) will be bothered with endless (unwanted) official affairs.⁴²⁹

The Harm Gate, is also called the Hapless Gate: Harms and calamities are brought in by having a Harm gate. Fights and scuffles continue (in the family) until the family breaks down and collapses. Millions of field estates are (forced to) be sold.⁴³⁰

The Auspicious Gate, is also called the Peace Gate: There are never going to be calamities where an Auspiciousness gate is built. Precious treasures and wealth are flourishing. Offspring are prosperous and (well) educated (to be elites). All things planned are going well, smoothly and successfully^{431 432}.

The second diagrammatic content⁴³³ of the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* is recorded in files of the Building Office of the Board of Works 工部营造 in the Qing

⁴²⁷ The original text is: ‘义门，一名宜门：义门开者出孝义，又主门阑多喜气，须信状元从此来，作事和谐五福备’。See Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, p.100.

⁴²⁸ The original text is: ‘官门，一名荣门：官门开者喜加官，仕宦逢之乃喜欢，庶人莫用僧尼忌，犯着时时讼事关’。See Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, p.100.

⁴²⁹ The original text is: ‘劫门，一名殃门：劫门开者恐遭劫，殴打死去田业，宅舍多灾妻产亡，更兼公事不宁帖’。See Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, p.100.

⁴³⁰ The original text is: ‘害门，一名衰门：害门开者招灾害，相斗相殴家道败，公方重惹为君愁，万万田庄皆典卖’。See Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, p.100.

⁴³¹ The original text is: ‘吉门，一名安门：吉门开者永无凶，珍宝钱财是事丰，子息昌荣皆习读，谋为万事尽亨通’。See Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, p.100.

⁴³² Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, Vol 6, pp.98-100. Trans. by Bing Jiang.

⁴³³ Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.84; Niu Xiaoting, Wang Fenghu, and Zhu Changling, ‘Lu Ban Chi Tan Jiu’, *The Journal of Furniture*, 05 (2006); He Junshou, ‘Men Guang Chi Xi

dynasty around the 18th century, a real object now in the Palace Museum, made of brass, 46cm long. It was officially authorised as the standard gate ruler throughout the Qing period by the imperial government, and its content is much more concrete and detailed in heights and widths than the one described in the *LBJ*. Moreover each Chinese inch out of the eight has been interpreted specifically in phrases and poems. And the corresponding colours and stars are different from the ones in the *LBJ*. There is one recorded in the *YZSS* similar to that:

To fit a door according to the way of the Dark Maiden of the Nine Heavens, one takes the measurements using the foot-rule of the Dark Maiden. (In this method,) each foot is only somewhat over nine inches long, and divided into eight parts, named Wealth, Illness, Separation, Righteousness, Office, Plunder, Harm and Root. The length of the inches of this foot-rule is not equal. Only the combination of a door ending on Root with a door ending on Wealth is most favourable. A door ending on Righteousness may only be fitted in places where righteousness is concentrated, such as monasteries and schools. A door ending on Office may only be used where doors ending on Root and Wealth may be fitted. When combined they are most favourable.

In general, as far as the method of measuring is concerned, one always follows the technique transmitted by the carpenters. Practitioners should base their standard on the measurements of the *Lu Ban Jing*.⁴³⁴

There are many other versions of this magic ruler, perhaps named differently and used differently, some even with unequalised eight inches, which will be a persuasive field to work on.

Conclusion

The Chinese took serious care of their gates, both in making a symbolic tool for building a correct gate/door, and in performing the elaborate gate

Zheng', pp.26-27; Li Zheyang and Wang Dan, 'Lu Ban Chi Fei Zhi Liang Men Ke Yong', p.6.

⁴³⁴ Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, pp.174-175.

sacrifices at the right time of the year. The vital fate-influenced importance of having a harmonious gate, as a traditional value in the society for centuries, seems to have drawn much more attention than it is allotted to other parts of a building. Undoubtedly in the Chinese mind the appearances of gates and doors were tightly tied up with the fate and future of the family, clan or empire, which are essentially influenced and to some extent decided by the relationships of Heaven, Earth and human beings, the three fundamental concepts of the Chinese cosmos. For the thorough and complete communications with the other two in order to achieve the harmony of the three, the Chinese sacrificed to gates and worshipped them as the intermediary and the passage that not only connect spatially the inside life of the family within the courtyard compound with the outside world of society, but also link the spiritual world and the world of the living. The symbolic *lu-ban-zhen-chi* was invented to meet the need of communication, which meant that building a gate was not just a constructive activity but became symbolically significant to the carpenters, to the family, to the neighbourhood, and to society in general. Just like the carpenter's version of the geomancer's compass, the gate is the micro-model of Chinese cosmos, containing the thoughts and information on how to deal with nature harmoniously: the lucky and unlucky Chinese inches, the corresponding constellations with the magic square and so forth. It is not just a measure of the gates, but also 'measures' the house guarded by the gates, and 'measures' the household and its values. This changes the meanings of gates completely. In this context, when building or 'designing' a gate, compared to the Orders of Greek Classical Columns in which the western harmony of aesthetic views is embedded, the Chinese 'orders' for gates have, by no parallel, nothing to do with visual aesthetics at any level, except that the measurements of gates should fit in with the universal *Dao* of nature (the way the nature runs, the *yin* and the *yang*, the movement of sun and moon and so forth), and that the sacrifice to gate/door should be performed properly and timed correctly, or that the decorations should be proper and

good enough to bring wealth and good fortune⁴³⁵. So it is not that hard to understand that the compilers of the *LBJ* took some considerably large proportion of their text just to plant the idea that uneven door-leaves leads to husband and wife not getting along⁴³⁶ and to all sorts of other misfortunes (Figure 5-20).

How well and often the magic ruler was (or perhaps 'is') used in carpentry is now the concentration of future work. If the gate constructions associated with the magic ruler had reached the peak in one or more periods in the past, the perspectives on the ancient planning and layouts of the streets in cities, towns and villages could be completely different from the current. In order to investigate, it requests the principle surveys of traditional domestic dwellings that are missing gradually and rapidly, in which the difficulties and obstruction shown in the demolishment of Beijing city gates recorded in Wang Jun's *Cheng Ji* are only a tip of iceberg.

⁴³⁵ And of course, the 'orders' were also framed in the imperial regulations on gates, which were deeply rooted in the *li*, the Confucian ideal of how society should be organised.

⁴³⁶ The full doggerel translated by Klaas Ruitenbeek is: 'If the door leaves are askew, husband and wife cannot get along. The family property is dispersed constantly, and what is worse, the family members plan to desert.' (In Chinese, '门扇或斜欹, 夫妇不相宜, 家财常耗散, 更防人谋欺'.) However, the last sentence is not translated accurately, but should be 'the family members are inevitably bullied by others'. See Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.278; *Hui Tu Lu Ban Jing*, ed. by Pu Shizhao, p.29.

Chapter 6

The Obsession with Pivot: Gates of the City and Imperial Palace

In Chinese architecture, a dwelling, a small temple, or a yamen can be seen as a miniature of the grand palace city of the emperor, the extreme expression of all the values and beliefs that the miniatures are intended to show, technically and philosophically. The gates of Beijing, in late imperial times, reached the peak in both constructional sophistication and religious significance.

The earliest historical record⁴³⁷ of Beijing city was recorded in an essay *Yue Ji* (the Record of Yue) of the book *LJ*, in which the city was named Ji

⁴³⁷ The text is ‘King Wu, after the victory over Yin, Proceeded to (the capital of) Shang; and before he descended from his chariot he invested the descendants of Huang Di with Ji.’ (武王克殷反商，未及下车而封黄帝之后于蓟) Huang Di, the Yellow Emperor, is one legendary sovereign of the Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors 三皇五帝, whose reign is believed to have stretched from around 2,700 to 2,600 BCE.

薊⁴³⁸ by King Wu of the Western Zhou around 1,000 BCE, which was one of the Western Zhou's feudatories, and also the name of the capital of Ji feudatory. 'In the place where Peking now stands there has been a city for three thousand years.'⁴³⁹ And the site of today's Beijing, as their capital, has not changed under the last three empires before New China from the 13th century onwards. And the physical layout in the last two, the Ming and Qing dynasties, was kept before the city walls and some of the gates were demolished during 1950s and 1960s⁴⁴⁰ to build modern ring roads and underground system.

In ancient Rome, the Porta Triumphalis, symbolically the city gate, which was not the primitive Roman passage but derived from the Etruscan civilization of three sacred gates and rites⁴⁴¹, was erected, instead of the

⁴³⁸The term Ji afterwards has been used to name different prefectures or counties in this area by different imperial governments in the following 2,000 years. After Ji, Beijing area had been the capital of provinces or states occasionally from the Qin Empire to Tang (907 CE). Until Liao, a dynasty known as Khitan Empire ruled by the nomadic peoples from the north China, Beijing became the southern capital in the central Jin, another empire ruled by an ethnic minority from the north. For the two empires that were built in the northern part of China, Beijing was the best choice to be the southern or middle fortress due to its military position. See Hou Renzhi and Deng Hui, *Beijing Cheng De Qi Yuan Yu Bian Qian* (Beijing: Beijing Yanshan Press, 1997), p.22.

⁴³⁹ Issac Taylor Headland, *Court Life in Chin: the capital, its officials and people*, *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)* < <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail?sid=d9ff078b-a84d-44c4-a63d-065d5aa2a5f0%40sessionmgr111&vid=1&hid=123&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=nlebk&AN=2009469>> [accessed 11 Nov 2010], p.107. Here 'Peking' is the Wade-Giles form for Beijing as in *pin-yin*. See Appendix 2.

⁴⁴⁰ Some of the Inner City gates were ruined between 1900 and 1930, either in war or for road constructions, such as the moon city of the Zheng-yang Gate in 1915, the watch tower of the Chong-wen Gate in 1900, the watch tower of the Xuan-wu Gate from 1920 to 1921, the moon city of the Chao-yang Gate in 1915, the moon city and watch tower of the Dong-zhi Gate in 1915 and 1927 respectively, and the moon city and watch tower of the De-sheng Gate in 1915 and 1921 respectively. For more information on the Outer City gates, see Wang Jun, *Cheng Ji* (Shenghuo Dushu Xinzhishi Sanlian Bookstore, 2003), pp.314-316.

⁴⁴¹ Upon the Porta Triumphalis and the Etruscan's obligation of constructing three sacred gates and rites, there have been a great many studies and monographs. A simplified summary is given here, according to Versnel's monograph *Triumphus*, which could help give a general background. Versnel argues that *porta*, first of all, means 'city-gate', and indicates that concretely or symbolically, even though the Porta Triumphalis is unlikely ever to have formed part of the walls of Rome. The Porta Triumphalis, as Mrs. Adams Holland and Versnel point out, may have become a permanent fixture for repeated uses so it must have doors that can be closed. So the Porta Triumphalis was an independent piece

‘*ianus geminus*’⁴⁴², to function as a giver or taker of the *mana* of the warrior that ‘manifests itself in strength and courage, especially in fortune and success’⁴⁴³. The comprehension and belief in the connections between the Porta Triumphalis and the *mana*, the sacred gates and rites are fascinating, which indicate the profound cosmologies of the Romans and the Etruscans. And this kind of belief and worship of gates has not been observed and studied overall in the field of Chinese architecture. According to the classical sense of the architectural term in China, gate refers to the sequential entrances of a typical dwelling with one or more courtyards opened in the walls or just simple door leaves of a building. The city gates were considered part of the larger scale of a city of ‘courtyards’ – the outer city, the inner city, the imperial city, the Forbidden City, take Beijing for example – as one of a series of threshold. The Chinese gate has never been interpreted as simply an entry, as implied by the static terminology of architecture.

of architecture, a ‘city-gate’ that was opened to offer the passage through which a Roman general, who was celebrating a triumph, passed at the beginning of his return. And this passing rite had to be performed by a victor (the victor is Wagenvoort’s opinion cited in Versnel, *Triumphus*, p.153) that the word *triumphalis*’s meaning indicates, ‘because he, more than anyone else, was loaded with the *mana* of the defeated enemies, which was dangerous and for this reason had to be drained off (by the Porta) before his entry into the city’ (Versnel, *Triumphus*, p.153). Generally, *mana* is a form of supernatural energy in religion that inheres in things or people, a kind of magic power. There are more complex arguments cited by Versnel and others on the various definition of the *mana*, which lead to the complication of the meanings of the Porta Triumphalis and so on. For more information on the Porta Triumphalis, see Versnel, *Triumphus: an inquiry into the origin, development and meaning of the Roman triumph*, pp.153-163.

⁴⁴² *Ianus* (or *Janus*), in Roman mythology, was the god of gates, doors, doorways, beginnings and endings. His most prominent remnants in modern culture are his namesakes: the month of January that begins the new year, and the janitor who is a caretaker of doors and halls.

⁴⁴³ The definition of the *mana* of the warrior was given by Wagenvoort and cited in Versnel’s monograph. See Versnel, *Triumphus: an inquiry into the origin, development and meaning of the Roman triumph*, p.141.

The *Wang-cheng* Ideal and the Layout of Beijing City From Yuan to Qing

Beijing city, as addressed by Jianfei Zhu in his studies on imperial Beijing spatial structure, was ‘a city of cities’⁴⁴⁴. The imperial plan, which can be recognised perfectly on a satellite map although the walls and most of gates are gone, shows four layered cities, from inside to outside (Figure 6-1). In the middle is the Forbidden City of residential and official palaces for the emperor and the royal family, as the representation of the pivot and core power of the entire empire. Beyond that is the Imperial City, as an extension of the former, enclosing the royal gardens, altars and temples, eunuch offices and warehouses. Next comes the Inner City, its square plan the symbol of a classic cosmos, where the residential houses of the high ranking officials and the eight banners (known as *ba-qi* 八旗), temples and markets located during the Manchurian reign of the Qing, guarded by the nine grand gates. Finally there is the Outer City, attached to the south of the Inner, surrounded by the south wall, which was an unfinished project due to the financial difficulties in the 16th century.

This layout of Beijing for the Ming and Qing periods was, in fact, constructed on the base of Yuan Dadu 元大都, the capital of the Yuan dynasty before the Ming, whose plan had the closest articulation in the history of Chinese urban planning to the ideal classic form of the King’s City, the *wang-cheng* 王城, regulated in the *KGJ* of the *ZL* (the 2nd century BCE):

The artificers [lit. carpenters] demarcated the [Royal Chou] capital as a square with sides of 9 *li*⁴⁴⁵, each side having 3 gateways. Within the capital there were 9 meridional and 9 latitudinal avenues, each of the former being 9 chariot-tracks

⁴⁴⁴ See Jianfei Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies*, pp.45-50.

⁴⁴⁵ *Li* 里, a traditional Chinese unit of distance, in the Zhou period, according to archaeological excavations studied by Schinz, 1 *li* measured from 300 to 400 metres. See Schinz, *The Magic Square*, pp.64-66, 69.

in width.⁴⁴⁶‘On the left [as one faces south, or, to the east] is the Ancestral Temple, and to the right [west] are the Altars of Soil and Grain. In the front is the Hall of Audience and behind the markets.’⁴⁴⁷

This pattern of the King’s City, the *wang-cheng* 王城⁴⁴⁸ (Figure 6-2), of the Zhou was originally the plan of the Zhou capital Chengzhou (on the site of Luoyang today) founded by the Duke of Zhou in 1038⁴⁴⁹, as Schinz argued after surveying the reconstructed map based upon the excavation of the city of 535 CE. As there is very rare source focusing on crafts and city planning, the *KGJ* of the *ZL*, by being compiled into the ritual classics of Confucianism during the Han dynasty (the 4th century BCE) and by being reinterpreted and celebrated as one of the doctrines of the Neo-Confucianism of the Song dynasty (the 12th century CE), had established its ideology of the classic, or should say ‘Confucian orthodox’ model of the

⁴⁴⁶ The Chinese text is: ‘匠人营国，方九里，旁三门。国中九经九纬，经涂九轨’，translated by Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*, p.411. Jianfei Zhu also gives his translations as ‘The capital city shall be a square with each side nine li long and containing three gates. In the city, there shall be nine north-south and nine east-west streets. The north-south streets shall accommodate nine chariot-ways. Together they form a chessboard street pattern’. See Jianfei Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies*, pp.32-33. And Hok-Lam Chan’s translation is: ‘The jiangren [i.e. architect] constructs the state [i.e. Royal Zhou] capitals. He plots a square with sides of nine li, each side having three gates. Within the capital are nine meridian and nine latitudinal avenues, each of the former being nine carriage-tracks in width’. See Hok-Lam Chan, *Legends of the Building of Old Peking* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2008), p.17. The width of one chariot-track, according to the Eastern Han scholar Zheng Xuan’s interpretation, is 8 *chi* which consists of the width of a chariot 6 *chi* 6 *cun* plus 7 *cun* aside. So 9 chariot-tracks are 72 *chi*. 1 *chi* in the Zhou dynasty equals approximately 22.50 cm. See Qian Xuan, *San Li Ming Wu Tong Shi*, p.95. Laurence Liu also gives his translation. See Laurence Liu, *Chinese Architecture*, p.33.

⁴⁴⁷ The Chinese text is: ‘左祖右社，前朝后市’. The English text is translated by Hok-Lam Chan. Hok-Lam, Chan, *Legends of the Building of Old Peking*, p.17. Jianfei Zhu also gives his version of translation on this famous passage after he consulted four sources: ‘On the left (east) of the city there shall be a Temple of Ancestors and on the right (west) an Altar of Land and Grain. In the front (south) there shall stand the emperor’s audience halls and government ministries, in the rear (north) markets shall be located.’ And the four sources are Wright’s *The Cosmology of the Chinese City*, Chen’s *The Growth of Peiching*, Sit’s *Beijing*, and Steinhardt’s *Chinese Imperial City Planning*. See Jianfei Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies*, pp.32-33, 253. Laurence Liu also gives his translation. See Laurence Liu, *Chinese Architecture*, p.33.

⁴⁴⁸ The term *wang-cheng* was given by scholars of the Song dynasty when they reinterpreted the Confucian classics.

⁴⁴⁹ See Schinz, *The Magic Square*, pp.64-66.

city of the Son of Heaven, no matter how many or few ideas each city constructor took from it when building a city⁴⁵⁰. This passage above in the *KGJ* has had much more influence on Chinese definition of ‘city’ than what solid evidence has shown. For example, in a Beijing gazetteer on local wards and alleys of the 19th century, it was cited as the first sentence in the preface⁴⁵¹. And Ji Cheng, the author of the first Chinese book about gardens *Yuan Ye* of the 17th century, expressed his wish that *Yuan Ye* should be as classic in gardening as the *KGJ* in urban planning⁴⁵². And the plan of Dadu just interpreted the capital canon, at least in its layout of city gates and walls.

Dadu was designed mainly by Liu Bingzhong, who was a monk when he was young then assisted Kublai Khan, the first emperor of the Yuan⁴⁵³ dynasty, to construct the entire empire since Kublai was just a young prince. Liu Bingzhong, old name Liu Kan, with a courtesy name Zhonghui and a

⁴⁵⁰ The arguments and researches on how much actually the *KGJ* had influenced the urban planning during 2,000 years since it was published have never ceased. No scholars can skip this issue when it comes to the studies on Chinese urbanism or Beijing city planning. Laurence Liu argues that this passage about planning is actually ‘the planning principles of the Zhou dynasty capital city’. See Laurence Liu, *Chinese Architecture*, p.33. However, no matter how great their influence has been, the connections between the ideal model of the king’s city and imperial city plannings as practiced cannot be denied, especially in the late imperial dynasties of the Yuan, Ming and Qing when the Neo-Confucianism reached its peak as the moral and religious basis of political, ritual and social life. For more information on the arguments, see Schinz, *The Magic Square*; Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*; and Jianfei Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies*, pp.28-44.

⁴⁵¹ The gazetteer is *Jing Shi Fang Xiang Gao Zhi* 京师坊巷志稿 (*The Records of Alleys and Wards in Beijing*) by the Qing scholar Zhu Yixin. The beginning of the preface reads: ‘The Zhou Office’s system investigates the situation and condition of landscape to settle its people: the pattern of 9 meridional and 9 latitudinal avenues, each being 9 chariot-tracks in width was pure to make it like one, so that (it was perfect) to build up the royal supremacy and consequently to nurture the classic rites’. See Zhu Yixin, *Jing Shi Fang Xiang Zhi Gao* (Beijing: Beijing Ancient Books Press, 1982), p.23. This gazetteer is edited and bound with another book *Jing Shi Wu Cheng Fang Xiang Hu Tong Ji* by Zhang Jue (the Ming dynasty) in one book and published in 1982, which makes page 23 as its first page of the preface. Trans. by Bing Jiang.

⁴⁵² Ji Cheng, *Yuan Ye Tu Shuo* (Jinan: Shandong Hua Bao Press, 2003), p.19. Trans. by Bing Jiang.

⁴⁵³ Kublai was the first emperor of the Mongol Yuan dynasty and the fifth Great Khan of the Mongols. See Schinz, *The Magic Square*, p.286.

literary name ‘the idle person that bears the spring’⁴⁵⁴, was born in Rui Prefecture (Xingtai city in Hebei Province nowadays) in 1274 and became a famous politician and highly qualified intellectual. He was well educated and conversant with traditional astrology, making calendars, geography and especially Confucian classics, which were very appreciated by Kublai who trusted him first to choose the site of Kaiping, Shangdu (literally, the upper capital)⁴⁵⁵ and then to design and supervise its construction, even though Kublai had not yet completed the political unification of the Mongolian regions. After Beijing was chosen as the capital of the Yuan, Liu Bingzhong was, of course, again appointed to be supervisor of the entire designing and building project for the city⁴⁵⁶. Dadu city had three layers – an outer city

⁴⁵⁴ Courtesy names are traditionally given to males at the age of twenty, which marks the point when they became an official member of society. In ancient China, most intellectuals had literary names or pseudonyms that indicated their spiritual preference or station in life. Trans. by Bing Jiang.

⁴⁵⁵ For more information on Shangdu’s design and construction, see Yang Kuan, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Du Cheng Zhi Du Shi Yan Jiu* (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Ancient Books Press 上海古籍出版社, 1992), pp.456-461; Schinz, *The Magic Square*, p.287.

⁴⁵⁶ In historical records, the first emperor of the Yuan Kublai Khan trusted Liu Bingzhong greatly and even let him choose the name of the Empire, Yuan. And Liu Bingzhong himself was deeply influenced by Confucianism and fascinated by early cosmologies and philosophies of the Zhou, which may help explain why Dadu and all other cities he designed had so many resemblances with the *wang-cheng* and were impassioned attempts to be faithful to it. In the *Liu Bingzhong Zhuan* of the *Yuan Shi* (*The Biography of Liu Bingzhong in the History of the Yuan*), it reads: ‘At the beginning the Emperor (Kublai Khan) assigned Bingzhong to inspecting the site at the east of Huanzhou, the north of Luan River, and to building the city and walls at Longgang for three years. The city was named Kaiping. Afterwards Kaiping became Shangdu (the upper capital) and Yan (Beijing) became Zhongdu (the middle capital). In the fourth year (1267), (Kublai Khan) asked Bingzhong to build Zhongdu city, ancestral temples and palaces. In the eighth year (1271), (Bingzhong) suggested to name the empire Yuan and to change the name Zhongdu to Dadu (the grand capital).’ Trans. by Bing Jiang. The two cities were given the names Shangdu and Zhongdu according to their military and geographic positions. For more information on Liu Bingzhong, see Ma Yingbin, ‘Cong Li Nian Dao Shi Jian: Lun Yuan Da Du De Cheng Shi Gui Hua Yu Zhou Li Kao Gong Ji Zhi Jian De Guan Lian’ (Master Dissertation, Fudan University, 2008), pp.46-49; Hou Renzhi and Deng Hui, *Beijing Cheng De Qi Yuan Yu Bian Qian*, pp.94-95. Schinz describes the design of the layout of Dadu, for Liu Bingzhong, ‘was an opportunity to elaborate on his Magic Square concept and to design a most complex city structure based on the old prescriptions of the *Zhouli* and on the system of holy numbers’. See Schinz, *The Magic Square*, pp.287-288. Here, the ‘*Zhouli*’ means the passage describing the ideal *wang-cheng* in *KGJ* of the *ZL*. Schinz cleverly replaced the original thoughts and education of Liu Bingzhong with his concepts of ‘Magic Square’ and ‘holy numbers’. In fact, there is no evidence showing how loyal Liu was to the old script of the *KGJ* when he was designing Dadu, even though he must have referred to it. Schinz also admits that, according to some investigations, the streets of Dadu were not strictly designed

around the imperial city which centred on the palace city for the royal family, as at Shangdu. The outer city, as recorded in the *YS*, had the impressive nearly square plan of approximately sixty *li* that is 28, 600 metres, 7,400 metres of each west-east side and 6,650 metres of the north-south, with eleven city gates in the walls, three in the south, east and west, and two in the north, compared to twelve of the *wang-cheng* (Figure 6-3)⁴⁵⁷. The north-south centre-line of Dadu, from the Li-zheng Gate (central gate in the south wall) to the tree⁴⁵⁸ in the south of the third bridge outside the Li-zheng, was fixed firstly during Liu Bingzhong's geographic and geomantic investigations before construction, which was recorded in the *YS* like a legendary story⁴⁵⁹. This central line, carefully decided in order to protect the

under the Magic Square concept, even though we cannot make an equal sign between the ideal of the *KGJ* and Schinz's theory of *the Magic Square*. To defend himself, Schinz states that Liu Bingzhong 'certainly had no real understanding of "magic"' for not being 'a Chinese of the old Zhou dynasty, but a man who had grown up and been educated in his own times and in the Neo-Confucianist thought of the 13th century AD', which makes his idea of 'magic' more confusing, for no one can possess the real understanding of the Zhou cosmos today. See Schinz, *The Magic Square*, p.288.

⁴⁵⁷ Song Lian, the *YS*, *The Complete Collection of Chinese Ancient Documents*, <<http://guji.artx.cn/article/5179.html>> [accessd 03 March 2011], *Geography Record* 1, *Record* 10, 志 10 地理志 1.

⁴⁵⁸ It is recorded in the *Xi Jin Zhi* that The tree was named 'single tree commander' by Kublai Khan and was hung up with colourful lanterns during national festivals.

⁴⁵⁹ As it is quoted from the *Xi Jin Zhi* 析津志 of the *YS*: 'At the beginning of building Dadu, Emperor Shizu (Kublai Khan) asked Liu Bingzhong about the direction of the axis in the palace city. Bingzhong replied that the axis would run from Li-zheng Gate to the tree in the south of the third bridge outside Li-zheng Gate. The Emperor gave his permission. Liu Bingzhong, according to the environment, in order to protect the kings' skeleton and veins and to bring goodness to the ruler's *qi*, designed the layouts of the outer, the imperial and the palace cities of Dadu and was approved by Emperor Kublai Khan...In the second month of the fourth year of Zhiyuan, (Liu Bingzhong) made the final determination on the direction and the site for the new city at the northeast of Yanjing (an old city of the previous Jin dynasty). In the fourth month, the Imperial city was started to build. Afterwards, the central bureaucratic offices were built to the north of Fengchi Fang. Liu Bingzhong, no matter whether it was correct or not, used the axis from the Li-zheng Gate to the tree in the south of third bridge outside the gate as the central axis of Dadu, which accordingly fixed the location of the imperial city, and then of the offices. As recorded in the *Shi Zu Ji* (Biography of Shizu) in the *YS*: 'The construction of Dadu city was completed in the sixth month of the 20th year of Zhiyuan's reign (1283). In the ninth month, the central government including the tax bureau moved into Dadu, and the tax was reduced by 1/40th. In the eleventh month, guards and officers were appointed to serve at every gate of Dadu.' Here, the sixth, ninth and eleventh months, and the tenth month in the following context, are not June, September, October or November according to the calendar we use today, but the months of the traditional Chinese calendar. Trans. by Bing Jiang. And according to Liu

essential *qi* of the site and to achieve harmony with Heaven, was kept for the later layout of Beijing, the capital of the Ming and Qing, till the end of the Qing's rule in 1912. During the final years of the Yuan Mongolian reign, outside each of eleven city gates, walls were built to enclose the gate tower for defending against uprisings and intrusions, and a watch tower was built on the newly built wall with gate openings. This small gate enclosure is called *weng-cheng* 瓮城, the jar city, or *yue-cheng* 月城, the moon city. Outside each moon city of the city gate, a hanging bridge and a timber *pai-lou* gateway was set up⁴⁶⁰. This form of gate city with an enclosure was also adopted without change by the later Ming and Qing governments. Till the project was completed, Dadu's outer city finally went through all the construction process and showed its integrated appearance: walls built of earth, with the height of 10 to 12 metres, the width of 20 to 24 metres at the bottom and 10 to 15 at the top; eleven gate towers, three in south, east and

Bingzhong's geomantic investigation, the site of the palace city was considered as the counterpart of the *zi-wei-yuan* 紫微垣 constellation (the purple forbidden enclosure), stars surrounding the centre of Heaven, the Pole Star. As Rawski put it, 'When the emperor, the pole star of the earthly realm, faced south (as does the star) and assumed the ruling position in the secular counterpart to the centre of Heaven, he thus drew on the symbolic capital of the Chinese cosmological system to reinforce his legitimacy.' See Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, pp.203-205. For more information, see Yang Kuan, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Du Cheng Zhi Du Shi Yan Jiu*, pp.463-467; Song Lian, the YS, *The Complete Collection of Chinese Ancient Documents*, <<http://guji.artx.cn/article/5179.html>> [accessed 03 March 2011], *Geography Record* 1, *Record* 10, 志 10 地理志 1; Hou Renzhi and Deng Hui, *Beijing Cheng De Qi Yuan Yu Bian Qian*, p.170. And somehow, the constructors of Dadu managed to locate in the very centre of the plan of Dadu the bell tower (or central tower/platform 中心台), which, in Marco Polo's record, was sounded every night to mark the curfew. See Schinz, *The Magic Square*, p.292; Yang Kuan, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Du Cheng Zhi Du Shi Yan Jiu*, pp.464-467; Hok-lam Chan, *Legends of the Building of Old Peking*, pp.50-52.

⁴⁶⁰ 'In the tenth month of the 19th year of Zhizheng's reign (1359), the emperor ordered the building of *weng-cheng* and hanging bridges outside eleven gates of the capital city.' See Song Lian, the YS, *The Complete Collection of Chinese Ancient Documents*, <<http://guji.artx.cn/article/5179.html>> [accessed 03 March 2011], *Shundi* 8, *Biography* 45 本纪 45 顺帝 8. And for more information, see Yang Kuan, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Du Cheng Zhi Du Shi Yan Jiu*, pp.529-530. According to Chen Zhihua's studies, to build *weng-cheng* was a purely military consideration. During a battle, the soldiers inside went out of the city gate first into the *weng-cheng* and shut the gate behind, then out of the *weng-cheng* gate; to withdraw into the city, they returned into the *weng-cheng* and shut the gate, then opened the city gate, in order to prevent enemies following them into the city. For more information, see Chen Zhihua, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Jian Zhu Zhuang Shi Wu Shu: Wan Hu Zhi Mei* (Guangzhou: China Architecture Press, 2011), p.15; Zhang Yuhuan, *Zhong Guo Cheng Chi Shi* (Tianjin: Bai Hua Wen Yi, 2003), pp.342-347.

west, two in the north, each with a moon city and a hanging bridge; and more importantly the cosmological square formed by all these grand walls and gates.

Two north city gates of the eleven, compared to the three in the canonical plan, were, as stated, much better for the ‘ruler’s *qi*’⁴⁶¹. And the names of all the city gates were selected from the meanings of the hexagrams of the *YJ*. For instance, Li-zheng, the middle south gate, means that ‘Heaven is the centre aside with sun and moon’⁴⁶². And according to historical records⁴⁶³, the Yuan emperor went to and came back from the city of Shangdu through the Jian-de gate every year.

The layout of Dadu had, on a great level, accomplished the *wang-cheng* structure: a square centre enclosed by walls, with equal numbers of city

⁴⁶¹ Liu Tangmao, Tian Dafang, and Huang Zhihong, ‘Review and Discussion on Chinese Ancient City Design Ideas’, *Journal of Shaoguan University, Natural Science*, No. 3, Vol. 29 (Mar. 2008), p.67.

⁴⁶² Wen-ming means the essence of ‘civilisation with strong virtue’; Shun-cheng refers to ‘the prosperity of all the living beings is a sign to obey the Heavens’ rules’; Chong-ren, the gate in the east, indicates that east means spring for it is where sun comes up; Qi-hua is related to its location in the southeast; Guang-xi means bright as it located in the northeast that is tied up with the trigram *Gen*; He-yi, in the middle west, emphasised that the west corresponds with autumn and rations; Ping-ze comes from ‘modesty from being peaceful’; An-zhen is one term of the sentence ‘it is auspicious with the trigram *Qian* above and *Kun* underneath’; Jian-de represents the trigram *Qian*, the essence of the *yang*, which corresponds to northwest where Jian-de located. But the source of ‘Su-qing’ is unknown.

⁴⁶³ Song Lian, the *YS*, The Complete Collection of Chinese Ancient Documents, <<http://guji.artx.cn/article/5179.html>> [accessd 03 March 2011], *Military Record 3, Record 48; Sacrifice Record 5, Record 27*.

gates opened on each side symmetrically⁴⁶⁴. A scholar of the Yuan described Dadu by citing the Zhou cosmological term *gai-tian*⁴⁶⁵ (covering sky):

Heaven looks like a cover or a tilted bamboo-hat, the Lord's carriage is driving around from the centre. The Northern Asterism (Polaris) remains stationary, taking command of the four directions and looking down at Youdu⁴⁶⁶. Viewing the celestial phenomenon, North is the centre of Heaven...Examining the "principles of the topography", Yan is the land of the superlative.⁴⁶⁷

This established the foundation for the Ming and Qing Beijing.

A Ming scholar of the early 17th century described the landscape of Beijing as follows: 'On the left [that is, the east], it is encircled by the Azure Sea, on the right protected by the Great Range; to the north it is pillowed by Juyong [Pass], and in the south collared by the Yellow and Ji [Rivers]. The natural site is superior to all under heaven, truly what one can call 'the

⁴⁶⁴ The attempts at explaining why making eleven gates was auspicious in different religious contexts by literati and scholars never stopped, just like the interpretations of Ming and Qing Beijing planning. Many are far-fetched with no solid evidence or theory. The scholar of the Yuan, Huang Wenzhong, gave this explanation: 'Designing eleven gates, [the traffic] flows in all directions. This is because by emulating the cosmos (*yuan* 元) to create the image (*xiang* 象), it matches the numbers five and six, which give the sum of the numerals of the centre of Heaven and Earth.' Hok-lam Chan, *Legends of the Building of Old Peking*, p.62. Even though Huang gave his explanation that eleven came from the cosmological numbers five and six, it does not prove any connection between the original design ideas and the cosmos.

⁴⁶⁵ *Gai-tian* 盖天 is one of the areas that previous studies on early Chinese cosmology focus on, which could have originated earlier than the Zhou. And Hwang, in his Ph.D thesis, proposed that it could be collectively labelled as *ming-tang*. See Hwang Ming-chornng, 'Ming-Tang: cosmology, political order and monuments in early China', Abstract, p.1.

⁴⁶⁶ Youdu 幽都, an ancient name for the Beijing area, see Xu Zhaohua, *Er Ya Jin Zhu*, p.217.

⁴⁶⁷ The scholar is Li Weisun (1243 - 1329). The passage is translated by Hok-lam Chan. Hok-lam Chan, *Legends of the Building of Old Peking*, pp.46-47. Yan 燕, is also an ancient name for the Beijing region. Chinese literati and scholars were enthusiastic about citing and quoting the classic antiquity. As discussed in Chapter 1, this has to do with Chinese traditions of education and examinations. Chan also supports the idea in his book with an example of Zhu Xi using Jidu 冀都, another name of Beijing region older than Yan, to 'conjure up a favourable impression' and to hail 'it as the centre of the terrain under heaven'. Hok-lam Chan, *Legends of the Building of Old Peking*, p.45. See Xu Zhaohua, *Er Ya Jin Zhu*, p.216-217.

country of Heaven's mansion'⁴⁶⁸, in which the Ming Beijing capital was, as always, seen as the counterpart of Heaven's court and later given the name *tian-fu* 天府, Heaven's mansion. It took 300 years for development, from the ideal-layout of Dadu to the Ming and Qing Beijing.

The city walls and gates had been through two major phases of construction during the Ming reign. The first was in 1368 after the Mongolian rule collapsed when Dadu lost its glory as a capital but remained as a fortress city, or should say 'prefecture', renamed as Beiping to defend more intrusion from the northern Mongolians⁴⁶⁹. The Ming commanders, who had conquered Dadu, managed to scale down the city by building a new north wall 5 *li* to the south of the old north wall with two new gates⁴⁷⁰. It marked the new north boundary of the city of only nine city gates with two old Yuan gates left in. The palace city was torn down, and the northern part of old Dadu, outside the new north wall, was completely abandoned. The new Beiping was only as 2/3rds as large as Dadu⁴⁷¹. After the emperor Chengzu of the Ming was crowned, who had his political base in Beiping during his years of being a prince, Beiping was appointed as the capital,

⁴⁶⁸ The Chinese text is: '左环沧海，右拥太行，北枕居庸，南襟河济。形胜甲于天下，诚所谓天府之国'。The translation is quoted from Naquin. Susan Naquin, *Peking: temples and city life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 2000), p.15. See Wang Qi and Wang Siyi, the *SCTH*, p.223.

⁴⁶⁹ During the Mongolian rule of the Yuan, many parts of the Great Wall were demolished, for the Wall was built originally to defend against the Mongolians. So when the Ming army invaded Dadu city and expelled the Mongolians to the north, Dadu, or the new Beiping, became the northernmost military post in relation to the Ming capital Nanjing which was in the far south.

⁴⁷⁰ Hou Renzhi and Deng Hui, *Beijing Cheng De Qi Yuan Yu Bian Qian*, pp.102-105; Luo Baoping, *Ming Qing Bei Jing Cheng* (Beijing: Beijing Press, 1999), pp.2-3.

⁴⁷¹ 'In the beginning years of Hongwu...the five *li* of northern (part of Beiping) city was abandoned. And the two northern gates of eastern and western walls – Guang-xi and Su-qing Gates were filled (with earth). The rest of the nine gates are kept.' Yu Deyuan 于德源, *Beijing Li Dai Cheng Fang, Gong Dian, Yuan You* (Beijing: Capital Normal University Press, 1997), p.90. Trans. by Bing Jiang. For more information on Beiping, see Sun Chengze, the *TFGJ*, (Beijing: Beijing Ancient Books Press, 1982), pp.4-5; Yang Kuan, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Du Cheng Zhi Du Shi Yan Jiu*, pp.523-525; Zhang Tingyu, the *MS, Tianya Library* < <http://www.tianyabook.com/lishi2005/mingshi/index.html>> [accessed 26 March 2009], Volume 1-3, Biography of Taizu.

renamed as Beijing, and replaced Nanjing as the political centre. To welcome the return of the emperor from Nanjing to Beijing, the city went through its second and biggest construction phase from 1420 to 1445, reaching its final physical layout known today as the Inner City. A new south wall was built 2 *li* to the south of the old Dadu; nine city gates – gate towers, watch towers and moon cities – were reconstructed with higher and thicker city walls layered with bricks on the surface⁴⁷² (see Figure 6-3, 6-4, 6-5 and 6-6). It seems that the plan of the Yuan Dadu walls moved straight to the south so that the two south gates in each of the east and west walls became the foundations for new gates on the site. Five other gates in the north and south walls were newly built along with the walls construction. The nine gates in total were deprived of the titles derived from the pure military fortress but were renewed as imperial symbols of the Son of ‘Heaven’s mansion’⁴⁷³, for remaining so for 500 years until the end of the last Qing Empire.

⁴⁷² ‘In the eighth month of the first year of Hongwu in Ming (1368)...Hua Yunlong managed to build the new city wall with east-west length of 1,890 *zhang* and height of 3 *zhang* 5 *chi* and 5 *cun*. Till the eighteenth year of Yongle (1420), Cai Xin was appointed to the Right Shi Lang in the Board of Public Works to supervise the repairing (the city wall). In the second year of Zhengtong (1437), Ruan An, who was born in Jiaozhi and had another name Aliu, was ordered to repair (it) again and wrote down a record of this construction that was completed in the fourth month of the fourth year of Zhengtong (1439). (After that), Zheng-yang Gate has a gate tower and a mooncity with two side towers on the right and left, each of the rest eight gates – Chong-wen, Xuan-wu, Chao-yang, Fu-cheng, Dong-zhi, Xi-zhi, An-ding and De-sheng, has a gate tower and a mooncity with one side tower. Gateways are set outside each gate, and corner towers are built at four corners of the city. (Moreover,) the moat has been dug deeper...The old timber bridges outside the nine gates have been replaced by stone ones and floodgates have been built between each pair of bridges...In the tenth year (of Zhengtong, 1445), (the emperor) asked Chengguo Lord Zhu Yong to lay bricks up the inside of the walls like the outside, for the earth walls were considered easy to be demolished (by rains).’ Yu Deyuan 于德源, *Beijing Li Dai Cheng Fang, Gong Dian, Yuan You*, pp.90-93. Trans. by Bing Jiang. The Outer City walls and gates were planned at first to enclose the entire Inner City in the Jiajing 32nd year (1553) in the reign of the Ming Emperor Shizong. But only the south part was completed before the government met the financial difficulties which caused a hasty finish connecting the south Inner City wall. The original planning of the Outer City and gate openings is unknown now. See Sun Chengze, the *TFGJ*, pp.2-3; Yang Kuan, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Du Cheng Zhi Du Shi Yan Jiu*, pp.526-537; Schinz, *The Magic Square*, pp.315-332.

⁴⁷³ See note on *tian-fu*.

The city walls and gates were kept ‘in a good state of preservation’⁴⁷⁴ during the Qing reign, except for some necessary repair constructions; the Manchurians not only retained the complete city layout, but also accepted and adopted the cosmological thinkings about it. However, to stress the Manchu rule and social hierarchy, the cultural and structural plan of the city were changed to meet the special *ba-qi* system of the Manchurians. There were no big rebuilding constructions of the city walls and gates in the Qing except for small repair projects. Hence, the appearance remained as much the same as it was in the Ming. However, the Inner City had been called the Tartar City since the Manchu started their regime in Beijing, for the distribution of the residence was completely changed.

Zheng-yang Gate as the Centre of the Inner City Gates

The Zheng-yang gate, 正阳门, the name’s literal meaning as ‘the sun in the middle’⁴⁷⁵, was the most important of the nine, which was obvious at first sight from its south-centre⁴⁷⁶ location. And according to historical documents and drawings, it had the unique layout of the nine: the gate tower above on the city wall with an opening gateway underneath in the wall, the

⁴⁷⁴ ‘The Tartar City is sixteen miles in circumference, surrounded by a wall sixty feet thick at the bottom, fifty feet thick at the top and forty feet high, with six feet of balustrade on the outside, beautifully crenelated and loopholed, and in a good state of preservation.’ Headland, *Court Life in Chin: the capital, its officials and people*, eBook Collection (EBSCOhost), < <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail?sid=d9ff078b-a84d-44c4-a63d-065d5aa2a5f0%40sessionmgr111&vid=1&hid=123&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtG12ZQ%3d%3d#db=nlebk&AN=2009469>> [accessed 11 Nov 2010], p.107. Here ‘Peking’ is Beijing.

⁴⁷⁵ Naquin gives the translation as ‘true south’. Naquin, *Peking: temples and city life, 1400-1900*, p.10.

⁴⁷⁶ The south is the most important direction in traditional Chinese architecture and urban planning according to the *feng-shui* theory. And the south gate had been mostly preferred to represent the supremacy of Heaven by the emperors, which, however, was not suitable as the main residential gate for common people (like the Beijing *si-he* courtyards in previous chapters). When the Eight-Nation Alliance conquered Beijing city in 1900, the empress dowager Cixi and emperor Guangxu rushed out of Beijing to Xi’an. On the way back, instead of through the east gate for 2/3 shorter distance, Cixi and Guangxu chose to leave Xi’an from the south gate which was believed to have the auspicious *qi* for helping a stronger imperial regime. See Wu Yucheng, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua*, pp.215-216.

moon city enclosing the gate tower from outside, a watch tower above on the moon city wall in front of the gate tower with an opening gateway underneath, and two side towers on the west and east of the moon city wall, each with an opening gateway (Figure 6-7). In the moat outside the watch tower, there were two floodgates symmetrically arranged to exclude floods. Both gate tower and watch tower had 7 bays on the long facade (in length) and 3 bays on the short (in depth), with a double-eaved gable-and-hip roof (Figure 6-8). The whole Zheng-yang gate was symmetrically planned, the main two towers, the bridge and the five-bay *pai-lou* gateway (Figure 6-9, 6-10 and 6-11) lying in the centre following the north-south axis that dominated the entire city, and with other minor towers and gates symmetrically arranged. The central gate openings under two towers were normally closed, and the central pavement through the gates were reserved strictly for the emperor himself or the officials, princes who were granted to go through occasionally representing the emperor, while the side gate openings in the moon city wall were for all the others beneath the emperor. The funeral processions and coffins were strictly forbidden from going anywhere near the Zheng-yang gate. It was regarded as the emperor's passage, as the 'centre' of the other eight gates in the square.

The other eight gates, Chong-wen (literally, worship of literature), Xuan-wu (advocating military), Chao-yang (facing the sun⁴⁷⁷), Fu-cheng (benevolence and happiness), Dong-zhi (straight east), Xi-zhi (straight west⁴⁷⁸), An-ding (stable peace) and De-sheng (virtue victorious⁴⁷⁹), each consisted of a gate tower and a watch tower circled by a moon city with only one side tower and one opening in the wall⁴⁸⁰. Both towers of each gate

⁴⁷⁷ Naquin, *Peking: temples and city life, 1400-1900*, p.10.

⁴⁷⁸ Naquin, *Peking: temples and city life, 1400-1900*, p.10.

⁴⁷⁹ Naquin, *Peking: temples and city life, 1400-1900*, p.10.

⁴⁸⁰ Zhang Yuhuan, in his studies, states that during the Ming and Qing dynasties, only three city gates, Zheng-yang, De-sheng and Xi-zhi, had the *weng-cheng*, moon cities, which is clearly wrong in both historical records and maps of that time. See Zhang Yuhuan, *Zhong Guo Cheng Chi Shi*, p.342.

had the form of 5 bays in the long side, 3 bays in the short and a double gable-and-hip roof, less highly ranked than the Zheng-yang gate of 7 bays in length. Outside each watch tower was a stone bridge over the moat and a *pai-lou* gateway at the far end, arranged like the ones outside of the Zheng-yang gate but not shown in the map of that time (Figure 6-12), which again emphasises Zheng-yang's domination over the others. There was a floodgate set in the moat between every two bridges, which gave two between the Zheng-yang and the Xuan-wu (including one closer to the Zheng-yang), two between the Zheng-yang and the Chong-wen (including one closer to the Zheng-yang), one between the Chao-yang and the Dong-zhi in the east, one between the An-ding and De-sheng in the north, and one between the Xi-zhi and Fu-cheng⁴⁸¹.

Today after their demolition in the mid 20th century, the nine gates have still managed to structure the transportation grid of the city, by directing the way and naming main avenues and streets. Taking the three gates in the south wall for example, the location of the south wall is now an avenue, divided into six sections and named after the three gates according to their old locations, from west to east: Xuan-wu Gate West Street, Xuan-wu Gate East Street, Zheng-yang Gate West Street, Zheng-yang Gate East Street (or Qian Gate Street, Front Gate Street 前门大街), Chong-wen Gate West Street and Chong-wen Gate East Street. In the other two cardinal directions of each gate, the streets are named as Outer and Inner⁴⁸². Other gates have named streets through the locations of the gates as Outer and Inner. When one locates a place in Beijing, he gives an address such as on the western side, 'inner Deng-sheng Gate'. Postcodes and house numbers are not popular with taxi drivers. And this cultural tradition has its roots at least in

⁴⁸¹ Yu Deyuan, *Beijing Li Dai Cheng Fang, Gong Dian, Yuan You*, p.93; Luo Baoping, *Ming Qing Bei Jing Cheng*, p.12.

⁴⁸² Except for north of the Zheng-yang Gate. There is no street through the Zheng-yang Gate to the north, but instead the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall and Tian'an Men Square.

the official documents of the Qing period⁴⁸³. They have formed another spatial layout of the city, the ‘cultural shape of urban space’⁴⁸⁴. They have much more than a physical existence, and have never gone from daily life.

The Three Courts and Five Gates

...The palace next they built.

Its outer gate arose with lofty and imposing state.

The inner portal of the court they reared, with massive pomp.

Anon, hard by, appeared the altar for the spirits of the land,

Where the state’s greatest movements should be planned...⁴⁸⁵

This is a segment of the poetry *Mian* 绵 of perhaps before the 11th century BCE, collected in the *SJ, Book of Poetry*, which describes the scene of the ancestor of King Wen Tanfu of the Zhou 周文王 leading his people to build the capital city and palace. There are two gates in the central line mentioned: the *Gao-men* 皋门 (*Gao* Gate) and *Ying-men* 应门 (*Ying* Gate), the historical background of the names of which, in this translation of James Legge’s, were neglected and simply translated as the outer gate (*Gao-men*) and the inner portal (*Ying-men*). Later Eastern Han scholar Zheng Xuan 郑玄 of the 2nd century CE gave his interpretations on the classic *LJ*, stating that the Son of Heaven should have five gates (on the central line) in his palace which are called *Gao*, *Ku*, *Zhi*, *Ying* and *Lu* (from south to north), and that (the courtyards on the central line of) the King’s palace are defined

⁴⁸³ In the records of street names and grades, the locations of government offices, and the repair projects, the gates’ names were highly and commonly applied. See *Beijing Shi Zhi Gao*, ed. by Wu Tingxie, vol.1, pp.223-321.

⁴⁸⁴ Naquin, *Peking: temples and city life, 1400-1900*, p.9.

⁴⁸⁵ Legge, trans. *The Shih King* (Shanghai: The Chinese Book Company, 1931), Part III, Book I, p.341. The original text is ‘迺立皋门，皋门有伉。迺立应门，应门将将’。For another translation, see Bernhard Karlgren, trans., *The Book of Odes* (the *SJ*) (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), pp.189-190.

and divided into three parts by the five gates, one outer court and two inner courts⁴⁸⁶. And this theory has been generally accepted through dynasties, even though there are some arguments on the order/positions of the five gates⁴⁸⁷.

By the late imperial time, this King's palace ideal was interpreted maturely and worshipped as the symbol of justified state power authorised by Heaven. Emperors living in a King's palace is the mandate from Heaven, representing the validity of ruling. In the *SCTH* of the 17th century (Figure 6-13), a book to explain Heaven, Earth and Man, the King's palace is presented as a walled enclosure in the centre of a larger imperial city, with the ancestral temple to the east and the altar of land and grain to the west, which respond to the Zhou *wang-cheng* ideal in general. There are eastern and western gates in the palace walls, possibly each with three gateways linking to the temple and the altar respectively. The *Gao* is the south main gate of emperor's outer court (*wai-chao* 外朝), leading one to the courtyard/square where, as the prelude to the climax of the procession, trees are possibly planted. Then the *Ku* gate is placed rather to indicate a space transition than to just announce the end of the first square. The *Zhi* gate, 'the middle/central gate of the five' as specifically annotated in the drawing, is the sacred south gate of the central square/courtyard in the outer court where the grandest hall *Ming-tang* is located. As explained in Chapter 2, the *Ming-tang* represents the centre of the state, where the most important ceremonies are undertaken to symbolise the heavenly rule of emperor. There is only one gate that separates the outer court and the inner, the public life and the

⁴⁸⁶ See Zheng Xuan, annotated, the *LJ*, published on the *Si Bu Ye Kan Chu Bian* 四部业刊初编, printed in the Song and collected in the *Jing Shang Hai Han Fen Lou* 景上海涵芬楼, *Chinese Text Project*, from <<http://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=77345&page=54>> to <<http://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=77345&page=88>> (accessed June 2010).

⁴⁸⁷ The order/position of the five gates had been an issue discussed and interpreted by scholars and imperial officials for more than 2,000 years, and there is another interpretation of it: from south to north, it should be: *Gao*, *Zhi*, *Ku*, *Ying* and *Lu*. See Qian Xuan, *San Li Ming Wu Tong Shi*, pp.96, 125.

personal of the emperor, to the north of the *Ming-tang*, called the *Ying*, or the court gate (*chao-men* 朝门). The court behind the *Ying* is the emperor's personal office and bedroom, called the inner court (*nei-chao* 内朝, *zheng-chao* 正朝 or *zhi-chao* 治朝), where some officials are audience sometimes. Then the progression on the central line reaches its end to the real private court (or *yan-chao* 燕朝)⁴⁸⁸ where the empress lives: the private court that is guarded by the gate *Lu*.

This central progression of those three courts and five gates, *san-chao-wu-men* 三朝五门⁴⁸⁹, interpreted on the basis of the Classics, is organised logically and orderly, which, according to the drawing, is supposed to be secured and divided with walls. And this central gate-court planning ideal is reasonably presented in the Forbidden City of Beijing, or at least in academic documents of the period when the City was constructed, the Forbidden City is interpreted as a sincere follower of this symbolic ideal⁴⁹⁰. The planning of the Forbidden City is certainly more complex, with more than just five gates on the central line. And if we stretch the north-south central line out of the City, more gates can be counted in when reaching the Imperial City walls, the Inner City walls and the Outer City walls⁴⁹¹. So it

⁴⁸⁸ For the explanations of the names of the three courts, see Qian Xuan and Qian Yuqi, *San Li Ci Dian*, p.54.

⁴⁸⁹ No surprising that there is the hierarchy about the numbers of gates: For the King's palace, five gates/gate towers are the proper standard; and for feudal princes, three. The three gates for feudal princes are *Gao*, *Ying*, and *Lu*. See the *KGJ* of the *ZL*, *Chinese Text Project*, <<http://ctext.org/rites-of-zhou/dong-guan-kao-gong-ji>>; the *Ming Tang Wei* of the *LJ*, *Chinese Text Project* <<http://ctext.org/liji/ming-tang-wei>> (accessed June 2010).

⁴⁹⁰ Li Xieping 李燮平, 'Wu Men San Chao Yu Ming Dai Gong Dian Gui Hua De Ruo Gan Wen Ti' ('The Five Gates and Three Courts' and the Ming Palace Planning 五门三朝与明代宫殿规划的若干问题), *Zhong Guo Zi Jin Cheng Xue Hui Lun Wen Ji* (*Symposium of the Chinese Society of Forbidden City 中国紫禁城学会论文集第二辑*), Volume 2, (1997).

⁴⁹¹ According to the standards for the Son of Heaven of the Zhou, regulated in the *KGJ* of the *ZL*, besides the five gates rule for the palace, there must be seven gates/gate towers for the king's imperial city hierarchically located on the central line; and for the king's city, there must be nine. The *Kao Gong Ji* (*KGJ*), in the *ZL*, *Chinese Text Project* <<http://ctext.org/rites-of-zhou/dong-guan-kao-gong-ji>> (accessed September 2008).

stirs arguments up on which gates correspond to the five, for there is no one confirmed record about which gate/gateway corresponding to which when constructed, nor an agreed theory from scholars, nor even direct evidence to tie the central gate-court planning of the Forbidden City with the Classic ideal tightly. But this largest imperial palace complex in China certainly has enough number of gates/gateways lying on the central line in front of a single hall or a group of halls to correspond to the ‘five gates’ that serve a king. And more importantly, believing in this ideal matters more than constructing strictly in accordance with it. In other words, it seems not very ritually significant that the City was built ideally with five king’s gates, as long as it was interpreted so.

During the last two imperial dynasties of the Ming and the Qing, the grandest buildings and gates in the state, the most lavish and complicated ceremonies and the most important persons of empires were tied together in this central gate-court ideal of the Forbidden City (Figure 6-14). Tian-an Gate 天安门, representing the *Gao*, guards the southern opening of the City. To the north is located Wu Gate (the Meridian Gate) 午门, the *Ku*, the south gate of the City. A long and narrow passage/square was squeezed between the two gates by two rows of low buildings in the east and west, out of which the Ancestral Temple and the Altar of Land and Grain were reached. Passing through Wu Gate to the north, Tai-he Gate 太和门, the *Zhi*, is the formal gateway of three halls Tai-he Hall 太和殿, Zhong-he Hall 中和殿 and the Bao-he Hall 保和殿 that represent the Ming-tang. Then the central progression is blocked at the Bao-he Hall, and one has to turn to the gateways on the two sides of the hall to go further. Behind the Bao-he Hall, there is the typical gate space – a small enclosure: to the north is the Qian-qing Gate 乾清门, corresponding to the *Ying*, the main south gate of the Qian-qing palace 乾清门 that is the emperor’s inner court; opposite the Qian-qing Gate is the back wall of the previous court, which can be considered as a screen wall, and there are two side gateways at the corners; to the east and west, there are in-wall gateways connecting with side courts.

To the northern end of the progression is the Shen-wu Gate 神武门, the *Lu*⁴⁹², the north gate tower of the Forbidden City.

The Central Gateways Speaking for Emperor

These central gates and the central pavements that connect them through layers of courts and walls were designed for the emperor himself, representing the justice and power of his regime. There are many court records about discussions between emperors and officials of rites on the usage of central pavements in the late imperial time. One records that in 1371 two persons were caught walking across the central pavement⁴⁹³. The emperor wanted to release them for there was no restriction in law. However, officials stated that in the Western Han dynasty (206 BCE – 9 CE) no one dared to cross the central pavement that belonged to the emperor himself. Till the Eastern Han, there were three paralleled pavements, the emperor walked on the central, and officials on the right and left. And the Yuan followed the Eastern Han. So officials suggested following the Eastern Han and the Yuan, and punishing those crossing the central road and guards who saw but did not report. In 1376, the Board of Rites stated that no official was allowed to walk on the central pavements, and anyone who broke the rule was subject to flogging 100 times with wooden sticks⁴⁹⁴.

⁴⁹² Strictly speaking, Shen-wu Gate is not in the position of the *Lu*, for it is the very north gate of the Forbidden City, so that the royal inner court was the area to the south of it but not to the north as the definition of the *Lu*. However, Kun-ning Gate, the gate to the south of Kun-ning Palace, is not the *Lu* either. And Qian-qing Gate, to the south of Kun-ning Gate and to the north of Qian-qing Palace, could be the *Lu*, for the Qian-qing Palace and Kun-ning Palace were supposed to be the private halls for the emperor and the empress respectively. However, since the second emperor of the Qing, Kangxi, the Qian-qing Palace had become the place where emperors handled daily business. Hence, here, Qian-qing Gate is considered as the *Ying*. And because Shen-wu Gate is obviously an important gate guarding the north of the Forbidden City, it is corresponding to the *Lu*, the last of the important five. See the *QDDQHD*, Guanxu Emperor's version, vol.58, pp.19-20.

⁴⁹³ Li Guoxiang, ed., *MSLLZ*, the volume of history of palaces 宫廷史料卷 (Wuhan 武汉: Wuhan Pressing House 武汉出版社, 1992), pp.18-19.

⁴⁹⁴ Li Guoxiang, ed., *MSLLZ*, the volume of history of palaces 宫廷史料卷, p.19.

For the Five Grand Sacrifices⁴⁹⁵ to Heaven at the Round Mound of the Altar of Heaven at the Southern Boundary, to Earth at the Square Pool of the Temple of Earth at the Northern Boundary⁴⁹⁶, for a good agriculture at the Altar of Agriculture (祈谷坛)⁴⁹⁷, to the imperial ancestors in the Grand Temple, and for good harvests at the Altar of Land and Grain⁴⁹⁸, the enthronement and expeditions, which were normally performed by the emperor himself, the central gate openings of the central gates were specially opened and used by the emperor and his retinue. In the ceremony of the coronation of Kangxi, the emperor, wearing a mourning robe, worshipped the ancestors first by making the grand ritual of the *san-gui-jiu-kou*⁴⁹⁹. Then after changing into his ceremonial robe, he went to the palaces of his great grandmother and grandmother, making the *san-gui-jiu-kou* to them. Afterwards, he went out of the Qian-qing Gate to the Bao-he Hall in his imperial chariot, to receive worship from the ceremony officials there. Eventually, Kangxi, taking the chariot again from the Bao-he Hall to the Tai-he Hall that is located to the south and the grandest hall in Beijing, received the worship of all officials and aristocrats, who were kneeling in the square below the high platforms of the Hall, and, for the first time in his reign, gave a grand audience.

The only exception to the rule on the centre line being entirely reserved to the Emperor is the ritual of greeting the bride of the Emperor, the

⁴⁹⁵ There are three levels of sacrifices of the Qing, the Grand (大祀), the Middling (中祀), and the Miscellaneous (群祀). See the *QSG*, ed. by Zhao Erxun, p.1735; Zito, *Of Body and Brush: grand sacrifice as text/performance in 18th century China*, p.2.

⁴⁹⁶ The Chinese texts for the two grand sacrifices are 南郊圜丘大祀 and 北郊方泽大祭. I consulted Zito's translations of the first two sacrifices. For her translations, see Zito, *Of Body and Brush: grand sacrifice as text/performance in 18th century China*, p.2.

⁴⁹⁷ In Zito's research, there are only four Grand Sacrifices without this one. See Zito, *Of Body and Brush: grand sacrifice as text/performance in 18th century China*, p.2.

⁴⁹⁸ Zito's translation of the Altar of Land and Grain 社稷坛 is the Altar of Soil and Grain. See Zito, *Of Body and Brush: grand sacrifice as text/performance in 18th century China*, p.2.

⁴⁹⁹ See Chapter 2.

Empress, into the Forbidden City on her wedding day. According to the Qing court records, a Qing emperor's wedding was very complicated, containing mainly three parts: before the wedding, the wedding, and after the wedding. Before the wedding, the emperor should designate officials to send different presents to the bride's family twice on separate dates. Then on the wedding day, there are series of ceremonies from conferring the title of empress to greeting the empress into the Forbidden City and to sacrificing to gods in the end. After the wedding, the new couple should visit temples, give audience to officials, hold feast and all other celebrations (Figure 6-15 and 6-16). There is a record of one of the auspicious state rites⁵⁰⁰, the Qing Emperor Shunzhi's wedding:

On the day before the sending presents ceremony, a ritual official was sent to sacrifice in the Ancestral Temple and the Altar of Land and Grain, to inform of the news of the marriage. On the day of the ceremony, a table, on which was a keepsake, was placed in the Tai-he Hall. All the presents were placed on the vermeil steps (丹陛) at the Tai-he Hall. The presenting official ordered all officials to make the ritual of the *san-gui-jiu-kou*, and then to come up to the eastern steps and stand there. The declaring official now was reading out the rule: now XX's daughter was taken as the Empress. (The Emperor) orders you all to send the presents to the bride's family with the keepsake on behalf of the Emperor. The Great Scholar came into (the Tai-he Hall) and out with the keepsake, giving it to the envoy. The envoy took it with the vice envoy, and moved forward (from the official queue) to the middle then to the left. A group of royal guards of honour was in the front; soldiers walked with horses; and the entire procession headed out of the Tai-he Gate through the central opening to the bride's family. The bride's father, wearing his ceremonial robe, kneeled on the right side of road, outside (the house) gate. After the visiting party had entered, the envoy placed the keepsake on the table in the middle; other officers placed the presents on the tables to right and left; and the horses were left in the courtyard. After that the envoy delivered the decree

⁵⁰⁰ In the imperial Qing, there were five different rites, 'auspicious rites' (*ji-li* 吉礼), 'joyous rites' (*jia-li* 嘉礼), 'military rites' (*jun-li* 军礼), 'guest rites' (*bin-li* 宾礼) and 'rites of misfortune' (*xiong-li* 凶礼). See the *QSG*, ed. by Zhao Erxun, pp.1735, 1750, 1767, 1788, 1803, 1819, 1834, 1850, 1865, 1877, 1888, 1904. The translations of the names of the five rites are cited from Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, pp.200-201.

from the emperor and offered the keepsake and presents to the father who kneeled down to take them. Then he stood up, and kneeled down again with his male family members facing the direction of the gate. Sending the procession off was the same ritual as greeting them, everyone kneeling down (at the gate). The day before the wedding day, the emperor, in the Tai-he Hall, signed an edict saying that the emperor, following the edict from the empress dowager, took XX as the empress and at the auspicious time of the auspicious day all officials were ordered to greet (her) with (proper) rituals. At the right time, the guards of honour went out of the Xie-he Gate and arrived at the bride's house. The bride's father with all the relatives in ceremonial robes welcomed the envoy outside the gate. The empress in the ceremonial dress, was greeted in the courtyard, while her mother and all the female family members were kneeling there. The envoy placed the edict from the emperor on the table (in the courtyard), and kneeled down at the south of the table, facing north. Then the inner court officer, standing in the west, read the edict and passed it to the left female officer (左女官), who, kneeling, then offered it up to the empress. The empress gave it to her right female officer (右女官), kneeling, who placed it on another table. Then the empress got up, receiving the ritual of three kneelings and three prostrations of the full kowtow⁵⁰¹, and entered her chariot. The ceremonial band led in the front, followed by the guards of honour and the empress's chariot. Her parents kneeled and sent her off. Then the entire procession stopped at the Xie-he Gate, but only the chariot went through it. The chariot, passing through the central opening of the Tai-he Gate, proceeded to the foot of the steps to the Tai-he Hall. The empress then left the chariot and ascended on foot...⁵⁰²

There are two moments of passing through the central opening of the Tai-he Gate in the greeting ceremony: one performed by the envoy who was clearly represented the emperor⁵⁰³; and the other performed by the empress, after he title and position had been authorised by the emperor. Even though there is this exception, it only happened once during one emperor's reign

⁵⁰¹ In Chinese, it is 三跪三叩 *san-gui-san-kou* of a lower rank than the *san-gui-jiu-kou* (the ritual of three kneeling and nine prostrations of the full kowtow).

⁵⁰² The *QSG*, ed. by Zhao Erxun, pp.1850-1851. Trans. by Bing Jiang.

⁵⁰³ In Chinese weddings, the groom should greet his bride himself in a procession. But the emperor and some princes of upper ranks only sent envoys to do so on their behalf, because of their exalted status.

and it is only the central opening of the Tai-he Gate was opened only for the emperor's wife. No other central gates would be opened for anyone but the emperor. The Xie-he Gate is the east gate to the square in front of the Tai-he Gate, which means that neither the greeting procession nor the empress took the central route into the Forbidden City, for one gate was reserved for the grandest honour.

Conclusion

Like every house, temple and tomb, Beijing and its city gates are the largest scale of deliberately associating with the ancient *wang-cheng* ideal, *feng-shui*, Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism, no matter whether they were carefully designed from the very beginning like Yuan Dadu or gradually modified during construction. From the date the city wall and gates were in construction, legendary rumours and tales about the mysterious city of cities never stopped being created and spread among ordinary people, who had never had a chance to glance at or even get close to the very heart of the city in their whole lives. Generations of elite and scholars were obsessed to dramatise the city founding story in history by applying *feng-shui* theory. In historical records, when the Ming dynasty took over Dadu city from the Mongolian Yuan dynasty, it seemed that they were not seriously planning it but rather building a wall through the Dadu city for defending the occasional attacks from the Mongolians in the north, which eventually formed Beijing layout since. However, in folk tales, after the Emperor Yongle snatched the crown and moved his power from the old capital Nanjing to Beijing, the city of fortification was granted the title as the counterpart of Heaven, with the perfect dragon geographical figure: the city was located in 'protection of the five dragons – the subterranean dragon whose corrugated back is seen in the crests of hills and mountains, the earthbound dragon whose twisting tail is seen in the winding courses of rivers, the restless, invisible wind dragon, the rain dragon whose body is

made of clouds, the celestial dragon who stares at the world through the burning disc of the sun'⁵⁰⁴.

The square that the nine Inner city gates formed, representing the central kingdom/land, and the central line that the three courts and five gates were arranged on, symbolising the supreme power of the Son of Heaven, not only coincidentally resembled the form of the Chinese character *zhong* 中, the term for 'centre', 'pivot', and the 'Mean' (a concept of Confucianism from one of its classics the *Doctrine of the Mean*), but also represented and symbolised the meanings by establishing the imperial hierarchy and functioning in the civil and royal life. The statement of the most 'supreme' is not so much that the central gates were only opened for the Emperors, but that they were always shut for any other people. As stated in the *ZL*: 'It is the sovereign alone who establishes the states of the empire, gives to the four quarters their proper positions, gives to the capital its form and to the fields their proper divisions. He creates the offices and apportions their functions in order to form a centre to which people may look.'⁵⁰⁵ The city and palace declared the justice of the rulers' governance by presenting the extreme patterns of gate-wall and gate-court succeeded from ancestors. And following and worshipping ancestors are very Chinese. Zhu Xi, the founder of Neo-Confucianism of the 12th century, used Beijing's ancient name Jidu to conjure up a favourable impression of the region and used the dragon and tiger images to pinpoint the striking features and the suggestive flow of auspicious cosmic breadth:

Jidu is situated in the centre of heaven and earth; what a site of auspicious geomancy! There the mountain range originates from Yunzhong, the peak of the mountain's spine is right there. The water west of the spine flows west into

⁵⁰⁴ Graham Peck, *Through China's Wall* (London and Glasgow: Collins Clear-type Press, 1941), p.20. Similar *feng-shui* analyses on Beijing location are many, more or less different from each other. But dragon is an inevitable factor in any.

⁵⁰⁵ Jianfei Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies*, p.34. Zhu's translation is based on Wright, 'The cosmology of the Chinese city' and consulted Sit's translation. For more information, see Jianfei Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies*, pp.25, 46-47, 253.

Longmen and the West River, the water east of the spine drains into the Sea. In the front is the Yellow River encircling. On the right side is Mt. Hua, Towering aloof; it is the Tiger. Passing Mt. Hua to the centre is Mt. Song; this is the front row. Further away is Mt. Tai, towering on the left, it is the Dragon.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁶ Hok-lam Chan, *Legends of the Building of Old Peking*, p.45.

Chapter 7

Conclusion: The Gate and the Representation of Rituals

This thesis discusses the ritualism of Chinese gates in the context of Chinese rites that are, in fact, the core of Chinese culture and have exerted a tremendous and crucial impact on the original basis of Chinese architecture and building trades since the Zhou period or even earlier, when the prototype of gate-hall-courtyard was founded, along with the greeting rite. From this angle, without much analysis aid from the modern drawings of Chinese architecture, the entire carpentry tradition that did not involve much mapping or drawing becomes a mystery, especially when not only modern types of drawing are missing in this building tradition, but also when the documents about a particular building or architect (carpenter) are not available either. In other words, the Chinese had a different route in the discipline of architecture, and probably a parallel route with the western one.

In Chapter 1, some research questions have been raised: What meanings are significance can be drawn from these examples of ceremonial structures that look so characteristically Chinese? Why did Chinese architecture change so little over the centuries, from appearance to structure, and what are the origins and impulses behind the ‘designing’ and ‘planning’ of those gates and threshold spaces? In what way should we understand them as integral part of the fabric of Chinese society? Hopefully, there have been some answers in the end as follows.

Chinese Architecture

By studying gates and gateways, we may sneak a peek at the whole picture of Chinese traditional architecture.

How to see and study Chinese traditional architecture is the invisible question hiding in this thesis, which sets the foundational frame of this thesis and all other related researches. Since the late 19th century when those Chinese scholars, who later became the founders of modern architectural education in China, brought back the ‘brand new science’ – the western architecture into China, the ‘science of Chinese traditional architecture’ has never been separated from the western one, nor been treated as an independent discipline. The studies on Chinese traditional architecture began with the emerge of the 12th century book *YZFS* and its translation in the 1920s, by a group of social activists, scholars and the first generation of architects in China. Along with the founding of schools of architecture in universities, the analysis and translation of a very few ancient books like the *YZFS* and surveys of existent buildings (mainly official buildings, such as temples, old schools, yamens and palaces) on site have formed the basis and content of research in this field. A lot of efforts have been made to understand the terminology of carpentry, since timber was the major building material if not the only one, especially in the imperial building trade in major capital cities. Meanwhile the vernacular building trade has

seldom possessed textbooks to refer to, and the on-site surveys and subsequent studies that started less than a century ago (if we are optimistic), with a big blank of historic background and sometimes unreliable ritual contexts, are normally categorised into folklore study or the diversity of vernacular buildings.

However, all these have not advanced far not enough to be satisfactory for understanding Chinese architecture. For a single building or a building complex, normally, there is very little record of process from carpenters (architects) or comprehensive construction history or background. (For some important royal buildings in the late imperial time, there might be some names and brief construction purposes and processes recorded in corresponding court documents.) Hence, we have few clues about carpenters' 'design ideas' or 'builders' philosophy'.

In fact, to the end, the Chinese carpentry is the link and the core of both imperial and vernacular trades, yet the research on it is missing or probably just neglected during the past century.

If current studies on Chinese traditional architecture are not completely satisfactory and seem powerless to reveal the true image, one may ask why. Why is it so hard to do a complete case study on a traditional building? Chinese traditional architecture is much more than planning, design and construction. When one starts to study Chinese traditional architecture nowadays, with general knowledge of western architecture if we may say so, we may find it extremely hard to discover a point to penetrate, mainly because of the characteristics of Chinese building traditions and history. The aspect about the builders – the carpenters - is poorly recorded with low accuracy in history. And most of the time, they were not the designers. There are a limited number of monographs on buildings, and yet of these, most prefer to focus on the miscellaneous 'non-design' aspects. Interestingly, the understanding of Chinese traditional architecture is highly dependent on and limited by an immense historical literature and records,

most of which are concerned with philosophy-associated rituals and rites but not with architecture itself. On the basis of the relations between gates and other types of architecture, the knowledge of gates is much more tied up with, and relies on, the soul-searching of traditions in building. Boyd, in his book introducing Chinese architecture and town planning of imperial times, argues that the force of religion ‘in the development of monumentalism in architecture in China was, not indeed absent, but far less powerful than in either India or Europe’⁵⁰⁷. However, if, from today’s point of view by ‘religion’ he included general philosophical thoughts and cosmos as analysed in Chapter 2, accepting that either Confucianism or Daoism can be categorised under religion, the argument cannot be more wrong. And the power of believed Chinese cosmic forces, in the radical conclusion of this thesis, is always, in fact, the original driver of Chinese building activities, especially Chinese gates and gate buildings.

Chinese architecture is a general example for East-West parallels; and gate and gateways are the perfect example for Chinese architecture.

Gates and Gateways

One of the first understandings of gates – their connections with the earliest awareness of geographic cardinal directions and the simply ritualised rites associated – occurs in many poems of the *SJ*. These poems, eight in total, of perhaps the 7th century BCE, have described the social life and conventions happening mostly at the east gate of either a city or a residential house, with their first lines starting with the words ‘the east gate’⁵⁰⁸. For example, in the poem *Dong Men Zhi Fen*, a religious dance

⁵⁰⁷ Boyd, *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning, 1500 B.C.-A.D.1911*, p.25.

⁵⁰⁸ It cannot be known today whether these daily or occasional activities really occurred only at the east gate or whether it was chosen for the oral aesthetic rhythm of the pronunciation of ‘the east gate’ *dong-men* in Chinese. Undeniable, however, is the prominence of gates. The eight poems are *Bei Men* (the north gate), *Dong Men Zhi Shan* (near the level ground of the east gate), *Chu Qi Dong Men* (going out at the east gate), *Dong Men Zhi Fen* (the white elms at the east gate), *Heng Men* (the heng gate), *Dong Men*

under the elms and oaks of the east gate performed by the young girl on a carefully divined morning is described:

The elms of the Eastern gate, the oaks of the Yun-k'iu,
The daughter of Tsi-chung dances under them.
A (good) auspicious morning they go and choose:
The (lady) Yuan of the South side;
No longer spinning her hemp,
She dances in the market place.
An auspicious morning they proceed,
Yea, they come forward and go:
We look on you as (if you were) a Malva!
She gives us a handful of pepper-plants.⁵⁰⁹

The more ancient then time, the more important was the reputation of the east, for it is the orientation where the sun comes up and primitive agriculture depended on it. Besides worshipping the east, the south, symmetry and the central line later reached their dominance over the planning, positioning and designing of gates, the evidence of which has ranged from the Chinese character *men* of 'gate' to numerous surviving relics, although explicit recorded documents concerning the principles are rare.

And not only in ancient poems, but also in other Chinese classics that concern the ideas of planning a city or a palace, such as in the *ZL*, the only architectural figures mentioned and regulated are gateways and halls, their names and scales, the elements that can identify the differentiations in social classes, especially the differentiations between the ruler and others. And this

Zhi Chi (the moat at the east gate), *Dong Men Zhi Yang* (the willows at the east gate), *Mu Men* (the grave gate).

⁵⁰⁹ See Karlgren, trans. *The Book of Odes* (the *SJ*), pp.87-88. The original text is: '东门之枌，宛丘之栩，子仲之子，婆娑其下，穀旦于差，南方之原，不绩其麻，市也婆娑。穀旦于逝，越以鞿迈。视尔如蒺，贻我握椒'.

gate-hall-courtyard ideal was associated with highly organised society-order system, and more associated with religious or ceremonial rituals rather than with constructing rituals in carpentry trade.

With the delusion that gates are more likely to be studied in the department of decoration and ornamentation⁵¹⁰, the role in gate buildings of religious practices and the powerful philosophical cosmos beyond has been neglected, but it may have reached its peak with the invention and application of the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* since perhaps the 16th century. In traditional carpentry of domestic or imperial trade, making a correct gate was probably as important as hoisting the main beam of the main hall, and extraordinarily more significant than making a window and other building components, for it was truly believed that it could improve the fortunes of the household by harmonising with Heaven. And in order to do so, the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*, a carpenter's rule, was invented to measure a gate's levels of harmony or disharmony by linking the dimensions and measurements fit the cosmological astrology and *feng-shui*: the eight lucky or unlucky inches on the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*, associated with the symbols of colours and stars that correspond to the dimensions of the carpenter's square, delivered the signals from Heaven. And the associations of all the symbols are extremely complicated and sometimes rather contradictory between various theories and practices, for the connections between symbols have their fundamental roots in early cosmos, perceived or not. After all, what matters is not the aesthetic pleasure or the functional convenience of the gate, but whether the gate's measurements are auspiciously suitable for the location and the household according to the rules of Heaven.

⁵¹⁰ Studies on gates from the angle of decoration and ornamentation have their value and have also provided a more direct point to start enquiries. For studies and collection, see Li Yunhe, *Hua Xia Yi Jiang*; Lou Qingxi, *Zhong Guo Jian Zhu De Men Wen Hua* (Zhengzhou: Henan Science and Technology Press, 2001) and *Xiang Tu Gui Bao: qian men wan hu* (Beijing: Shenghuo Dushu Xinzhi Sanlian Bookstore, 2006); Chen Zhihua, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Jian Zhu Zhuang Shi Wu Shu: Hu You Zhi Yi*, pp.139-238 and *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Jian Zhu Zhuang Shi Wu Shu: Wan Hu Zhi Mei*, pp.173-262.

Compared with making a correct gate, the rituals performed at/for a gate and the conventions of decorating it are seemingly simple, since the procedures and performers were not particularly standardised and have varied through times and regions. However, the timing and order are never vulgarly treated. The right timing and order, or hierarchy reflected in architecture, are the essence of *li* that is the all-time ‘religion’ worshipped and practised sincerely by the Chinese. The auspicious timing was divined by *feng-shui* masters, and the forms and decorations of gates had to follow the regulations made by the imperial bureau, as the counterpart of the Heaven’s command to achieve harmony: apparently eighty-one (nine by nine) doornails only appear on the gates of imperial palaces, and the real dragon patterns (the dragons with claws of five fingers) would never be seen on a gate’s roof outside of imperial palaces.

The elaborate ancestral worship tradition and ghost culture have made the rituals associated with gates and gateways at tombs vaguer and seemingly more invisible, hence more complicated to study in funerals. The ancestral worship and the ‘belief in the immortality of the soul and the pursuit of immortality’⁵¹¹ are probably the most ancient and long-lasting core beliefs in Chinese culture. And gates and gateways were reasonably given the mission of creating the environment of the forever-living world and marking the borderline between the immortal and the secular. The communications between the two are achieved by periodic worshipping and funeral rituals, which were defined both in space and in time by gates.

Carrying all those symbols of cosmos and beliefs, the Chinese gates reached a peak of monumentalism, as territory marks geographically and spiritually tombs, houses, palaces, streets and cities. Figure 7-1 shows two gates of a restaurant in South China of the 1980s, decorated for a party of greeting a new-born baby: red cloths hanging over the door lintels

⁵¹¹ Guo Pu, *A Translation of the Ancient Chinese: the Book of Burial (Zang Shu)* 葬书, trans. with an introduction by Juwen Zhang (Lewiston, N. Y.; Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004), p.18.

broadcasting the joy, traditional calligraphies in red delivering best wishes and a generous quantity of flower-pattern ornaments made of colourful paper bespreading any gaps between the red cloths. All these decorations are not universal in China but rather local. However, the signals and symbols they bear cannot be more obvious to the Chinese, showing that inside the gates a joy is shared and an auspicious event is identified and celebrated: the red, the colourful flowers and the superb and formal calligraphies. The more these symbols are understood, the more the ‘Chinese desire to associate man with Heaven and the greater natural rhythms of the universe can be discerned’⁵¹², no matter whether in the imperial building trade or in the vernacular one, and no matter whether in the historic past or in the modern present.

What this thesis is trying to answer is why Chinese gates/gateways can be so orderly and quietly charming without having their appearances much changed through hundreds of years.

Future Works

A hypothesis could be raised from this thesis that Chinese traditional architecture stands parallel with the Western tradition and ought to be studied as an independent discipline. In order to do so, the entire frame of terminology and concepts should be established first. I have tried to introduce several terms either in Chapter 2 for background study or through other chapters when necessary. But it is a task impossible to attain completely in this thesis of course, for even the use of terms such as ‘traditional architecture’ already needs translation.

There are some possible future works and research directions as follows:

⁵¹² It was originally addressed by Laurence Liu in his research on the Temple of Heaven. See Laurence Liu, *Chinese Architecture*, p.38.

1. We need to look back again at the studies on Chinese traditional architecture since the 1920s to establishing a new foundational frame of research and concepts. By now we expect a second breakthrough in the field since the research started in modern China. Works of Liang Sicheng, Liu Dunzhen and the *YZXS* have founded a basic methodology for the studies that have followed till today, which combined the measuring of relics and understanding the carpentry techniques by translating the two ancient books the *YZFS* and the *GBGCZFZL*. However, they have been merely questioned or criticised. Meanwhile, many Chinese scholars' achievements are not known in the West due to lack of communications and English publications. The situations of contemporary research on Chinese traditional architecture since the 1980s are rather vague.

2. This foundational frame should systematically organise the relationships between architecture, religious thought, and education. By building up a terminology and a complete set of concepts, the problems in translations can be improved. And it can be a complicated work, details from the names of every measurement in carpentry to mythological animals in relation to architectural constructions, desperately needing consolidated and systematic studies. Especially, the translations of terms are in need to be unified, in order to avoid misunderstandings and repetitions of research. Additionally, studies in the West on Chinese culture related to traditional architecture, such as Stephan Feuchtwang's research on *feng-shui* and Klaas Ruitenbeek's translation of the *LBJ*, are merely introduced into Chinese academics, which is a pity.

3. We have known little about carpentry and associated rituals, such as crafts, craft education, religious beliefs in carpentry and crafts, influences of *feng-shui*, documenting and recording in carpentry and all sorts. The history of Chinese traditional architecture is basically a history of carpentry. For example, the orders of gates that are discussed in Chapter 3, are not only regulations in carpentry, but also imperial restrictions for social structure and rituals. For the imperial trade, the tight connection between architecture

and imperial politics and rites seems unbroken. For the vernacular trade, mythological and religious beliefs and their practices in carpentry are more important than technique skills. All of those can be the essence of a timber building, which, unfortunately, is not taken care of in architectural studies.

4. There is much to be explored in comparisons between East and West in gateway design and rituals, especially the Chinese compared with ancient Roman, and its later classical reinventions in Renaissance and Baroque Europe. It is not hard to find out that, during the early stage of Chinese and Roman civilisations, there are many parallels that can be drawn in regard to city/garden relationships in Chinese philosophies and Roman traditions, such as the elements of the world, the lucky and unlucky (or what the Romans believed to be good or bad 'fortune') and so forth. These differences and similarities inevitably give rise to divergent paths of architecture, but at the same time allowed cultural resonance and sympathies that mutually shared and preserved traditional values. It is in this respect that this thesis touches on a much broader and challenging topic that will hopefully form the subject of future research. For the time being however it is important to recognise, as I hope this thesis has demonstrated, that the ritual portals of China provide a rich and fertile context for examining the social, political and religious practices in the late Imperial period, and to this end goes some way to furthering our knowledge of the inter-connections between architecture and society in China today.

BOOK II

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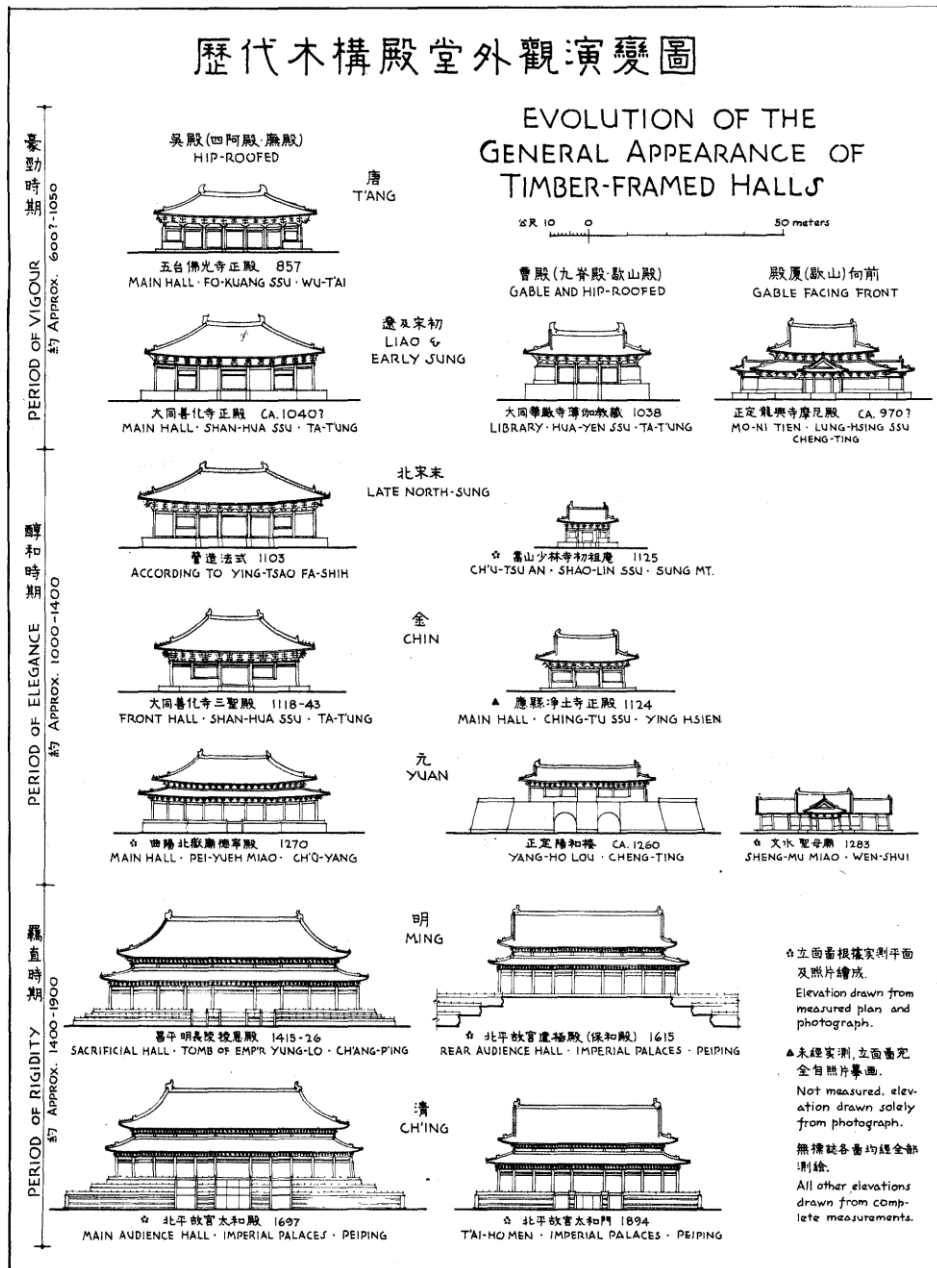


Figure 2-1 Evolution of the General Appearance of Timber-Framed Halls. Source: Liang Sicheng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture: a study of the development of its structural system and the evolution of its types* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1985), p.38.

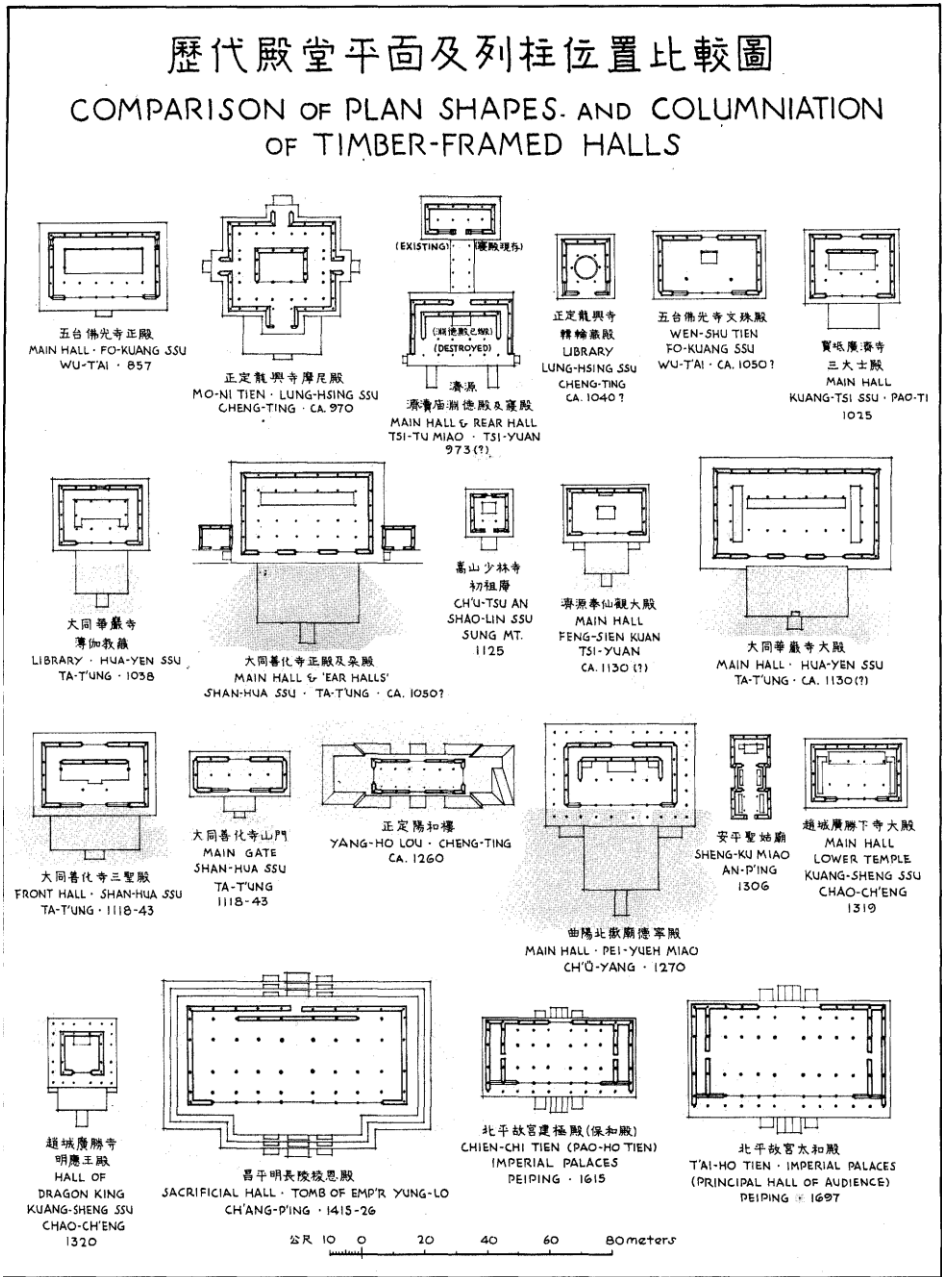


Figure 2-2 Comparison of Plan Shapes and Columniation of Timber-Framed Halls. Source: Liang Sicheng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, p.39.

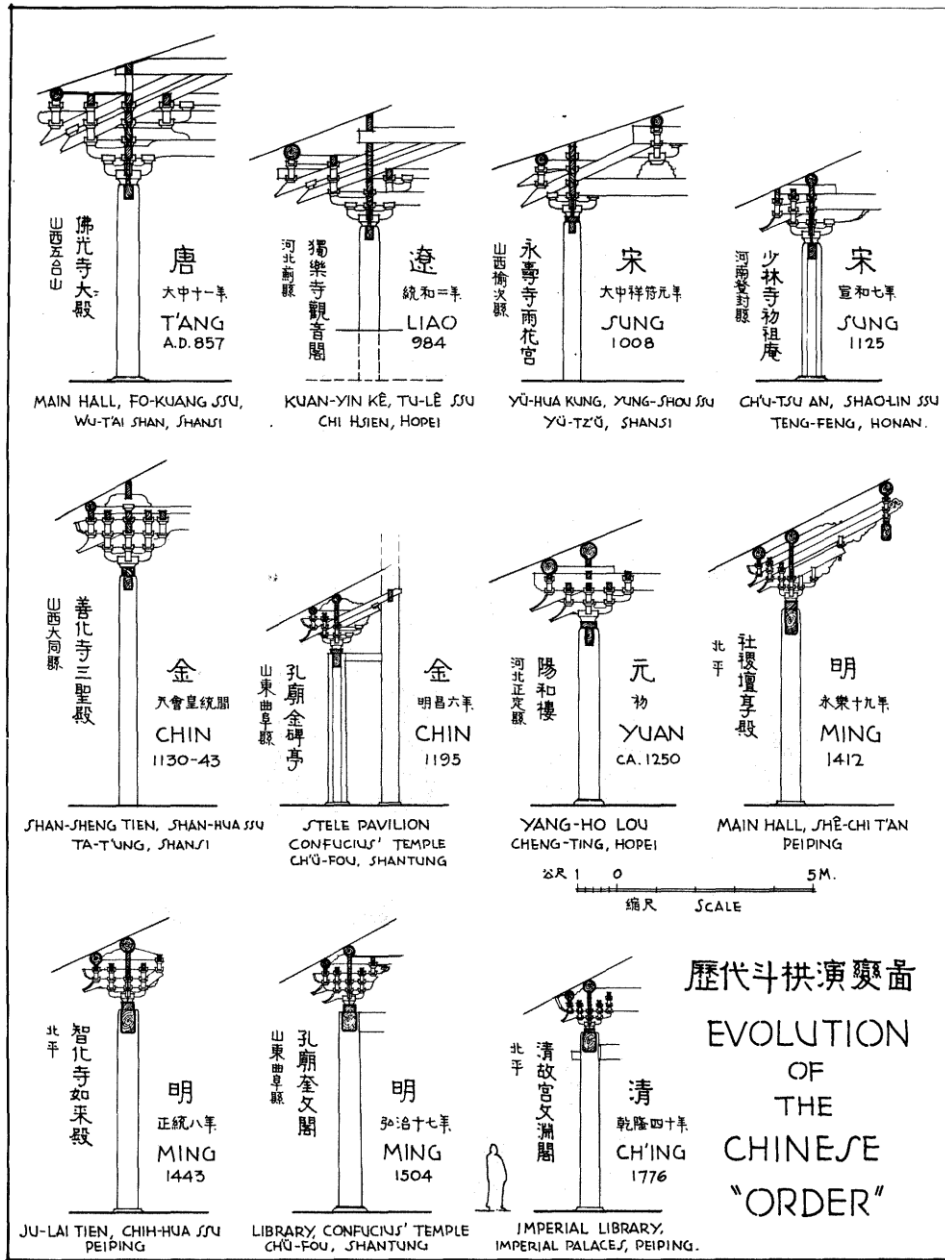


Figure 2-3 Evolution of the Chinese Order. Source: Liang Sicheng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, p.73.

支那建築平面比較圖

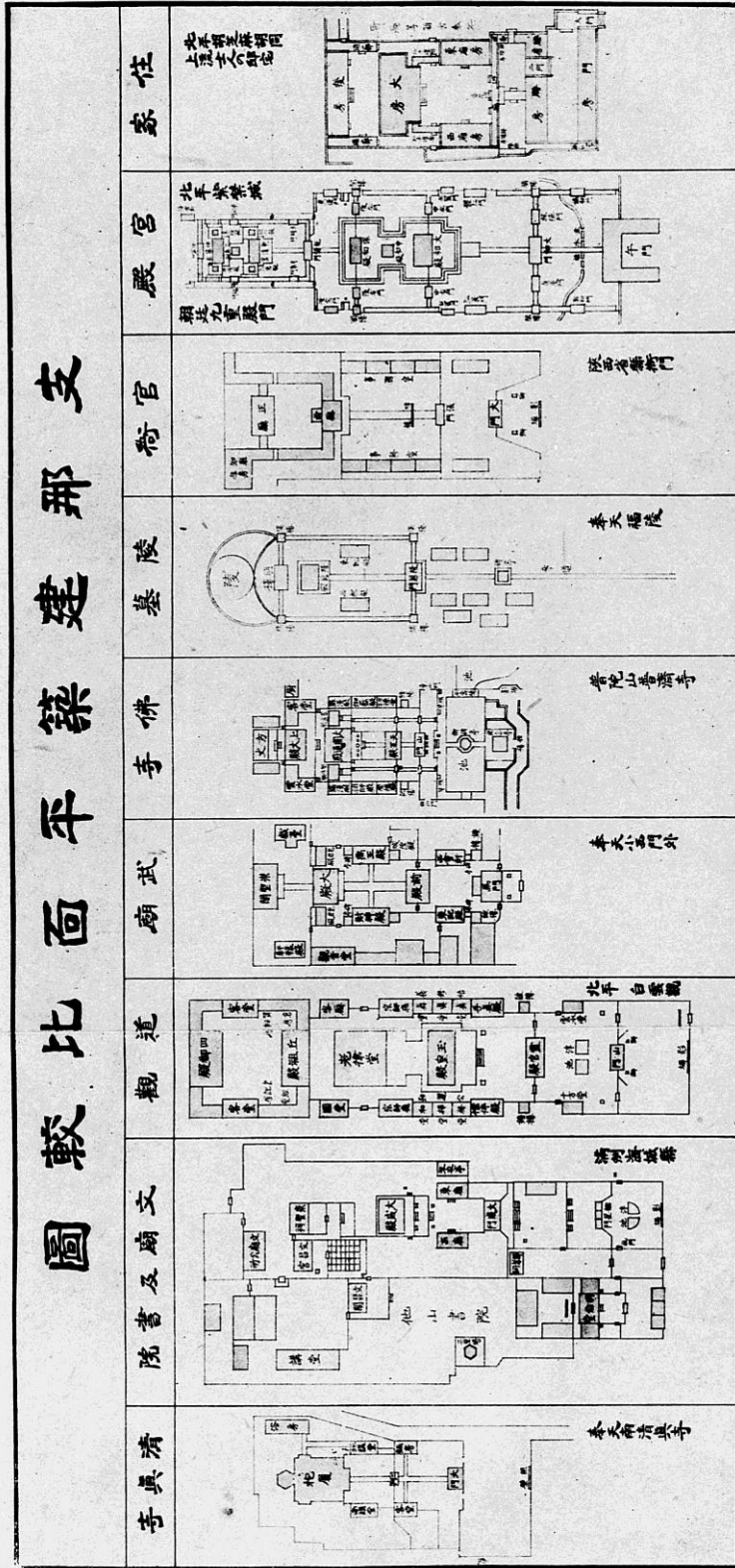
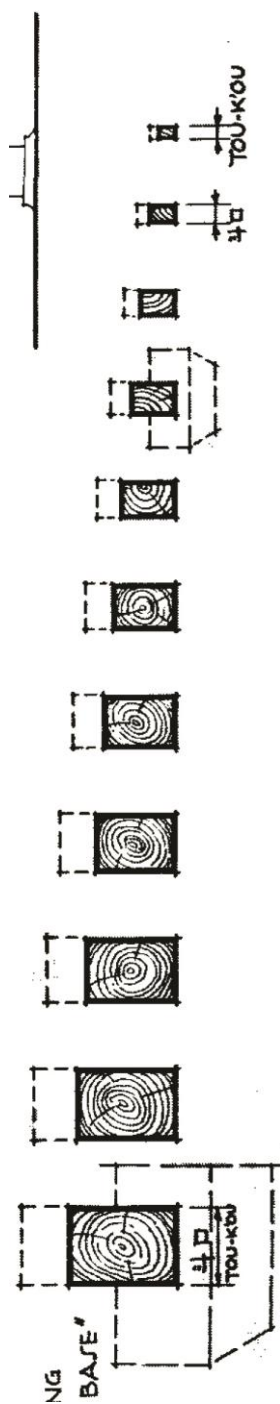


圖 九 八 三 第

Figure 2-4 Itō Chūta's Drawing: Comparisons of Plans of Nine Different Types of Chinese Architecture. From right to left: Residence, Palace, Yamen, Tomb, Buddhist Temple, Military Temple, Daoist Temple, Literature Temple & Library, Islamic Temple. Source: a photocopy from the Itō's collections of National Diet Library, photocopied by Dr. Hui Ju Chang.



斗口 TOU-K'OU 清式稱材厚曰斗口,即宋之斗也。斗口自一寸至六寸,共十一等,但實物所見,最大者僅至四寸。用材均高二斗口,單材僅用枚跳頭橫拱,高為1.4斗口。THE WIDTH OF A TS'AI IS KNOWN AS A TOU-K'OU, RANGING FROM 1 TO 6 INCHES; DEPTH OF TS'AI = 2 TOU-K'OU. TAN-TS'AI, OR A LIGHT TS'AI = 2 x 1.4 TOU-K'OU, USED ONLY FOR KUNGS EMPLOYED ON T'IAOS.

Figure 2-6 *Dou-kou* and its 11 Ranks. Source: Liang Sicheng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, p.19.

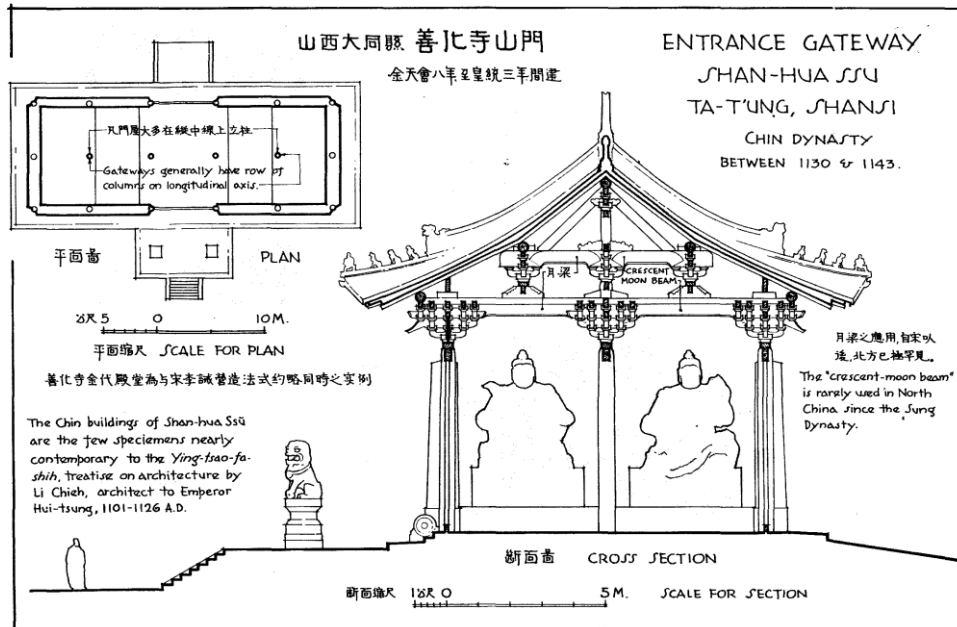


Figure 2-7 The Main Gatehouse of the Shanhua Temple in Datong, Shanxi Province. Source: Liang Sicheng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, p.95.

The gatehouse was built on a platform with a flight of steps in front. It has a plan of six columns and five bays on the east-west and three columns and two bays on the north-south. The central bay of the five is opened as gateway.

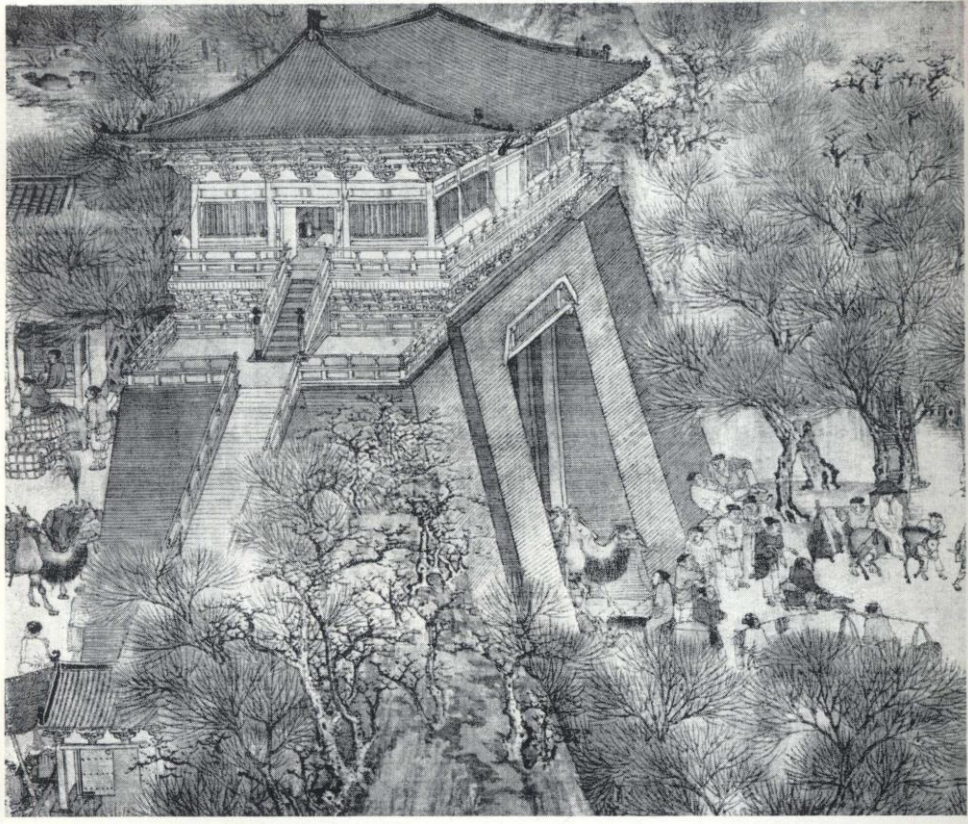
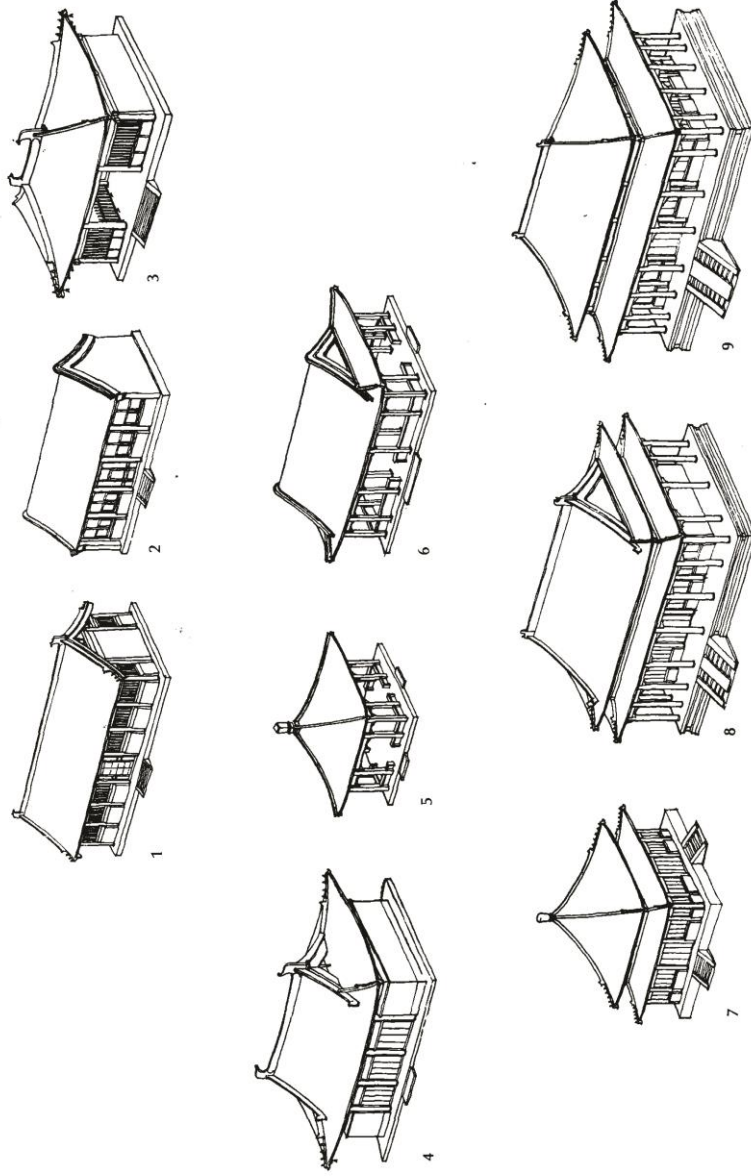


Figure 2-8 Bianliang City Gate in a painting of the Song period around the 10th century. Source: Andrew Boyd, *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning, 1500 B.C.-A.D.1911* (London: Tiranti, 1962),p.210. The gate tower, built on top of the high platform with a huge entrance opening, had a large overhanging roof supported by layers of elaborate bracket sets. There were six columns on the long side façade, which gave five bays, and four columns on the short giving three bays. The gate of the tower was opened on the short side façade due to the limitation of the plan. However, a central gate was still opened on the long side as usual. Without the high platform, the plan of the gate tower had no difference from other single buildings’.

Figure 2-9 The Types of Roofs. Source: Liang Sicheng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, p.11.



- 1 overhanging gable roof,
- 2 flush gable roof,
- 3 hip roof,
- 4 gable-and-hip roof,
- 5 pyramidal roof,
- 6 gable-and-hip roof,
- 7 double eaved pyramidal roof,
- 8 double-eaved gable-and-hip roof,
- 9 double eaved hip roof.



Figure 2-10 The Roof of the Taihe Hall, the Forbidden City, Beijing.
Source: the official website of *the Palace Museum* Beijing
<www.dpm.org.cn>.

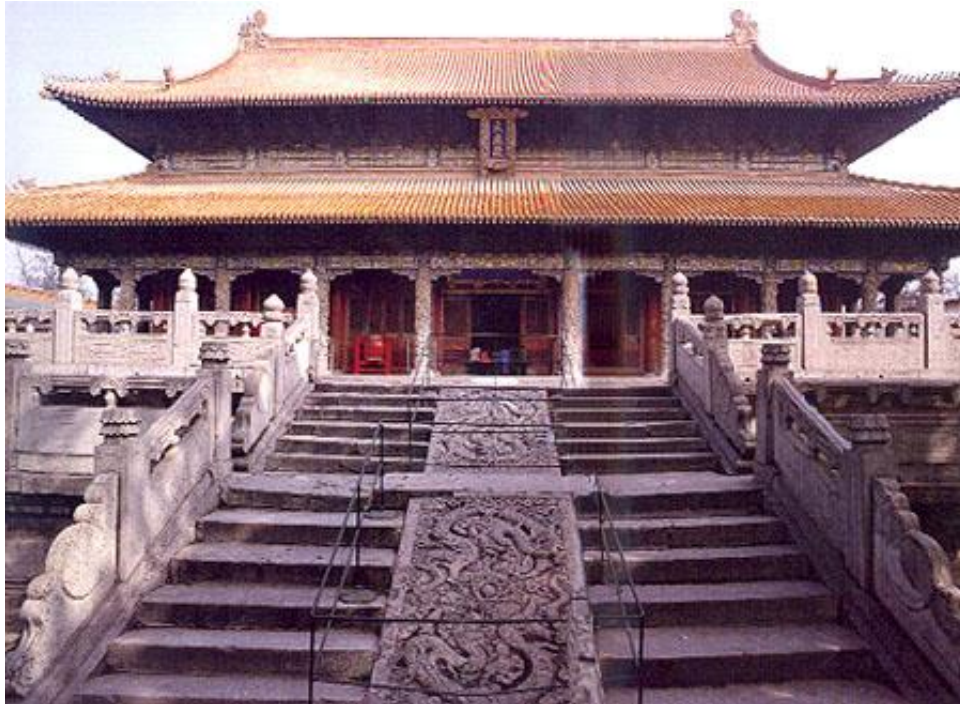


Figure 2-11 The Roof of the Main Hall of the Confucian Temple, Shandong Province. Source: *China Confucian Temple* <http://www.chinakongmiao.org/templates/T_common/index.aspx?nodeid=92&page=ContentPage&contentid=1127> (accessed July 2009).



Figure 2-12 The Roof of the Tiankuang Hall of the Dai Temple, Shandong Province. Source: the Dai Temple website <<http://www.daimiao.cn/index.htm>> (accessed July 2009).

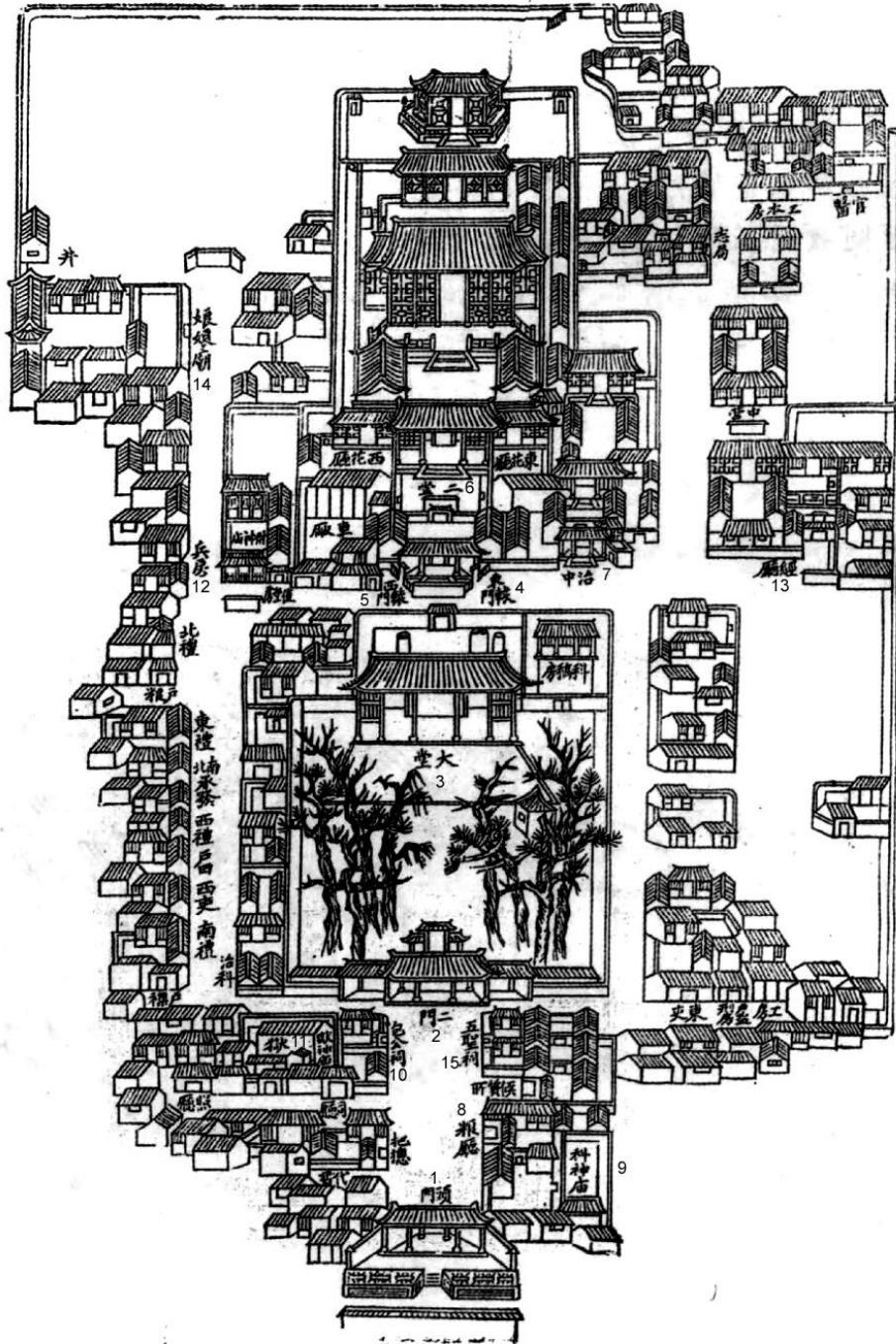


Figure 2-13 The Plan of Shuntian Yamen of the 18th century, based on a drawing of the 18th century. Source: Zhang Yuhuan, *Zhong Guo Cheng Chi Shi* (Tianjin: Bai Hua Wen Yi, 2003), p.448.

1 Main Gate, 2 Second/Ceremonial Gate, 3 Main Audience Hall, 4 East *Ba* Gate,

5 West *Yuan* Gate, 6 Second Hall, 7 Office of *Zhi-zhong*, 8 Grain Hall,

9 *Ke-shen* Temple, 10 *Bao-gong* Temple, 11 Prisons, 12 Soldier Dormitories,

13 Hall of Classics, 14 Temple of Goddess, 15 Temple of Five Saints

Both of *ba* and *yuan* mean wheels in Chinese. Anyone must get off vehicles, horses or sedans at the East *Ba* Gate and West *Yuan* Gate to go through. *Zhi-zhong* is the title of a position in yamen, in charge of miscellaneous administration. *Bao-gong*, also called *Bao-zheng*, was the name of a high ranked minister of the Song dynasty (the 10th century), who was famous for his integrity. It became a tradition afterwards in the official circle to respect him as a model.



Figure 2-14 (top) The Ceremonial Gate of the Zhili Yamen, Baoding, Hebei Province, photo taken by Bing Jiang in 2009.

Figure 2-15 (bottom) The 'Ghost Gate' to the west of the Ceremonial Gate, Zhili Yamen, Baoding, Hebei Province, photo taken by Bing Jiang in 2009.

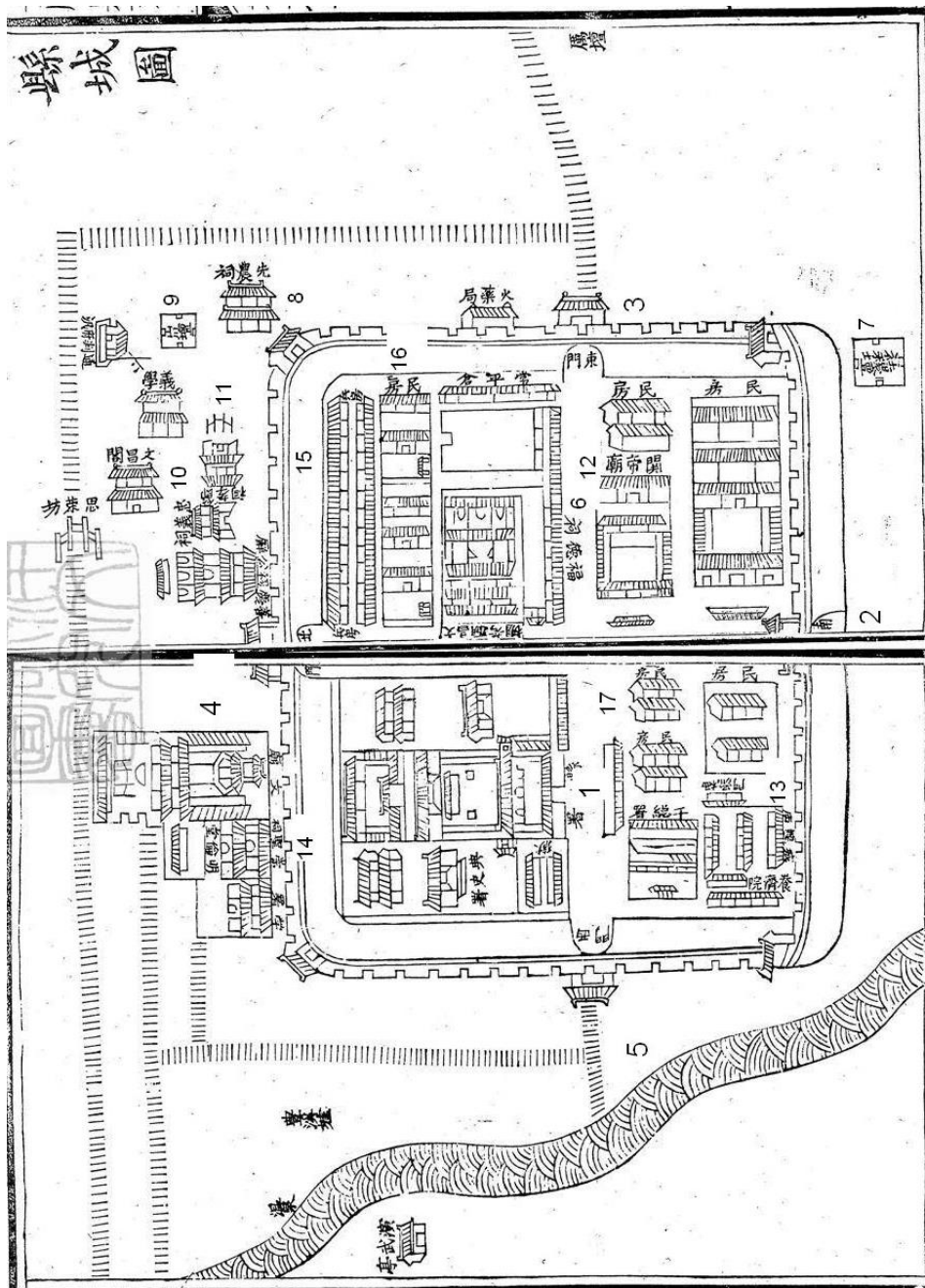


Figure 2-16 The Plan of Fengshun Town, Guangdong Province in 1746 and All the Temples. Source: *Fengshun Town Gazetteer*, Guangdong Province, the copy in 1865, vol.2, pp.4-5.

- 1 Fengshun Yamen,
- 2 South City Gate, 3 East City Gate, 4 North City Gate, 5 West City Gate,
- 6 Temple of Blessing and Virtues,
- 7 Altar of Land and Grain,
- 8 Altar of Agriculture,
- 9 Altar of Mountains and Rivers,
- 10 Temple of Loyalty and Righteousness,
- 11 Temple of Chastity and Filial Piety, 12 Temple of Guan Di,
- 13 Temple of City God,
- 14 Temple of Saints and Temple of Literature,
- 15 Soldiers' Houses,
- 16 and 17 Residential Houses.



Figure 2-17 The Piece of Oracle Bone with Scripts of *Si-fang* and *Si-fang-feng*. Source: *World Digital Library* < <http://www.wdl.org/zh/item/290/zoom/#group=1&page=1&zoom=0.3447¢erX=0.5000¢erY=0.8118> > (accessed May 2010). The original piece is collected in the National Digital Library of China.

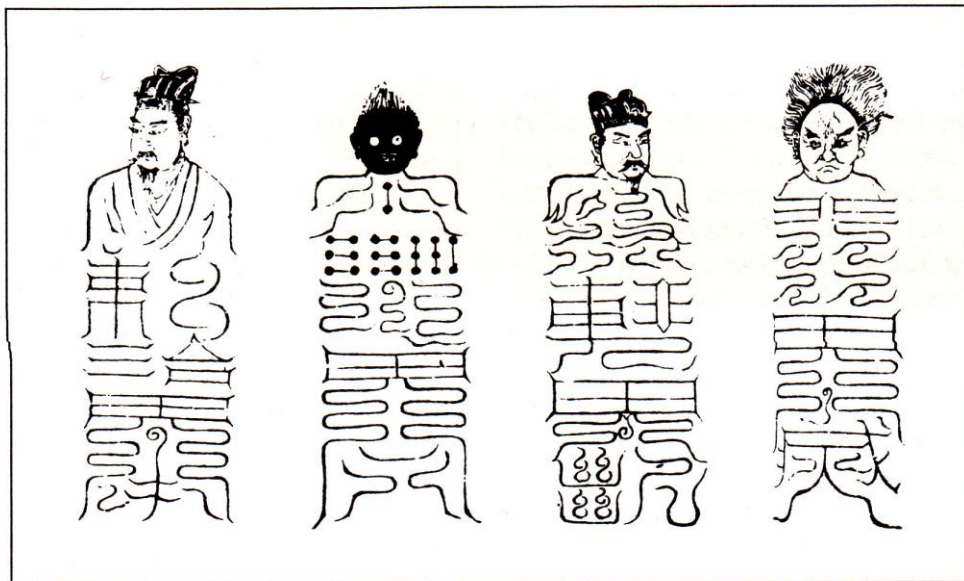


Figure 2-18 The Spirits of the *Si-fang*, the *Si-fang-feng*, the Masters of the Four Directions. Source: Wolfram Eberhard, *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: hidden symbols in Chinese life and thought*, trans. from the German by G. L. Campbell (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), p.116.



Figure 2-19 Ink-rubbing of the *Chang-le* Tile of the Han Dynasty, 200 BCE. Source: Nelson Wu, *Chinese and Indian Architecture: the city of man, the mountain of God and the realm of the immortals* (London; New York: Prentice-Hall International; Braziller, 1963), p.49.

It is the inscribed image of a square tile from the Han imperial palace Changle 长乐宫. The characters in the right up corner are *qian-qiu* 千秋, literally, a thousand of autumns (years), and the ones in the left up corner *wan-sui* 万岁, literally, ten thousands of years. The four characters together form a Chinese idiom *qian-qiu-wan-sui* 千秋万岁, auspiciously expressing the wish of longevity. The two characters in the centre is *chang-le* 长乐, literally, forever happiness, which the Han tile was named after; and the two in the bottom corners *wei-yang* 未央, literally, never stop.

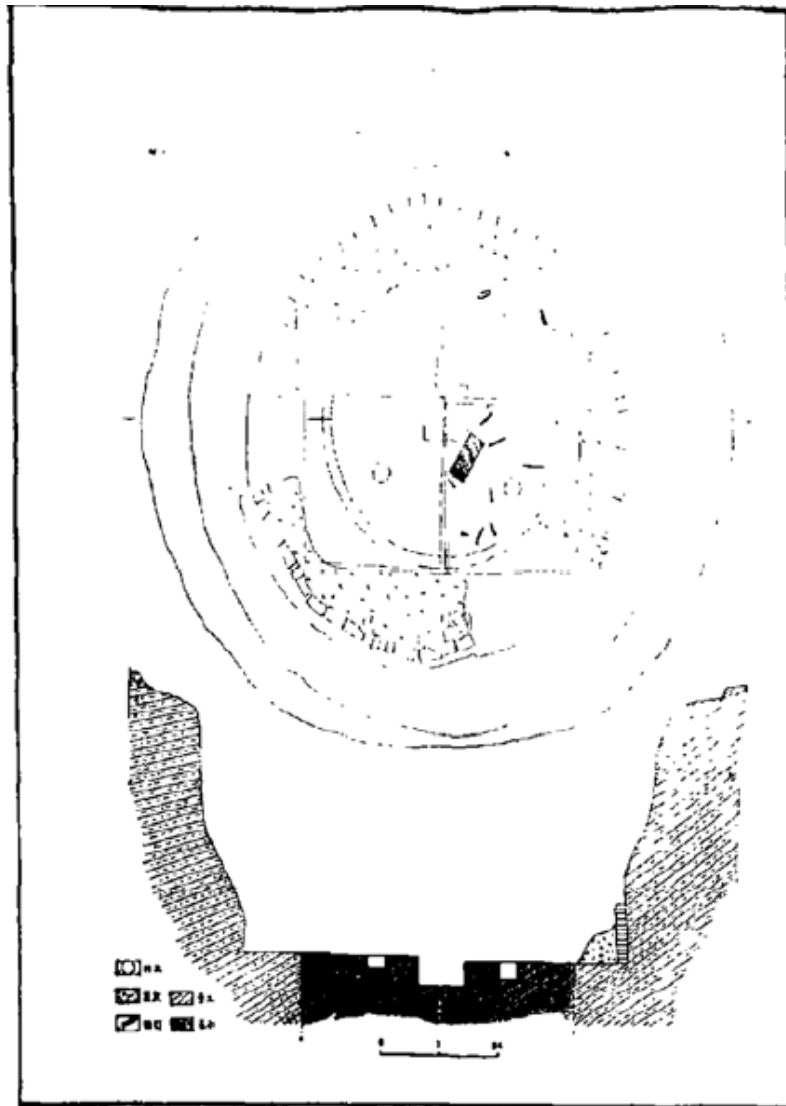
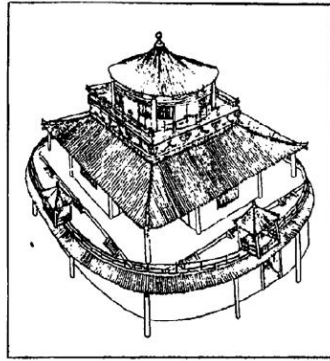


Figure 2-20 The Recovery of the *Ming-tang* designed by Yuwen Kai of the 7th century (top), and the 1989 Archaeological Relics of the *Ming-tang* of Empress Wu (bottom). Source: Jiang Bo, '*Han Tang Du Cheng Li Zhi Jian Zhu Yan Jiu*' (Ph.D thesis, Department of Archaeology, The Graduate School of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 2001), pp.169-70.

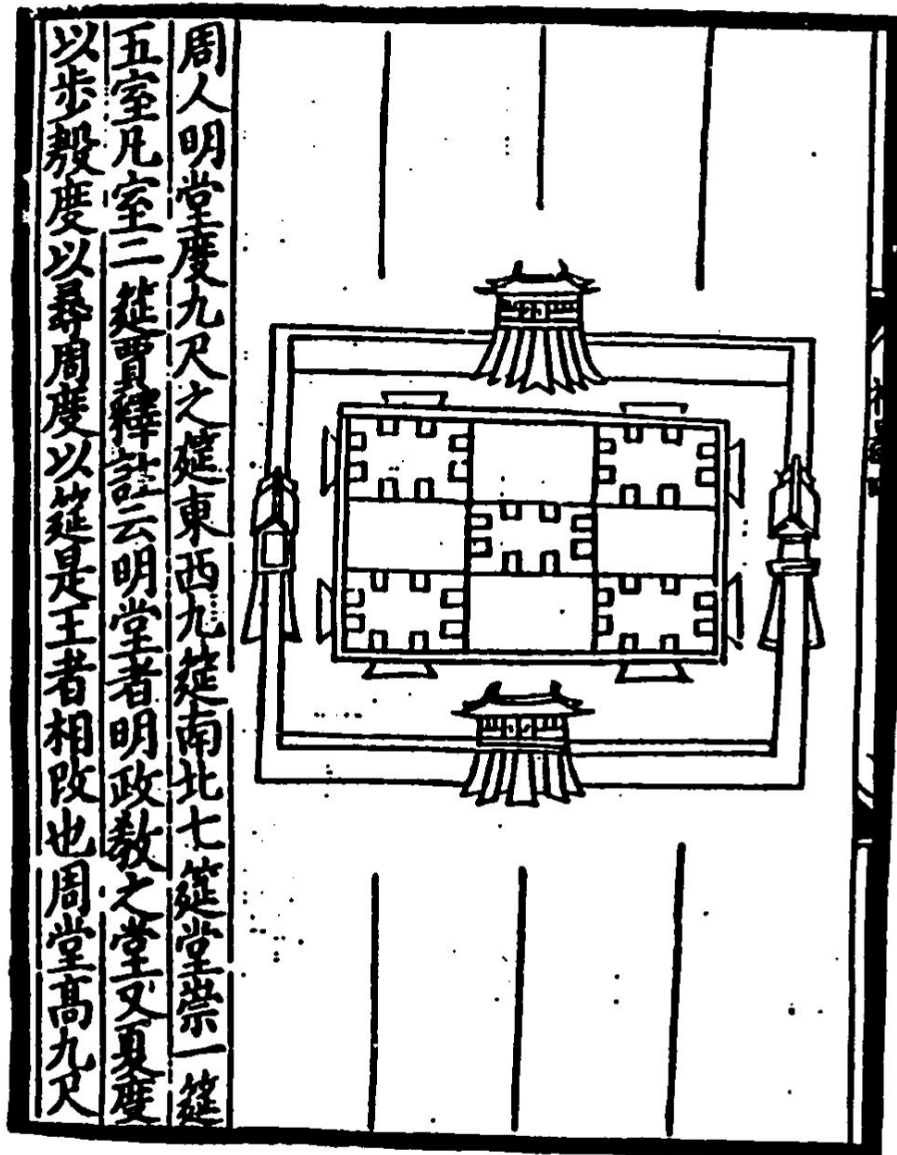


Figure 2-21 The Zhou *Ming-tang* interpreted by Song scholar Nie Chongyi in his work *SLT*. Source: Hwang Ming-chornng, '*Ming-Tang*', p.720.

It is a five-hall *ming-tang*, enclosed by walls with four grand gates in the four cardinal directions.

The contents of the words on the left is quoted from the *KGJ* of the *ZL*, regulating the form of the Zhou *ming-tang*: 'The design of the *ming-tang* by people of Zhou has a 9 *chi* unit measurement called *yan*, 9 *yan* on the east and west sides (or from east to west), 7 *yan* one the south and north sides (or from south to north), 1 *yan* height platform, five chambers, of which each chamber was a 2 *yan* square area.' (Translated by Hwang, '*Ming-tang*', p.34; for the Chinese text, see the *KGJ, Chinese Text Project* <<http://ctext.org/rites-of-zhou/dong-guan-kao-gong-ji>> (accessed September 2008); Wen Renjun, *Kao Gong Ji Dao Du* (Beijing: China Radio International Publish, 2008), pp.86-88.

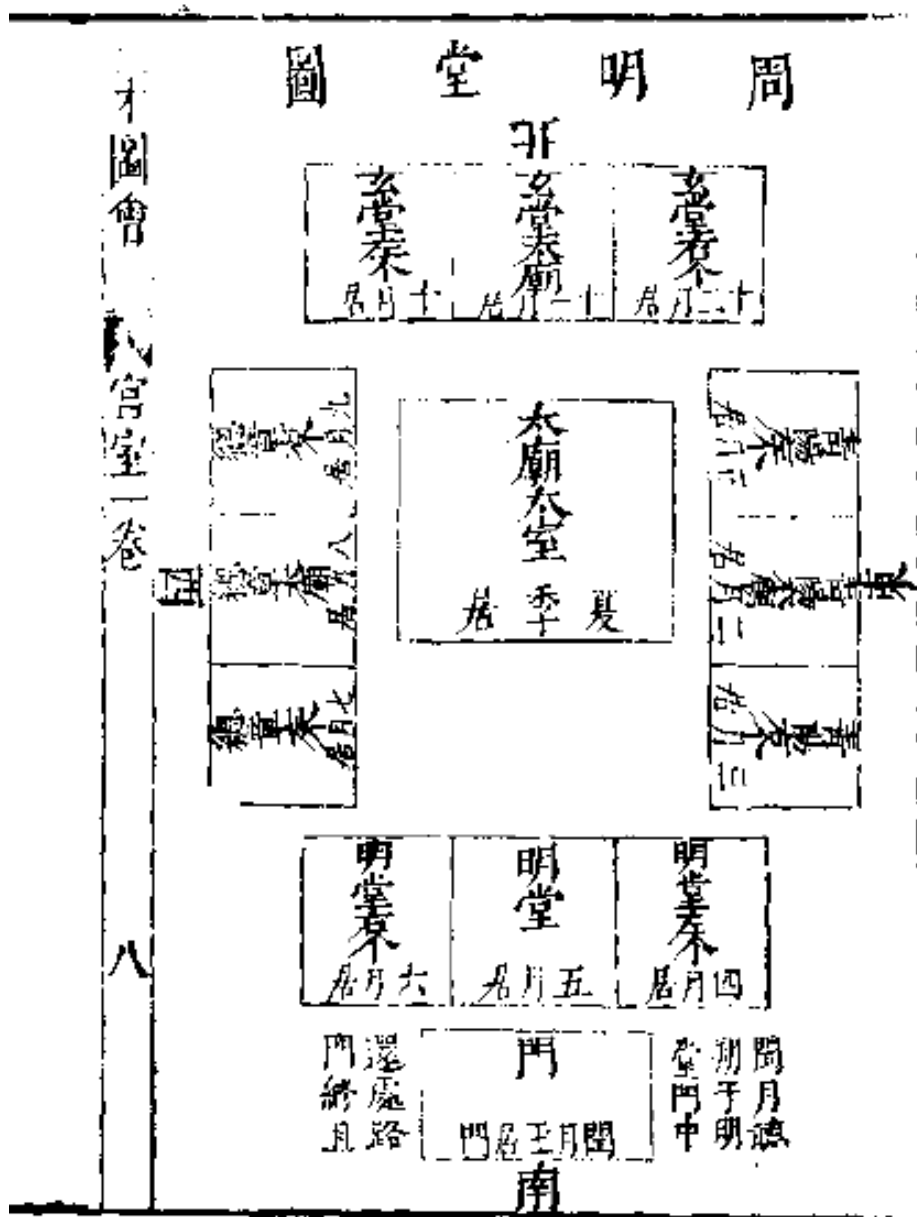


Figure 2-22 The 12 Rooms of the *Ming-tang* and the corresponding months and seasons. Up: North. The square at the bottom represents the main gate. Source: Wang Qi and Wang Siyi, the *SCTH*, p.990.

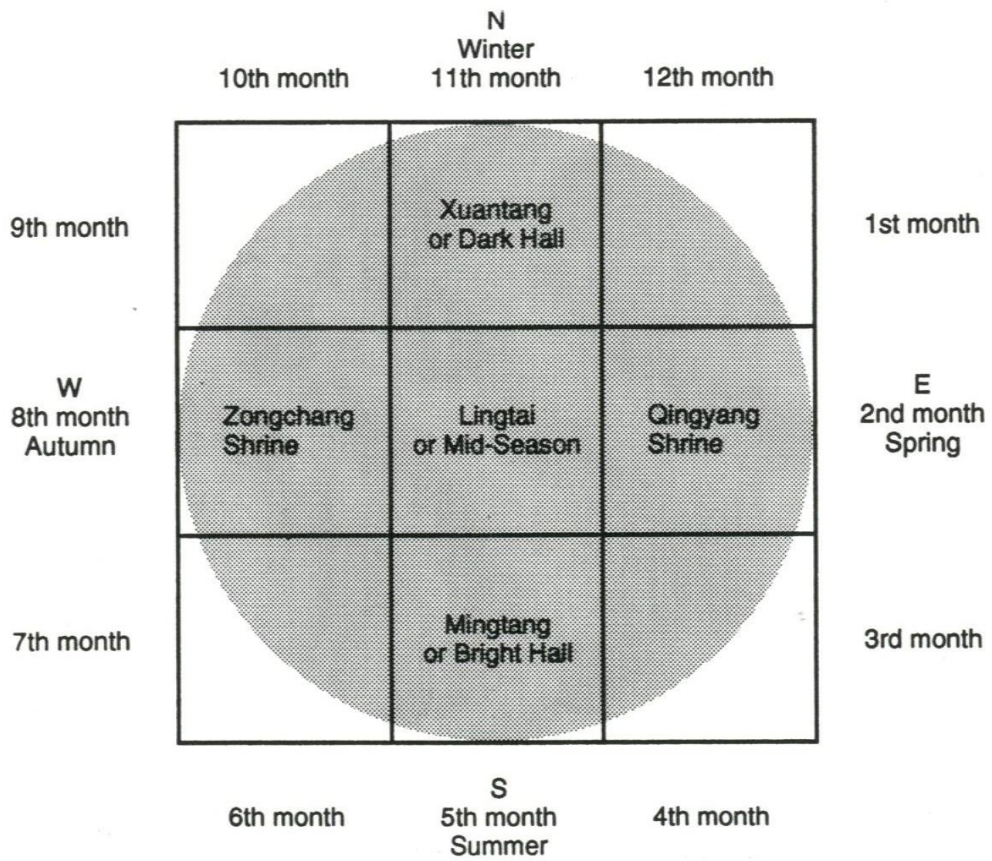


Figure 2-24 The Diagrammatic Plan of *Ming-tang* and its corresponding months and rituals. Source: Schinz, *Magic Square*, p.128.

Figure 2-25 The Ya-Shape reflected in the plan of a Shang Tomb. Four ramps extending in cardinal directions lead to the centre where the wooden chamber is placed. Source: Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, p.94.

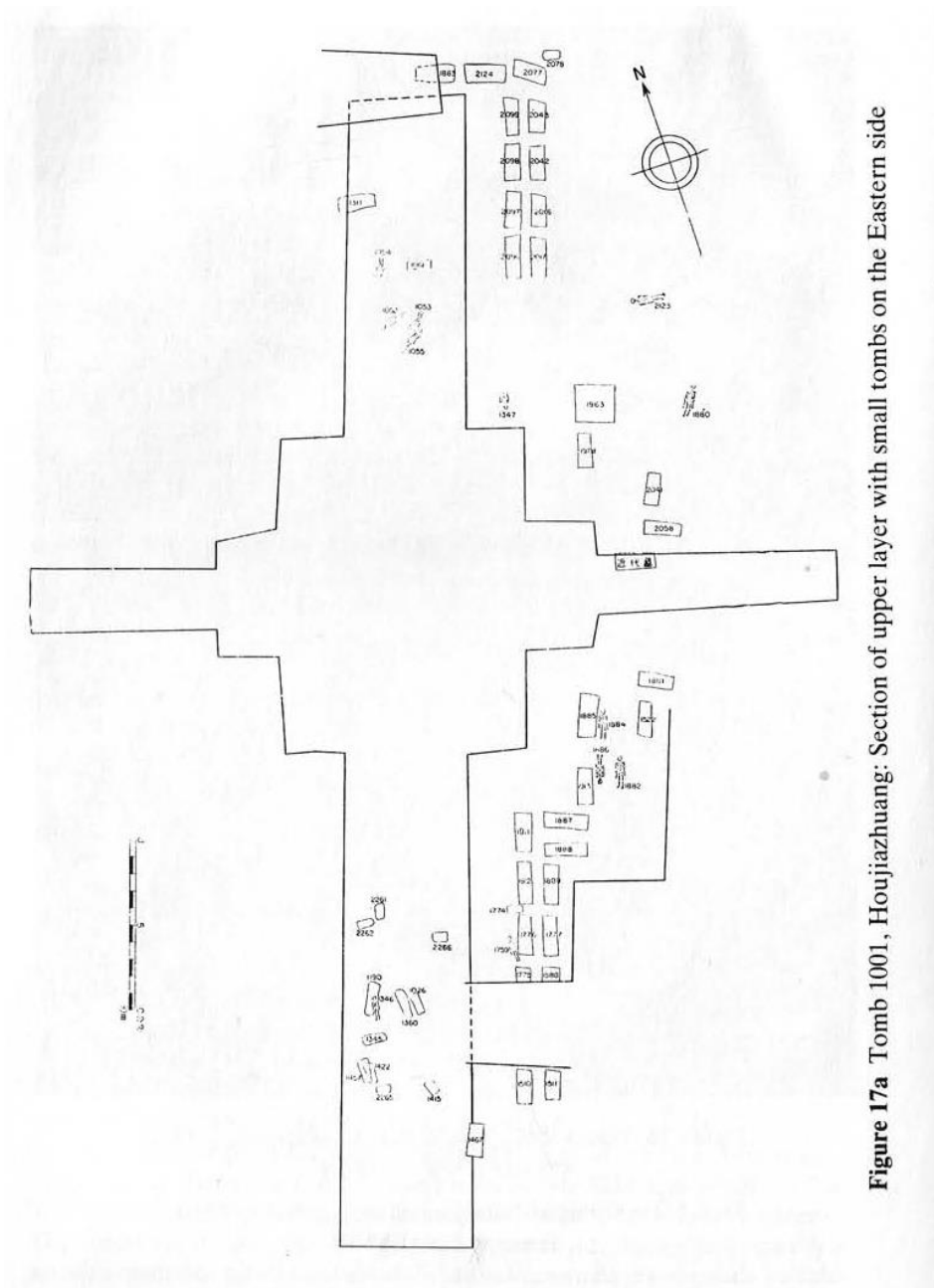


Figure 17a Tomb 1001, Houjiazhuang: Section of upper layer with small tombs on the Eastern side

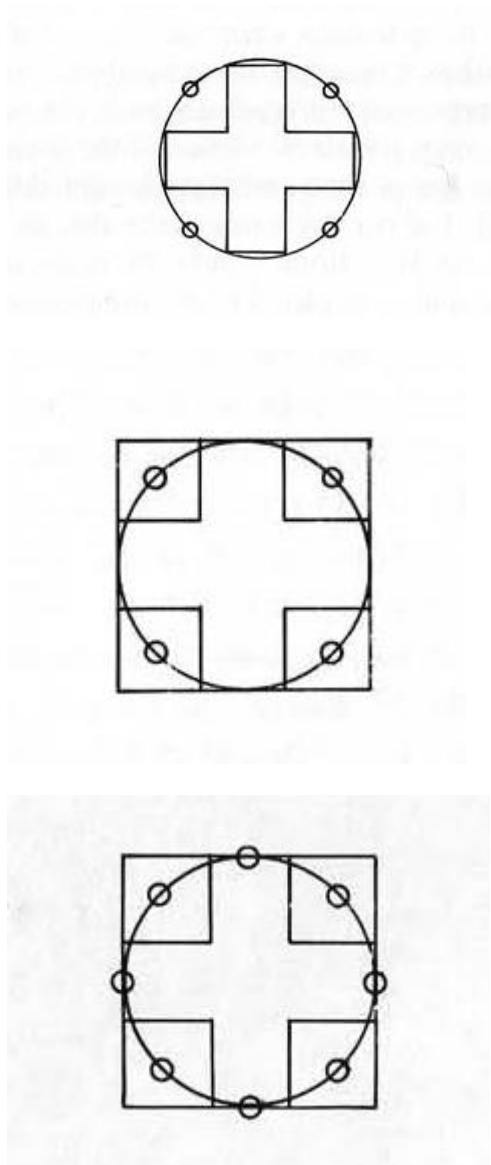


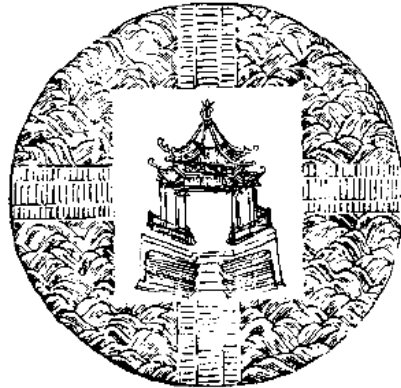
Figure 2-26 Allan's Shape of Turtle: the Structure of the Shang Cosmos.
Source: Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle*, pp.106-107.

Top: the *ya*-shape in the centre, resembling the turtle round plastron with four legs in the corners; the pattern is also the base of a square vessel of the Shang.

Middle: the *ya*-shape is extended to a square that represents Earth, forming eight quadrates, *ba-fang* 八方, surrounding a central land.

Bottom: eight pillars stands in the eight quadrates, holding up a round sky; and the east and west pillars could come from the myths of the Mulberry Tree and the Ruo Mu.

天子辟雍圖



三才圖會 宮室二卷

九

辟雍辟壁通靡澤也天子之學大射行禮之處也水族丘如歷以節觀者辟靡 朱子初解曰張子云辟靡古無此名則其制蓋始於此及周有天下遂以名天子之學而諸侯不得立焉 正義曰天子曰辟雍辟爲圓壁形第十引水使四方均得來觀則辟雍之內有館舍而實無墻院也其制環之以水圍象天也辟雍學之名王制以駁之辟雍與太學爲蔡邕月令論云取其四門之學則曰太學取其水圍如壁則曰辟雍名異而實同也

Figure 2-27 The Illustration of a *Pi-yong* for Son of Heaven in the early 17th century. Source: Wang Qi and Wang Siyi, the *SCTH*, p.1008.

The round-shape water, symbolising the round Heaven, surrounds the square-plan *ming-tang* in the centre, with four cardinal passages leading to four gates. The Son of Heaven's academy takes the form of *ming-tang* and four gates, and is renamed as *pi-yong*.

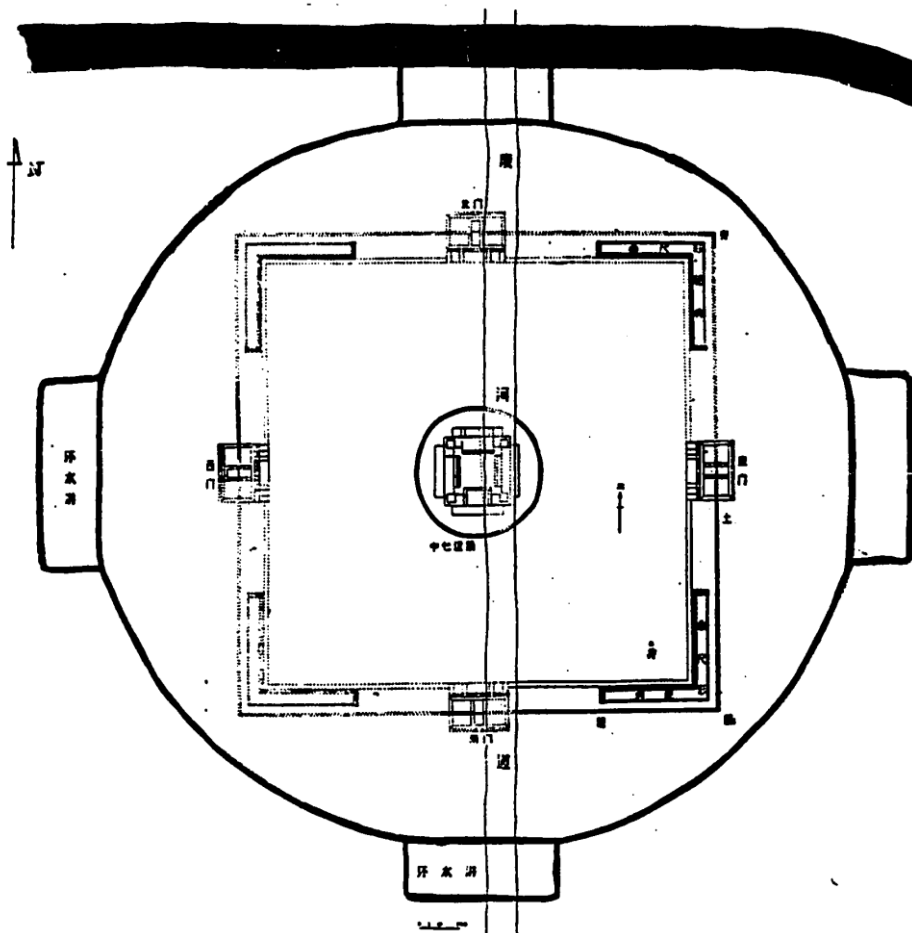


Figure 2-28 The Archaeological Plan of *Ming-tang/Pi-yong*. Source: Hwang Chorng-ming, '*Ming-tang*', p.697. The *ming-tang* hall is in the center, enclosed in a square by walls. There is a gate in the middle of each wall of the four cardinal directions. The distance from the *ming-tang* hall to each gate is about 90 meters. The circle enclosing the square is a moat, possibly representing Heaven. There are four rectangular areas attached and surrounded by moats, facing the four gates. The moats connect to the canal in the north, which is the water source for the moats. 'The water is supposed to run in a counter-clockwise direction to symbolise the turning of the constellations in relation to the Big Dipper.' See Hwang Chorng-ming, '*Ming-tang*', pp.27-30.

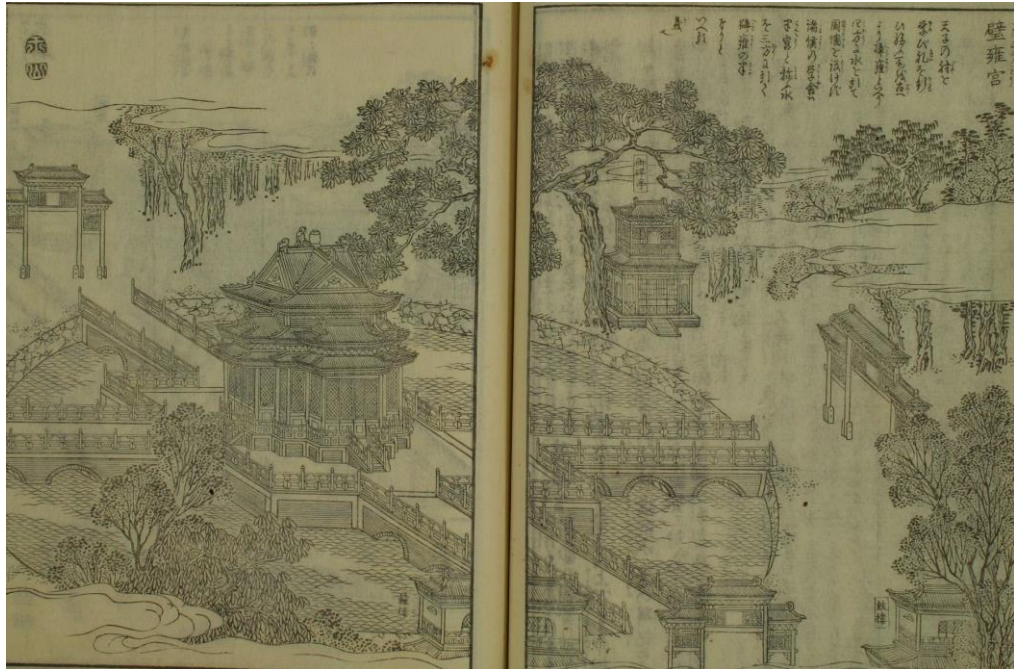
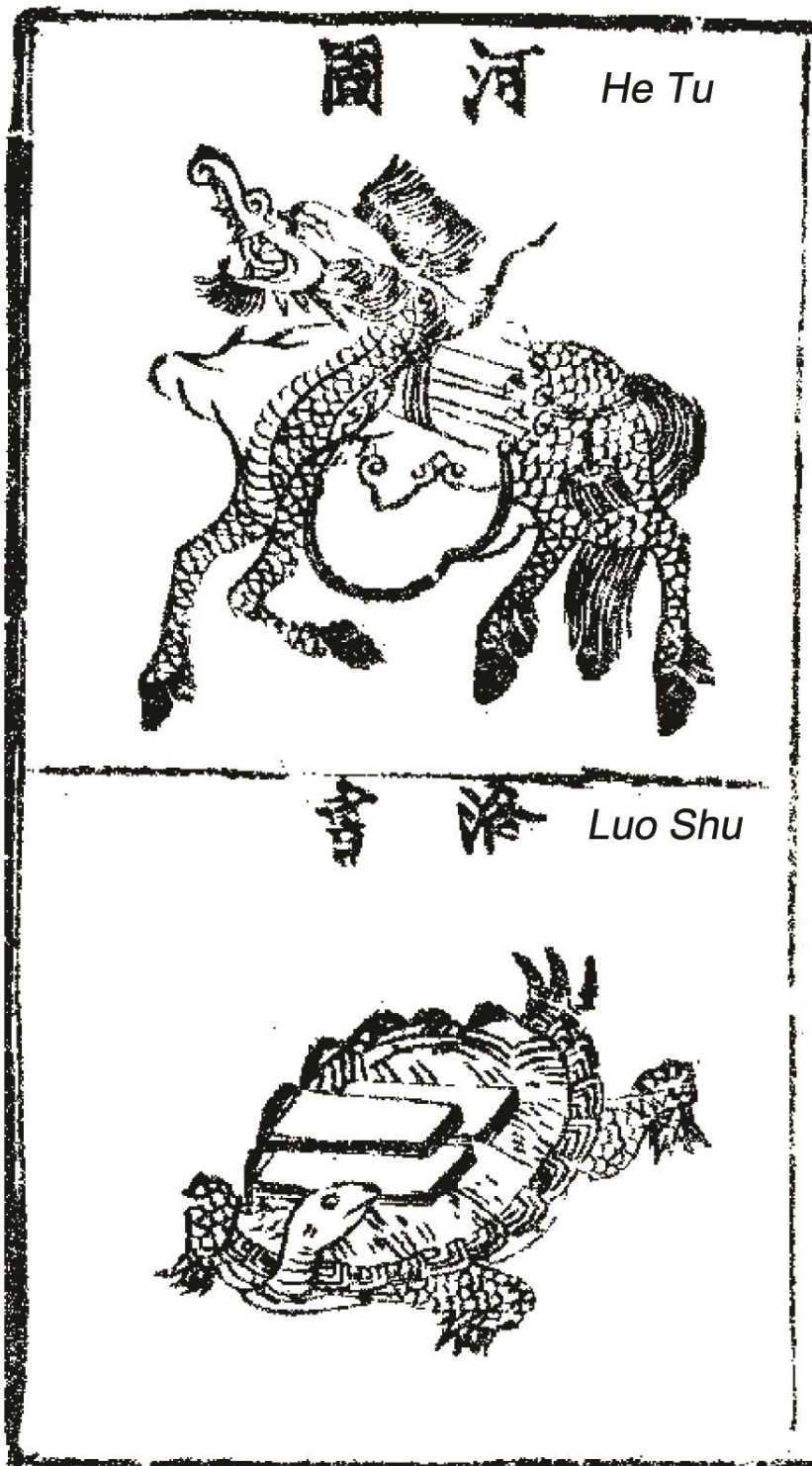


Figure 2-29 The Plan of *Pi-yong* in the Imperial Academy of the Qing Dynasty in the 19th Century, a drawing by Okada Yushan. Source: Okada Yushan, *唐土名勝図会*, vol.3, p.41.

Pi-yong is, in this drawing, perfectly presented as the ideal architecture of cosmos: the *ming-tang* in the centre of a square platform, with four passages in the cardinal directions across the round moat, leading to four arches.



Figure 2-30 The Emperor's Audience, reading and explaining the classics to officials. Source: Schinz, *The Magic Square*, p.129, a copy of a woodblock print of 1906. The inscribed board hanging on the central building reads *pi-yong* 辟雍, another name for *ming-tang*. The *ming-tang* building, in this drawing, has a double-layered roof and a square shaped plan, surrounded by a circle moat, with either a flight of steps or paved passage connecting to the south. The emperor sat in the centre of *pi-yong*, and other servants and officials stood around hierarchically from the inner of the centre to the outside of the moat.



Figures 2-31, 2-32 Illustrations of the Tales of the *He Tu* (top) and *Luo Shu* (bottom). Source: Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.4, p.2. The *long-ma* (a mixture of dragon and horse) carried the *He Tu*.

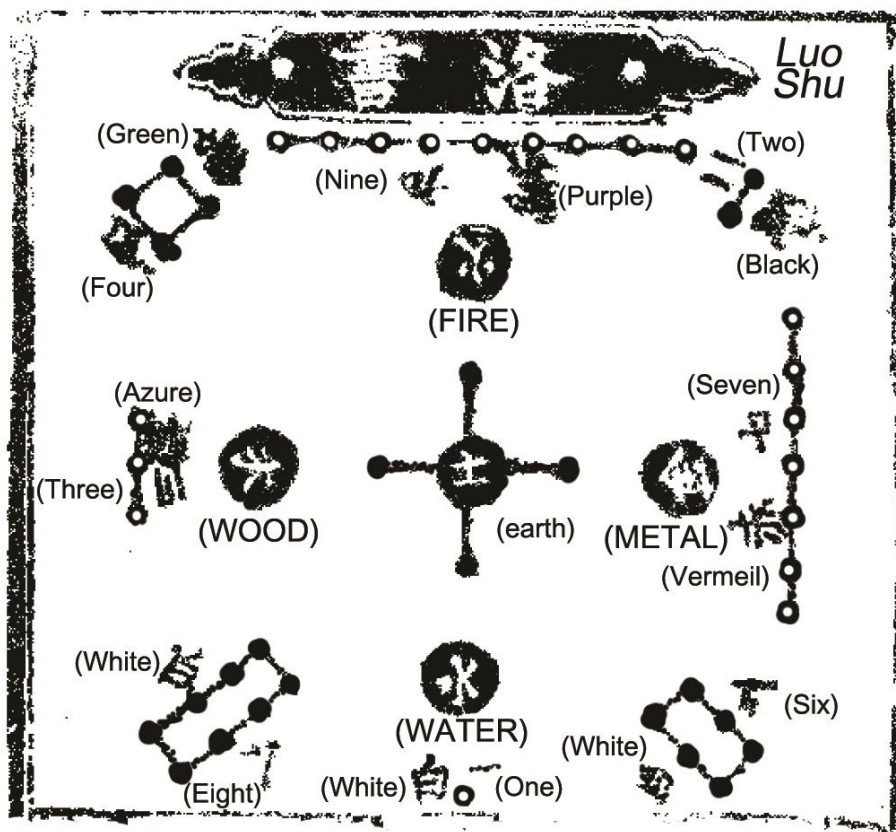


Figure 2-33 The Illustrated *Luo Shu*. Source: Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.4, p.4.

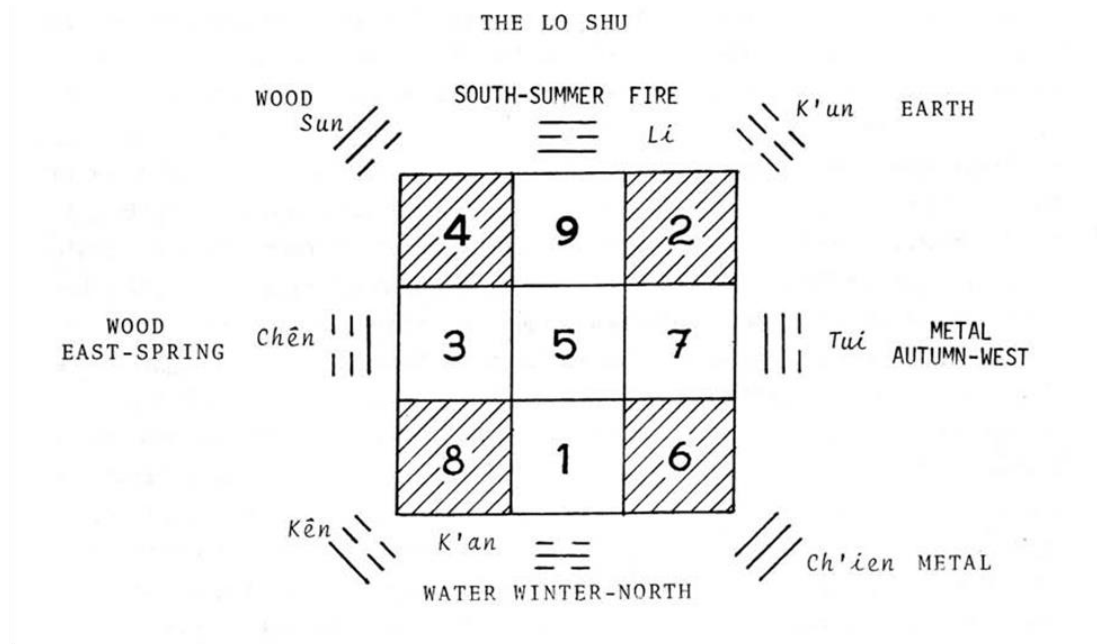


Figure 2-34 The Illustrated *Luo Shu* by Feuchtwang. Source: Feuchtwang, *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy*, p.92.

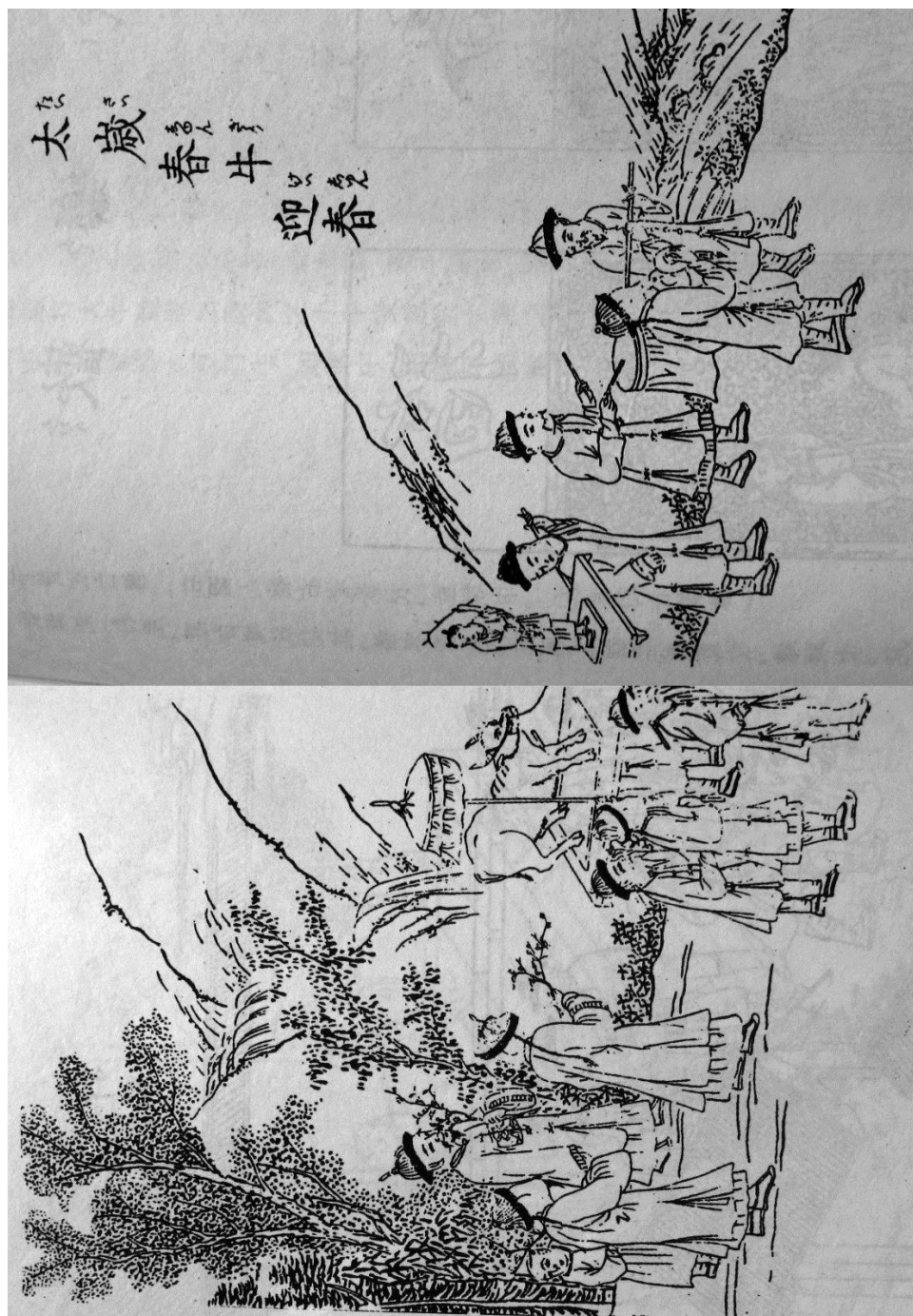


Figure 2-35 Greeting the Spring of the Qing Dynasty. Source: Tadateru Nakagawa, *Qing Su Ji Wen*, trans. by Fang Ke and Sun Xuanling (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2006), pp.60-61.

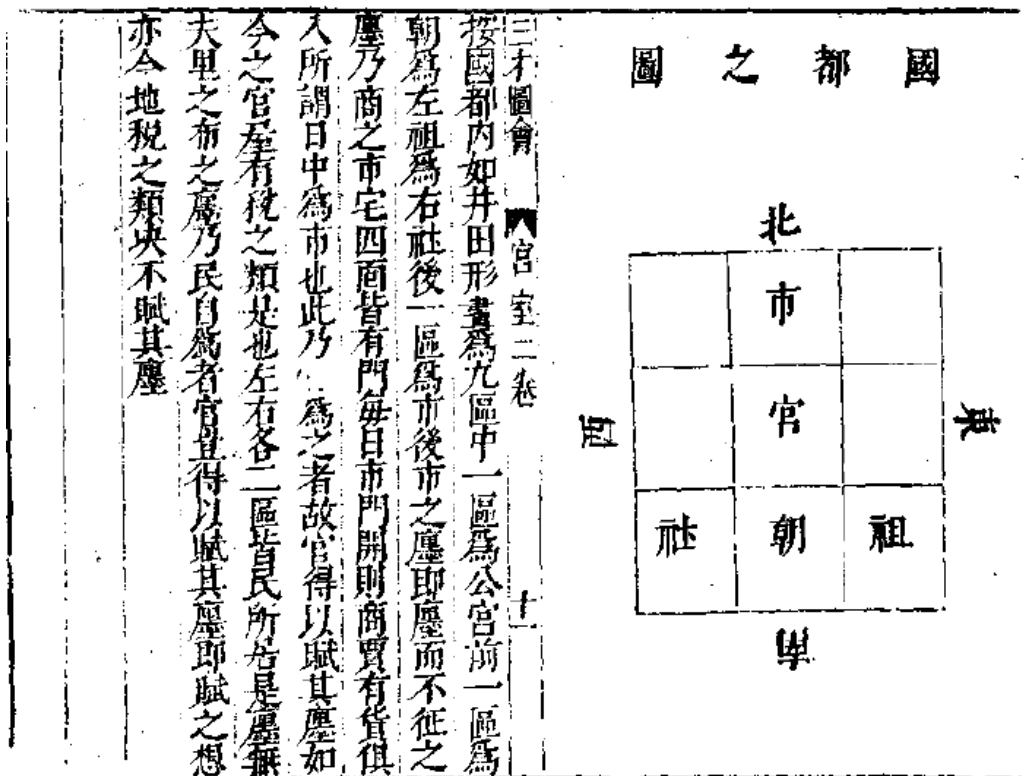


Figure 2-36 The Interpretation of a Capital's Plan in the early 17th century. Source: Wang Qi and Wang Siyi, the *SCTH*, p.1009.

The annotation: 'A capital city should be planned in this nine-square form: in the centre is placed the emperor's palace; in the front is the imperial court, and to the left the ancestral hall, to the right the altar of land and grain; in the back to the north should be set the market. In the walls surrounding the market, there should be four gates. When the gates open everyday, merchants can come in with their goods...To the left and right of the market are where common people reside.' Trans. by Bing Jiang.



Figure 3-1 The Central Pavement to the Taihe Hall, the Forbidden City, seen from the Taihe Gate. Source: *Palace Museum Beijing* website <<http://www.dpm.org.cn/shtml/62/@/109486.html>> (accessed March 2009).



Figure 3-2 Oracle Bone Scripts for *men*, ‘gate’ or ‘door’. Source: Zou Xiaoli, *Ji Chu Han Zi Xing Yi Shi Yuan* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2007), pp.133; Xiong Guoying, *Tu Shi Gu Han Zi* (Jinan: Qi Lu Bookshop, 2006), p.144; Richard Sears, ‘*men*’, *Chinese Etymology* <<http://www.chineseetymology.org/CharacterEtymology.aspx?submitButton1=Etymology&characterInput=%E9%97%A8>> (accessed December 2011). According to most sinologists’ theory, these are the two main forms of oracle bone scripts for *men*, and the upper pictographic character with a lintel on top is the form of earlier time than the lower. Richard Sears collects 32 forms on his research website ‘www.chineseetymology.org’, with few differences, which can be categorised into two.

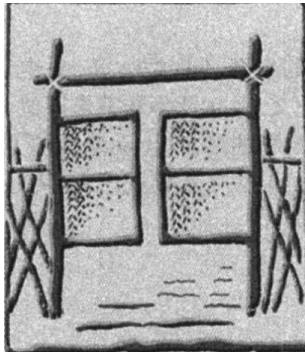


Figure 3-3 An Image of a Simple Gate, Xiong’s interpretation of what a gate of ancient time should look like which looked wrong apparently in this way. Source: Xiong Guoying, *Tu Shi Gu Han Zi*, p.144.



Figure 3-4 Two of the Bronze Characters for *men*, dating from the late Shang to the Zhou dynasty and even later. Source: the left, see Sears, ‘*men*’, *Chinese Etymology* <<http://www.chineseetymology.org/CharacterEtymology.aspx?submitButton1=Etymology&characterInput=%E9%97%A8>> (accessed December 2011); the right, see Xiong Guoying, *Tu Shi Gu Han Zi*, p.144.



Figure 3-5 Three of the Seal Characters for ‘*men*’ from the *LST*. Source: Sears, ‘*men*’, *Chinese Etymology* <<http://www.chineseetymology.org/CharacterEtymology.aspx?submitButton1=Etymology&characterInput=%E9%97%A8>> (accessed December 2011). The *LST* is a precious collection and dictionary of writing style transformation of Chinese characters, compiled by Min Qiji 闵齐伋 in the early Qing dynasty (according to the preface it was finished in 1661) but not published at once until it was included in the *SKQS* with the help of Bi Jiming 毕既明 in 1720. The seal characters, or small seal characters to be more specific, formed and regulated in the Qin around 200 BCE, which have been gathered in the *LST* are mainly copied from the *SWJZ* (compiled between 100 -121 CE), an ancient dictionary compiled in the early 2nd century. The small seal script was the standardised form of Chinese calligraphy until around 500 CE, and has been often practised and continually improved by calligraphers and scholars since. The three characters of *men* are believed to belong to the first century CE (the Han dynasty) or even before, showing the image of doorsill or threshold.



Figure 3-6 A Chinese Postage Stamp Showing the Story of the Carp Jumping over the Dragon Gate. At the bottom is a carp of golden scales, jumping out of the river and staring at the Dragon Gate far at the top with enthusiasm and desire. The Dragon Gate of a *pai-lou* gateway form, with an inscribed board in the middle named 'The Dragon Gate', has two columns aside supporting the whole structure and two flower-covered columns un-touching the and holding up the central upper-layered roof, with a pair of couplets on which are saying: The third degree waves roll at the gate of the Great Yu, then the thunder blasts in the flat fields. The two side inscriptions indicate the new start of a year. The two-layer roofs are covered with golden tiles and decorated with dragon patterns at the ends of ridges.

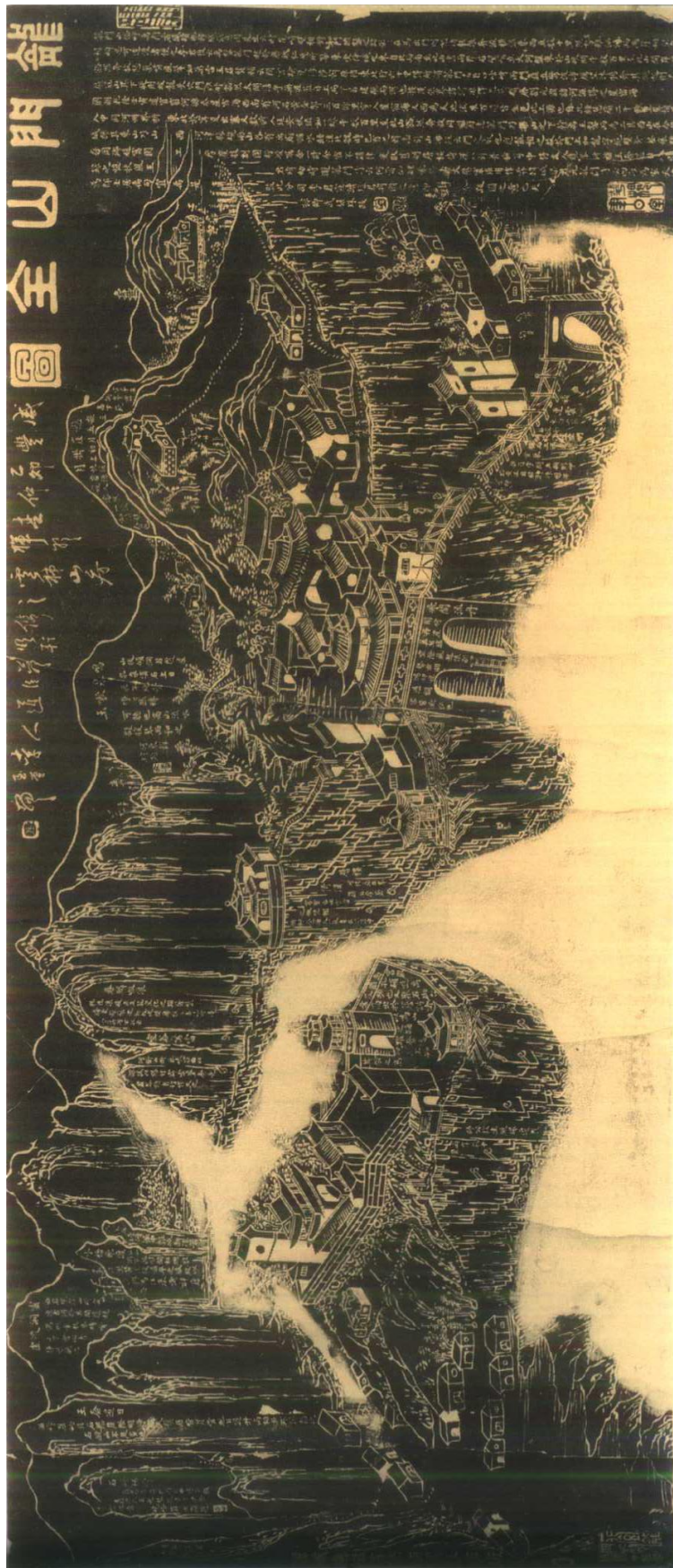


Figure 3-7 An Ink Rubbing of the Stele of the Dragon Gate Mountain 龙门山. Source: Liu Zhenwei, *Zhong Guo Gu Di Tu Jing Xuan*, p.69. The original painting was drawn by Li Yutang 李玉棠 in 1855 and inscribed in a stone stele by Zhao Yingjun 赵英俊. The directions in the drawing are: up – west, down – east, left – south and right – north.



Figure 3-8 The Auspicious Calligraphic Scripts of *Wu-fu-lin-men*, written on red paper and hung over a gate/door. Source: Knapp, *China's Living Houses: folk beliefs, symbols, and household ornamentation* , p.108.

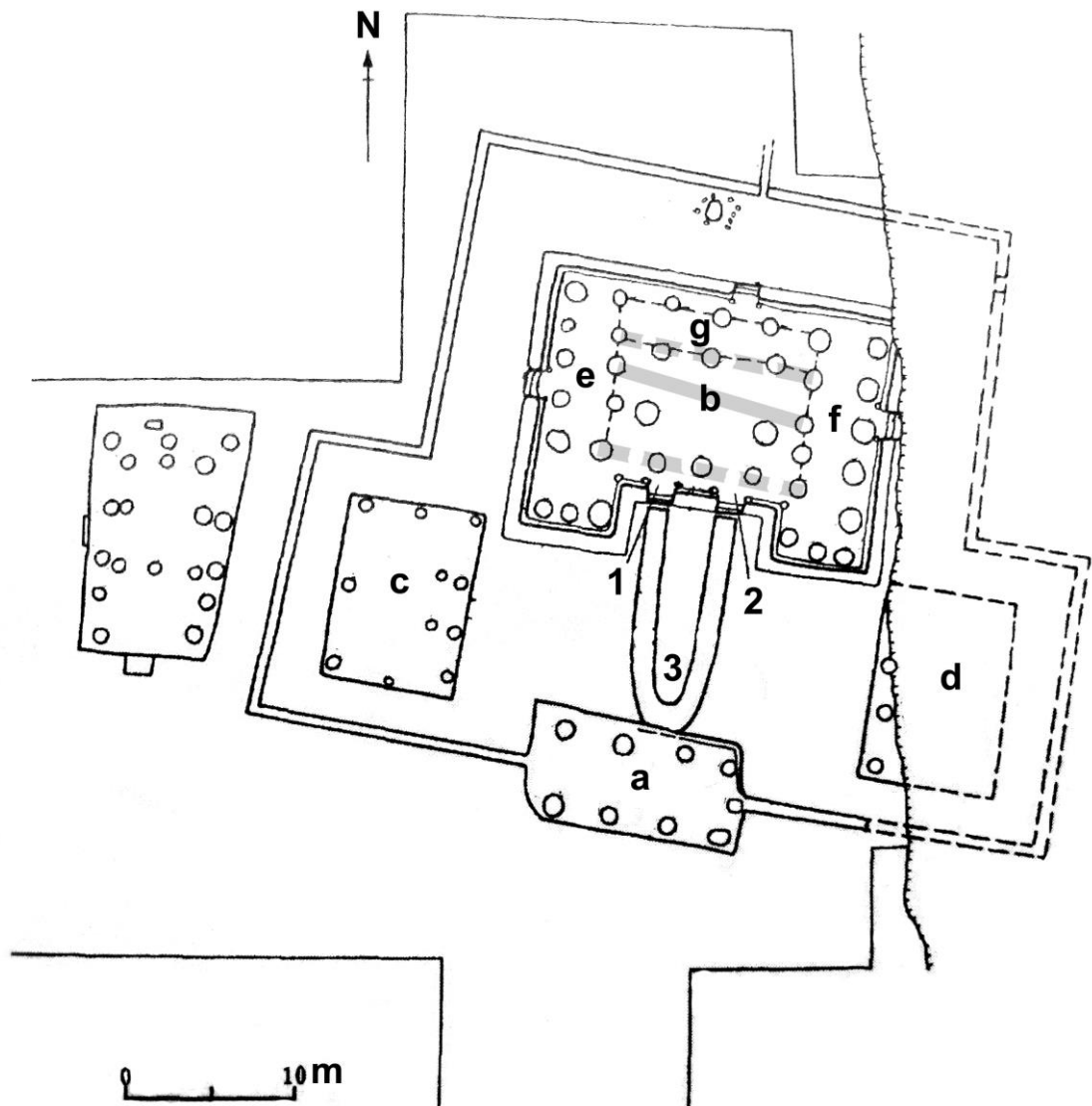


Figure 3-9 The Plan of the *Shi*'s Dwelling of the Western Zhou in Yuntang, Shanxi Province.

The whole dwelling was an aggregate of four separate buildings – the gatehouse, the western and eastern halls and the main hall – and the courtyard inclosed by them. There is another building in the west of the group of four, which is considered to be a building for sleeping in for slaves probably. Since it is outside of the wall, it is not discussed in this thesis. The picture is edited by me and photocopied from Yang Hongxun, 2007, p.101

a the main gatehouse b the main hall c the western hall d the eastern hall
 e the western room f the eastern room g the back room

1 the *bin* steps 宾阶 (or the steps for guests)

2 the *zuo* steps 阼阶 (or the steps for hosts) 3 the *chen* road 陈

The grey line indicates the position of the main girder 栋. The grey dashed lines indicate the positions of the *mei* 楣 that define the space of the hall according to Yang Hongxun' s theory.

Figure 3-10 Title: The Plan of a *Shi* named Zheng' s House. Source: Zhang Huiyan, *Yi Li Tu, HQJJB*, 1988, vol.2, p.255. This is Zhang Huiyan' s illustrating interpretation of what a *shi*' s house of the Zhou Dynasty looked like. The direction of up straight is north. Because of the limitation of the printing techniques of the 18th century, the copy is not good enough to read all the words smoothly, but the larger characters marking the parts of the house are recognised well. The uncertain translation and interpretation will be annotated and marked in braces [].

1 *Men* 门 Gate

1-1 *Shi* 室 Siderooms, there are four *shi* aside the Gate. The recognised half of the script in the lower right *shi* is: 'The gate house built as the main gate should use the five-purlin skeleton too, so that each of the two spaces, front and behind, between two purlins can be made a *shi* or a *tang*. 门堂[]当门亦五架为之则前后各以一架室一架堂' The script in the up left *shi* is: 'the *shi* of the inner *shu* has no [scripts]. 内塾之事不见[文]'

1-2 *Shu* 塾 or *Tang* 堂 Side-halls, there are four *shu* aside the Gate, the two of which on the left are western *shu*, and on the right eastern *shu*. The script below the lower western *shu* is: 'The capping rite [should start] outside the western *shu* that is outside the gate. If there is the western *shu*, this is the orientation of south. 冠礼注西塾门外西堂[]在西塾之西注云塾有西者此南向' The script in the upper eastern *shu* is: '(In) the annotation of the capping rite, (this is) the eastern hall inside eastern *shu* gate. The inner *shu*' s steps cannot be seen. 士冠礼注东塾门内东堂。内塾之阶无可见' Here 'the inner *shu*' are the ones inside the gate, facing the courtyard. The steps of the inner *shu* not being seen can be understood as there are no steps at the inner *shu*. The script below the lower eastern *shu* is: 'The craftsmen say that the *tang* of gatehouse occupy two of the three, while *shi* does one of the three. The annotation (of it) is that the measurements of the *tang* aside the gate should depend on the ones of the main hall. If the main hall is 14 *bu* wide and 17 ½ *bu*, the *tang* of gatehouse should be 9 *bu* 3 *chi* in the north-south and 11 *bu* 4 *chi* in the east-west. The two *shi* and the gate occupy 1 *fen* respectively. This is the rule of gatehouse. Other palaces should be done the same. 匠人云门堂三之二室三之一。注云门侧之堂取数于正堂。假[今]堂修十四布广十七不步[半]则门堂南北九步三尺东西十一步四尺。两室与门各居一分。此门堂门制, 他宫室宜亦然' Here 'the two *shi* and

the gate occupy 1 *fen* respectively’ means, according to the Figure, the width of the gatehouse is divided equally into three parts, and two *shi* occupied two while the gate does the middle. The measurement unit *bu* literally means a pace or step. The length of the unit *chi*, Chinese foot, varies in different times and regions, but usually speaking it measured approximately 30 cm, more or less (see Ruitenbeek, 1996, p.xvii).

2 *Zhu* 宁 Gatehouse, the script: ‘(In) the annotation of (the wedding rite) the betrothal presents are left at *zhu*, which is this gatehouse.’

3 *Qu* 曲 U-Shape Road

4 *Bei* 碑 Stele

5 *Zhong Tang* 中堂 Middle Hall

5-1 *Xi Tang* 西堂 Western Hall

5-2 *Dong Tang* 东堂 Eastern Hall

5-3 *Bei Tang* 北堂 Northern Hall

6 *Shi* 室 Room

a Western Steps 西阶 steps for guests b Eastern Steps 东阶 steps for hosts

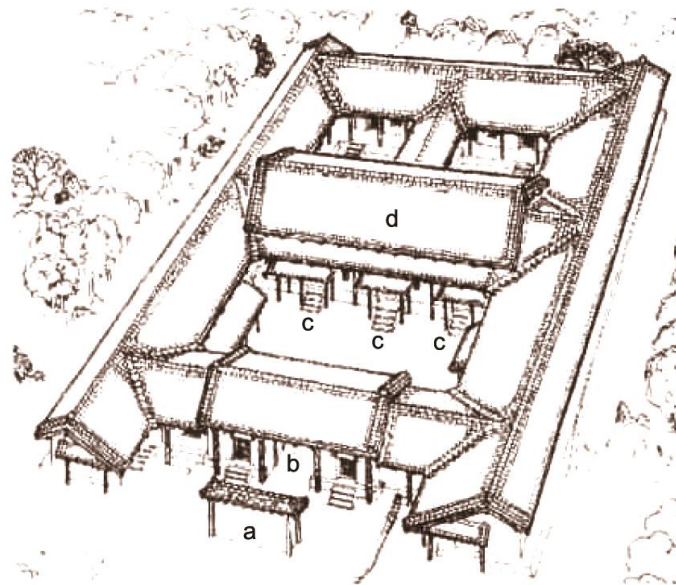
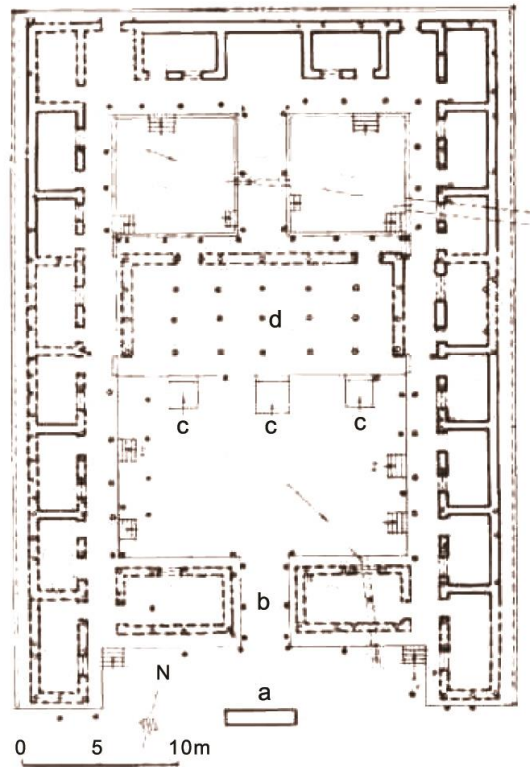


Figure 3-11 Recovered Image of A Palace of the Western Zhou. Source: Hou Youbin and Li Wanzhen, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Jian Zhu Li Shi Tu Shuo* (Beijing 北京: China Architectural Industry Press 中国建筑工业出版社, 2002), p.12.

a Screen Wall b Main Gate c Steps d Main Hall



Figure 3-12 Greeting Guests Outside Gate. Source: Tadateru Nakagawa 中川忠英, *Qing Su Ji Wen (The Customs of the Qing)* 清俗纪闻, translated by Fang Ke 方克 and Sun Xuanling 孙玄龄 (Beijing 北京: Zhong Hua Shu Ju 中华书局, 2006), p.417.

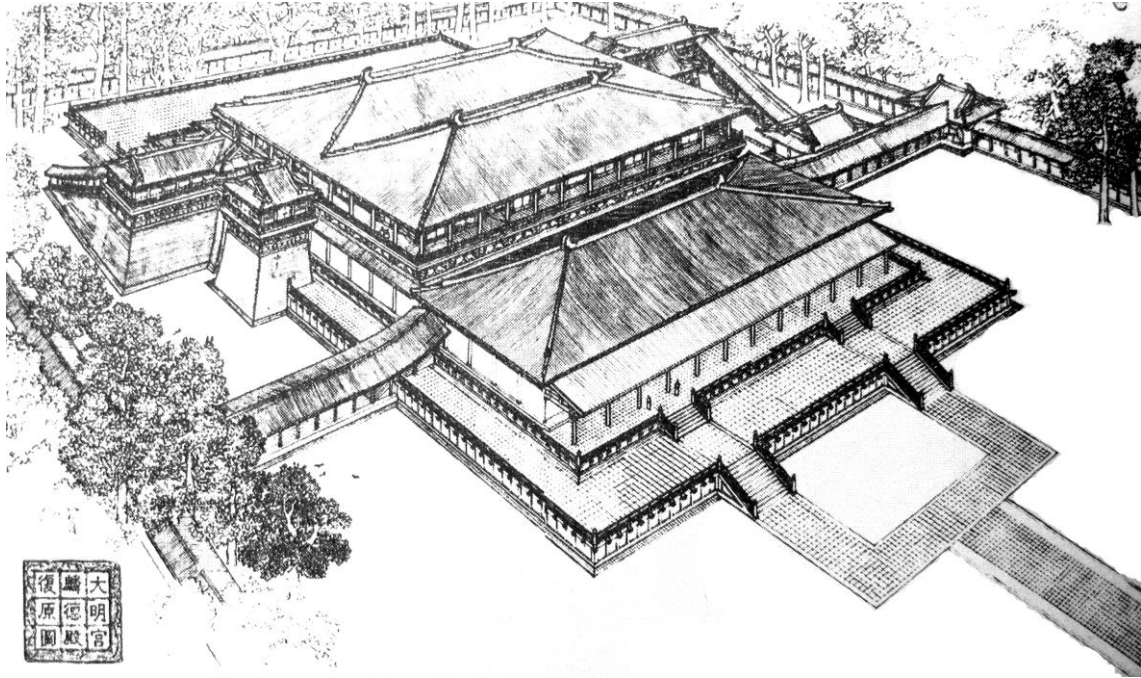


Figure 3-13 The Y-Shaped Pavement, the Recovered Image of the Linde Hall of the Tang. Source: Yang Hongxun, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Ju Zhu Tu Dian*, pp.211, 214, the words at lower left corner are the recovered image of the Linde Hall, Daming Palace. The project of recovery is managed by Fu Xinian and Yang Hongxun. The Linde Hall was not located in the central axis of the Daming Palace, nor in the main palace group, but in the west of the Taiye Lake in the up north of the crucial palace the Hanyuan. Hence, the Linde Hall was used to hold informal feasts and to audience missions. The main hall was built on a two-layered platform on which there were two pairs of stairs symmetrical to the central axis. The Y-shaped pavement connected to the two pairs of stairs on the up northern ends and led to the main gate in the down south.

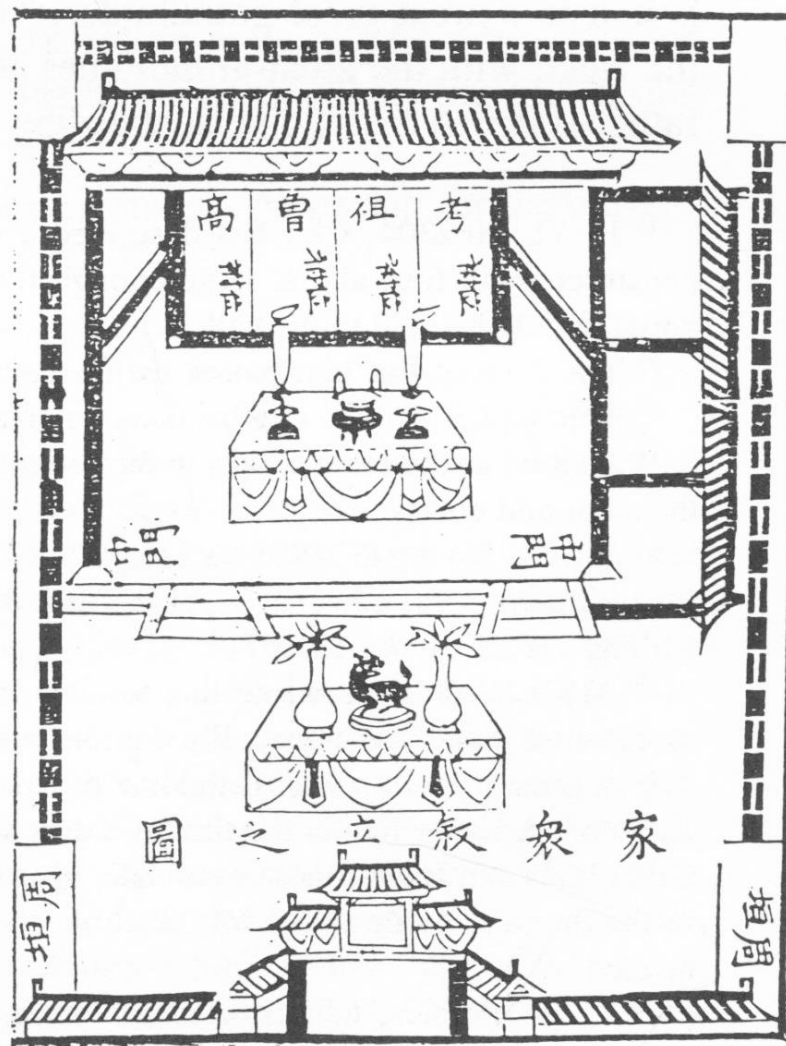


Figure 3-14 An Offering Hall of Family Temple. Source: Zhu Xi, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: a twelfth-century Chinese manual for the performance of cappings, weddings, funerals, and ancestral rites*, trans. with annotation and introduction by Patricia Buckley Ebrey (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), p.7.

The offering hall is the main hall in a courtyard surrounded by walls, with an elaborate main gate in the south. There are two flights of steps leading up to the offering hall. In the hall, there is an offering table in the hall, with an incense burner and two candles on it. And there is another offering table with food and plants in the courtyard.

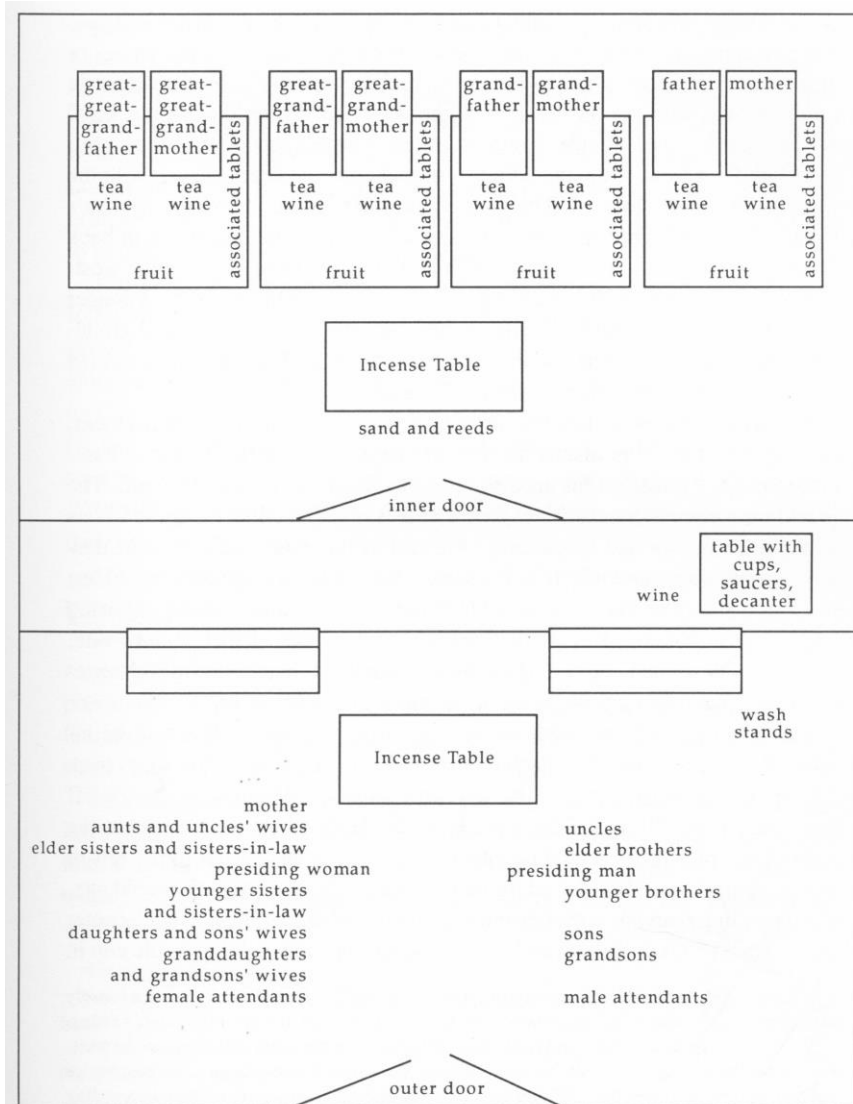


Figure 3-15 Layout of the Offering Hall and Positions of Family Members. Source: Zhu Xi, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, trans. with annotation and introduction by Patricia Buckley Ebrey, p.13.

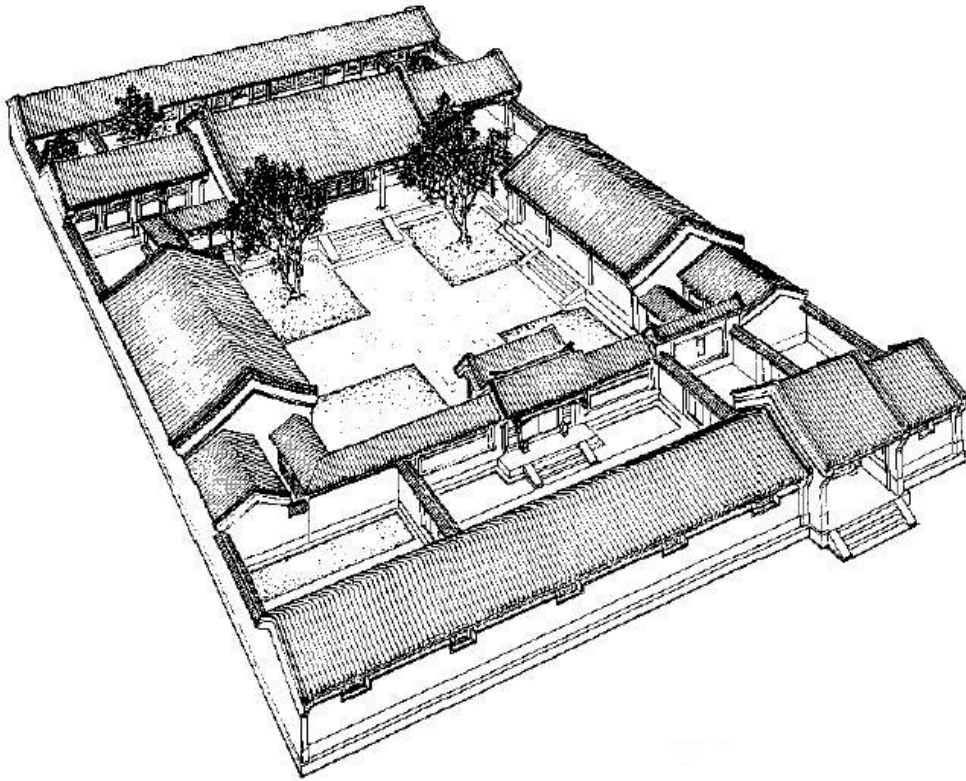


Figure 3-16 An Airview Drawing of a *Si-he-yuan* Compound with Three Courtyards. Source: Ma Bingjian, *Beijing Si He Yuan Jian Zhu* (*The Architecture of Beijing Si He Courtyards*) 北京四合院建筑 (Tianjin 天津: Tianjin University Press 天津大学出版社, 2004), p.7.



Figure 3-17 A Model of a Typical Beijing *Si-he-yuan* Courtyard Compound with Three Courtyards in the Late Imperial Time. Model made by Bing Jiang. North pointing to the far end. The main entrance is in the near right bottom. It is a three-courtyard compound.

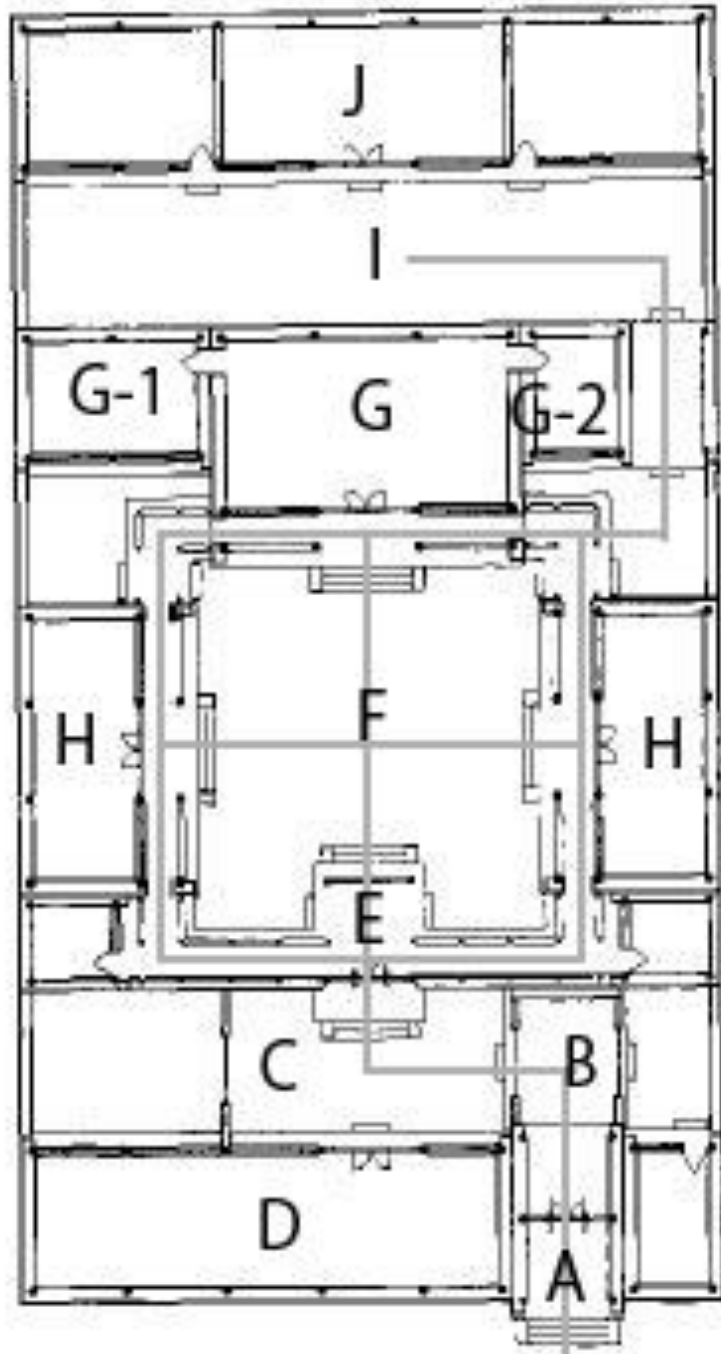


Figure 3-18 The Plan of the Three-Courtyard *Si-he-yuan* Compound, north up. Source: Ma Bingjian, *Beijing Si He Yuan Jian Zhu*, p.17. The grey lines show the walking route from the main gate to the back courtyard.

- A Main Gate
- B Entrance Space with a Screen Wall
- C The First Courtyard
- D The Back Hall
- E The Second Gate (*Chui-hua-men*)
- F The Second Courtyard
- G The Main Hall
- G-1 G-2 Side-rooms
- H Side Halls
- I The Back Courtyard
- J The Rear Halls



Figure 3-19 An Alley outside A *Si-he-yuan* Compound in Beijing. Source: Photo taken by Bing Jiang, 2001. The brick pier in the right of the photo is a part of the main gate. The facade of this courtyard house facing the alley shows nothing else but four small windows higher over a person and half of the roof. Except for grey walls and small windows, nothing inside can be seen from outside the gate.



Figure 3-20 The Alley to the West along the Pudu Temple. Source: photo taken by Bing Jiang, 2007. Two *si-he-yuan* gates side by side, the near one is obviously more elaborate than the rear.

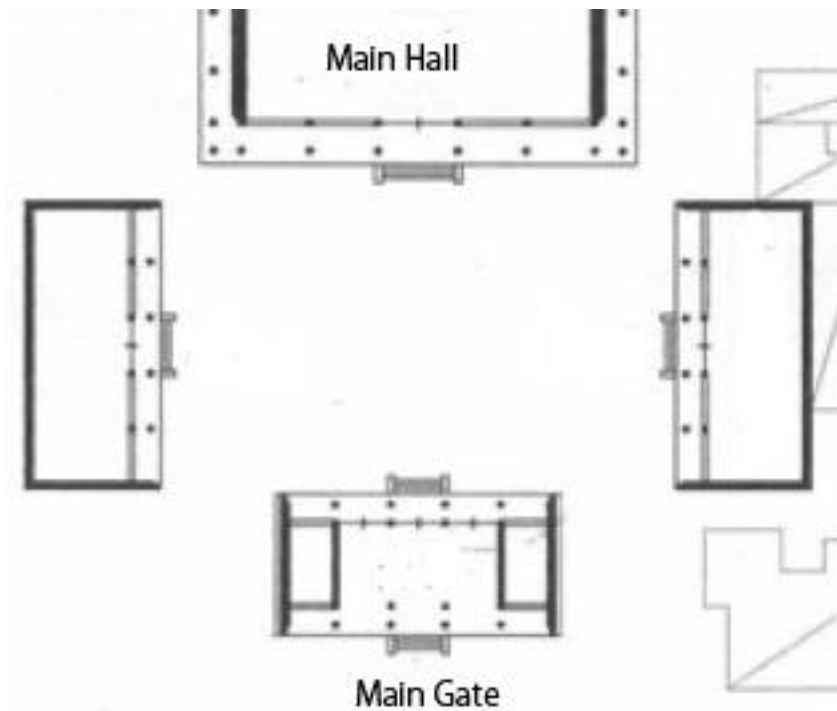


Figure 3-21 The Main Gate of Prince Chun's Palace. Source: Photo taken by Bing Jiang, 2007.

Figure 3-22 The Plan of the Main Gate of Prince Chun's Palace. Source: a photocopy from the Database of Beijing University of Civil Engineering and Architecture <<http://tszyk.bucea.edu.cn/>>.

It is a gatehouse with a typical Chinese roof over. It has five bays on the long side and three on the short. The central three bays on the long side are designed as doorways, with double door-leaves and golden door nails.



Figure 3-23 The Main Gate of 15 Hou Dram Tower Yuan Alley.
Source: Photo taken by Bing Jiang, 2007. A humble gate of a common *si-he-yuan* residence, with a simple roof over the doorway.



Figure 3- 24 The Second Gate of a *Si-he* Courtyard Compound: *chui-hua-men*. Source: 05 Beichizi Street, Beijing, photo taken by Bing Jiang, 2007. The gate is built up higher than the courtyard ground, with several steps and a roof over it. The decorations under the roof are elaborate.

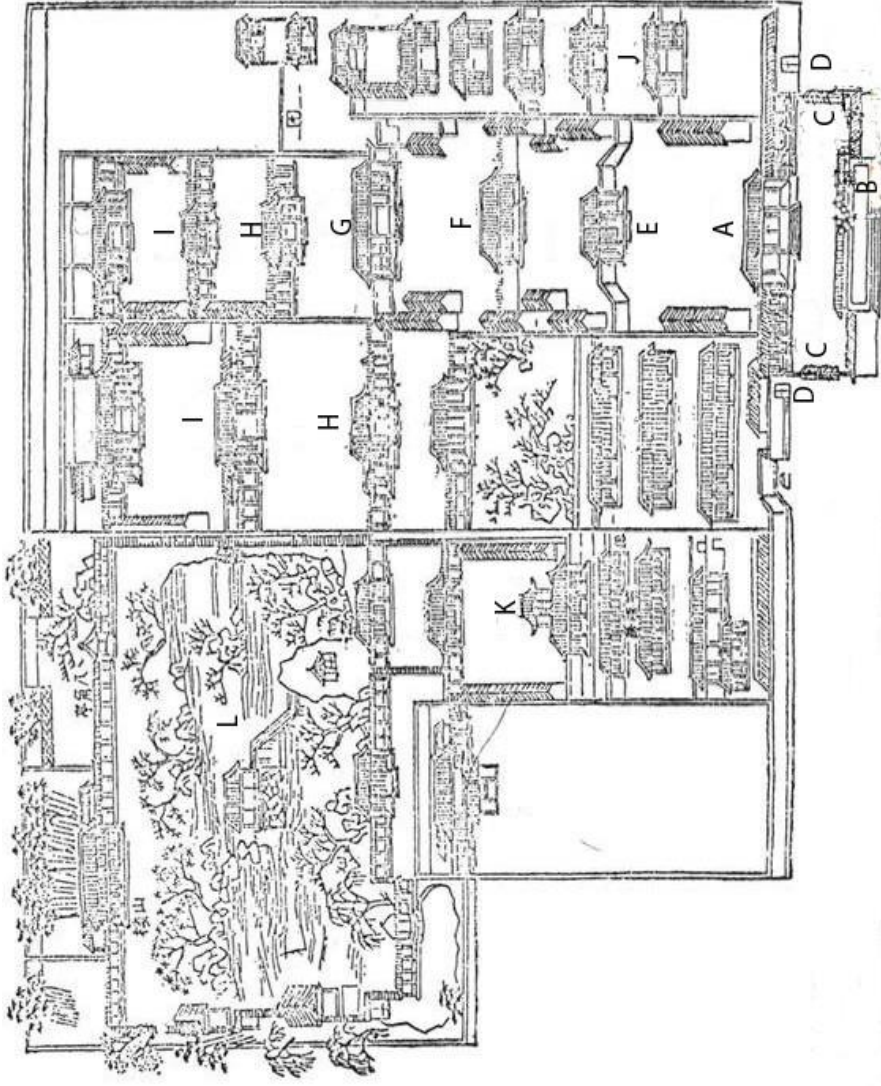


Figure 3-25 Jiangning Residence of the Cao Family, where Cao Xueqin, the author of *Dream of the Red Chamber* lived when he was young. Source: drawn by Shangguan Zhou, collected in *Nan Xun Sheng Dian (Qianglong's Southern Tour Celebration)* 南巡盛典, edited by Gao Jin 高晋 and published in 1771.

- A Main Gate
- B Screen Wall
- C Side Gateways
- D Corner Gates
- E Second Gate
- F Front Hall
- G Main Hall
- H Private Gate
- I Private Hall
- J Servants' Offices and Rooms
- K Theater Tower
- L Garden

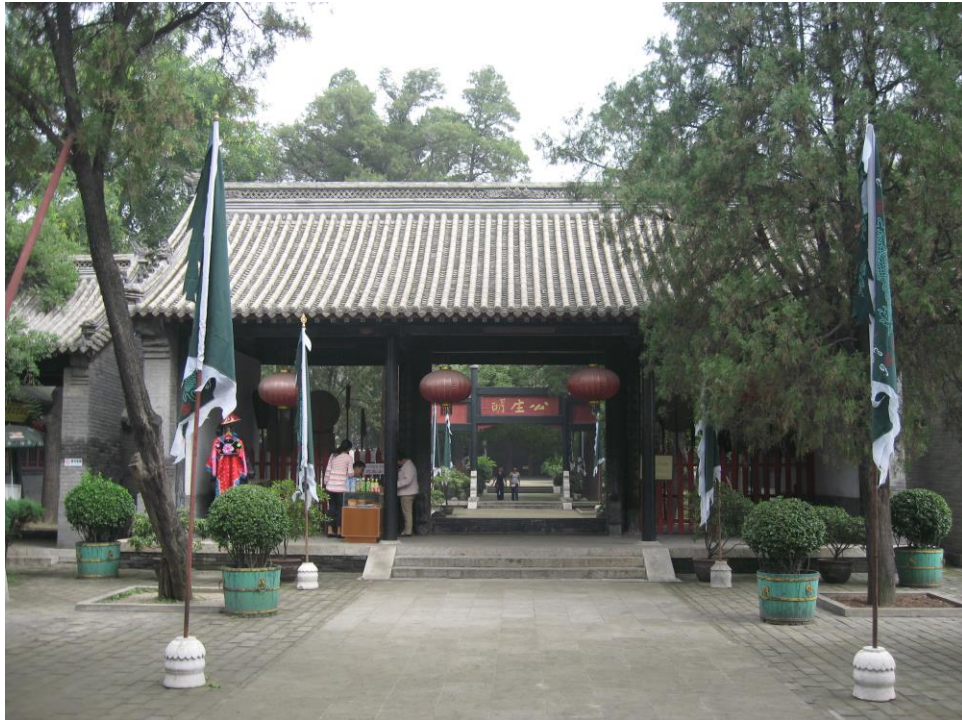


Figure 4-1 The Ceremonial Gate of Baoding Yamen. Source: Photo taken by Bing Jiang, 2009.

It has three bays on the long-side façade, facing south, with the central bay open as a doorway. There are two smaller gates on both sides, with roofs, adherent to the central ceremonial gate with short walls.



Figure 4-2 The Images of Shentu (left) and Yulei (right) on Chinese New Year's Painting, in Jiajiang. Source: Shen Hong, *Men Shang Chun Qiu: min jian nian hua zhong de men shen hu you* (*The Spring and Autumn on Gates: the blessing and protections from the gate gods in Chinese New Year's paintings*) 门上春秋: 民间年画中的门神护佑 (Beijing: China Workers' Publishing House, 2008), p.38.



Figure 4-3 Zhong Kui Travelling, by Chinese Artist Gong Kai 龚开, Handscroll, ink on paper, approximately 1222 – 1304, collected in Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian, Washington, D.C. As the King of Ghosts, Zhong Kui, the second figure from right, is carried in a humble sedan by two ghosts. The female sitting in a sedan in the middle is Zhong Kui's little sister, who has a maid and two servants following behind. Aside sedans, three ghosts, one smaller at the bottom and two bigger one, are carrying bags and a sword for their king. A group of ghosts followed the two sedans, all carrying goods on their shoulders.



Figure 4-4 The *Men-shen* Qin Shubao (left) and Yuchi Gong (right) woodprint of the Ming Dynasty. Source: Wang Shucun, *Men Yu Men Shen*, (Beijing: Xue Yuan Publishing House, 1994), p.213.



Figure 4-5 The *Men-shen* Qin Qiong woodprint in Longmen Town, Henan Province of the Qing Dynasty. Source: Wang Shucun, *Men Yu Men Shen*, p.214. The inscripts up on the left corner is the Dragon Gate Town (Longmen Town). Qin Qiong rides on a horse, a flag with his surname in his back, a sword in his left hand.



Figure 4-6 The Official from Heaven Bestows Blessings, Wei Town, Shandong Province. Source: Wang Shucun, *Men Yu Men Shen*, p.238. The middle fairy boy at the bottom holds a scroll, 'the official from Heaven bestows blessings'.



Figure 4-7 The Men-shen Sending Sons 门神送子/麒麟送子, Tianjin. Source: Wang Shucun, *Men Yu Men Shen*, p.242. Two fairy boys, riding a supernatural beast *qi-lin* 麒麟, send sons to the family. In literature, *qi-lin* are used to metaphor young sons that achieve great success. And fairy boys and girls are always the symbol of prosperous offsprings.



Figure 4-8 The *Zhuang-yuan* (the top ranked civilian in the final imperial civil examinations) as *Men-shen*, Yichang, Hubei. Source: Wang Shucun, *Men Yu Men Shen*, p.245. *Zhuang-yuan* is the title for the civilian who took the first place in the final round imperial civil examination, granted by the emperor, with a brilliant career ahead serving in the central government, representing the administrative power and high social status and ranks. And in the imperial times, passing the civil examinations was the only way to step into the upper class.



Figure 4-9 *Ran-deng* (enlightenment 燃灯) Daoist Monk as the *Men-shen*, Zhuxian Town, Henan Province, the Qing Dynasty. Source: Wang Shucun, *Men Yu Men Shen*, p.215. The *Ran-deng* Daoist is a figure in the Ming novel *Feng Shen Yan Yi* 封神演义 (*The Creation of Gods*), whose prototype is Dipankara, the Buddha who reached enlightenment eons, in Chinese Buddhism, the Buddha of the Past. In the paper print, he rides on the supernatural beast *qi-lin*, with a jade *ru-yi* in the right hand and a flute in the left hand.



Figure 4-10 The Woodblock Print of Zhong Kui. Source: Knapp, *China's Living Houses*, p.77. There is a symbol of *tai-ji*, the Dao of Daoism, surrounded by the symbols of Eight Trigrams, at top over the image of Zhong Kui, with characters 'protecting the house' and 'bringing the blessings'. Zhong Kui is armed with a sword, surrounded by poisonous insects.



Figure 4-11 No.8 Back Drum Tower Yuan Alley, Beijing 北京后鼓楼苑胡同 8 号. Source: Photo taken by Bing Jiang, May, 2007, three months after the Chinese New Year. The calligraphic couplets are written in golden ink on red papers, on the right (seven characters): Spring coming with blessing, (the family) will be prosperous for a thousand years 春来福到千秋盛; on the left: (Full of) wealth and auspiciousness, (the household) will be thriving for ten thousand generations 富贵吉祥万代兴. On the left (west) door-leaf is the men-shen Qin Shubao, with a character 'moon' in the right up corner representing the 'yin'; and on the right (east) door-leaf is Yuchi Gong, with a character 'sun' in the left up corner representing the 'yang'.



Figure 4-12 Emperor Kangxi Returns to the Forbidden City after the Southern Tour in 1689. Source: drawn in 1691 by Wang Hui 王翬 and Yang Jin 杨晋, *Kangxi Nan Xun Tu (The Painting of Emperor Kangxi's Southern Tour)* 康熙南巡图, vol. 12, collected in Palace Museum in Beijing.

On the left, the timber gate frame is the Zheng-yang *pai-lou* gateway, with five bays and roofs over each bay. The *pai-lou* stands to the south of the Zheng-yang watch tower, a stone bridge over the city moat linking the two. The procession takes the central passage, returning into the City.



图 21 2008 年 4 月重建的五牌楼

Figure 4-13 The Zheng-yang *Pai-lou* Gateway after Reconstruction in 2008. Source: The official website of Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage <http://www.bjww.gov.cn/2008/8-7/93914_2.html>.

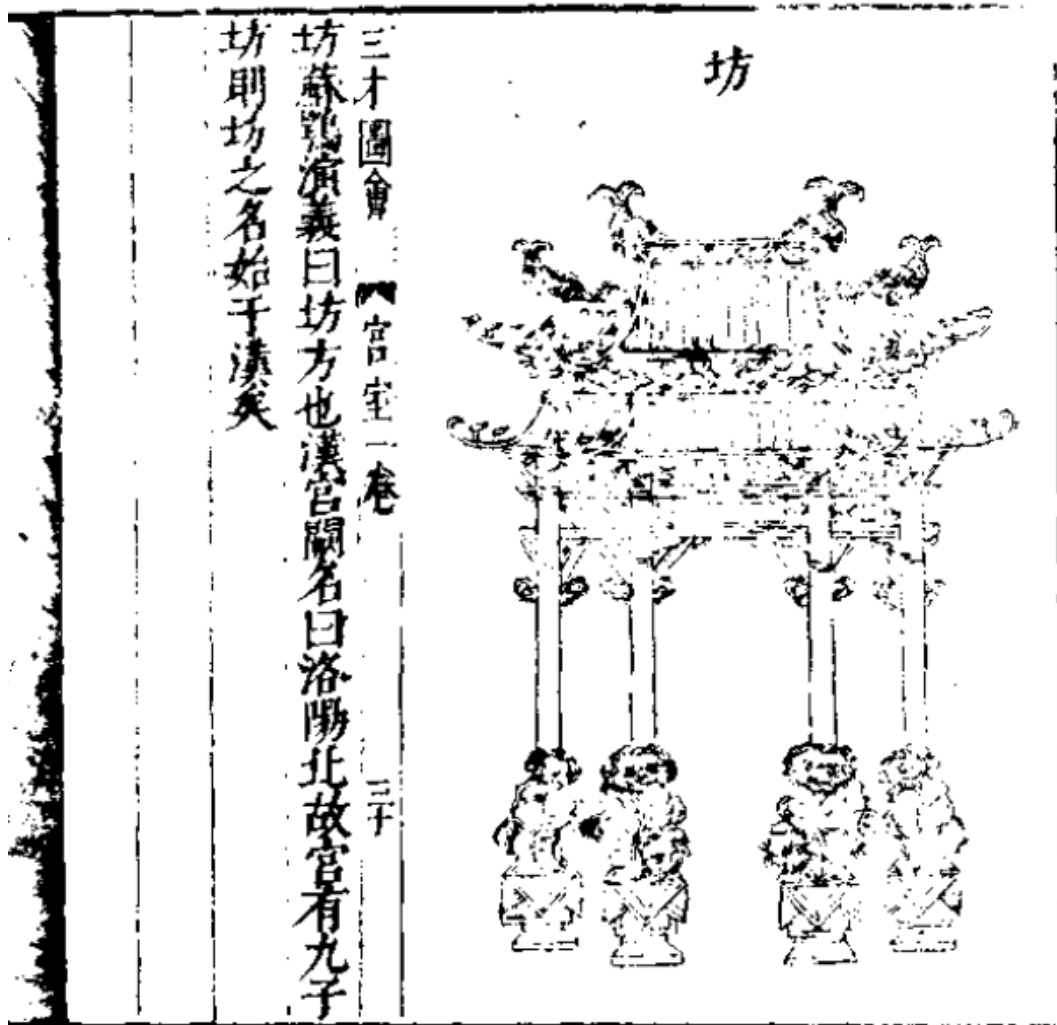
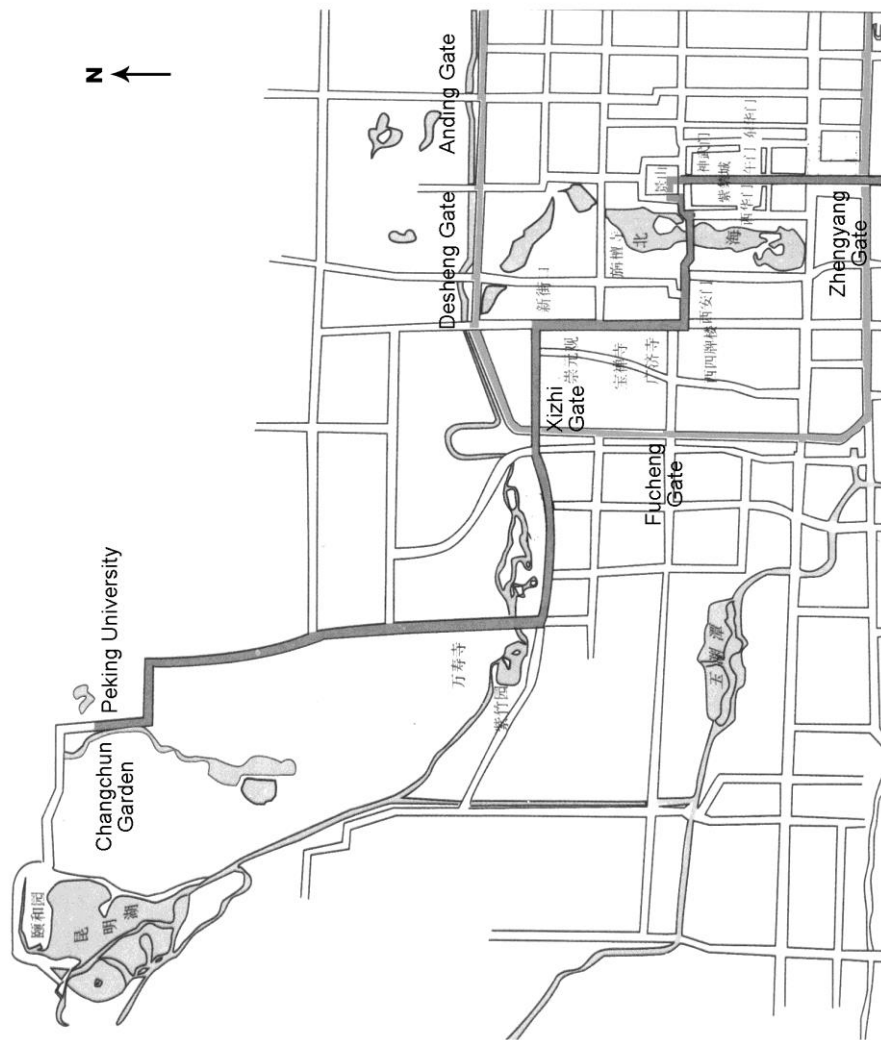


Figure 4-14 *Fang* 坊 of the 17th Century. Source: Wang Qi, the *SCTH*, p.1001. It says on the left that the name *fang* derives from the Han dynasty.



The Route of the Parade

Figure 4-15 The Route of the Parade.

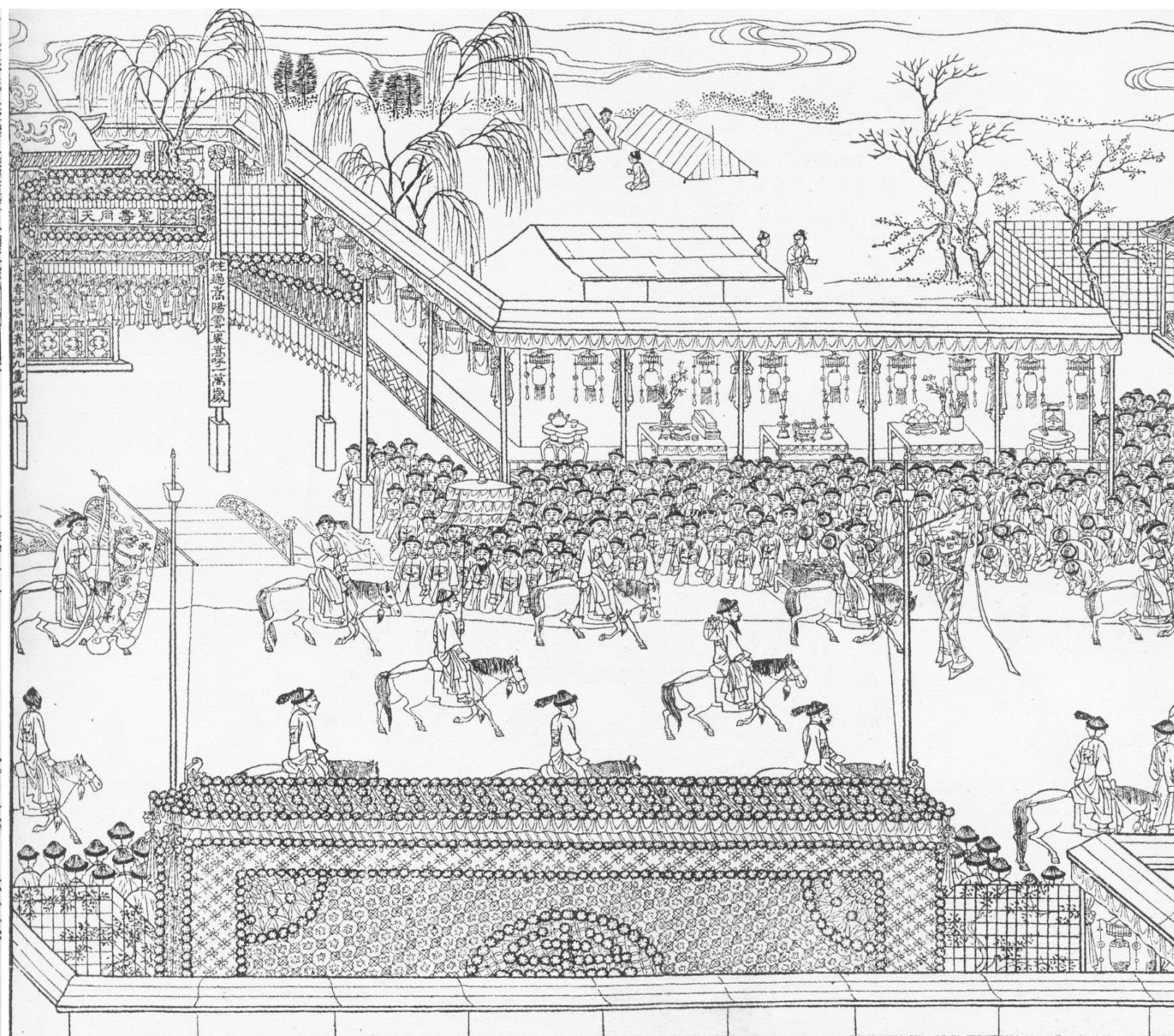
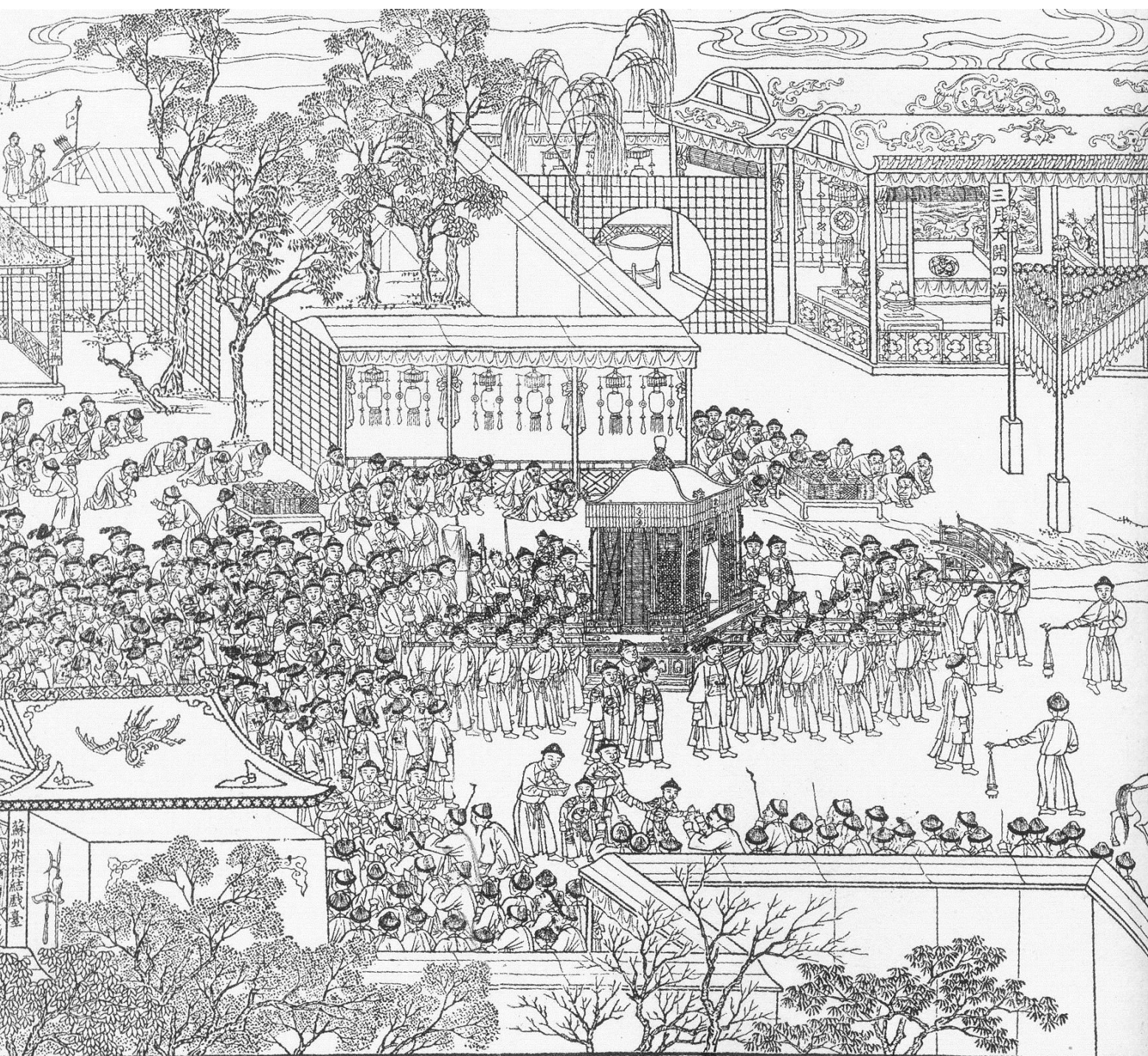


Figure 4-16 The Sedan of Emperor Kangxi in the Parade. Source: The original paintings were published in the rare edition WSSDCJ (Long Live Celebration Anthology), which is now preserved in the Capital Library in Beijing. This drawing is edited by Bing Jiang, copied from the book *Kangxi Sheng Shi De Gu Shi* (The Stories of Kangxi Empire).

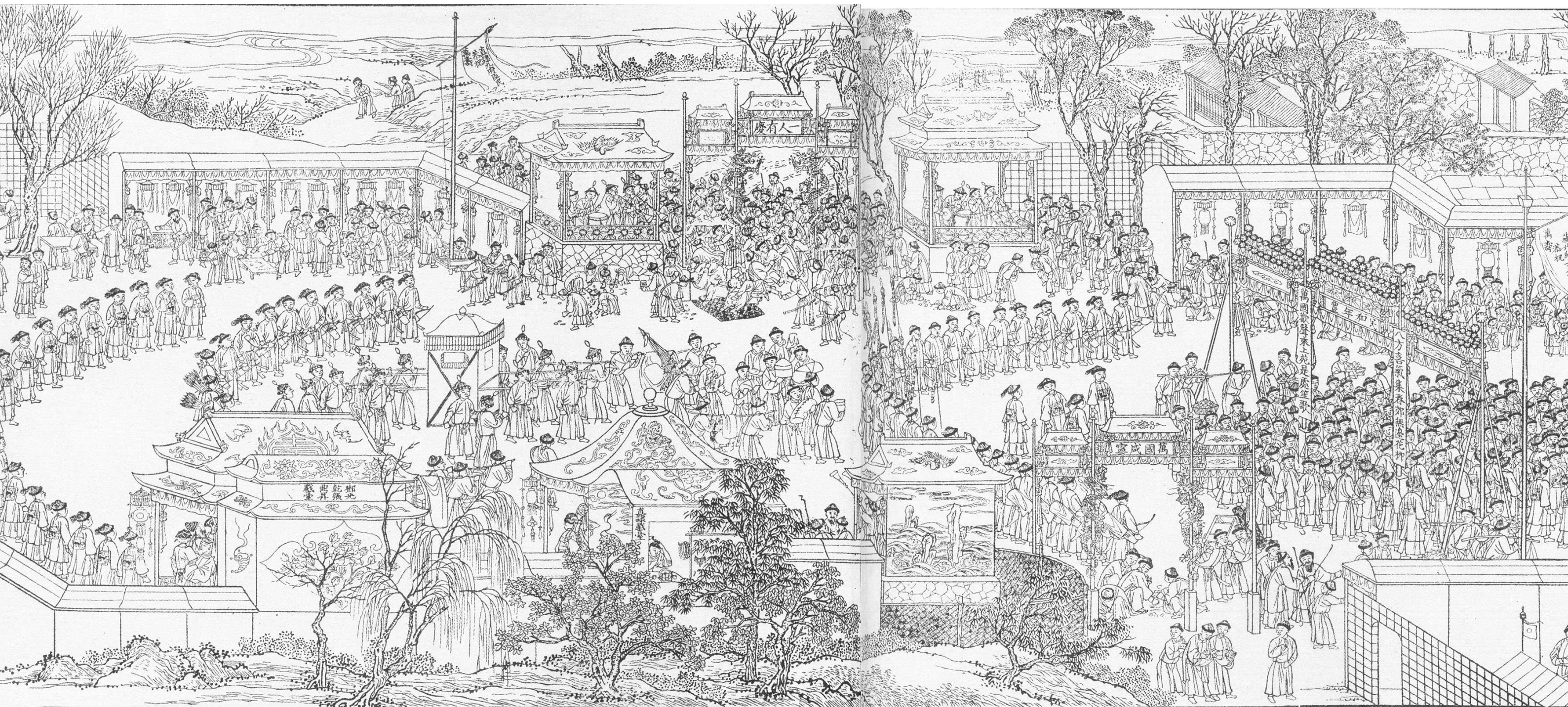


Figure 4-17 The Following Servants and Army behind the Sedan of Emperor Kangxi. Source: The original paintings were published in the rare edition WSSDCJ (Long Live Celebration Anthology), which is now preserved in the Capital Library in Beijing. This drawing is edited by Bing Jiang, copied from the book *Kangxi Sheng Shi De Gu Shi* (The Stories of Kangxi Empire).

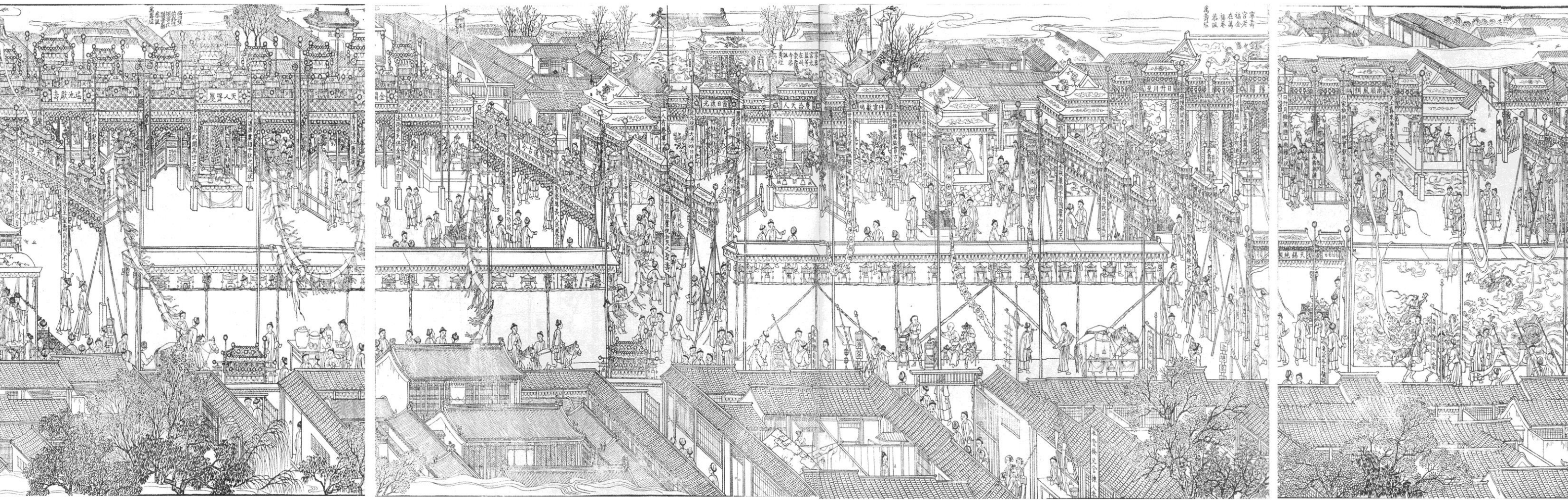


Figure 4-18 Partial Image of the Parade and Typical Arrangement of *Pai-lou* Units. Source: The original paintings were published in the rare edition *WSSDCJ* (Long Live Celebration Anthology), which is now preserved in the Capital Library in Beijing. This drawing is edited by Bing Jiang, copied from the book *Kangxi Sheng Shi De Gu Shi* (The Stories of Kangxi Empire).

In this picture, there are three areas divided by *pai-lou* gateways, the left one contributed by commanders of western four banners in front of Guandi Temple, the middle one by senior eunuchs who set a classics pavilion behind the *pailou* gateways, the right one by senior eunuchs as well who set a *Fu* Altar (Benevolence Altar) behind *pai-lou* gateways.

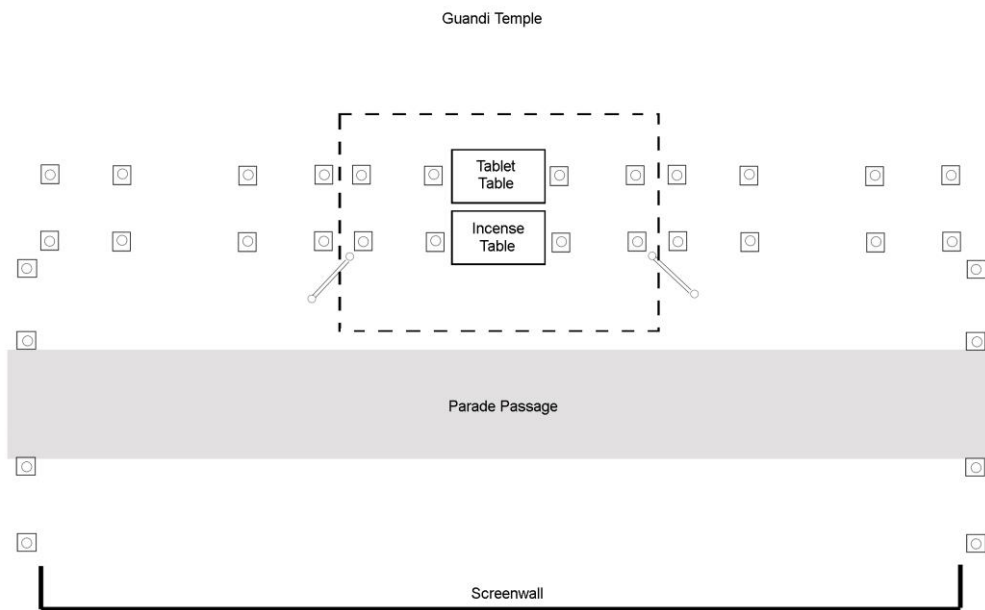


Figure 4-19 Diagrammatic Plan of the Area formed by *Pai-lou* Gateways on Kangxi's Parade. Each pailou gateway has four posts with square column bases. In dashed lines there is the entrance space to the temple behind, including two pailous, with a tablet table and an incense table under the middle bays. The grey area shows the passage of the parade between two pailous across the street. The screen wall at the bottom is right opposite the entrance space across the street, blocking the axis.

The Route Starts

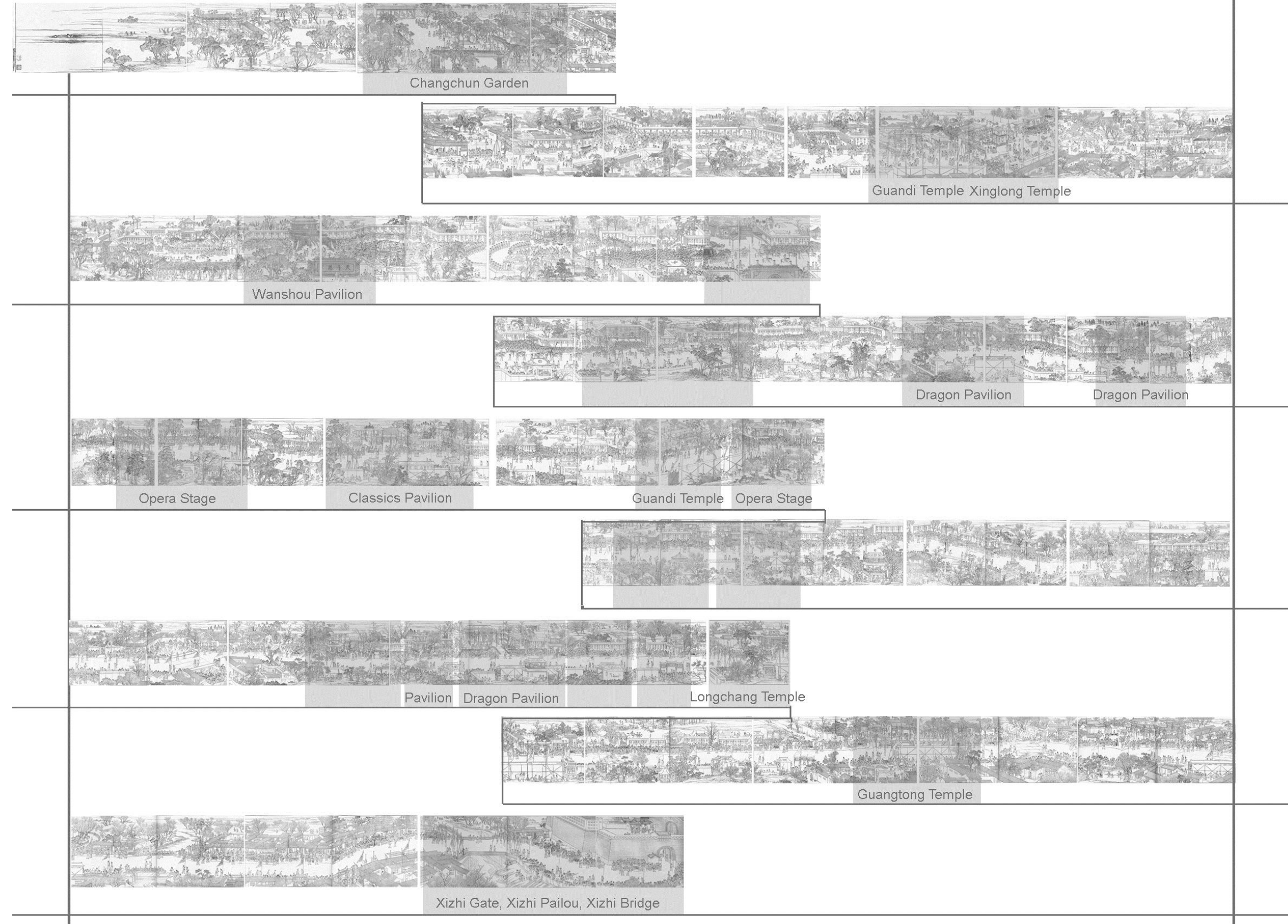


Figure 4-20 First Half of the Entire Drawing, Source: The original paintings were published in the rare edition *WSSDCJ* (Long Live Celebration Anthology), which is now preserved in the Capital Library in Beijing. This drawing is edited by Bing Jiang, copied from the book *Kangxi Sheng Shi De Gu Shi* (The Stories of Kangxi Empire). The parts in grey are the areas organised by groups of *pai-lou* gateways.

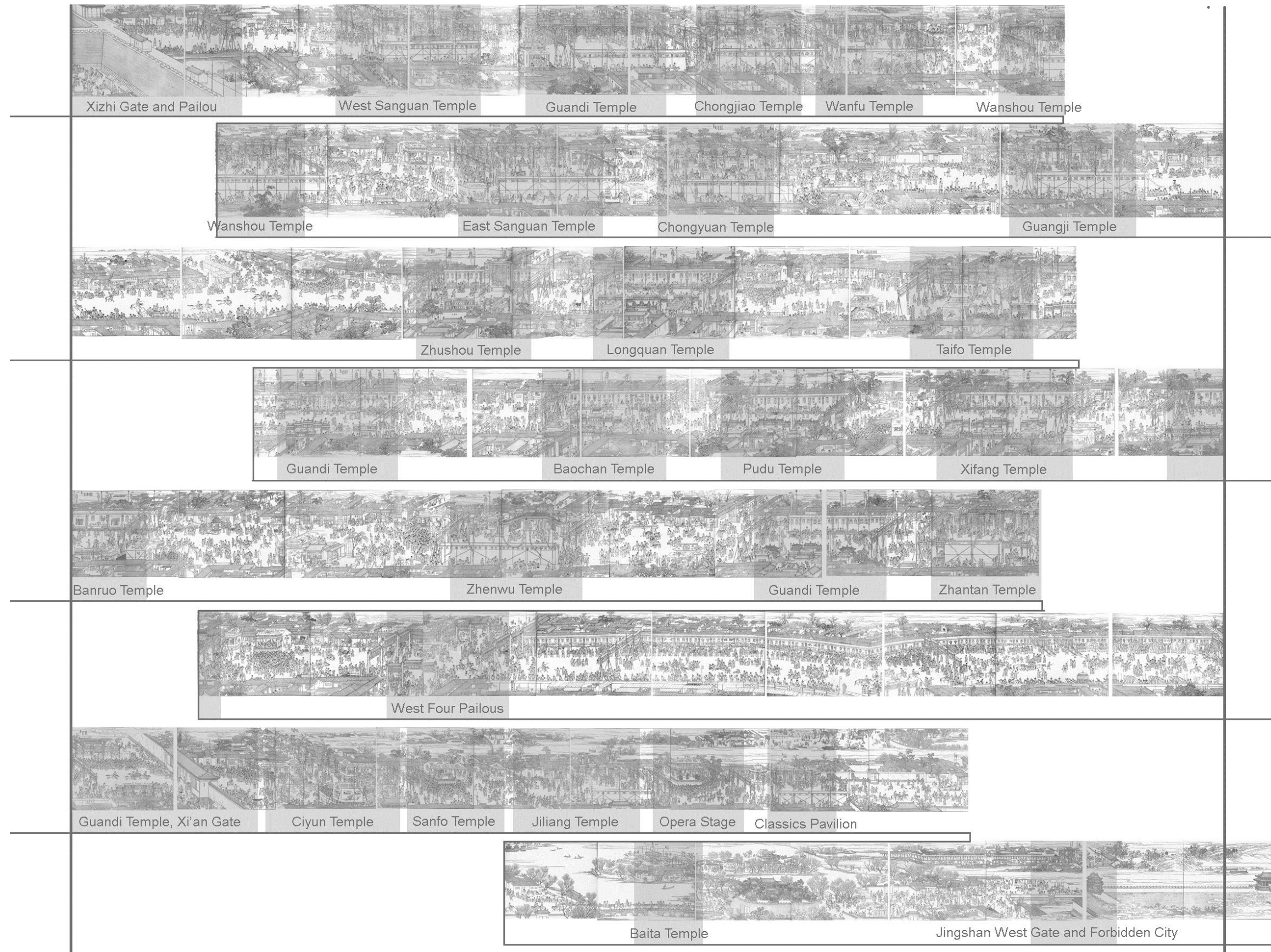


Figure 4-21 Second Half of the Entire Drawing, Source: The original paintings were published in the rare edition *WSSDCJ* (Long Live Celebration Anthology), which is now preserved in the Capital Library in Beijing. This drawing is edited by Bing Jiang, copied from the book *Kangxi Sheng Shi De Gu Shi* (The Stories of Kangxi Empire). The parts in grey are the areas organised by groups of *pai-lou* gateways.

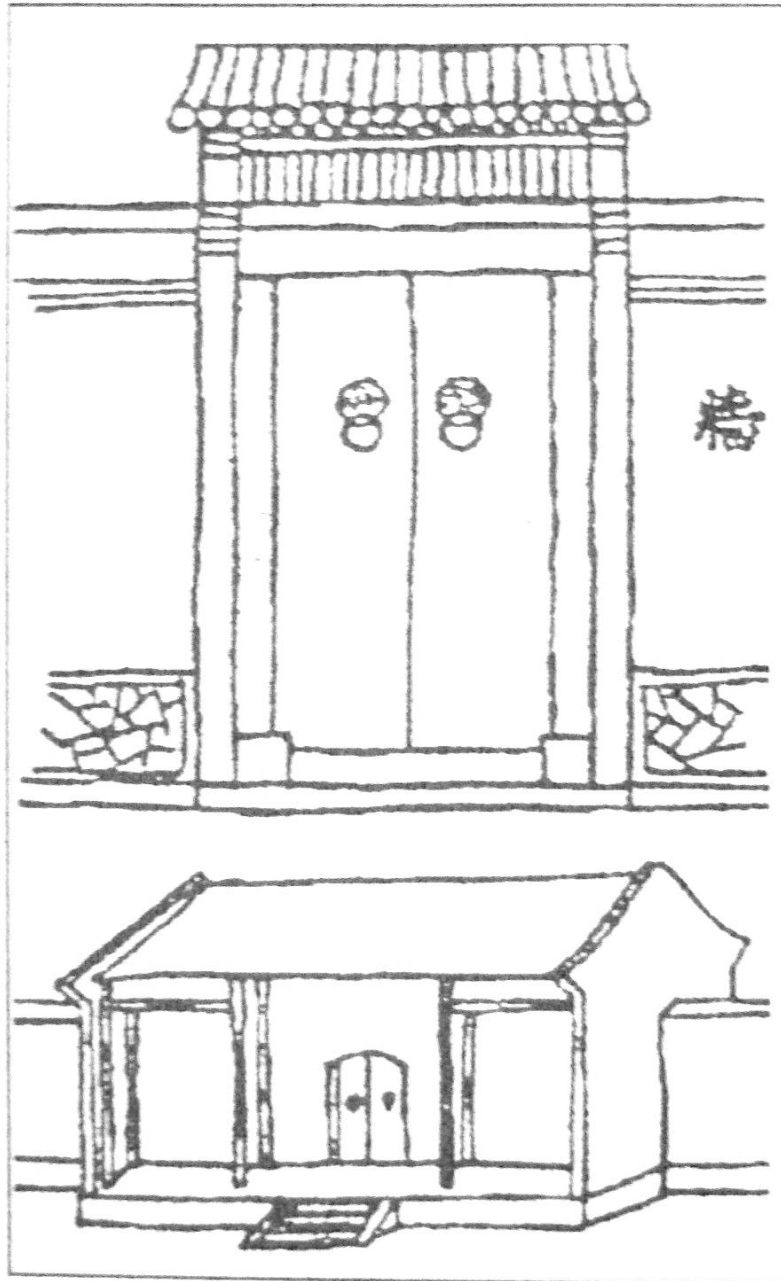


Figure 5-1 The Drawings of Main Gates of Residential Houses of the Ming Dynasty. Source: Wu Rong, *Lu Ban Jing*, p.83. The upper drawing shows a commoner's or lower-ranking household's main gate built in courtyard's wall. The Chinese character written on the wall is 牆 (wall). And the bottom drawing of a roofed gate house, with three bays on the façade facing street and a flight of steps in the middle, apparently belongs to a family with much higher social status.



Figure 5-2 Outside the Main Gate of A Courtyard Compound in Beijing. Source: Photo taken by Bing Jiang, 2007. Except for grey walls and small windows, nothing inside can be seen from outside the gate.

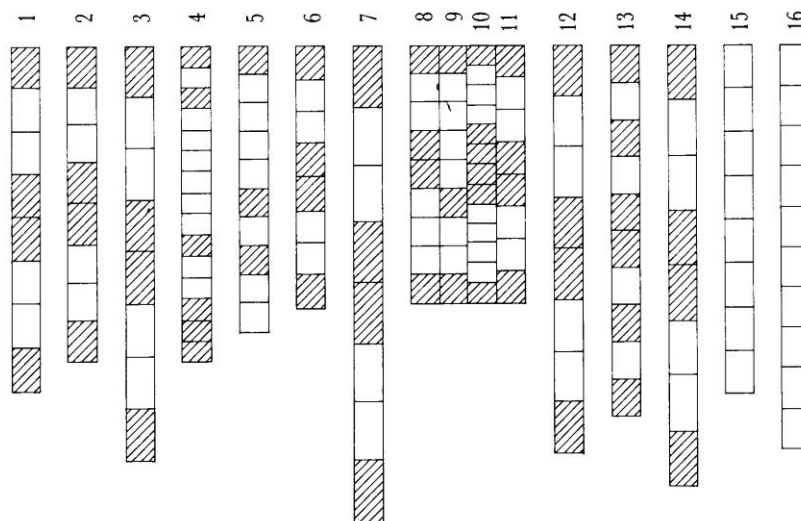


二家不可門相對
 必主一家退開
 門不得兩相衝必
 有一家凶

Figure 5-3 The Two Gates of Houses Facing Each Other. Source: Pu Shizhao, *Hui Tu Lu Ban Jing*, p.29. On the drawing, two main gate house are arranged face-to-face (the meaning of the four Chinese characters around them), both with three bays, of which the middle bay is the main entrance of a double leaved gate. The character men 門 is written separately in half on each of two leaves of each gate symbolically. The text in big characters is: ‘The gates of two houses may not be facing. This causes one house to decline. They may not obstruct each other, for then one house will end up poor.’ See Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.289)

Figure 5-4 16 Foot-Rules, their lengths and inches. Source: Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.91.

The standard *lu-ban-zhen-chi* 鲁班真尺, as recorded in the *LBJ*, is, in this list, No.14 *men-guang-chi* 门光尺, 14.4 *cun* (on the *qu-chi*, the carpenter's square), 46 cm (divided into eight Chinese inches). Not all of them are used to measure the gates of houses for the living, for example, No.13 *ding-lan-chi* was used to measure gates for the dead in some regions.



FOOT-RULES

N.B. In the drawings of nos. 1 - 11, the length of one Chinese foot, *chi* (= 10 *cun*), has been fixed at 30 cm. Favourable inches are shaded.

1. *Lu Ban chi*, 12 *cun* (divided into eight favourable and unfavourable inches).
2. *Lu Ban chi*, 11 *cun* (divided into eight inches).
3. (*Lu Ban chi*), 14.4 *cun* (divided into eight inches).
4. *Xuannü chi*, 11 *cun* (divided into fifteen inches).
5. *Feibai chi*, 10 *cun* (divided into ten inches).
[Nos. 1 - 5: *Shilin guangji*, Yuan dynasty.]
6. *Jiutian Xuannü chi*, somewhat over nine *cun* (divided into eight inches).
[*Yinyang baojian*, Yuan dynasty.]
7. (*Lu Ban chi*), 16.6 *cun* (divided into eight inches).
[*Sancai tuhui*, 1609.]
8. *Zifang chi*, 9 *cun* (divided into nine inches).
9. *Quchi*, 9 *cun* (divided into nine inches).
10. *Lu Ban chi*, 9 *cun* (divided into thirteen inches).
11. *Xuannü chi*, 9 *cun* (divided into eight inches).
[Nos. 8 - 11: *Bazhai zaofu zhoushu*, 1629.]
12. *Mengong chi*, 14.1 *cun*, 42.76 cm (divided into eight inches).
13. *Ding Lan chi*, 12.8 *cun*, 38.8 cm (divided into ten inches).
[Nos. 12, 13: Taiwan, modern.]
14. *Menguang chi*, 14.4 *cun*, 46 cm (divided into eight inches).
[Peking, modern.]
15. *Sashigane*, 12 *cun*, 36.36 cm (divided into eight inches).
16. *Sashigane*, 14.1 *cun*, 42.7 cm (divided into ten inches).
[Nos. 15, 16: Japan, modern.]

魯般真尺

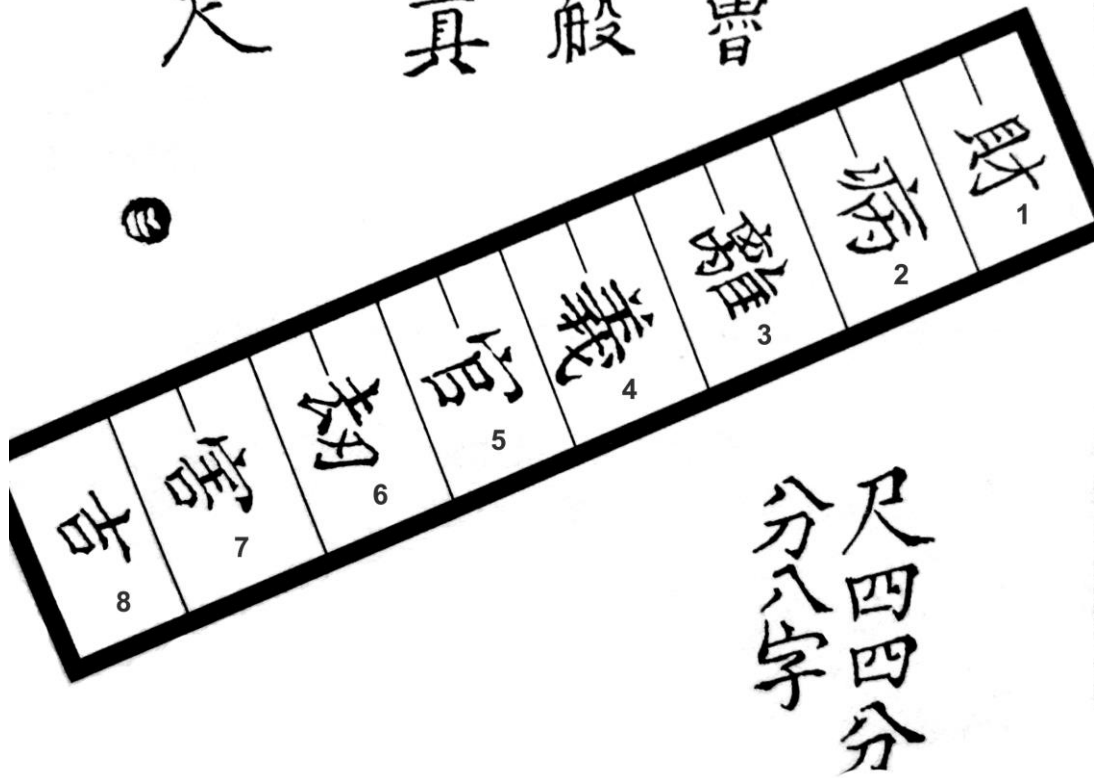


Figure 5-5 The Diagrammatic Drawing of the *Lu-ban-zhen-chi* (the Foot-Rule of Lu Ban). Source: Chen Yaodong, *Lu Ban Jing Jiang Jia Jing Yan Jiu*, p.4 (it is not mentioned in Chen's book that where this drawing he quoted. but according to the old-fashioned drawing style, it must originally from a copy of the *LBJ* at least before the 20th century).

- 0-1 Chinese inch: *cai* 財 Wealth
- 1-2 Chinese inch: *bing* 病 Illness
- 2-3 Chinese inch: *li* 离 Separation
- 3-4 Chinese inch: *yi* 义 Righteousness
- 4-5 Chinese inch: *guan* 官 Office
- 5-6 Chinese inch: *jie* 劫 Plunder
- 6-7 Chinese inch: *hai* 害 Harm
- 7-8 Chinese inch: *ben/ji* 本/吉 Root or Luck



Figure 5-6 (left), 5-7 (above) The *Men-guang-chi* kept in the Palace Museum. In 4-6, from top to bottom, the eight Chinese inches are Wealth (corresponding to Wood of the Five Elements), Illness (Earth), Separation (Earth), Righteousness (Water), Office (Metal), Plunder (Fire), Harm (Fire), Luck (Metal). In 4-7, it is the picture of the first three Chinese inches on the *men-guang-chi*. For the translations of the inscriptions, see Figure 5-22.



Figure 5-8 The *Lu-ban-zhen-chi*, a collection of Knapp's. Source: Knapp, with Kai-Yin Lo, ed., *House, Home, Family: living and being Chinese* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), p.116. It has the same contents with the *men-guang-chi* collected in the Palace Museum. It seems to be made of brass which in Knapp's monograph is not clarified. The rule is divided equally into eight dimensions, the bigger characters in the central column indicating each Chinese inch's name and corresponding element of the Five Elements with a four-line poem on both side columns in smaller characters. The contents of the poems are, from top to bottom:

Wealth-Wood Star:

贪狼王进财，营永自然来；
此物何处取，必得外人财。

Illness-Earth Star:

巨门多孝服，游荡走他乡；
疾病退田宅，淫乱招灾殃。

Separation-Earth Star:

禄存人多狼，别离又不祥；
夫妻不相遇，男女离家乡。

Righteousness-Water Star:

文曲星睢临，世代近君王；
其家多富贵，辈辈有名扬。

Office-Metal Star:

喜逢武曲星，具家有余荣；
五音田财进，世代显美名。

Plunder-Fire Star:

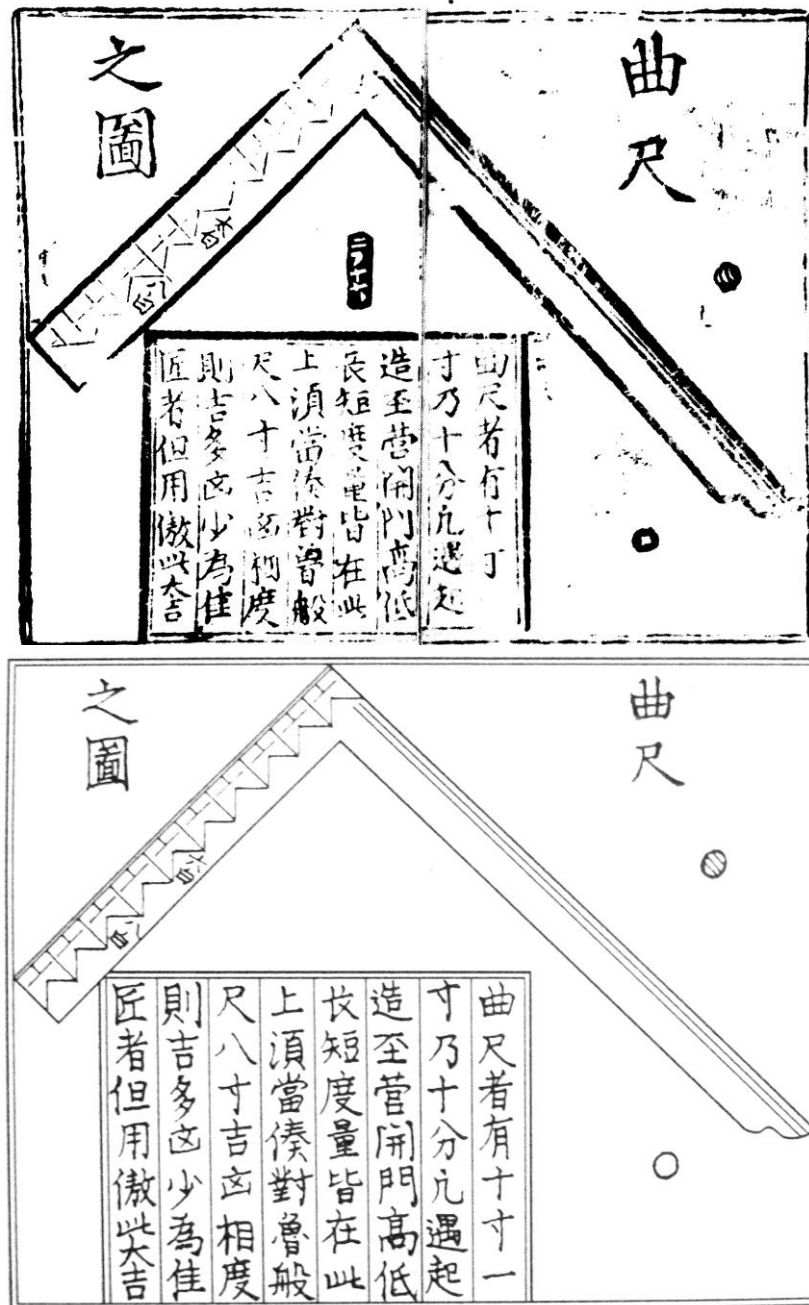
得遇廉贞星，官事退园林；
劫财身孤寡，横祸不佳逢。

Harm-Fire Star:

建门逢破军，家中出横人；
田宅多破败，瘟病不离门。

Luck-Metal Star:

辅门是高杰，金钱积满门；
五音田宅广，百年永昌荣。



Figures 5-9 and 5-10 The Drawing of the *Qu-chi*, Carpenter's Square. Source: the upper one from Ruitenbeek's photocopy of it in *Lu Ban Ying Zao Zheng Shi, Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.77; the bottom re-edited based on 5-9 from Chen Yaodong, *Lu Ban Jing Jiang Jia Jing Yan Jiu*, p.4. The four big characters 曲尺之圖 up in corners display that the drawing is the illustration of the *qu-chi*. The script in the box at the bottom says: 'There are ten *cun* on the *qu-chi*, and each *cun* was divided equally into ten *fen*. From the very beginning of constructions to opening gates/doors, the measurements of heights, lengths and widths are all here (on the square). And these measurements have to correspond to the eight Chinese inches on the *lu-ban-chi* (foot-rule of Lu Ban) which symbolise auspiciousness and inauspiciousness, so that there will be more lucks and less harms. A good craftsman must use it to bring luck.' The characters on the *qu-chi* are 'Sixth White or 6=White; Eighth White or 8=White', marking the 6th *cun* and the 8th.

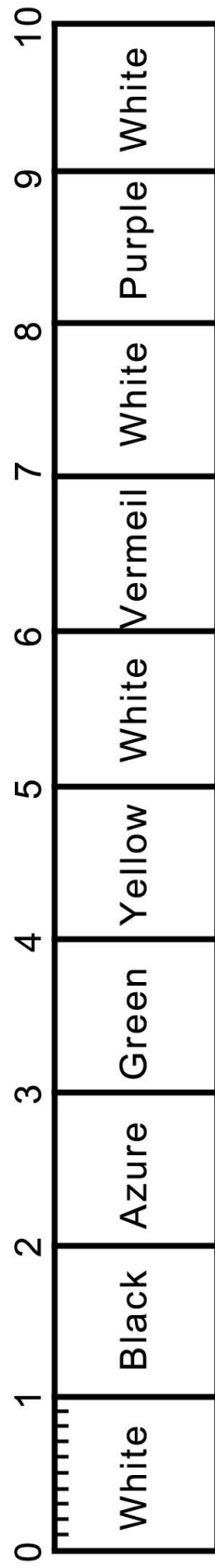


Figure 5-11 The Diagrammatic Drawing of the *Qu-chi* with each *cun* corresponding to colours, Carpenter's Square. Drawn by Bing Jiang. According to the note on the *qu-chi* in the *LBJ*, the length of *qu-chi* is divided equally into ten *cun*, each connected with different colours. The ones connected with Whites are of great auspiciousness, and the one with Purple is of small auspiciousness, all of which can and should be applied in to measurements of gates/doors in building activities.

Green	Purple	Black
Azure	Yellow	Vermeil
White	White	White

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

Figure 5-12 The Magic Square of Colours and of Numbers and their correspondences. Drawn by Bing Jiang. For more information, see Chapter 2.

Polaris ●

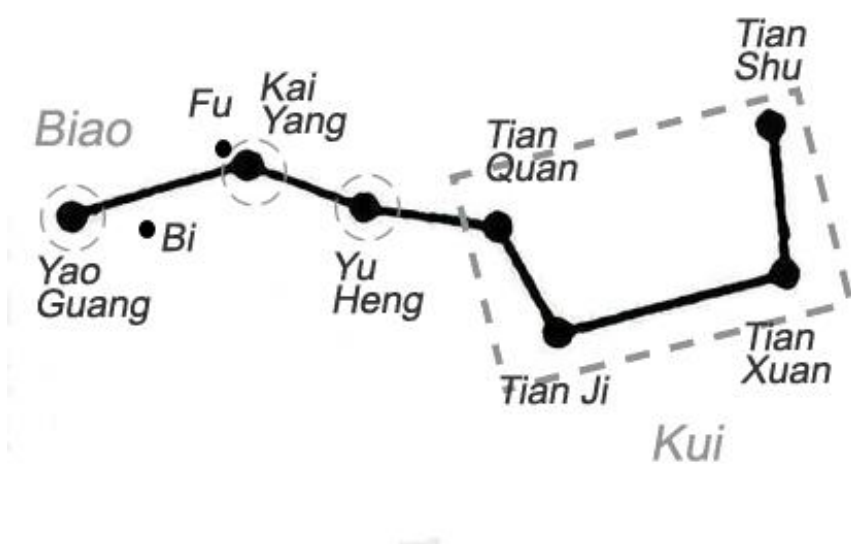


Figure 5-13 The Zi-bai Nine Constellations and the Polaris.
Drawn by Bing Jiang.

Foot-White	<u>Tan Lang</u> 贪狼	<u>Ju Men</u> 巨门	<u>Lu Cun</u> 禄存	<u>Wen Qu</u> 文曲	<u>Lian Zhen</u> 廉贞	<u>Wu Qu</u> 武曲	<u>Po Jun</u> 破军	<u>Left Fu</u> 左辅	<u>Right Bi</u> 右弼
	Wood	Earth	Metal	Water	Fire	Metal	Metal	Earth	Earth
Inch-White	1st <u>White</u>	2nd Black	3rd Azure	4th Green	5th Yellow	6th <u>White</u>	7th Vermeil	8th <u>White</u>	9th <u>Purple</u>
	Water	Earth	Wood	Wood	Earth	Metal	Metal	Earth	Fire

Figure 5-14 The Correspondences of *Chi*-white between the Dimensions on the *Qu-chi* and Nine Stars and of *Cun*-white between the Dimensions on the *Qu-chi* and Colours. Drawn by Bing Jiang. The correspondences are organised in the order of the *qu-chi*: from left to right are the nine cun dimensions of 1-9. The lucky dimensions and corresponding stars and colours are underlined. As stated in the main text, the correspondences of *Chi*-white between the *qu-chi* and nine stars are interpreted differently. These correspondences were cited from the correspondences between the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* and nine stars in the Qing period.

	Chi-White	Cun-White
Heaven-Father (Height)	<p><u>Qian</u> 乾 - <u>Right Bi</u> 右弼 <u>Li</u> 离 - <u>Po Jun</u> 破军</p> <p><u>Dui</u> 兑 - <u>Tan Lang</u> 贪狼 <u>Zhen</u> 震 - <u>Ju Men</u> 巨门</p> <p><u>Xun</u> 巽 - <u>Lian Zhen</u> 廉贞 <u>Gen</u> 艮 - <u>Wu Qu</u> 武曲</p> <p><u>Kan</u> 坎 - <u>Wen Qu</u> 文曲 <u>Kun</u> 坤 - <u>Lu Cun</u> 禄存</p>	<p><u>Qian</u> 乾 - 4th Green <u>Zhen</u> 震 - 7th Vermeil</p> <p><u>Xun</u> 巽 - 5th Yellow <u>Kan</u> 坎 - 2nd Black</p> <p><u>Kun</u> 坤 - 3rd Azure <u>Dui</u> 兑 - 9th Purple</p> <p><u>Gen</u> 艮 - 6th White <u>Li</u> 离 - 8th White</p>
Earth-Mother (Width)	<p><u>Gen</u> 艮 - <u>Tan Lang</u> 贪狼 <u>Xun</u> 巽 - <u>Ju Men</u> 巨门</p> <p><u>Zhen</u> 震 - <u>Lian Zhen</u> 廉贞 <u>Dui</u> 兑 - <u>Wu Qu</u> 武曲</p> <p><u>Qian</u> 乾 - <u>Lu Cun</u> 禄存 <u>Li</u> 离 - <u>Wen Qu</u> 文曲</p> <p><u>Kan</u> 坎 - <u>Po Jun</u> 破军 <u>Kun</u> 坤 - <u>Right Bi</u> 右弼</p>	<p><u>Qian</u> 乾 - 1st White <u>Li</u> 离 - 2nd Black</p> <p><u>Zhen</u> 震 - 3rd Azure <u>Dui</u> 兑 - 4th Green</p> <p><u>Kan</u> 坎 - 5th Yellow <u>Kun</u> 坤 - 6th White</p> <p><u>Xun</u> 巽 - 7th Vermeil <u>Gen</u> 艮 - 8th White</p>

Figure 5-15 The Diagrammatic Doggerel of Chi-white and Cun-white. Drawn by Bing Jiang. The lucky ones are underlined.

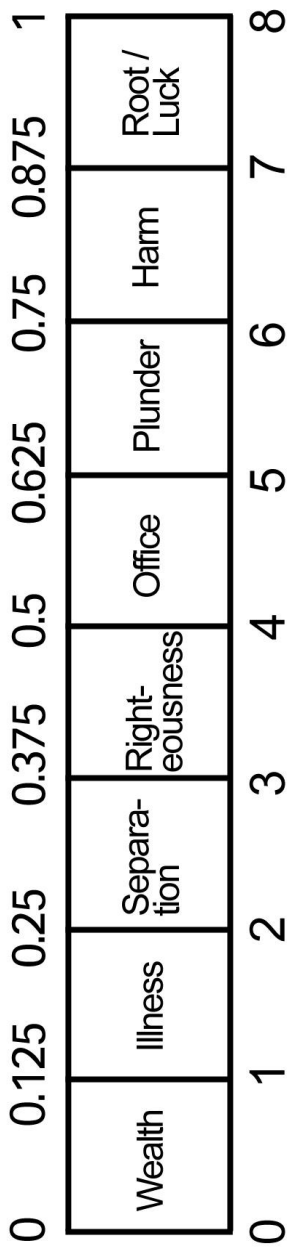


Figure 5-16 The Diagrammatic *Lu-ban-zhen-chi* in both Octonary and Decimal Systems. Drawn by Bing Jiang.

Here, it is applied to calculate measurements in decimal system, on both the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* and carpenter's square. Hence, the first inch Wealth spans $0 - 0.125$ unit of one *lu-ban-zhen-chi*, Illness $0.125 - 0.25$, Separation $0.25 - 0.375$, Righteousness $0.375 - 0.5$, Office $0.5 - 0.625$, Plunder $0.625 - 0.75$, Harm $0.75 - 0.875$, and Root/Luck $0.875 - 1$. For instance, in the context, the height 3'5" on carpenter's square, which is lucky, equals 2.43 units of *Lu Ban zhen chi*. Apart from the foot figure that should not be considered lucky or not, the inch figure 0.43 belongs to the Righteousness inch, so that the gate of height 3'5" (and the width should have Righteousness inch as well), in the position of *kan* trigram of course, is a Righteousness gate. Righteousness gates do not always bring lucks, although generally Righteousness inch is considered to be lucky. The gates only work perfectly well when they are suitable to the status of the owner or the character of the buildings that they are fixed to.

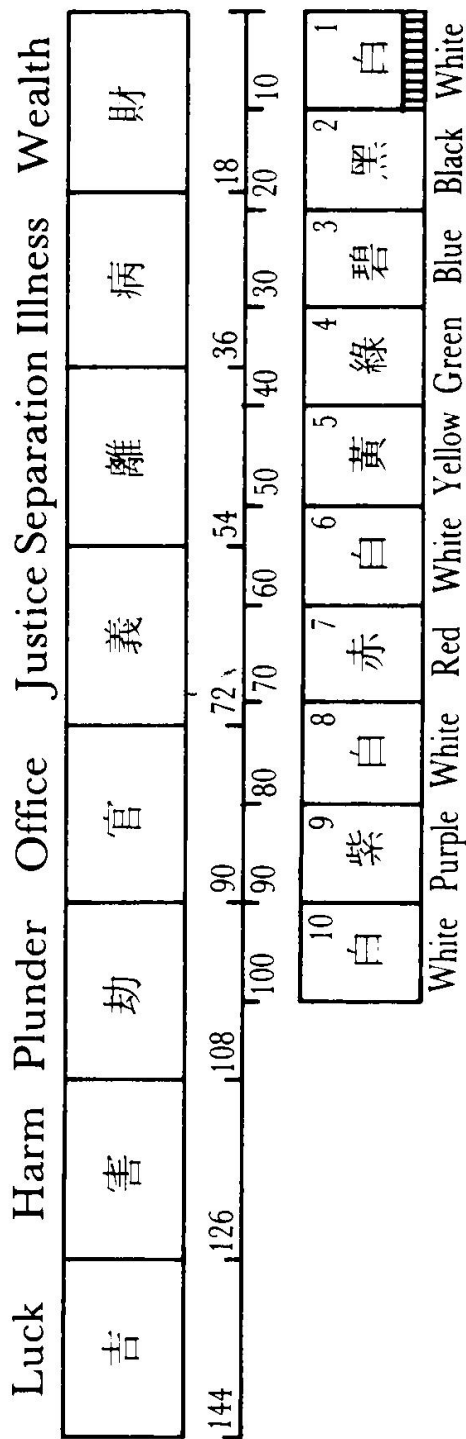


Figure 5-17 The Length Scale between the *Lu-ban-zhen-chi* and the *Qu-chi*. Source: Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, p.77. The top longer ruler is the *lu-ban-zhen-chi* with the first Chinese inch from the right left-wards: Wealth, Illness, Separation, Justice (here Ruitenbeek translated *yi* 义 as Justice but in other chapters of his book he used Righteousness), Office, Plunder, Harm and Luck. The bottom ruler is the *qu-chi*, each cun marked by both dimension and a colour: 1-White, 2-Black, 3-Blue (Azure), 4-Green, 5-Yellow, 6-White, 7-Red (Vermillion), 8-White, 9-Purple, and 10-White. Generally speaking, on the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*, the Chinese inches Wealth, Righteousness, Office and Luck are auspicious; and on the *qu-chi*, the 1st, 6th, 8th Whites and the 9th Purple are lucky. So there is a numerable relationship between the two which was set to make measurements lucky on both rulers.

Heaven-Father (Heights)	<i>Qu-chi</i>	4'5"	4'7"	4'8"	4'9"	6'5"	6'7"	6'8"	6'9"	7'5"	7'7"	7'8"	7'9"	8'5"	8'7"	8'8"	8'9"
	<i>Lu-ban-zhen-chi</i>	3.12 5	3.26	3.33	3.40	4.51	4.65	4.72	4.79	5.21	5.35	5.42	5.49	5.90	6.04	6.11	6.18
Earth-Mother (Widths)	<i>Qu-chi</i>					O						R	R	L	W	W	
	<i>Lu-ban-zhen-chi</i>	2'2"	2'4"	2'5"	2'6"	3'2"	3'4"	3'5"	3'6"	4'2"	4'4"	4'5"	4'6"	9'2"	9'4"	9'5"	9'6"
		1.53	1.67	1.74	1.81	2.22	2.36	2.43	2.50	2.92	3.06	3.125	3.19	6.39	6.53	6.59	6.67
								R	R	L	W	W		R	O	O	

Figure 5-18 The Calculations and Figures for the Lucky Measurements of Gates in the Position of the *Kan* Trigram. Drawn by Bing Jiang. W is short for the lucky Chinese inch Wealth on the *lu-ban-zhen-chi*, R for Righteousness, O for Office, and L for Luck/Root. The unit of figures in the columns of the *qu-chi* is *chi*. The Unit of the figures in the columns of the *Lu-ban-zhen-chi* is the Chinese foot (see Notes on Chinese Length Units on Rulers). The measurements of height smaller than 6'5" and ones of width smaller than 3'2" are not listed in the table for practical consideration.



Figure 5-20 The Sample of the Ruler (造尺样范). Source: Chen Yuanliang, the *SLGJ*, vol.6, pp.98-99.

From top to bottom, there are eight Chinese inches, and the corresponding relations are: *Tan-lang* with Wealth; *Po-jun* with Illness; *Wu-qu* with Separation; *Ju-men* with Justice; *Wen-qu* with Office; *Lian-zhen* with Plunder; *Lu-cun* with Harm; and *Fu* Star with Luck.



門扇或斜欹夫婦
不相宜家財常
耗散更防人謀欺

Figure 5-21 The Askew Door-leaves. Source: Pu Shizhao, *Hui Tu Lu Ban Jing*, p.29. The text is: 'If the door leaves are askew, husband and wife cannot get along. The family property is dispersed constantly, and what is worse, the family members are inevitably bullied by others'.

	Upside (正面)			Downside (反面)
Increase Wealth (添财)	Maonate Gate (贵人门)	Official Career (官禄)	1 st White Wood	The wealth and honours are prosperous, and the blessing will last a long period. The farm properties will keep increasing as the amount of cattle and horses. The main gate brings in the outer wealth wolf. It is the most auspicious that gates/doors are built correspondingly to the wealth star.
Brine in Profits (进益)		Military Contribution (武功)	(太白一)	
Benevolence & Fortune (福德)	Height: 6'6" Width: 4'2"	Prosperous Offspring (子孙)	Tan-lung Star	
Wealth & Honour (富贵)	Height: 5'7" Width: 2'3"	Literati (诗礼)	(Greedy Wolf)	
Increase Income (进入)		Intelligence & Talent (才能)	(贪狼星)	
Wenche (花酒)	Illness Gate (疾病门)	Official Burial (官葬)	2 nd Black Earth	
Shadness (朦胧)		Immorsonment & Decline (凶散)	(十黑一)	The chance of a plague happening is eighty to ninety percent. Disasters are coming one by one. People will be ill and stay in bed all the time. Choosing disease gates is extremely inauspicious.
Strife (争斗)	Height: 5'3" Width: 3'2"	Plague & Disaster (瘟疫)	Liu-cun Star	
Ten Evils (十恶)		Demon & Misfortune (妖邪)	(Fortune Collection)	
Suicide by Hanging (自缢)		Mental Disorders (痲疾)	(禄存星)	
Beine Lost (走失)	Separation Gate (离别门)	Mammonism (贪欲)	3 rd Azure Water	
Injuries (损身)		Wealth Losing (失财)	(水碧三)	The essence is gone even though the stragagems are used out. The house will not be kept safe and the family will be taken apart. If the Separation Star builds the gate, (the members of the family) leave their hometown and cannot return, with moral missing.
Lawsuits (招讼)	Height: 5'2" Width: 3'3"	Separation (离散)	Wen-qui Star	
Falling Over & Beine Attacked (跌打)		Death on Road (路亡)	(Literati)	
Political Storms (政争)		Disobedience (忤逆)	(文曲星)	
Increase Fortune (添福)	Rihteousness Gate (义顺门)	Literati Chief (文魁)	4 th Green Earth	
Increase Income (进入)		Loyalty & Rihteousness (忠义)	(七绿四)	If the commoners use it in their house, it will attract lascivious women to become Buddhist nuns. The Righteousness as a main gate is the most interesting one. The oldest host of the family will take a post in yamen. And a son who is as exalted as <i>giltin</i> will be born in the family.
Bringing in Wealth (招财)	Height: 6'5"8 Width: 3'1"6	Protection from Heaven (天保)	Liu-cun Star	
Happiness (和美)	Height: 5'7" Width: 2'3"	Supertative Peace (致宁)	(Giant Gate)	
Windfalls (横财)		Prosperous Wives & Sons (妻子)	(巨门星)	
Promotion (加官)	Official Career Gate (官禄门)	Increase Salary (增禄)	5 th Yellow Metal	
Increase Salary (进禄)		Promotion (进爵)	(金黄五)	If the commoners use Official Career gates, the lawsuits will come endlessly. If there is a <i>patrou</i> gateway opposite, it is greatly auspicious and high posts in yamen will be held.
Daintiness (美味)	Height: 7'8" Width: 5'8"	Inevitable Glory (须耀)	Wu-dan Star	
Filial Piety & Fraternal Siblings (孝弟)	Height: 6'4" Width: 3'6"	Intelligent Scholar (才子)	(Military Generals)	
Fortune Comine (进财)		Treasure Comine (进宝)	(武曲星)	
Mourning Garment (麻衣)	Plunder & Steal Gate (劫盗门)	Buddhist Monks (禁子)	6 th White Fire	
Thieves (盗贼)		Decline Property (浪产)	(火白六)	If in the end of the whole year there is any overcoming (between the five elements), there will be deaths in the family on the execution ground. Undergoing plunders is exactly a disaster. If making a gate/door according to Plunder, there must be misfortunes and disasters coming along.
Violence (行凶)	Height: 5'6" Width: 3'6"	Plague (瘟疫)	Liu-shen Star	
Disease (疾病)		Calamity (天灾)	(Integeriv)	
Procreation & Education (生育)		Violent Deaths (横死)	(廉贞星)	
Competition & Fight (争竞)	Harm Gate (伤害门)	Lone-Period Disease (长病)	7 th Vermel Metal	
Thick Blood (浓血)		Disasters (灾难)	(金赤七)	Calamities, disasters, illness and deaths are coming every year, even a despicable person will not come day and night. The farms and real estate properties will be sold out and the life is very bitter and lonely. The Harm gates/doors are not bearable.
Plague (瘟疫)	Height: 5'7" Width: 3'7"	Impiety (不孝)	Pa-ian Star	
Mourning Garment (孝服)		Decline Income (退入)	(Breakine Military)	
Fortune Missing (失财)		Depletion & Consumption (耗散)	(破军星)	
Wisdom (智慧)	Blessing Root Gate (福本门)	Fine Talents (秀才)	8 th White Water	
Mutual Profits (交益)		Blessine (发福)	(水白八)	The happiness and fortunes are increasing, while wealth is coming forever. (The crops in) fields and (the fruit trees in) orchards are prosperous, while the amount of six types of domestic animal is increasing and population in the family is getting larger. The fortunes are growing to explode. Making a gate according to Root will bring in real estates and fields.
Incoming Entrance (进口)	Height: 7'3" Width: 5'8"	Exalted Postivity (生贵)	Fu and Bi Stars (Left	
Benevolence & Filial Piety (仁孝)	Height: 5'8" Width: 2'8"	Loyalty & Rihteousness (忠孝)	& Right Assistants)	
Ritual & Kindness (礼仁)		Literacy (诗书)	(辅弼星)	

Figure 5-22 The *Men-guang-chi* 门光尺 Made by the Department of Construction and Building, the Board of Works of the Qing Dynasty.

This is a table of contents of the Lu Ban rule that is recorded in the document of the Department of Construction and Building, the Board of Works.

The original texts of the doggerel on the Downside are:

for the Wealth Gate: ‘门造财星最吉昌，大门招进外财狼，田产牛马时时进，富贵荣华福绵长’;

for the Illness Gate: ‘病门开者大不祥，难连绵绵卧病床，大绒形冲未克破，十八入九发瘟疫’;

for the Separation Gate: ‘若是离星造大门，离乡背井乱人伦，家宅不保中须破，机关用尽要无存’;

for the Righteousness Gate: ‘大门义学最为奇，公居衙门产麟儿，庶人用此如住宅，定招淫妇当僧尼’;

for the Office Career Gate: ‘官居衙门大吉星，若是阅阅更相对，庶人用此礼关事，争讼无休无抢场’;

for the Plunder and Steal Gate: ‘劫字安门有祸殃，遭逢劫掠正难当，若遇流年未冲克，更添人命在法场’;

for the Harm Gate: ‘害字安门不可忍，田园卖尽苦伶仃，灾殃疾死年年有，小人日夜不来侵’; for the Blessing Root Gate: ‘木星造门进庄田，财源大发病绵，田园六畜人丁旺，增加福禄永财源’.

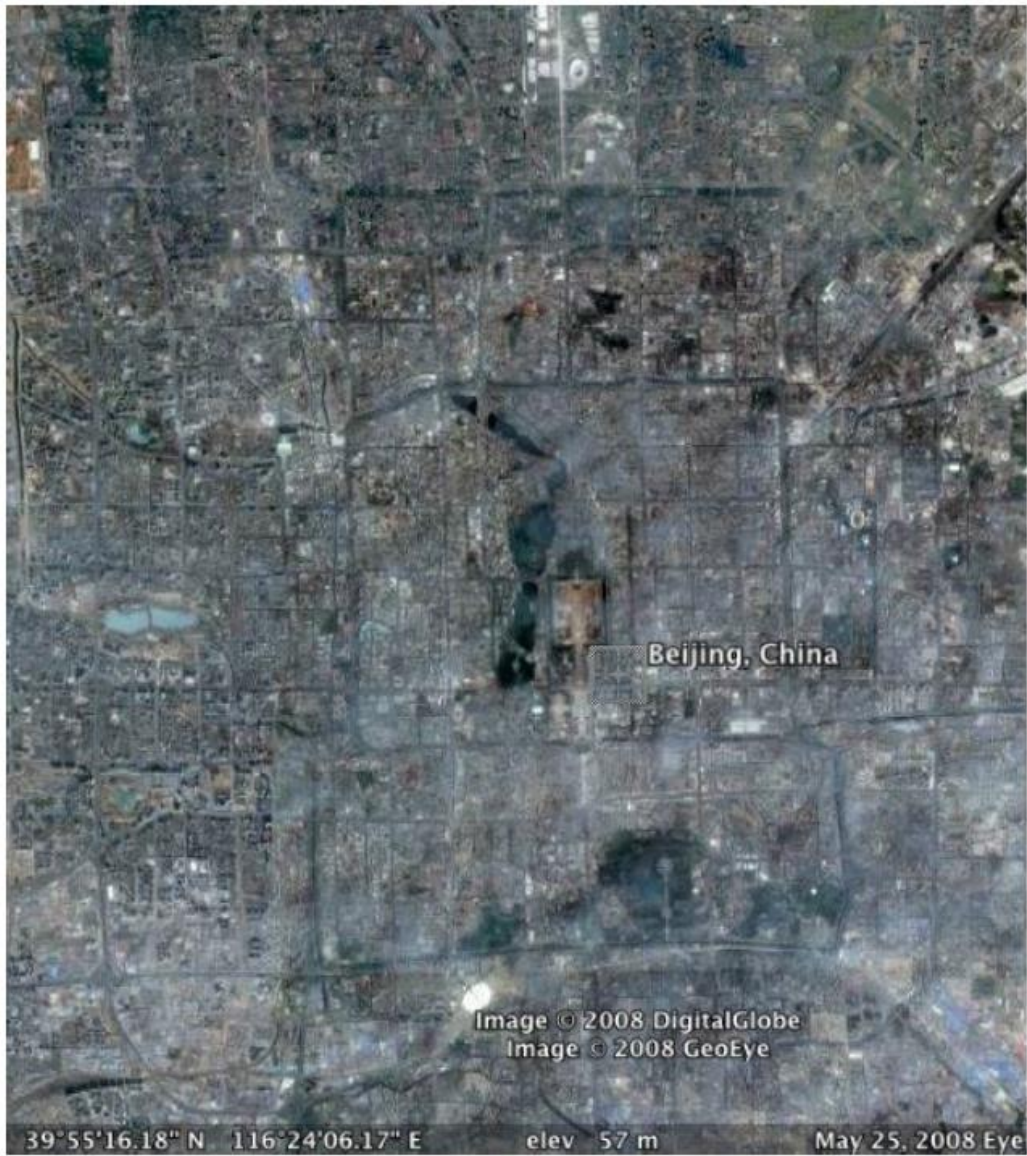


Figure 6-1 The Google Map of Beijing in May, 2008. The site of previous inner city walls has become the second ring road of the city.

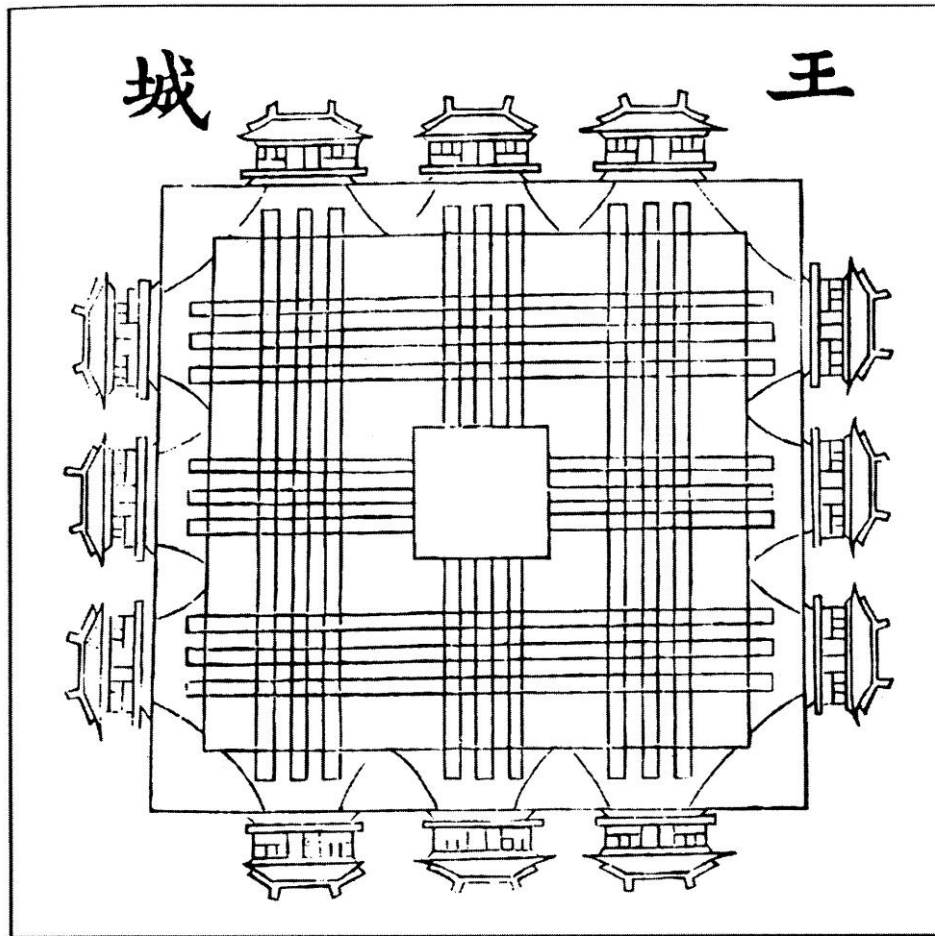


Figure 6-2 The Reconstruction of King's City (*wang-cheng*), by scholars of the Song dynasty of the 12th century. The original source of it is *Xin Ding San Li Tu* 新订三礼图 (1175); this one is from Jianfei Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies*, p.33. The characters on the top are *wang-cheng*, the King's City. The square in the centre is the palace city of the King.

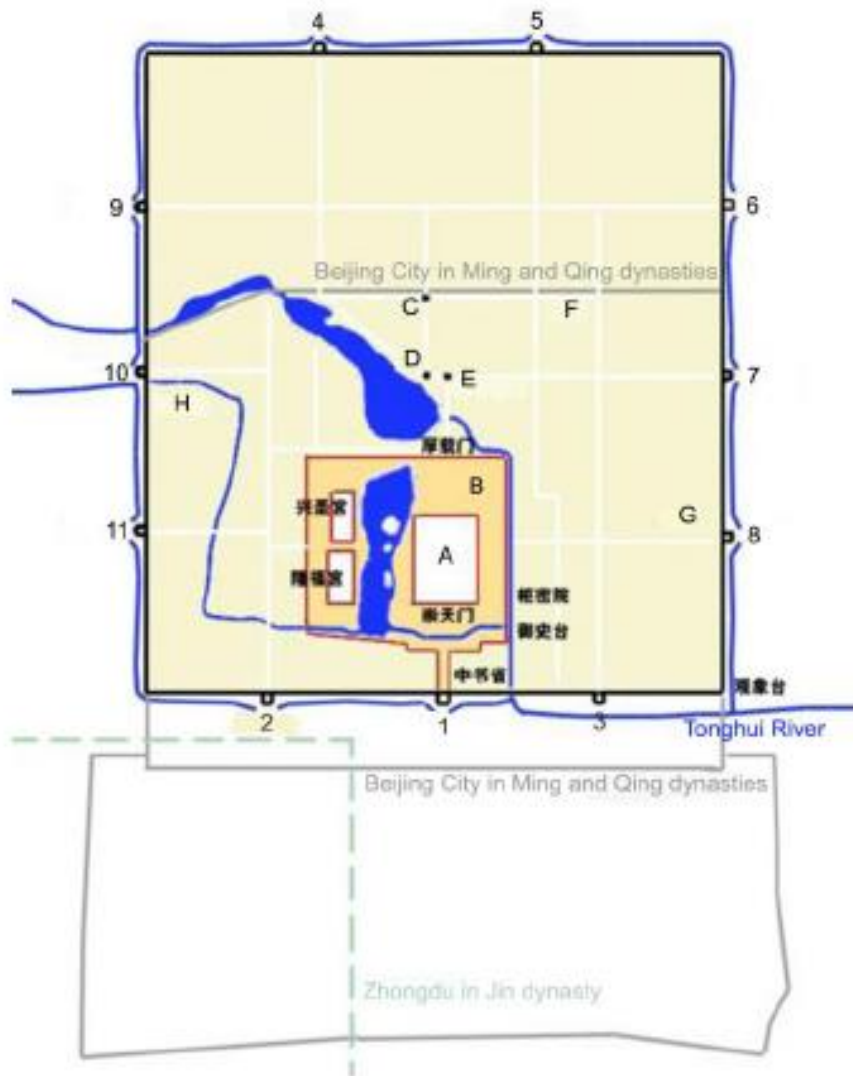


Figure 6-3 Plan of Outer City of Dadu and Its Eleven City Gate. Edited by Bing Jiang. The square in light yellow is Dadu. The layout in grey is the plan of Beijing city in the Ming and Qing dynasties. The dash line in green indicates the site of Zhongdu in the Jin dynasty.

1 Li-zheng Gate, **2** Shun-cheng Gate, **3** Wen-ming Gate,
4 Jian-de Gate, **5** An-zhen Gate, **6** Guan-xi Gate, **7** Chong-ren Gate,
8 Qi-hua Gate, **9** Su-qing Gate, **10** He-yi Gate, **11** Ping-ze Gate.

A Palace City/Forbidden City, **B** Imperial City, **C** Bell Tower,
D Drum Tower, **E** Centre Tower, **F** Confucius Temple,
G Temple of Ancestors, **H** Alter of Land and Grain.

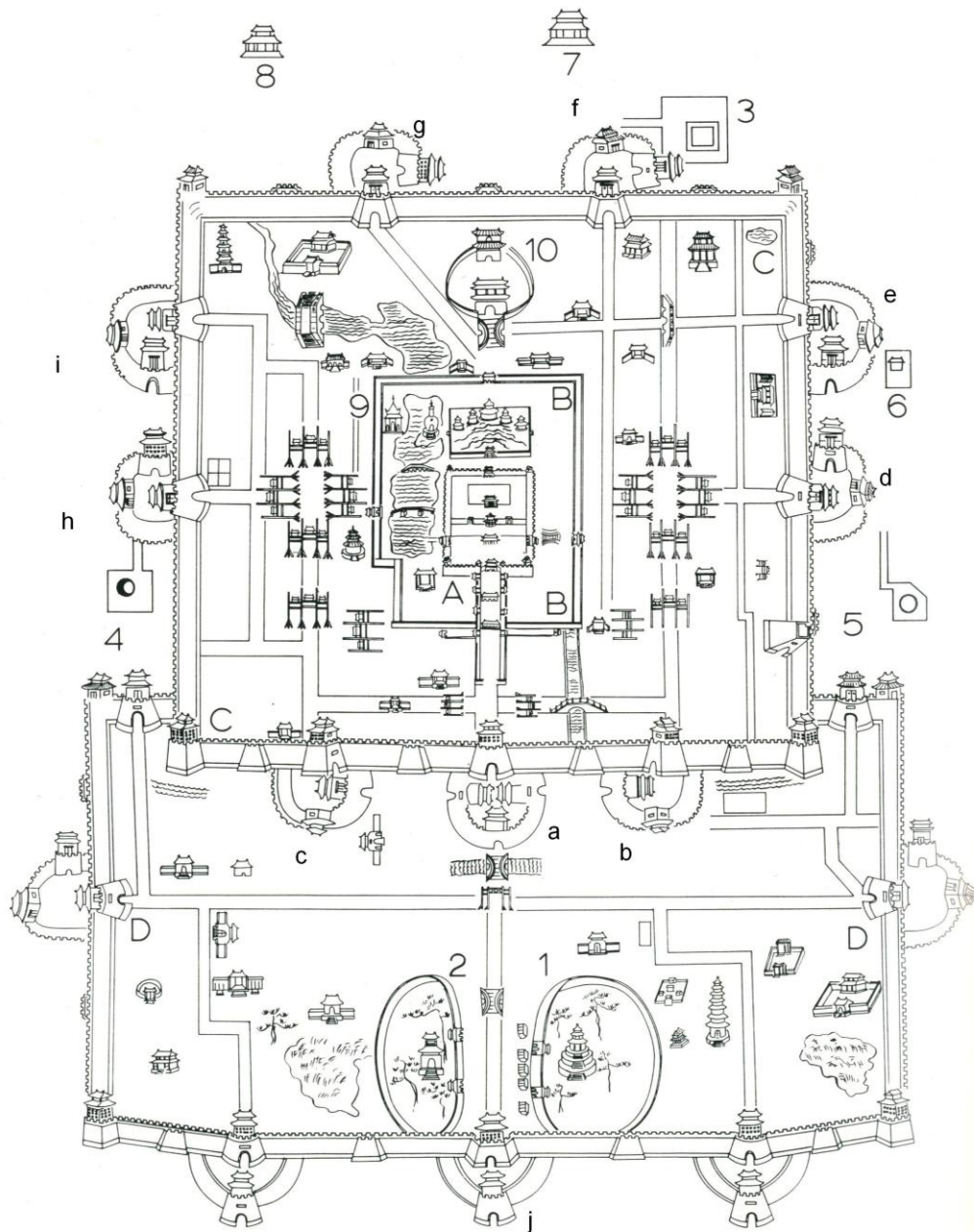


Figure 6-4 A Redrawn Plan of the Ming Beijing of the 16th Century, after its completion. Source: edited based on the drawing by Schinz, *The Magic Square*, p.326. Each of two markets, placed symmetrically in the east and west of the Inner City, were marked its territory from four cardinal directions by four *pai-lou* gateways and in the south by one *pai-lou*. Two other *pai-lou* gateways stood at the road cross between the Zheng-yang gate and the south gate of the Imperial City in the north, to announce the most important cross road in the city.

A Palace, **B** Forbidden/Palace City, **C** Inner City, **D** Outer City.

1 Temple of Heaven, **2** Altar of Mountains and Streams, **3** Altar of Earth, **4** Altar of the Moon, **5** Altar of the Sun, **6** Taishan Temple, **7** Yellow Monastery (Lama), **8** Black Monastery, **9** Xiyuan Palace, **10** Drum and Bell Towers.

a Zheng-yang Gate, **b** Chong-wen Gate, **c** Xuan-wu Gate, **d** Chao-yang Gate, **e** Dong-zhi Gate, **f** An-ding Gate, **g** De-sheng Gate, **h** Fu-cheng Gate, **i** Xi-zhi Gate, **j** Yong-ding Gate.

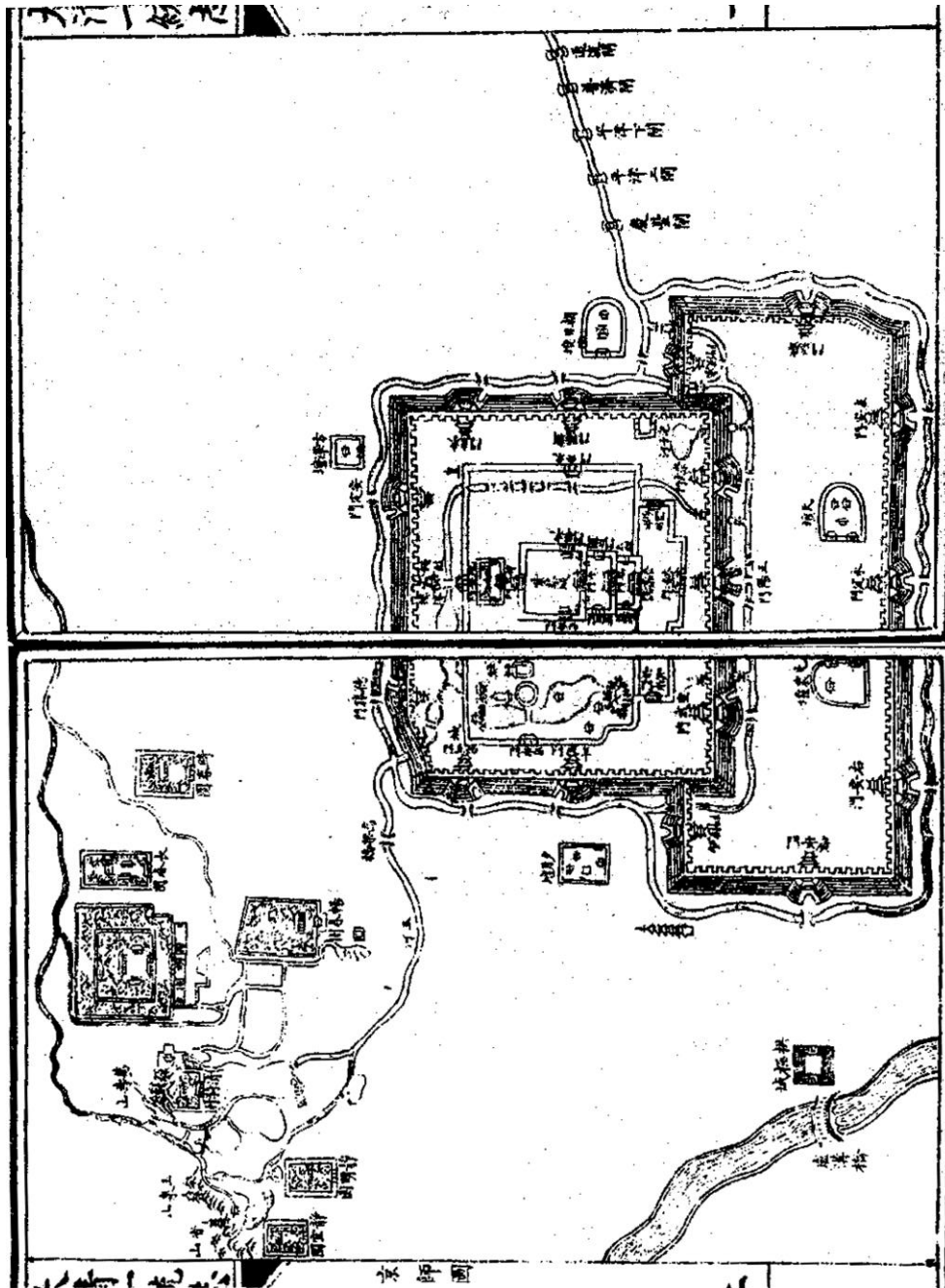


Figure 6-5 The Plan of Beijing City between 1686 to 1864. Source: *Da Qing Yi Tong Zhi*, 1880:43-44.

The condition of the map is not very good, but the general ideas of the Qing empire on what should be emphasised in the map are good enough to read. The walls and gates of each city were very carefully drawn. The moats circle the Inner and Outer cities, with a bridge outside each city gate. The grand gate towers were shown in details, so were the major halls lined in the centre inside the Inner City. The wall layout and main halls of each imperial temple are given. In the right up corner, far away from Beijing city were located the royal gardens and palaces.

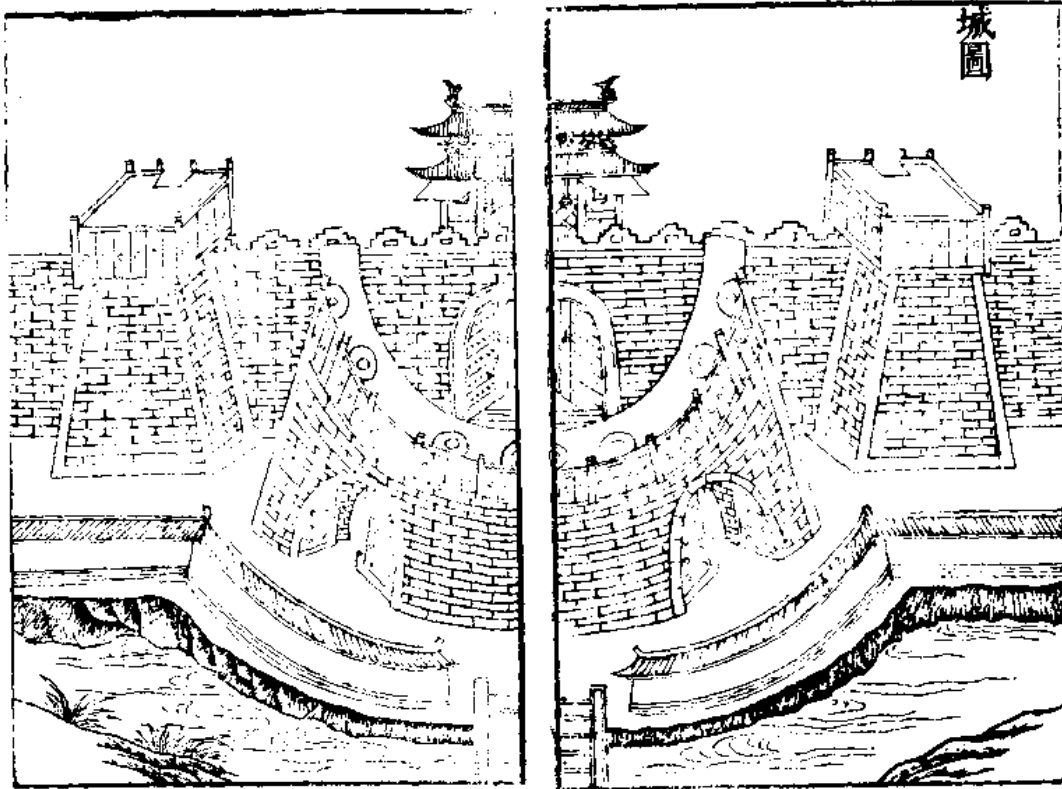


Figure 6-6 The Illustration of a Standard City Gate of the 17th Century. Source: drawn by scholars of the Ming and early Qing, see Wang Qi and Wang Siyi, the *SCTH*, pp.1020, 1022. This is the standard of a city gate given by scholars of the Ming and Qing periods: the main gate tower is built on the high city wall, double roofed, with four columns and three bays; an double-door-leaved opening in the city wall underneath the tower, with door nails; a moon city surrounds the gate tower from outside, with two openings in both sides; walls are built along the moat on the side of the gate and walls; a bridge crosses the moat in the central line with the gate tower. The text on the drawing on page 1022 reads that the city (walls) should (be grand enough to) enclose the people and the palaces inside. The small rising walls on top of the city walls are to watch the situation outside, which are also called the women's walls representing women, like the small rising pieces, relying on men, like the grand walls beneath. The Inner City gates of Beijing were obviously higher ranked than the standard.

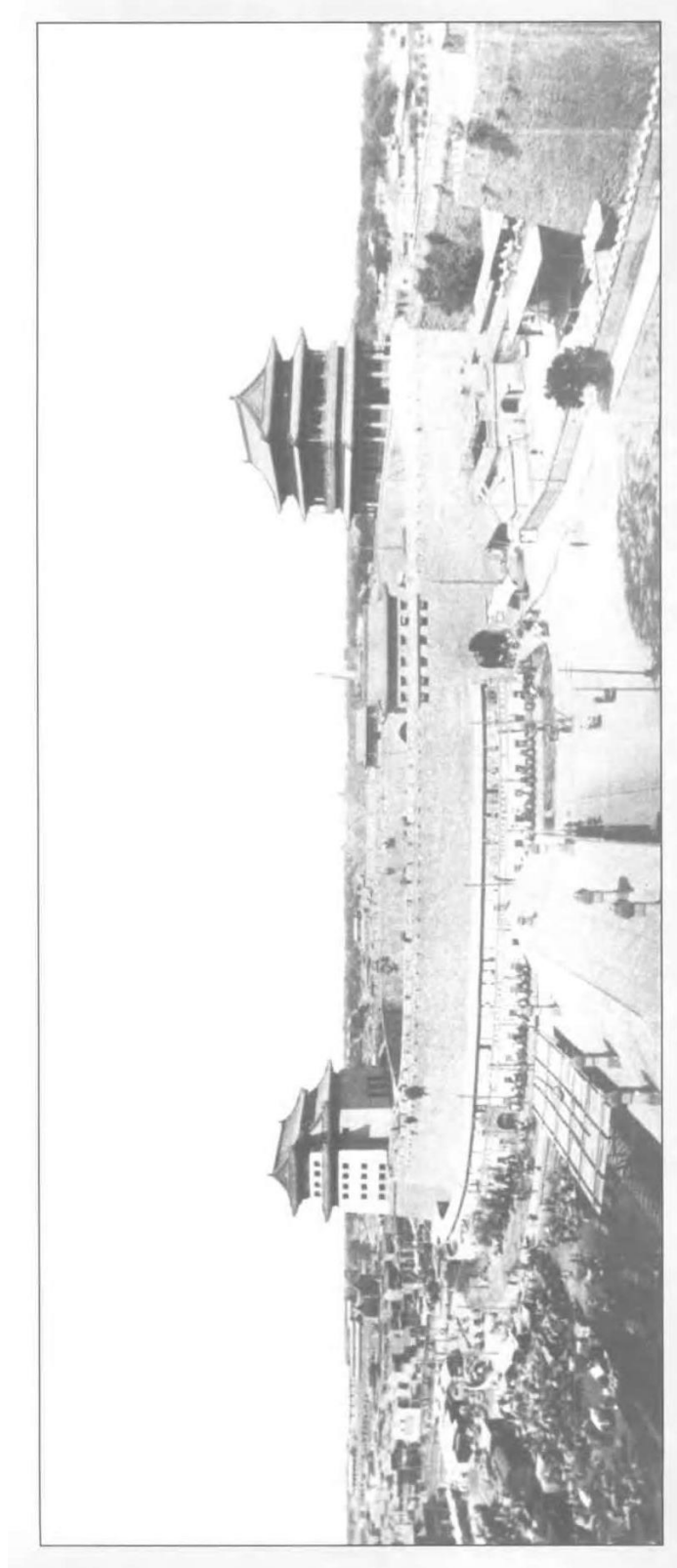


Figure 6-7 Zhengyang Gate, photo taken before 1915. Source: Lin Zhu, *Zhong Guo Gu Jian Zhu Tu Dian*, p.501. On the left was the watch tower, on the right gate tower building on the Inner City wall. Two small side towers with openings in the moon city wall led ways out.



Figure 6-8 The Watch Tower of Zheng-yang Gate, view through the *pai-lou* gateway from south. Source: photo taken in 1906, from the website of Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage 北京市文物局 < <http://www.bjww.gov.cn/2008/8-7/93914.html>>. The *pai-lou* gateway, five-bayed, was built to the south of the bridge outside the watch tower.

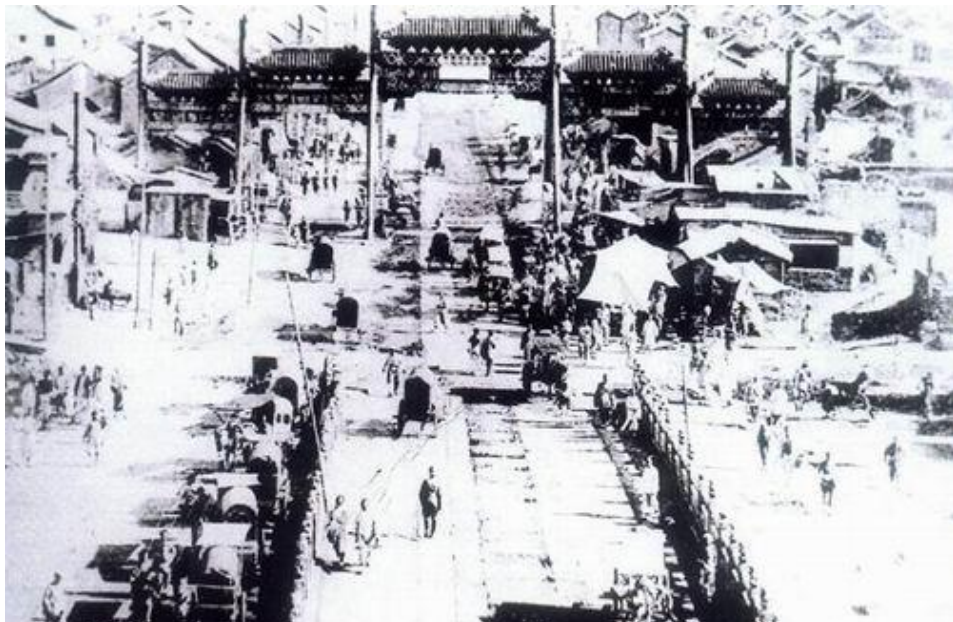


Figure 6-9 and 6-10 (above) The Zheng-yang Bridge and Zheng-yang *pai-lou* gateway. Source: photos taken in 1897, from the website of Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage 北京市文物局, <<http://www.bjww.gov.cn/2008/8-7/93914.html>>



Figure 6-11 (left) The Inscriptions ‘Zheng-yang Bridge’ hang on the *Pai-lou*. Source: photo taken in 1912, from the website of Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage 北京市文物局, <<http://www.bjww.gov.cn/2008/8-7/93914.html>>

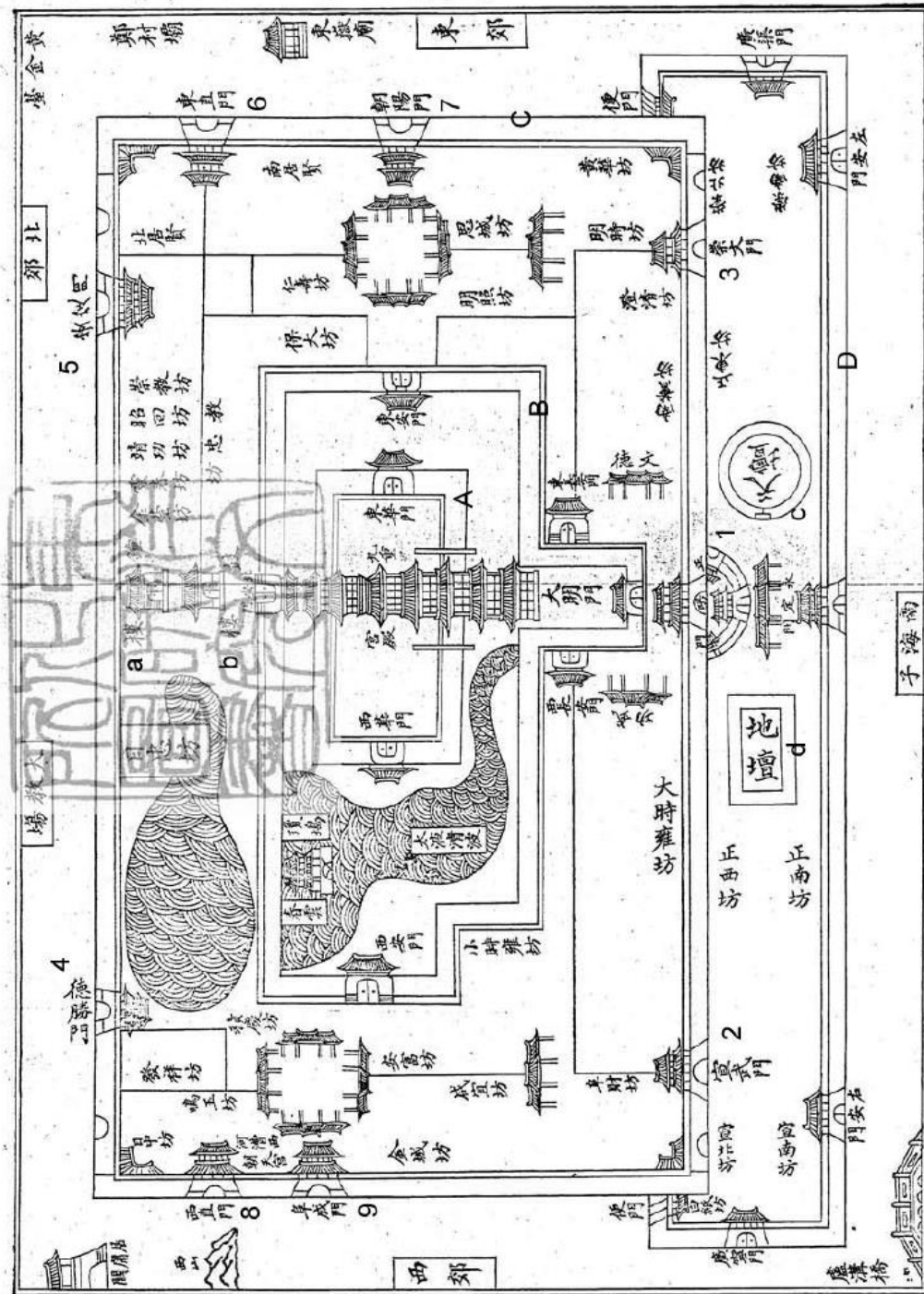


Figure 6-12 Beijing City of 1562. Source: drawn by Zhang Jue of the 16th century, from Zhang Jue, *Jing Shi Wu Cheng Fang Xiang Hu Tong Ji* (Beijing 北京: Beijing Ancient Books Press, 1982), preface 4. Similar with Figure 6-4, *pai-lou* gateways in the Inner City are clearly given. And the Zheng-yang pai-lou gateway had only three bays in the Ming, which is the only Inner city gate pai-lou among the nine shown in the map.

A Forbidden City, B Imperial City, C Inner City, D Outer City.

- 1 Zheng-yang, 2 Xuan-wu,
- 3 Chong-wen, 4 De-sheng,
- 5 An-ding, 6 Dong-zhi,
- 7 Chao-yang, 8 Xi-zhi,
- 9 Fu-cheng.

- a Bell Tower,
- b Drum Tower,
- c Temple of Heave,
- d Temple of Earth.

朝位寢廟社稷圖

北 (North)

三才圖會

宮室二卷

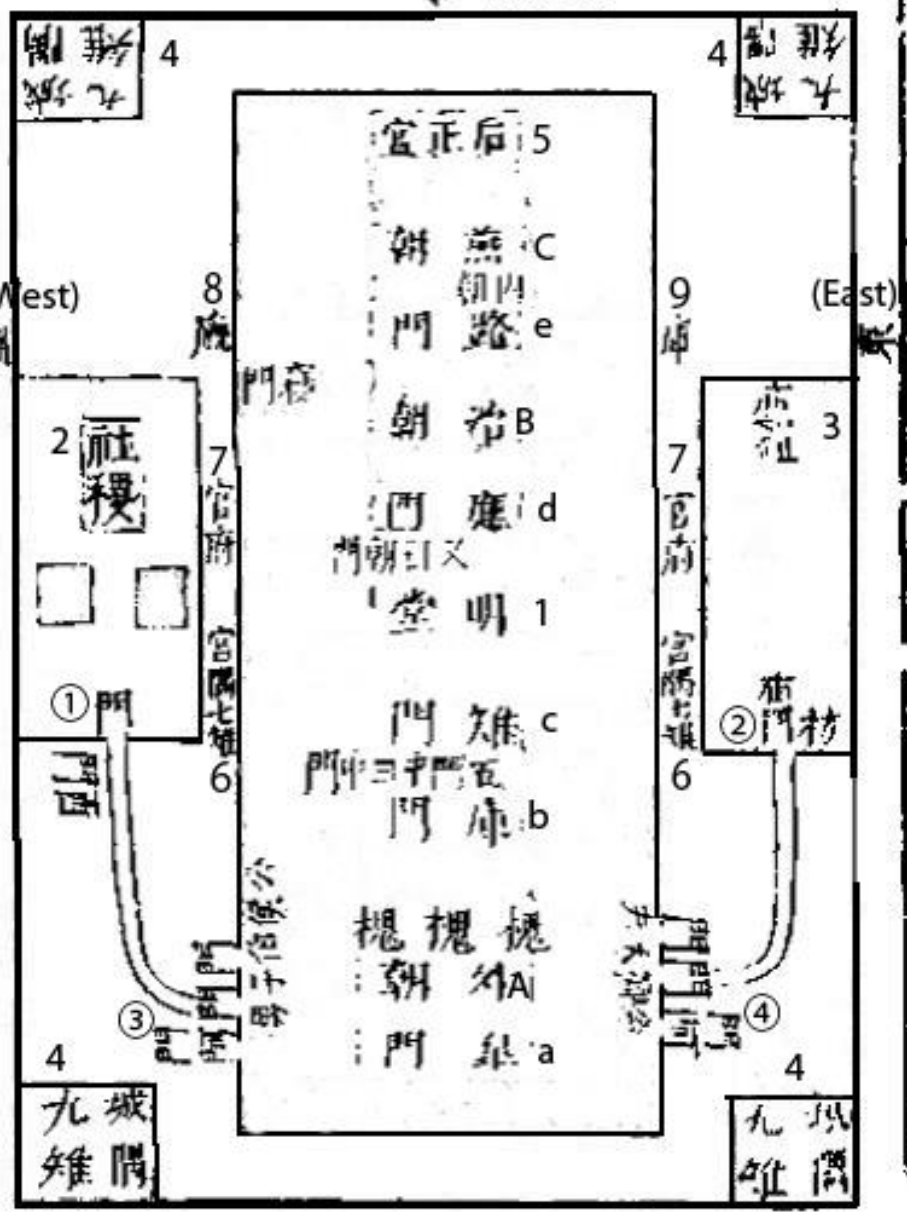


Figure 6-13 The Zhou King's Palace Ideal Layout of Three Courts and Five Gates, interpreted by scholars of the 17th century CE, re-edited by Bing Jiang. Source: Wang Qi and Wang Siyi, the *SCTH*, p.1005.

Title (top): The Planning of Courts, Ancestral Temple and Altar of Land and Grain.

A Outer Court (*wai-chao*), three characters above meaning locus trees, which might possibly indicate that locus trees should be planted here.

B Inner Court (*zhi-chao*) C Private Court (*yan-chao*)

a Gao Gate (*Gao-men*) b Ku Gate (*Ku-men*)

c Zhi Gate (*Zhi-men*), with descriptions below: the middle gate of the Five

d Ying Gate (*Ying-men*), with descriptions below: also called the court gate (*chao-men*)

e Lu Gate (*Lu-men*), with descriptions to the left: the gate to the private court.

1 Ming-tang Hall 2 Altar of Land and Grain 3 Ancestral Temple

4 City Corner Towers, size 9 *zhi*, 1 *zhi* = 3.33 m (height) × 10 m

5 Empress's Palace

6 Palace Corner Towers, size 7 *zhi*

7 Court/Administration Offices

8 Stables 9 Warehouses

① Main Gate of the Altar of Land and Grain

② Main Gate of the Ancestral Temple, and a *pai-lou* gateway

③ Western Gate of the King's Palace, with three gateways

④ Eastern Gate of the King's Palace

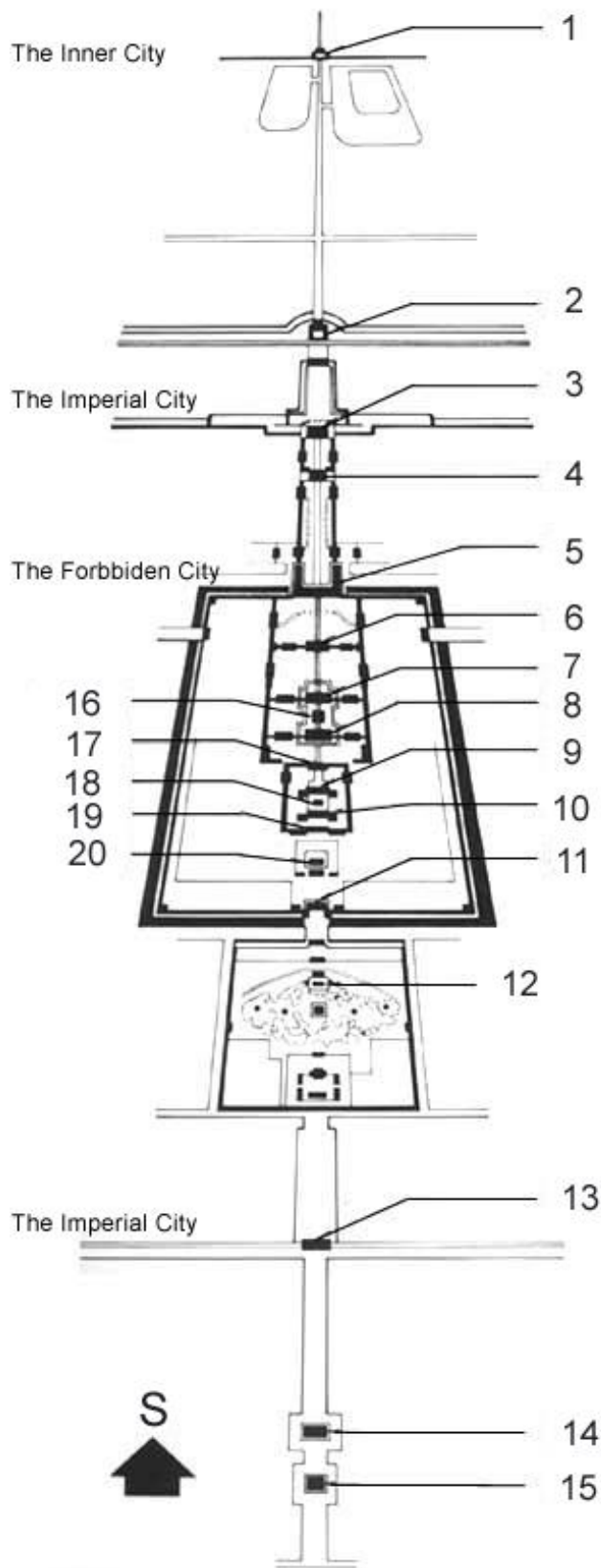


Figure 6-14 The Central Line of Beijing.

1 Zheng-yang Gate

2 Da-qing Gate

3 Tian'an Gate

4 Duan Gate

5 Wu Gate

6 Tai-he Gate

7 Tai-he Hall

8 Bao-he Hall

9 Qian-qing Palace

10 Kun-ning Palace

11 Shen-wu Gate

12 Jing Hill

13 Di'an Gate

14 Durm Tower

15 Bell Tower

16 Zhong-he Hall

17 Qian-qing Gate

18 Jiao-tai Hall

19 Kun-ning Gate

20 Qin'an Hall

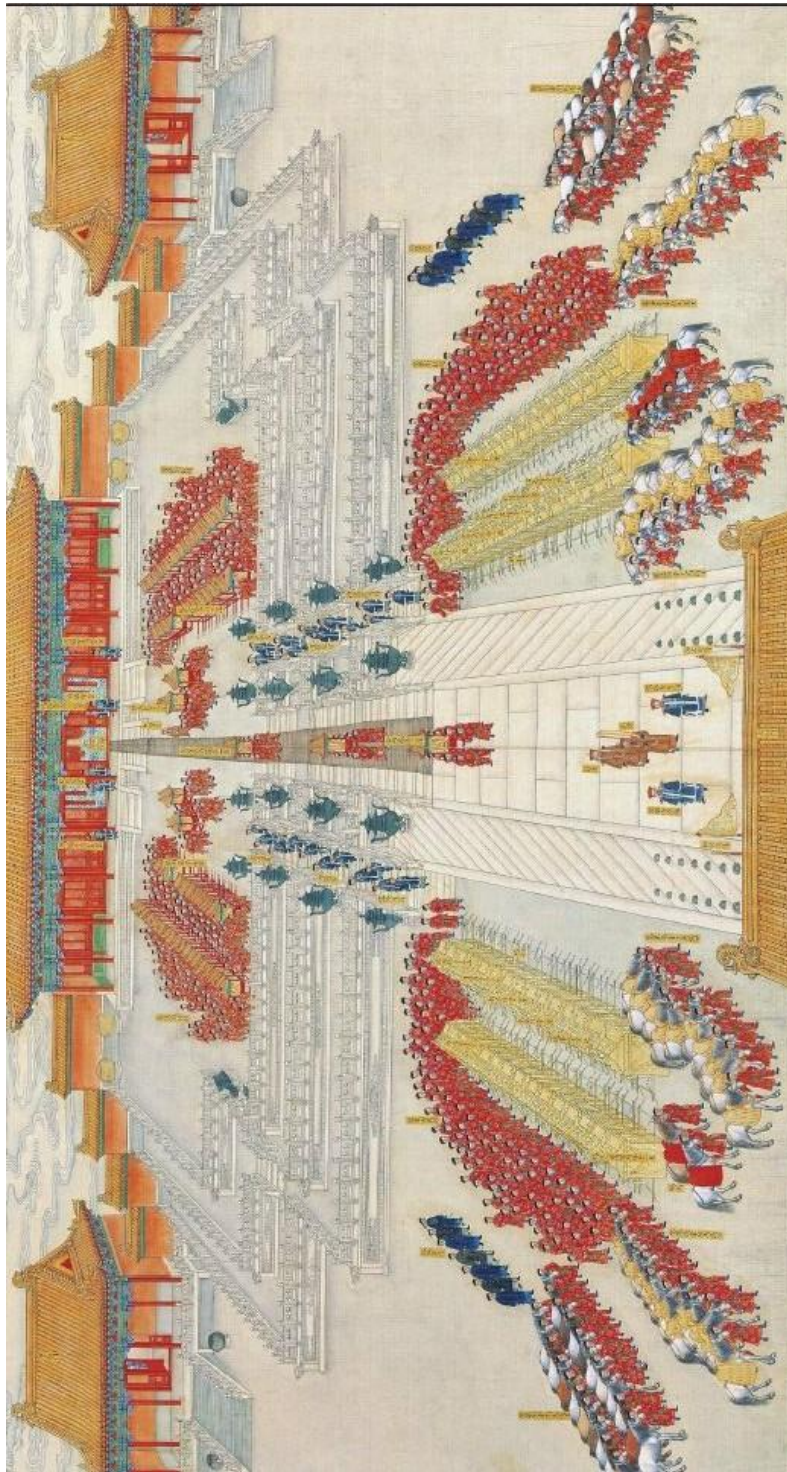


Figure 6-15 Emperor's Wedding: Sending Gifts to the Bride. Source: a photocopy from the original one collected in the Palace Museum in Beijing. The emperor is sitting in the centre of the Tai-he Hall to the far end of the view.

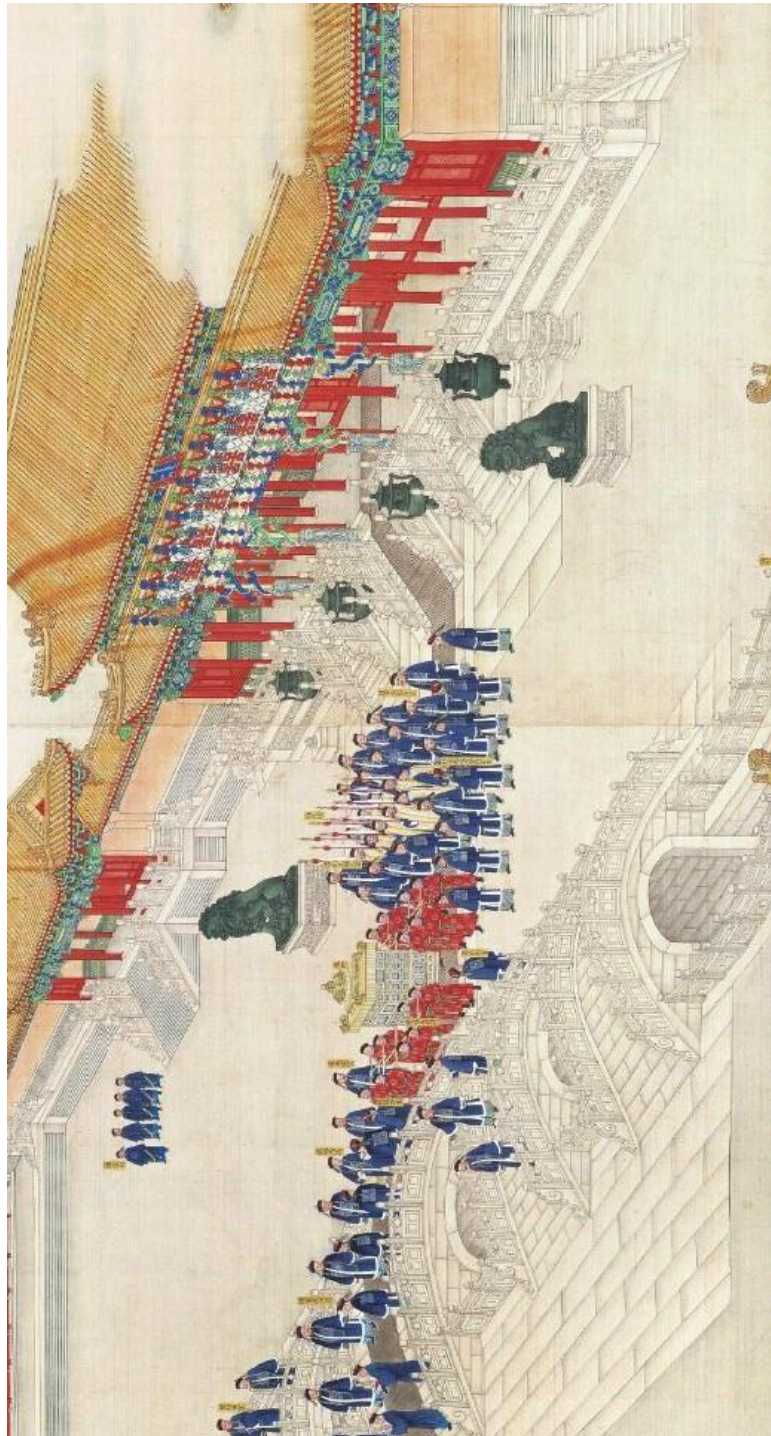


Figure 6-16 Emperor's Wedding: Taking the Bride In. The sedan takes the bride passing through the grand central gate, the Tai-he gate, over the central pavement. To take the central line and to pass through the central gate, for the bride, it is once in life time. And for all the others except the emperor, the bride is the only exception for only this one time.



Figure 7-1 Signs outside a restaurant in South China, one wishing prosperity and the other greeting a new-born child. Source: Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs*, p.115.

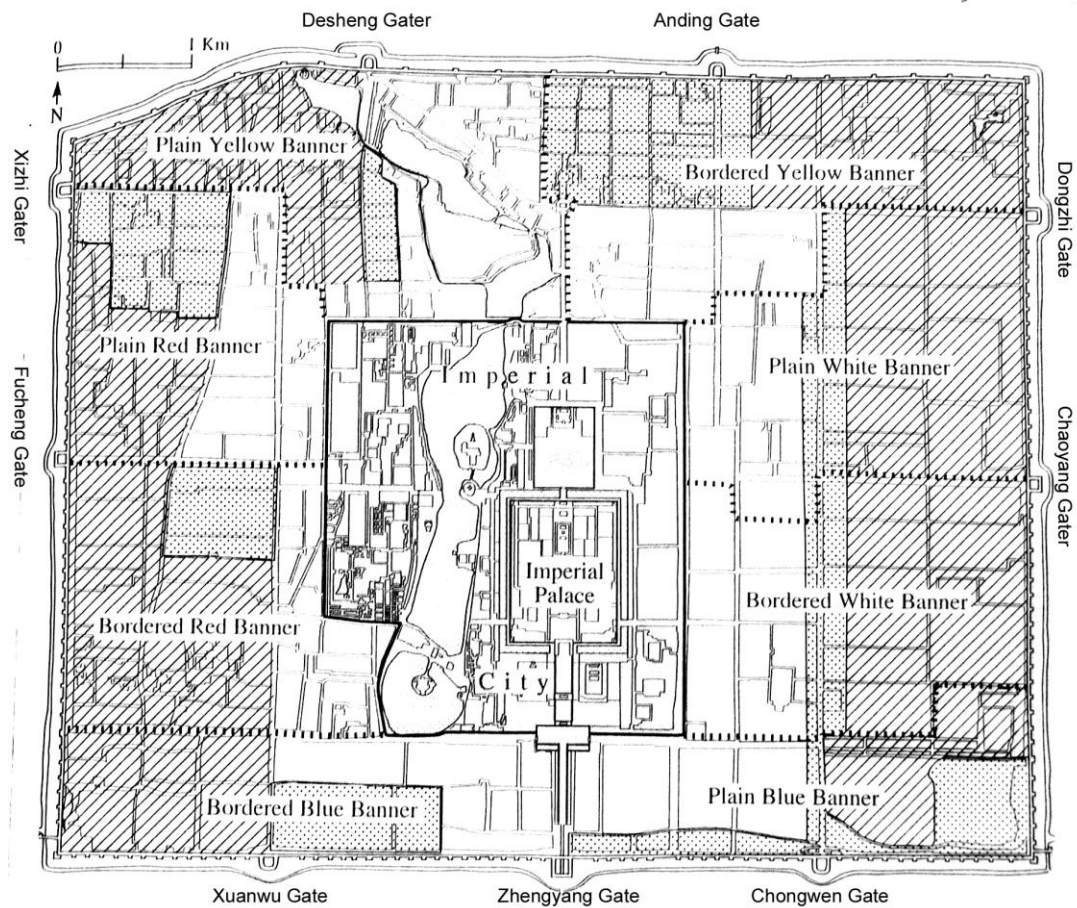
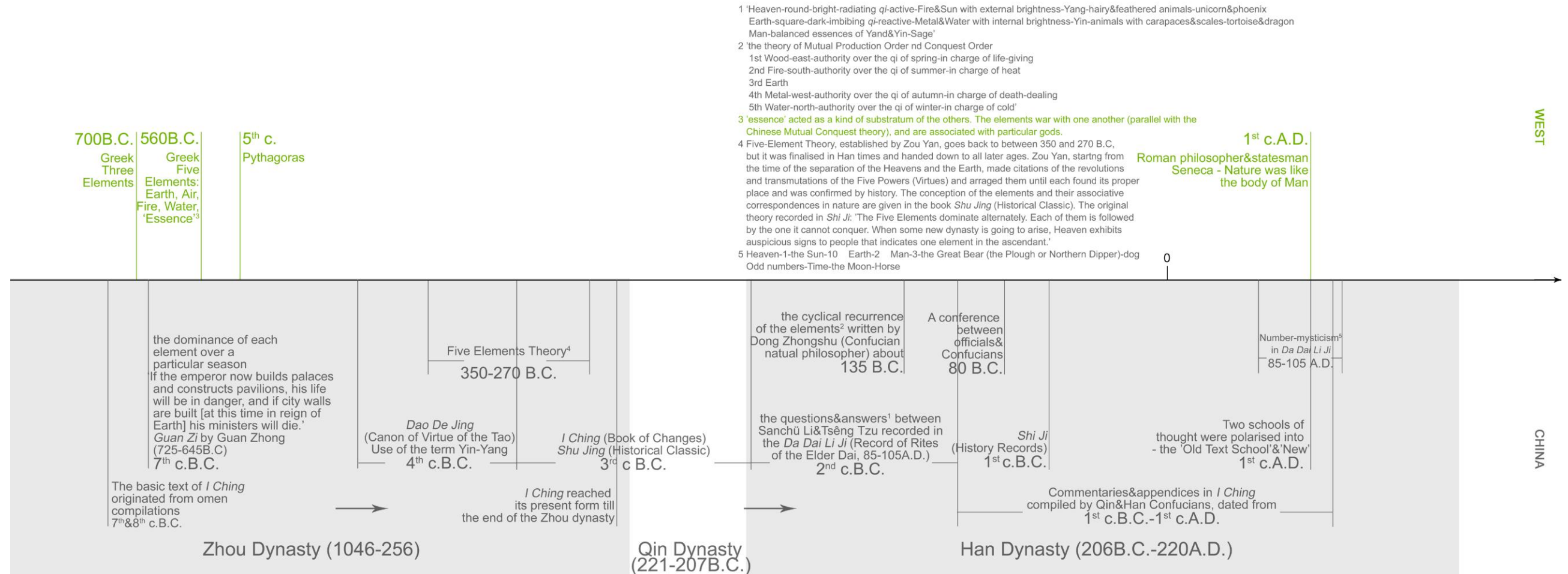


Figure App3-1 The Eight Banners and the Inner City Gates They Guarded in the Qing Dynasty. Each banner is divided into the Manchu, the Mongolian and the Han.

Appendix 1 Time Table of Chinese Philosophies Development, with a simple comparison with the West.



Appendix 2 A Brief History of the Cities on the Site of Beijing

Dynasties (with Chinese characters)	Ethnics of Rulers	History	Different Names as a Capital
Zhou (1046-256B.C) 周			Ji , capital <u>蓟</u>
Qin (221-207B.C) 秦			Ji , capital of Guangyang Province (36 provinces in total) <u>蓟</u>
Han (206B.C-220A.D) 汉	Han		
Jin (265-420) 晋	Han		
Sixteen Kingdoms (304-439) 十六国	Turkish (Xiongnu), Jie, Xianbei, Qiang (Tibetans), Di		
Northern Dynasties (439-589) 北朝	Turkics and Han		
Sui (581-618) 隋	Han		Ji City , capital of Zhuo Province <u>蓟城</u>
Tang (618-907) 唐	Han		You City <u>幽州</u>
Liao (916-1125) 辽	Khitans	Linhuang (Balinzuqi, Neimenggu Province) became capital city in 916 Five Capitals System: Upper Capital Linheng, Middle Capital Dading (Ningcheng, Neimenggu Province), Eastern Capital Liaoyang (Liaoyang, Liaoning Province), Southern Capital Xijin	In 938, Nanjing, or Yanjing , as a vice-capital <u>南京</u> , 又 <u>燕京</u> , 为陪 都

		(Beijing), Western Capital Datong (Datong, Shanxi Province)	
Northern Song (960-1127) 北宋	Han		
Jin (1115-1234) 金	Jurchens	Huining (Acheng, Heilongjiang Province) became capital in 1115	During a short period after 1123, Nanjing was renamed as Yanshan Fu (1153-1214) Renamed as Zhongdu , capital. The history of Beijing being the capital of empires began. In 1124, Bianliang (Kaifeng, Henan Province) became capital. 中都) Zhongdu was destroyed after the conquest by Mongolian army in 1215 until 1234, then it was changed to Yanjing for the next 40 years.
Southern Song (1127-1279) 南宋	Han	1260, Kublai Khan moved to and lived in Yanjing	(1260-1274) Yanjing was rebuilt at northeast of Jin Zhongdu (renamed the Old City), and was renamed Zhongdu in august, 1264.
Yuan (1279-1368) 元	Mongols	Capital city was built from 1267 to 1285. The main designer and planner was Liu Bingzhong (刘秉忠)	Dadu became capital, called Hanbali by Mongolians 大都

		1216-1276)	
Ming (1368-1644) 明	Han	12/09/1368, Ming army conquered Beijing and changed the name to Beiping.	Dadu was renamed as Beiping in 1368 <u>北平</u> Dadu was rebuilt and renamed as Beijing <u>北京</u>
Qing (1644-1911) 清	Manchus		Beijing

Appendix 3

Guarding Gates and Eight Banners of the Qing: The mixture of the ethnic and the cosmic

As soon as the Manchus took over power from the Ming empire, as a non-Han nation of more primitive civilisation trying to secure legitimacy and to get support from the majority of Han Chinese, the first Manchu emperor embraced the Han culture, philosophy and customs and continued the neo-Confucian legitimacy as its foundation just as the former Ming Emperor had done¹. However, the Manchu also preserved their own ethnic identity – the Eight Banners institution that was the direct basis for forming the unique social and political structure of the Qing, even though it has its origins related to the Han Confucianism². The social hierarchy was completely changed, as the Manchus became the nobles. The most powerful evidence is that the Eight Banners system demonstrated ‘the court’s commitment to the values of the conquest elite and the welfare of the

¹ It is always interesting to see what happens when a less enlightened minority conquers and rules the much more developed majority, because the militarily conquering minority tended to be overtaken culturally by the majority if they wanted to build a state successfully. About the Manchu rules and policies of melting into the Han culture, the Manchu noble class, especially the leaders and commanders of the Eight Banners, opposed the policy of accepting Han culture at first when their emperor was determined to.

² Zito has argued that the Chinese, Manchu and Mongolians had different notions of Heaven: ‘...the Manchu needed to assert their identity in multiple forms in order to rule effectively. Chinese, Manchu, and Mongol peoples shared the idea of a heaven-designated king, but their notions of heaven differed. For Manchu and Mongols, heaven canopied many domains, all equivalent...For the Chinese, heavenly singularity contrasted with earthly diversity in a relation of encompassment and subordination that ranked domains and their people in an order of importance. Andrew March calls this ‘Confucian geography’s central myth’ Angela Zito, *Of Body and Brush: grand sacrifice as text/performance in 18th century China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp.17, 20. In fact, it was more complicated than what has been discussed here. On the one hand, for concreting their rulership, the first Qing emperors blended their religious identity into a part of multiple Han culture, as ‘the heir to the Chinese dynastic tradition, a Confucian monarch’. See Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, p.199. On the other hand, at the same time, they were so eager to ‘retain their traditional shamanic rituals and beliefs’. See Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, p.199. Beliefs and rituals were the key to the political and ethnical awkwardness and crisis. ‘The Qing ruler was concurrently Chinese emperor’ (Son of Heaven), ‘khan of khans’ (Mongolian cult), and ‘Buddhist reincarnate’. Rawski, *The Last Emperors*, p.200. For more information, Rawski’s *The Last Emperors* is recommended.

Manchus³. Their attitudes towards the capital city of Beijing were a good example. Taking over the entire city of Beijing, in the beginning, they let all palaces, halls, city walls and gates stay the same as in the Ming, although, of course, part of the reasons was financial consideration. And then they changed the residential plan within the Inner City, guarding policy for the city gates, and consequently changes in the whole of city life followed.

The Eight Banners institution, *ba-qi* 八旗 (literally eight banners), was initially founded mainly for military control and organisation⁴. While the Manchurians were pasturing in the north beyond the Han's rule, it originated in a temporary hunting-team system *niru* according to some research⁵, and was actually eight institutions represented by banners of eight colours: Plain Yellow Banner, Bordered Yellow Banner, Plain White Banner that are the Upper Three Banners, Plain Red Banner, Plain Blue Banner, Bordered Red Banner, Bordered Blue Banner, Bordered White Banner that are the Lower Five Banners⁶. And the Manchus were also called

³ See Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, p.13.

⁴ It became a much more complicated institution after the Qing Empire was founded, having its touch in more than military matters and dominating the form of the Qing social structure (especially during the peak time): 'The Eight Banners was a hybrid institution that combined a range of military, social, economic, and political functions...' See Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, pp.39-42.

⁵ *Niru* is the transliteration of the Manchu language, which is *niu-lu* 牛录 in *pin-yin* Chinese. Some studies on the origins of the Eight Banner system suggest that it is very likely that the system came from the pseudo-military hunting activities that were not purely for entertainment but requested for highly organised skills and practices. For more information, see Ying Yunping, *Ba Qi Yuan Liu* (Dalian: Dalian Publishing House, 1991), pp.36-40; Huang Shuihua, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Bing Zhi* (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1998), pp.185-186; Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, pp.56-63. For other debates on the origins, see Yan Chongnian, 'Man Zhou Ba Qi Ding Zhi Kao Xi', in *Ba Qi Zhi Du Yu Man Zu Wen Hua*, edited by Zhi Yunting (Shenyang: Liaoning Nationality Publishing House, 2002), pp.35-49; Jiang Xiangshun, 'You Guan Niu Lu Ba Qi Zhi Du Chuang Jian Shi Jian Deng Wen Ti De Zai Ren Shi', in *Ba Qi Zhi Du Yu Man Zu Wen Hua*, ed. by Zhi Yunting (Shenyang: Liaoning Nationality Publishing House, 2002), pp.180-183. It is rather common that hunting and war were always closely connected, the former 'often organised as military exercises', which has been testified by descriptions in early poems of *Chu Ci* and *Shi Jing* before the Christian era. See Keswick, *The Chinese Garden*, pp.32-35.

⁶ Initially there were four banners, called the Ring Sword Army (环刀军) of the yellow banner, the Iron Mace Army (铁锤军) of the white banner, the String Vermeil Army (串赤军) of the red banner, and the Shooting Army (能射军) of the blue banner, founded by Nurharchi, the father of the first Emperor Shunzhi of the Qing dynasty. Then they were

bannermen or *qi-ren* 旗人 in Chinese. After the Manchus founded the Qing Empire, the Eight Banners system was slightly changed in order to include the Mongolian and the Chinese armies. As a matter of fact, the formal Eight Banners system, achieved in 1642 right before the Qing was established, allotted twenty-four banners to the army in total, for each banner had three sections: the original Manchu banners, the Mongol ones and the Chinese ones that were called Green Battalion⁷. As a complete social institution, the residents, officials and partial armies of each banner occupied and resided in a special quarter of the Inner City, while common Han people were forced to move out into the Outer City. Hence, during the two hundred years of the Manchu reign, the Inner City became a Banner city, consequently gaining the name Tartar City. The separation of the banner and non-banner population in Beijing was official:

All Chinese living within the city walls⁸ would have, until the end of the following year, to move to the southern suburbs⁹. The only exceptions were the Han who served as guards at government offices, Buddhist and Daoist monks, or servants within banner households... Henceforth Chinese would be permitted in the city during the day only, and were officially forbidden to stay overnight in the Inner City.¹⁰

The complete title of the post in charge of the nine gates in all respects is *ti-du-jiu-men-bu-jun-xun-bu-wu-ying-tong-ling* 提督九门步军巡捕五营统

expanded to eight with a red border added to the flags of each unit carried in action (the flag of the red banner was bordered in white). See Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, pp.59, 102; Huang Shuihua, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Bing Zhi*, p.185; Ying Yunping, *Ba Qi Yuan Liu*, p.40.

⁷As a system of military troops, each banner was headed by a banner commander (*du-tong*, 都统) who was selected from the most powerful men in their banner, other five state counsellors and several princes (*bei-le*, 贝勒). The Manchu Banners which guarded the Inner City gates were 'coordinated by a few ministers of Manchu origin selected by the emperor and were, finally, supervised by the emperor himself'. See Jianfei Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies*, p.69; *Beijing Shi Zhi Gao*, ed. by Wu Tingxie (Beijing: Beijing Yanshan Press, 1998), vol.8, pp.341-343.

⁸ Here 'the city walls' means the Inner City walls.

⁹ The Outer City became the area where the Han people resided, which was built in sixteenth century under the rule of the Ming dynasty.

¹⁰ Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, p.100; *Beijing Shi Zhi Gao*, ed. by Wu Tingxie, vol.13, p.306.

领, ‘the commander of the nine gates infantry battalion and the five policeman battalions’, shorted as *jiu-men-ti-du* 九门提督, the Nine Gates Infantry Commander, who commanded a troop consisted of the North, South, Middle, Left and Right Policeman Battalions formed by Manchu, Mongol and Chinese eight banners¹¹. His office was located in the northern part of the Inner City, and called ‘the Infantry Governing Yamen’ 步军统领衙门 or ‘the North Yamen’. His duties included all affairs in the Beijing area, such as presiding over the court, garrisoning the city, checking the population and residential rights¹² and timing the control of opening and closing gates. In fact, this army was the imperial guard in charge of the safety of the central power of the Qing, so the commander remained the second official rank (to be precise, the vice first rank, 从一品). The Manchu residents and infantry battalion of each banner were based in a specific neighbourhood in the Inner City. The five police battalions garrisoned the Outer City and suburbs of Beijing. There were other positions for the officers and soldiers who guarded the nine city gates. In fact, there were, at each gate, two heads of the gate (城门领 in Chinese), two gate officials (城门吏 in Chinese) and two gate supervisors (门千总 in Chinese), forty gate soldiers and two artillerymen, who were all Manchu. And there were five

¹¹ The infantry commander position was originally set in the early Qing to command the troops of Manchu, Mongol and Chinese eight banners based in the Beijing area. Until 1674 (in Emperor Kangxi’s reign), governing the nine Inner City gates was one of the duties of this infantry commander. In 1691, the three police battalions – North, South and Middle – were taken into his command and authority. In the 46th year of Emperor Qianlong’s reign (1781), the Left and Right policeman battalions joined as well. After that, the Infantry Battalion of Beijing officially consisted of two parts: one was the nine gates infantry battalion that came from the Manchu eight banners; and the other was the five policeman battalions that were from horse infantries of the Green Battalion (the Han eight banners). For more information on the position title *ti-du* 提督, see Huang Shuihua, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Bing Zhi*, p.189.

¹² The *bao-jia* system (residential registration), for more information, see Hwang Lihong, *Fu Hui Quan Shu*, translated and edited by Djang Chu, pp.20-21.

cannons on each gate platform, which would fire together as a signal to assemble the army and officials¹³.

The Manchus and troops of each banner occupied one neighbourhood in the Inner City but the troops were put in charge of guarding a gate that was located in another's neighbourhood, except for the Zheng-yang Gate: De-sheng Gate, in the neighbourhood of the Plain Yellow Banner, was guarded by the Bordered Blue, while Xuan-wu Gate, in the neighbourhood of the Bordered Blue, was guarded by the Plain Yellow; An-ding in the neighbourhood of the Bordered Yellow was guarded by the Plain Blue; Chong-wen in the neighbourhood of the Plain Blue was guarded by the Bordered Yellow; Dong-zhi in the neighbourhood of the Plain White was guarded by the Bordered White; Chao-yang in the neighbourhood of the Bordered White was guarded by the Plain White; Fu-cheng in the neighbourhood of the Bordered Red was guarded by the Plain Red; and Xi-zhi in the neighbourhood of the Plain Red was guarded by the Bordered Red (Figure App3-1). The distribution of occupations of the banners, it is assumed had correspondences with or roots in the Five Elements of the Han Confucianism and *feng-shui*, the cosmological colours and the directions: the two yellow banners settled in the North, corresponding to Earth that conquers Water as the representative of North; the two red banners located in the West, representing Fire to conquer West's Metal; the two white banners in the East corresponded to Metal that conquers Wood of East; and the two blue banners stayed in the South, connecting to Water that conquers Fire of South¹⁴.

¹³ Zhang Deze, *Qing Dai Guo Jia Ji Guan Kao Lue* (Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 1981), p.97. In Jianfei Zhu's translation, at each gate, 'there were 2 coordinating officials, 2 attendants, 2 officers, 30 guards and 40 armed soldiers; and each was equipped with 10 signal cannons and 5 signal posts'. See Jianfei Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies*, pp.70-71.

¹⁴ These connections were set initially when there were only four banners. See Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, pp.59, 102; and Ying Yunping, *Ba Qi Yuan Liu*, p.40.

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Chen Yaodong is an architectural scholar and architect. During the twenty years from the late 50s to late 70s, he worked in the department of architectural history and participated in the site works and researches of traditional dwellings in Zhejiang Province, Fujian Province, and Sinkiang. Twenty years after that, he applied himself to the studies of religious architecture and dwellings in Tibet. He has also been involved in compiling notes in the architecture chapter of *Encyclopedia of China* and other likewise books and dictionaries.

There are five chapters of this book: the current studies on *Lu Ban Jing*, the contents of different editions, the simplified annotations of notes for houses, the simplified annotations of notes for furniture and conclusion; and two appendixes: the construction of traditional dwellings in Fujian Province, and the timber foot-rule of traditional dwellings in Chaoshan, Guangdong Province. The greatest significance of this research is that the author verifies the major carpentry rules recorded in *Lu Ban Jing* in studying the old dwellings in the southeast area of China. And the comparison among various editions of *Lu Ban Jing* is likewise valuable.

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The page marks of this photocopy are impossible to be identified due to either the unsatisfying copy quality or the damaged original copy. Hence, the pages are given by me, as the first page of main text is considered to be Page 1 and the following are counted accordingly. There could be miss-counts caused by me or readers. However, luckily, the pages of every volume are not many and it is not hard to find the right pages according to the content if there are errors on page marks.

The information about the author Chen Yuanliang is so little that either his birth or death year is unknown, but it is convincing to be some time from the later years of the Southern Song to the early Yuan (the second half of the 13th century). There is no record that he had served in any level of the civil governments which was the extreme goal of most scholars at that time, but he must be a scholar since he wrote life encyclopaedias and had a friend who took a position in provincial government to write prefaces for them.

The *SLGJ* is one of Chen's encyclopaedias which is thought to be based on the life of the Southern Song Dynasty (around the 12th – 13th centuries), and like other old books' fortunes, its content went through some variations during centuries after it was published. There are six existing versions of the *SLGJ*, and the earliest is the one used in this thesis, as was indicated above, the edition of 1330s which was collected in *Jian An Chun Zhuang* Publishing House. The book collects and records almost every bit of people's daily life in a

very large range from local administration to astrology, some with illustrations. Most of the conventions and beliefs had existed much longer before they were recorded in the book and remained fairly stable for the following centuries. It is a valuable book for us today to have a peek at and try to understand the social life of the late imperial China.

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制，三门是帝都之制。用测量比例图绘手法分析诸多建筑的平面立面，确定每个朝代的建筑样式，对比营造法式文字的记载

Fu Xinian, born in 1933 and educated under the supervision of Liang Sicheng at School of Architecture, Tsinghua University in Beijing, is an academian of the Chinese Academy of Engineering. After graduated from Tsinghua in 1956, he assisted Liang with a research on Beijing modern architecture and vernacular houses in Zhengjiang and Fujiang Provinces, then devoted himself into helping Liu Dunzhen compile the first History of Chinese Ancient Architecture from 1963 – 1965. In the following academic career, he has focused on the inquiries into the architecture from the Han to Tang dynasties (approximately 200 BCE – 900 CE), especially the planning theories, based on enormous literary sources and archaeological discoveries.

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Hou Renzhi, a historian and geographer, professor of Peking University, an
academician of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS), used to study in the
University of Liverpool under the supervision of H. C. Darby and got a Doctor of
Philosophy. He is known as the founder in the field of historical geography in

China. Deng Hui, is a Senior Lecture of Peking University, doing research in the field of historical geography. The book starts with the cave life in Palaeolithic Age in Beijing area, town building history followed, especially the city planning of Beijing as the capital of the last three empires – Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties, and ends up with a short introduction of urban planning nowadays.

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¹⁵ This edition is printed on basis of the original Chinese edition published in 1699, in which characters were rowed down, from right to left, like the ancient printing in China, but only with some Japanese translations aside. It was printed by the Japanese publishing house Shi Shan Tang. The exact publishing date was not specifically printed on, but the Preface from the publishing house in Volume 1 was written in 1850, the 3rd year of Kaei in Japan 嘉永三年 (vol.1, p.3). So this year is used to mark this edition here.

Wang Xianqian (1842 - 1917) was an officer of the Qing Dynasty in charging of offering wine in sacrifices after passing the imperial civil examination for selecting officers and becoming a *jinshi* 进士 (a degree of the presented scholars for ones that passed the final exam held by the emperors in the main hall in the imperial palace) who was a graduate of the final palace examination. The compilation of *Huang Qing Jing Jie Xu Bian* (HQJJB) took two years from 1886, the 12th year of the Emperor Guangxu' s reign, which got the financial support from Nanjing School 南菁书院 opened by the government of Jiangsu Province. The HQJJB has collected the works of 111 scholars and literati, 1430 volumns in all.

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SONG, Lin 宋懔 (the 6th century), *Jing Chu Sui Shi Ji* (*Customs of a Year in Jingchu*) 荆楚岁时记, with annotations (Taiyuan 太原: Shanxi People's Publishing House 山西人民出版社, 1987), pp.4-7, 23-25, 47-48, 74, 77-81, 87-90, 103-107.

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Sun Chengze, with a courtesy name Erbei (耳北) and two literary names Beihai (北海) and Tuigu (退谷), born in Yidu, Shandong province, was a scholar-official in Board of Punishments in central government in Ming dynasty and in Board of Civil Office of central government in Qing dynasty and wrote the book *Tian Fu Guang Ji* after retirement. *Tian Fu Guang Ji* is a record on Beijing during Ming. Here *Tian Fu*, literally the city in Heaven, means Beijing.

TADATERU, Nakagawa 中川忠英, *Qing Su Ji Wen (The Customs of the Qing)* 清俗纪闻, translated by Fang Ke 方克 and Sun Xuanling 孙玄龄 (Beijing 北京: Zhong Hua Shu Ju 中华书局, 2006), pp.66, 68-9, 70-3, 411-2, 415, 417, 489, 494, 490-1, 502, 506.

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TIAN, Xiaona 田晓娜, ed. *Li Yi Quan Shu: Ji Xiang Li Yi (The Complete Book of Rites: auspicious rites)* 礼仪全书: 吉祥礼仪, ebook by Green Apple Data Centre, pp.16-19, 194-196.

'WSSDCJ (*Wan Shou Sheng Dian Chu Ji, the Long Live Celebration Anthology*) 万寿盛典初集', *World Digital Library* <<http://www.wdl.org/zh/item/294/zoom/#group=1&page=245&zoom=0.7462¢erX=0.5000¢erY=0.4168>> (accessed March 2010).

The *WSSDCJ*, 120 volumes, is an anthology edited by Wang Yuanqi and other official scholars of Kangxi' time to record the huge event and to chant the praises of the Kangxi's wisdom and brilliantness. It was

completed in 1717, four years after the parade. Now the rare copy of it is in the Capital Library in Beijing.

WANG, Jun 王军, *Cheng Ji (Records of The City) 城记* (Shenghuo-Dushu-Xinzhi Sanlian Bookstore 生活·读书·新知三联书屋, 2003), pp.314-316.

Wang Jun, a journalist working for the Xinhua News Agency, started interests in the theory and history of the conservation of the Inner City of Beijing in 1993 and spent over ten years on the research upon it. During those years, he interviewed more than 50 key people who were taking part in and have witnessed the history of conflicts between different views about whether the Inner City gates and walls should be demolished or conserved, and did a lot of investigations. The book describes vividly the whole story of fifty years about the detailed activities demolishing and building the Inner City gates and walls in Beijing after 1949 and provides loads of information, such as the criticism and comments from newspapers in 1950s, photos and maps of city gates and walls in different decades, and records of important characters.

WANG, Pu 王溥 (922-982), *Tang Hui Yao (the THY, The Institutional History of the Tang) 唐会要* (Kyoto 京都: Chinesebook Publishing Co. Ltd 中文出版社, 1978), pp.271-280.

The first edition of the *THY* was published in 961. It contains 100 volumes, recording the institutional and court life of the Tang period, such as the titles of the emperors, the sacrifices to the Tai Mountain, the Ming-tang Hall, the forms of the palaces and temples, the regulations on the official uniforms and so forth.

WANG, Qi and Wang Siyi ed. 王圻 王思义 (16th – 17th Centuries), *San Cai Tu Hui (the SCTH, Illustrations of the Three Powers) 三才图会*, the first edition published in 1609 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Ancient Books Press 上海古籍出版社, 1988), pp., 40, 223, 990, 999-1001, 1005-1009, 1020, 1022, 1037-1054, 1801-1805.

The *SCTH* is an illustrated Chinese encyclopedia, compiled by Wang Qi (father) and Wang Siyi in 1607 and firstly published in 1609. The 'three powers' in the title are Heaven, Earth and Human, which are the three worlds in Daoism. It is composed of 108 chapters in 14 categories which are astronomy, geography, biographies, the lunar calendar, palaces and houses, implements and utensils, human bodies, clothes and dressings,

social affairs, rites and rituals, treasures, literature and history, animals (birds and beasts) and plants (grasses and woods).

WANG, Qijun 王其钧, *Zhong Guo Jian Zhu Tu Jie Ci Dian* (The Pictorial Dictionary of Chinese Architecture) 中国建筑图解词典, Beijing 北京: China Machine Press 机械工业出版社, 2007, pp.1-6, 8-11, 22-5, 29, 32, 53, 95-96, 112-26, 209-24, 248-50, 252-72..

WANG, Shiren 王世仁, 'Han Chang An Cheng Nan Jiao Li Zhi Jian Zhu Yuan Zhuan De Tui Ce (The Speculations on the Original Form of the Ceremonial Architecture to the South of Chang'an City in the Han Dynasty) 汉长安城南郊礼制建筑原状的推测', *Archaeology* 考古, issue 09 (1963), 501-515.

WANG, Shucun 王树村, *Men Yu Men Shen (Gates and Gate Gods)* 门与门神 (Beijing 北京: Xue Yuan Publishing House 学苑出版社, 1994), pp.11-2, 57-61, 180-181, 198-201, 213-215, 238, 242, 245.

WANG, Yongqian 王永谦, *Tu Di Yu Cheng Huang Xin Yang (Chinese Belief in Earth and City God)* 土地与城隍信仰, the 2nd edition (Beijing 北京: Xue Yuan Publishing House 学苑出版社, 1995), pp.26-28, 43-45, 47-50.

WANG, Zongsu 王宗淙, 'Kao Gong Ji Kao Bian (The Research on Kao Gong Ji) 考工记考编', in *Huang Qing Jing Jie Xu Bian (The Sequel of Royal Annotations of Classics of the Qing Dynasty)* 皇清经解续编, ed. by Wang Xianqian 王先谦, vol.1020-1027 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Bookstore Press 上海书店, 1988), pp.660-687.

WEI, Cide 魏慈德, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Feng Shen Chong Bai* (The Worships of Deities of Wind in Ancient China) 中国古代风神崇拜 (Taipei 台北: Taiwan Classics Publishing Co. Ltd 台湾书房出版有限公司, 2002).

WEI, Xueyan 魏雪琰, 'Zhong Guo Chuan Tong Min Ju Zhong De Men Wen Hua (The Gate Culture in Chinese Traditional Dwelling Houses) 中国传统民居中的门文化', *The Journal of Sichuan Architecture* 四川建筑, Issue 04 (2005).

WEN, Renjun 闻人军, *Kao Gong Ji Dao Du* (Guide Reading of Kao Gong Ji) 考工记 导读, 1st edition in 1988 (Beijing 北京: China Radio International Publish 中国国际广播出版社, 2008), pp.86-88.

WU, Rong 午荣 (the Ming Dynasty), *Lu Ban Jing (Treatise of Lu Ban)* 鲁班经, annotated by Yi Jinmu 易金木 (Beijing 北京: Hua Wen Publishing House 华文出版社, 2007), pp. 31, 34, 82-95, 100-1, 123, 200.

Wu Rong was the director of the imperial craftsmen office belonging to the Board of Works in the Ming Dynasty, whose dates of birth and death are not known. His greatest contribution is editing and adding more illustrations and drawings to the famous *Lu Ban Jing* to explain the terminologies from the original one, even though only drawings are far not enough for our modern readers to comprehend the building techniques of the old fashion that requests the whole picture of the cosmology and philosophy of China but fine to spread building knowledge among craftsmen during that time. His annotation has made the *Lu Ban Jing* much more understandable and popular among craftsmen who were not much educated. Yi Jinmu has not only translated the old Chinese language to the modern, but also given some extended background knowledge to help understand the complications that building activities could have related to, for example, the early Gods of Gates/Doors and a very simple explanation of the eight trigram *ba gua*.

WU, Tingxie 吴廷燮, ed., *Beijing Shi Zhi Gao Vol.8: Zong Jiao Zhi, Ming Ji Zhi (The Records of Beijing City)* 北京市志稿 (Beijing 北京: Beijing Yanshan Press 北京燕山出版社, 1998), vol.1, pp.223-321; vol.8, pp.341-343: the records of religions and historic sites (八: 宗教志·名迹志); vol.13: the list of official positions (十三: 职官表), p.306.

The chief editor, Wu Tingxie (1865-1947), who was, at the 21st year of the reign of Qing Guangxu (光绪) Emperor, a provincial graduate (selected person literally, 举人) out of the civil service examination (科举考试) that was organised and held to select officials by the imperial government, became the editor chief of the department of Qing dynasty history under the rule of the Republic of China' government and was famous in the field of chronology. The original *Beijing Shi Zhi* contained 196 jüans (chapters) with the record of the Forbidden City excluded, which was edited by the *Beijing Shi Zhi* Committee organised by the Republic of China's government. In this volume, the Inner City walls and

the Imperial City have been given simply records of the position, the perimeters and ect.

WU, Weiguang 吴卫光, 'Zhong Guo Gu Dai Jian Zhu De Men Shi Yu Men Shen Chong Bai (The Gate Decorations of Ancient Architecture and the Worship of Gods of Gate in China) 中国古代建筑的门饰与门神崇拜', *Journal of South China Normal University (Social Science Edition) 华南师范大学学报 (社会科学版)*, Issue 04 (2002), 110-6, 121.

WU, Xue 伍雪, 'Shi Shu Wo Guo Zao Qi Men Hu Zhi Si Dui Xiang De Yan Bian Guo Cheng Ji Men Shen De Chan Sheng (A Study on the Early Whoship of Gates/Door and the Origin of Gate Gods) 试述我国早期门户之祀对象的演变过程及门神的产生', *The Journal of Anhui Literature 安徽文学*, Issue 12 (2007), 196-7.

WU, Yucheng 吴裕成, *Zhong Guo De Men Wen Hua (The Culture of Gate in China) 中国的门文化*, 2nd edition, (Tianjin 天津: Tianjin People Press 天津人民出版社, 2004), pp.25-28, 32-40, 95-116, 128-130, 151-154, 176-179, 215-216, 219-21, 258, 326.

Wu Yucheng, a journalist working for newspaper *Tonight* (今晚报社), has been dedicating to the field of folk customs of China. His other articles and books are *Chinese Zodiac and Chinese Culture* (十二生肖与中国文化), *The Chinese and Their Zodiac* (人与十二属相), *The Chinese Dragon* (中国龙) and etc. The book includes three basic parts, gates as a part of buildings, folk customs about gates, and the culture and history behind gates. Although the book is more an introduction than a research on gates, the author touched area of different ranks of gates in different times in China, from gates of houses to the ones of towns and cities, from the oldest Chinese character of gate to the meanings of names of gates.

XIANG, Si 向斯, *Kangxi Sheng Shi De Gu Shi (The Stories of Kangxi Empire) 康熙盛世的故事* (Beijing 北京: Xue Yuan Publishing House 学苑出版社, 2004).

XIONG, Guoying 熊国英, *Tu Shi Gu Han Zi (The Illustrated Dictionary of Archaic Chinese Characters) 图释古汉字* (Jinan 济南: Qi Lu Bookshop 齐鲁书社, 2006), pp.91, 144.

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XU, Shen 许慎 (58 – 147 CE), *Wen Bai Dui Zhao Shuo Wen Jie Zi Yi Shu (The Translated Ancient Chinese Dictionary SWJZ) 文白对照说文解字译述*, ed. by Li Enjiang 李恩江 (Zhengzhou 郑州: Zhongyuan Nongmin Press 中原农民出版社, 2000), pp. 774, 1100, 1102, 1354, 1356, 1376.

XU, Subin 徐苏斌, *Feng Shui Shuo Zhong De Xin Li Chang Yin Su (The Psychological Factors in Feng Shui Theory) 风水说中的心理场因素*, p. 137.

XU, Yu 许钰, 'Lu Ban Chuan Shuo De Chan Sheng He Fa Zhan (The Origin and Development of the Legends about Lu Ban) 鲁班传说的产生和发展', in *Er Shi Shi Ji Zhong Guo Min Su Xue Jing Dian: chuan shuo gu shi juan (The Classics of Chinese Folklore Studies in 20th Century: fairy tales and stories) 二十世纪中国民俗学经典: 传说故事卷*, edited by Yuan Li (Beijing 北京: Social Sciences Academic Press (China) 社会科学文献出版社, 2002), pp.178-180.

XU, Zhaohua 徐朝华, *Er Ya Jin Zhu (The Modern Annotation of the Ancient Dictionary EY) 尔雅今注*, 1st edition in 1987 (Tianjin 天津: Nankai University Press 南开大学出版社, 1994), pp.19-22, 26-27, 166-168, 170-172, 176, 189-190, 197-199, 203, 210-211, 216-217, 220-228, 311.

EY, Er Ya 尔雅 is the earliest extant dictionary of China, also a classic of Confucianism, of which 'the major part of its glosses must reasonably date from the third century BCE' (see Karlgren, 1931:49). There are several interpretations of the title: 'approaching what is correct, proper, refined' (W. South Coblin), 'the literary expositor' 'the ready rectifier' (both by James Legge), 'progress towards correctness' (A. von Rosthorn), and 'approaching elegance/refinement' (Alex Kolesnikov).

YAN, Chongnian 阎崇年, 'Man Zhou Ba Qi Ding Zhi Kao Xi (Studies on the Founding of the Manchu Eight Banner System) 满洲八旗定制考析', in *Ba Qi Zhi*

- Du Yu Man Zu Wen Hua (The Eight Banner System and the Manchu Culture)* 八旗制度与满族文化, edited by Zhi Yunting 支运亭 (Shenyang 沈阳: Liaoning Nationality Publishing House 辽宁民族出版社, 2002), pp.35-49.
- YANG, Hongxun 杨鸿勋, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Ju Zhu Tu Dian (The Illustrated History of Habitation in China)* 中国古代居住图典 (Kunming 昆明: Yunnan People Press 云南人民出版社, 2007), pp.102-103, 252-253.
- YANG, Hua 杨华, 'Wu Si Ji Dao Yu Chu Han Wen Hua De Ji Cheng (The Five Sacrifices and the Culture of the Chu and Han Periods) 五祀祭祷与楚汉文化的继承', *The Journal of Jiangnan Tribute 江汉论坛*, Issue 09 (2004), 95-101.
- YANG, Kuan 杨宽, *Zhong Guo Gu Dai Du Cheng Zhi Du Shi Yan Jiu (History of Chinese Ancient Cities)* 中国古代都城制度史研究 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Ancient Books Press 上海古籍出版社, 1992), pp.287, 456-461, 463-467, 522-537.
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- YAO, Chengyu 姚承輿, *Yang Zhai Zheng Zong Er Juan (The Two Books of Houses for Livings)* 阳宅正宗二卷, Wu Tingpu's copy in the 30th year of the Qing Daoguang (1850) 清道光三十年吴廷溥刻本, vol.1, pp.3-4; vol.2, pp.5-7.
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- YING, Qizhen 荧其帧, 'Pai Fang Wen Hua Tan Lue' 牌坊文化探略, *Journal of Southeast Culture 东南文化*, 03 (1999), pp.61-68.
- YING, Yunping 赢云萍, *Ba Qi Yuan Liu (The Origins of the Eight Banners)* 八旗源流 (Dalian 大连: Dalian Publishing House 大连出版社, 1991), pp.36-40.

YU, Chenglong 于成龙, 'Zhan Guo Chu Bu Shi Qi Dao Jian Zhong De Wu Si (The Five Sacrifices in the Slips Recording Prognostication Prayers of Chu Shamans in the Warring States Period) 战国楚卜筮祈祷简中的五祀', *Palace Museum Journal 故宫博物院院刊*, Issue 02 (2009), 27-38.

YU, Deyuan 于德源, *Beijing Li Dai Cheng Fang, Gong Dian, Yuan You (City Walls, Palaces and Gardens of Beijing City in Different Dynasties) 北京历代城坊·宫殿·苑囿* (Beijing 北京: Capital Normal University Press 首都师范大学出版社, 1997), p.90-93.

YUAN, Ke 袁珂,

Zhong Guo Shen Hua Shi (The History of Chinese Myths) 中国神话史 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House 上海文艺出版社, 1988), pp.1-9 (contents), 36, 41, 203, 206, 270-271, 275, 278, 284, 289, 302, 343-8.

Shan Hai Jing Quan Yi (The Complete Annotation of the SHJ) 山海经全译 (Guiyan 贵阳: Guizhou People's Publishing House 贵州人民出版社, 1992), pp.1-9.

'Yue Ling' 月令, the *Li Ji (LJ)*, *Chinese Text Project* <<http://ctext.org/liji/yue-ling>> (accessed October 2008).

ZHANG, Deze 张德泽, *Qing Dai Guo Jia Ji Guan Kao Lue (The Research on the Governments in Qing Dynasty) 清代国家机关考略* (Beijing 北京: China Renmin University Press 中国人民大学出版社, 1981), p.97.

ZHANG, Huiyan 张惠言, 'Yi Li Tu (Pictures of Rites) 仪礼图', in *Huang Qing Jing Jie Xu Bian (HQJJXB, The Sequel of Royal Annotations of Classics of the Qing Dynasty) 皇清经解续编*, ed. by Wang Xianqian 王先谦, vol.2 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Bookstore 上海书店, 1988), pp.255-308.

ZHANG, Jiuling 张九龄 (678 – 740 CE.) and others, *Tang Liu Dian Quan Yi (A Complete Translation and Annotation of the Six Institutions of the Tang) 唐六典*

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The *Tang Liu Dian* (*TLD*, Six Institutions of the Tang) is the earliest of the existent administrative encyclopedias, compiled by the Tang official imperial government in 738, edited by Zhang Jiuling 张九龄 and other scholarly officials. Its title 'Six Institutions' originates in the six offices of the *Zhou Li* 周礼 (*ZL*, *Rites of the Zhou*): the administration (Offices of Heaven), the education (Offices of Earth), the rites (Offices of Spring), the army (Offices of Summer), the law and justice (Offices of Autumn), and the business trades (Offices of Winter), on which the six boards in the central imperial court of the later dynasties were based. The entire classic consists of 30 volumes, regulating all the offices and positions of the central government and the district ones and their duties. This edition bases on the copy of the *TLD* that is collected in the *SKQS* of the Qing in the 18th century, with translations and annotations of the ancient Chinese language terms and customs from Yuan Wenxing and Pan Yangsheng.

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¹⁷ The author's name is transcribed to Huang Liuhong according to the *pin-yin*. But in the original edition of this book, the author's name was spelt as Huang Liu-hung following the Wade-Giles system. See Notes on *pin-yin* system.

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