

## Segregation and Integration: A History of Manchu City Planning in the Qing Dynasty

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### Abstract

**The social and military organization of the Manchus of the Qing Dynasty (1616–1912 AD) grouped the population under Eight Banners. They also constructed Manchu cities according to the traditional Five Elements philosophy from the Han culture, and both concepts became characteristic of the Qing dynasty. The Manchus constructed and rebuilt many cities so that they could garrison the military and guarantee political unity, and these concepts influenced the spatial distribution of the military and civilian quarters and generated distinctive city patterns. Manchu settlements included large cities, medium-sized towns, and military settlements. There is a significant quantity of current academic research on Manchu cities in China, but only a few historical projects have focused on city planning. This study draws on existing research, historical documents, and archaeological materials to research Manchu city planning methods and their history during the Qing Dynasty. The research fills a gap in the history of Manchu cities and of the people responsible for executing the projects, and it throws light on the development of Chinese urban heritage as a whole.**

### Keywords

**The Eight Banners; Military Segregation; Manchu City, City Planning; Chinese Ancient City.**

### 1. Introduction

National and regional security is a sensitive and important topic, and military histories contain many examples of strategic methods used to effectively guarantee national security in the past. The practices used by the Later Jin and Qing Dynasty (1616–1912 AD) to maintain security in China are informative in this respect. There were many ethnic groups living within China's borders during that period in Chinese history. In addition to the Han people, other minorities also established regimes in the land, such as the Yuan Dynasty (1206–1368 AD) founded by the Mongols and the Qing Dynasty founded by the Manchurians. Faced with a large population of Han people, the Qing court planned and founded military garrison cities ruled by Manchu leaders, which are referred to here as Manchu cities.

This paper first details the concepts that shaped the interior and exterior forms of Manchu cities, which were incorporated into the urban planning. The street planning and layouts reflected the Five Elements philosophy of the Han culture and the Eight Banners philosophy of the Manchu culture. The hybridized ideology was in some ways a manifestation of the multi-ethnicity of the Chinese culture. Beijing's city center was one of those established as a Manchu city and its street plan was designed around the philosophies of the Five Elements and the Eight Banners. The

layout of Beijing's Manchu city had a significant influence on the city planning of subsequent Manchu cities.

Over the course of the 20th century, the number of monographs focusing on military security has increased dramatically. Scholars have addressed both national and city-level military security. One implementation strategy proposed by Graham amounts to a new military urbanism [1]. As countries all over the world devote increasing levels of time and money to military and civilian security, this article attempts to learn lessons based on historical experience. The research draws heavily on ancient texts of the Qing Dynasty, but it takes a multi-disciplinary approach and attempts to understand the history of Manchu cities with respect to modern academic and governmental models.

## 2. Literature Review

Research into Manchu city planning falls within the wider fields of Chinese military, urban, and political history. The philosophies behind Manchu city planning also fall within the field of traditional Chinese cultural history. The specific academic approaches taken in this study can be summarized as follows: 1) Determine the relationship between military and urban planning, 2) describe traditional Chinese city planning methods, 3) describe the typical Eight Banners Garrison and its association with the history of Manchu cities, and 4) show how the two philosophies affected the traditional Chinese culture and city planning.

### 2.1. The Bidirectional Relationship Between Military and City Planning

Cities offer humans shelter, community, and security through the inclusion of essential military functions. The close relationship between cities and military concerns has been a popular topic of academic research [2] in recent years, and the main thrusts of that research are described below.

Scholars have discussed how military concerns influence city planning to some extent. De la Croix studied the history of military strategies from as far back as 8,000 B.C., right up to the 19th century, and the relationship between cities and their defenses [3]. Norris analyzed the influences of town fortifications on the designs of modern urban developments in towns in Europe [4]. King investigated the functions of 14th century fortresses [5] in British cities. Linkov discussed how the military can play a key strategic role in the sustainable development of cities [6]. Dincecco and Onorato proposed that military conflict played a crucial role in the designs of European urban developments [7], and many other scholars have studied how historic cities and towns with a military component have influenced modern urban planning and development [8]. Scholars have also considered how to integrate modern urban military functions into modern cities and urban planning [9]. Overall, it is clear how extensive the influence of military history and historical martial heritage is on modern urban planning.

Some studies have addressed the relationship between Chinese cities and the military. Joanna focused on the militarization of the culture of the Qing Empire [10]. Rowe compiled a comprehensive history of the Qing Dynasty, especially the influence of the military on the Empire [11]. Csete studied the military components of Hong Kong city from 1840–1970 AD, and in particular the social life of the garrison soldiers and the struggles between the military, civilians, and civil authorities in the colony.[12] Luo addressed Nanjing's military fortification and concluded that they facilitated the growing sophistication of the city in the late Ming Dynasty [13].

### 2.2. The Planning of Ancient Chinese Cities

The Manchu city is a special type of ancient Chinese city. The ancient Chinese historical literature shows how the architects employed special philosophies and methods to design the urban plans and guide the construction [14]. Ancient Chinese philosophical texts referred to

methods of urban planning [15]. The majority of scholars researched ancient Chinese cities from the perspective of western city planning, but they also drew maps or figures of ancient Chinese city plans and discussed them from macroscopic and microcosmic perspectives, to demonstrate how Chinese city planning historically incorporated a theoretical system of concepts within the designs and layouts. Most of the studies related to the Manchu cities of the Qing Dynasty.

Scholars have studied the city planning of some Manchu cities such as ancient Beijing, Xi'an, which was built in the Han Dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) [16], Nanjing, which was under construction during the Wei and Jin Dynasty (222–589 AD), the Ming dynasty (1368–1644 AD), and the Qing Dynasty [17], and finally Hangzhou, which was built from the late Qing Dynasty onwards, up to the time of modern day China [18]. There are other scholars who are concerned with ancient Chinese military city planning in other settlements which are similar in some respects to Manchu cities. Tan examined the settlements of the Ming Dynasty coastal defenses, which shared some of the same design elements with the Manchu cities. More specifically, he was concerned with the internal street planning of these cities [19].

### **2.3. The Eight Banners Garrison and the History of the Manchu City**

The establishment of Manchu city planning was based on the Eight Banners political and garrison system. It was the Qing dynasty that established the Manchu cities for the Eight Banners army. Manchus were citizens and soldiers so their political culture also exhibited features of militarization [20]. According to the ancient Chinese texts, the Eight Banners garrison system also obeyed the historical laws with respect to its formation, development, and eventual elimination.

Scholars who have carried out more extensive studies of the history of Manchu cities have based their research on historical books and archives containing other related documents. Through this work they have gradually uncovered the history of the various Manchu cities. Dong regarded the Manchu cities as special military cities [21]. Based on study of the literature of the Qing Dynasty, Zhang concluded that Manchu cities were “multiple function cities” of ancient China [22]. Ren also researched the garrison histories of Guangzhou, Hangzhou, Jingzhou, Fuzhou, and Suiyuan, which were all established during the Qing Dynasty [23]. The research was mostly concerned with the economic history of these garrison cities.

Scholars have also analyzed the conceptual design, the scale, and particular features of different Manchu cities [24]. Elliott studied military garrisons established before the Qing army controlled China and before the Qing dynasty established Manchu cities in most of the provinces it had conquered. Based on the works of ancient Chinese scholars, he believed that the Manchu cities could be separated into a metropolitan garrison, three northeastern garrisons, a northwest garrison (mainly in Sinkiang and Mongolia), and the provincial garrison. Moreover, he characterized the army groups of the major cities [25]. He regarded Manchu city garrisons as “Tigers on the Mountain,” and included this type of discussion in an extensive history that introduced the history of Manchu cities to western readers.

### **2.4. Traditional Chinese Culture and City Planning**

City planning reflects the ideologies of the planners and is a facet of the wider culture, both in the past and today. The study of the relationship between traditional Chinese culture and city planning has primarily concentrated on the following aspects: 1) City planning as cultural tradition; 2) City planning and ancient Chinese philosophy; 3) Natural landscapes and city planning; and 4) Fengshui and city planning.

The Five Elements are the most mystical aspect of the ancient Chinese traditional culture. Ding studied the ways in which the concepts of the Five Elements, such as Yin-Yang, Xiang, and Shu, affected ancient Chinese city planning [26].

Western scholars, on the other hand, did not place significant emphasis on the Five Elements compared to the influence of the Eight Banners on Manchu urban planning. Elliott's academic work was one of the few western studies that developed a more extensive understanding of the Beijing Inner City, as a Qing dynasty Manchu city incorporating aspects of the Five Elements and the placement of the Eight Banners [27]. The studies listed above were mainly based on historical literature produced by Chinese scholars, and were written to introduce the history of the Manchu cities to the western world.

As most of the ancient cities have been destroyed or have been built over, the study of ancient city planning implies significant historical documentary research work. The collection of historical data on city planning is usually based on translated historical documents, but many have no direct scientific relevance to city planning. Non-Chinese scholars do not typically focus on documents or subjects associated with the history of the Qing dynasty or Manchu city planning, so there is only a limited amount of primary data to work from.

On the other hand, ancient Chinese books and historical maps do provide information relating to urban layouts. The ancient Chinese attached great significance to the collection and collation of literature. The texts of the Qing dynasty included historical archives, ancient books, and historical maps, and they supply enough information so that the Manchu cities can be virtually reconstructed. The majority of the above studies, however, have repeated historical information already published in modern texts. More profound research methods and theoretical systems are required in order to understand how to take full advantage of the ancient books, archives, and historical maps, to process them in an academic manner, in order to understand the history of Manchu city planning in depth.

### **3. An Overview of the Manchu City**

The concepts, implementation methods, and historical development of Manchu cities have been extensively researched by academics. Many different points of view have resulted so it is necessary to begin any study by establishing and describing the fundamental characteristics and evolutionary phases of Manchu city designs.

#### **3.1. Definition of a Manchu City**

A Manchu city is a town and a military settlement. It possesses the properties of a military garrison planned by the Qing Court [28]. Like all of the military cities in the Qing Dynasty, Manchu cities had defensive walls and accommodation for military officials. The Qing dynasty, much like previous dynasties, used an official rank system. This system had nine numbered ranks, each subdivided into upper and lower levels, in addition to the lowest "unranked" group for a total of nineteen ranks. All government personnel, from the highest chancellors to the lowest clerk, held an official rank of office, which determined their salary, uniform, and privileges. The rank of the officials in charge of the Manchu cities was above three, and the military cities housed the Eight Banners army of Manchurian, Mongolian, and Han communities. Zhu regarded the other military cities as garrison cities, and considered that those cities were not equipped to host the Eight Banners armies. He also defined many of the historical concepts that are now considered characteristics of Manchu cities [29].

This paper proposes that two additional characteristics should be understood to be identifying markers of a typical Manchu city:

a) The planners were Manchurian officers and the city planning was carried out by a department of the Qing Court. The detailed construction design work for the cities was the concern of garrison generals, the highest official of the city. The city had been selected to be a Manchu army garrison city.

b) The cities were planned and established under the Eight Banners garrison system. The purpose of the city was military defense and army accommodation..

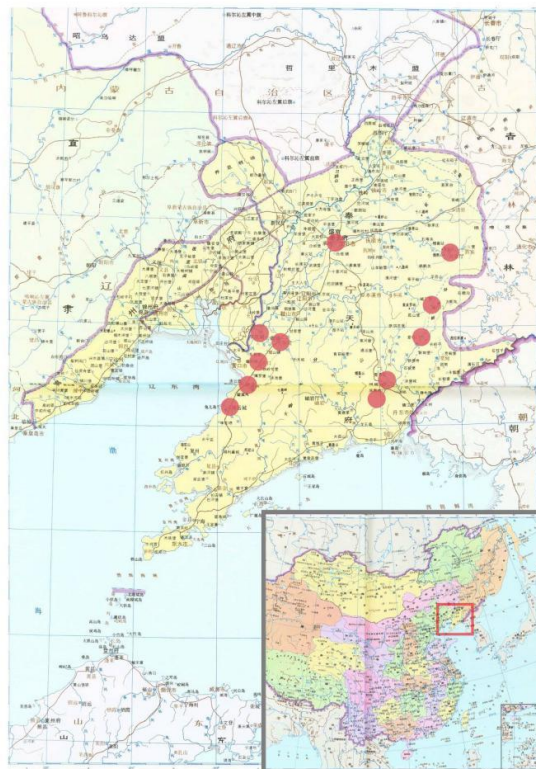
According to the database compiled from ancient Chinese texts, there were 30 Manchu cities built in Chihli province; 74 in Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Shengjing provinces; 39 in Sinkiang and Wuliyasutai provinces; and 20 in other provinces. There were, therefore, 163 Manchu cities in all distributed across those provinces and forming a complete, thorough, and mutually supportive military defense system. They also constituted a special group of culturally distinct cities during the entirety of the Qing Dynasty.

### 3.2. The History of the Manchu Cities

To guarantee military stability within their territory, the Qing Court established the Manchu cities, starting in three provinces in northeast China and extending to the other provinces. According to the historical texts referring to the social, political, and martial situation, the history of the Manchu cities and their planning and construction can be divided into four stages.

#### 3.2.1. The Early Period: from the Tianming to the Chongde Period (1616–1644)

Nurhaci (1559–1626) captured Shenyang in 1621. He struggled to take control of the lands east of the Liao River that were controlled by the Ming Court. After the Battle of Shenyang and Liaoyang, the Battle of Guangning, and the Battle of Ningyuan, Nurhaci occupied 70 cities. To strengthen their military hold on these territories, he established 11 Manchu cities, comprising Liaoyang (1621), Haizhou (1621), Xiongyue (1621), Yaozhou (1621), Niuzhuang (1621), Gaizhou (1621), Xingjing (1633), Jianchang fortress (1633), Fenghuang (1621), Fenghuang fortress (1638), and Aiyang fortress (1638) (Map 1). Manchu city planning at that stage was of a relatively short term nature. It is clear that they were located and relatively positioned so that they could act in cooperation with each other in military activities. All of these cities were built based on older ones of the Ming Dynasty and had the Eight Banners army stationed within them.



Map 1 Manchu cities of the Qing Dynasty in 1638

Source: Adapted from Q.X.Tan (1987)[30]

### 3.2.2. The Developing Period: from the Shunzhi to the Kangxi Period (1644–1723)

The Qing court moved their capital to Beijing in 1644. During this period there were three major purposes for planning new Manchu cities: protecting the security of Beijing, consolidating the defense of Manchuria, and suppressing domestic disturbances, rebellions, and internal conflicts (Map 2).

Manchu city planning at that time was carried out under the shadow of several significant wars and the cities had specific roles in these events:

a) Preventing invasion from Russia (1643–1689). During the Shunzhi period, Russia invaded Heilongjiang province. Early in Kangxi period the court followed a peace-and-war strategy and established cities for permanent garrison. In 1684, Aihui Manchu city was established to battle against Russia. A large number of Manchu cities were set up in Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Shengjing provinces during the Kangxi period, and they were also closely related to the intensified fighting against Russia.

b) Pacification of the Three Feudatories (1673–1681). The Three Feudatories, Wu San'gui, Shang Kexi, and Geng Jimao, guarded Yunnan, Guizhou, and Fujian provinces, respectively, and enjoyed political, military, and economic privileges. After being deprived of their privileges by the court, the Three Feudatories instigated a rebellion. After their defeat and pacification, Manchu cities were set up in Fuzhou (1680), Guangzhou (1682), and Jingzhou (1683) and these extended the Manchu city system along the Yangtze River and coast lines.

c) War against the Junggar (1690–1739). The war between the Qing Court and the Junggar Khanate was a political struggle between Manchurians and Mongolians. In the Kangxi period, Galdan fought battles for the Junggar Khanate and grew stronger and stronger, and eventually invaded Inner Mongolia. The Qing Court, therefore, established a Manchu city in Youwei (1693) in Shan'xi province for its defense. In 1696, the Manchu cities at Shengjing, Ningguta, Heilongjiang, and Youwei became significant for their military defense against Galdan. In 1715, the Junggar Cewan'alabutan invaded into Tibet. To fight against these invasions, the court set up Manchu cities in Chengdu (1718) in Sichuan province and Kaifeng (1718) in Henan province.



Map 2 Manchu cities in 1723.

(1. Chihli province; 2. Shengjing province; 3. Jilin province; 4 Heilongjiang province.)

Source: Adapted from Tan, Q.X. (1987) [31]

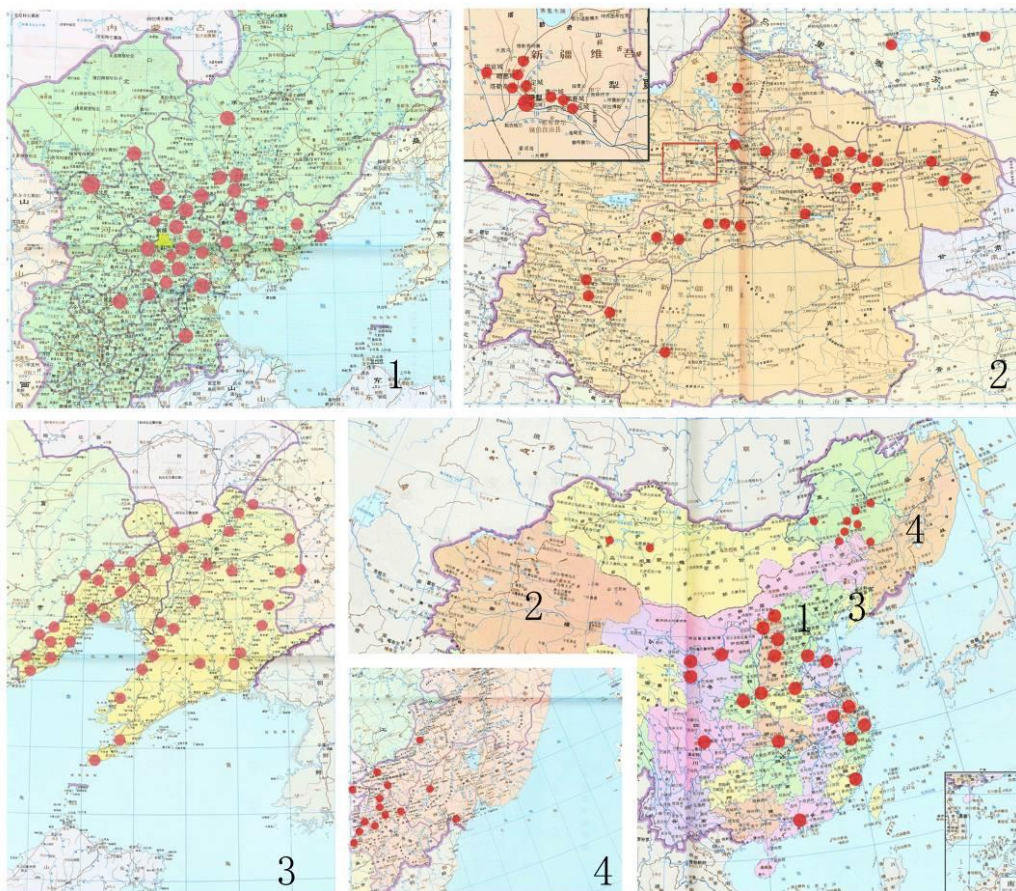
### 3.2.3. The Mature Period: from the Yongzheng to Qianlong Period (1723–1796)

From the Yongzheng to the Qianlong period, Manchu city construction was primarily in the Sinkiang region, and the design of the cities matured as more were established in the three provinces in northeast China and Chihli province. In total, 38 Manchu cities were set up in Sinkiang (including Uliastaj, which was within the territory of the Qing Dynasty), 8 in Heilongjiang and Jilin provinces, and 6 in Chihli province (Map 3).

There were also other wars during this period:

a) Pacifying the rebellion of the Junggar nobility (1755–1757). During the Qianlong period, internal wars happened within the Junggar Khanate. The Qing Court fought wars to maintain unity by suppressing rebellion, and during this period the Qing court founded many Manchu cities in Sinkiang. All the cities were founded from the 23rd to the 58th year of the Qianlong period, except one during the Yongzheng period. Within 36 years, Manchu cities in Yili constituted a full defensive system called the “Nine Cities in Yili.” After the war, those Manchu cities continued to play a role in military security and ensured stability in the region for a significant period of time.

b) During this period, the court waged a series of internal wars to maintain the unity of the territory under their control, and this led to the development of Manchu cities in Sinkiang. Apart from the rebellion by the Junggar nobility there were also wars against Dawaqi, the rebellion led by Amursana, the rebellion led by Khojas, and the Battle of Jinchuan. The Manchu cities in these areas developed rapidly and promoted economic activity as well as construction development.



Map 3 Manchu cities in 1796. 1. Chihli province; 2. Sinkiang province; 3. Shengjing province; 4. Jilin province.

Source: Adapted from Tan, Q.X. (1987) [32]

### 3.2.4. The Period of Decline : from the Jiaqing to Xuantong Period (1796–1911)

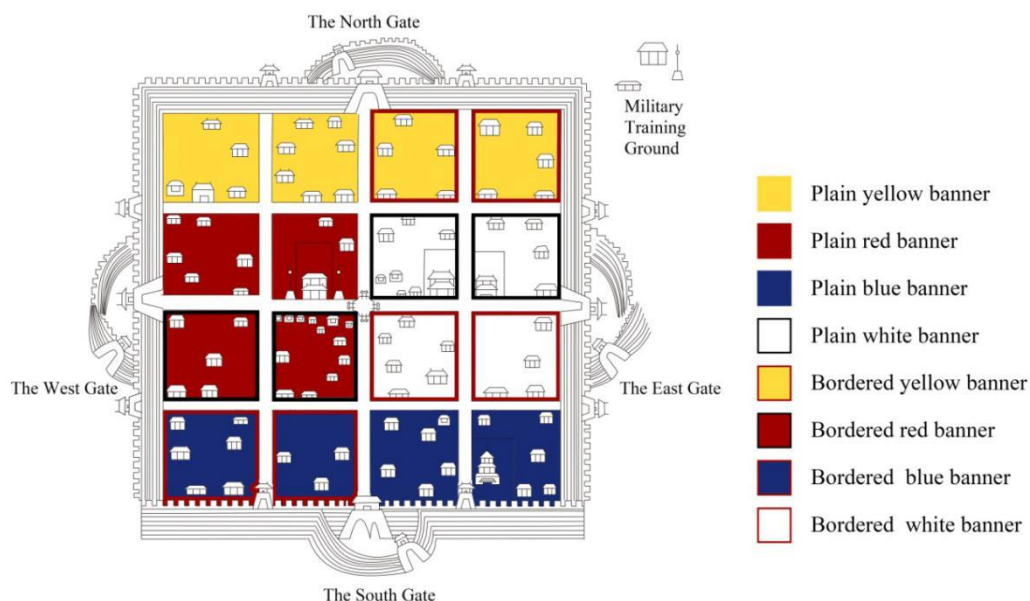
From 1796 onwards, the Manchu cities entered a period of decline and there were only 9 Manchu cities subsequently established, including in Jilin and Heilongjiang provinces. There were 4 Manchu cities established in Jilin province, comprising Shuangchengbao (1815), Wuchangbao (1869), Hailong (1878), and Fukejin (1882), and another 5 in Heilongjiang province comprising Bayansusu (1869), Tieshanbao (1879), Xing'an (1883), Tongken (1898), and Dongxing (1905). After the 1911 Revolution, the Qing dynasty collapsed and the Manchu cities lost their military purpose. Although there were still Eight Banner soldiers residing in these cities as citizens, the majority were killed during the Revolution. The cities no longer belonged to the Qing Dynasty but became modern independent cities.

## 4. Types of Manchu City

There were three kinds of Manchu cities: newly built military cities, older cities that were rebuilt as military cities, and military settlements containing only military camps.

### 4.1. Newly Built Manchu Cities

The Qing court established new cities for the Eight Banner soldiers and Manchurians in critical military locations. These cities were usually large and were surrounded with great defensive walls, following the model of Beijing city. Eight or 16 city blocks were allocated to Manchurian and Mongolian Eight Banner soldiers who were housed separately in such Manchu cities as Ningxia (1724) (Fig 1), Laining (1762), Huiyuan (1764), Gongning (1773), and Miyun (1780).



**Fig 1.** The inner planning blocks and the location of different banners in Ningxia Manchu city

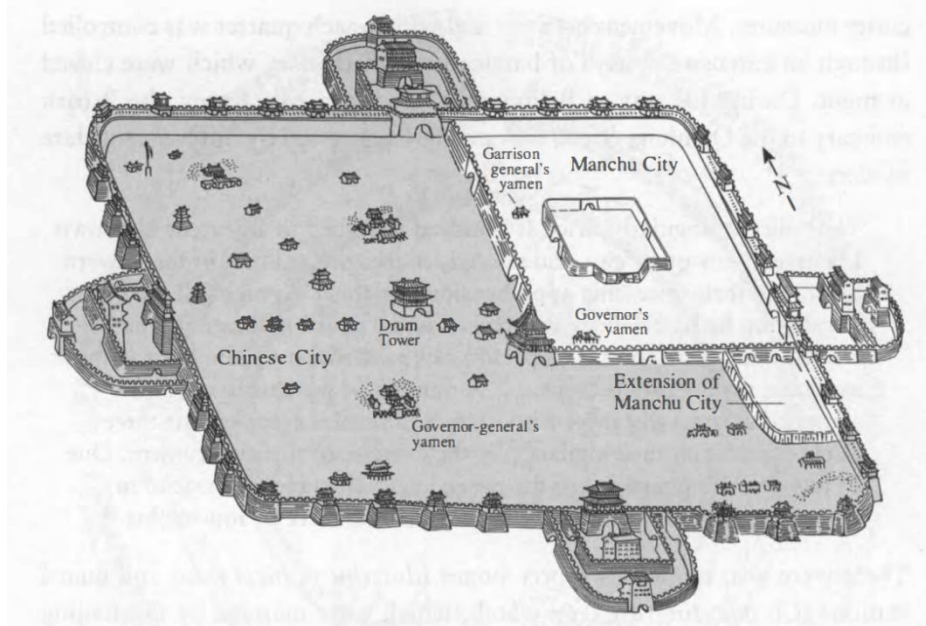
### 4.2. Reconstruction of Old Cities: Military Space in Han Cities

Following the policy of separating Manchurian and Han people, the reconstruction of old cities followed one of two patterns: a “closed” pattern with encircling city walls, and an “open” pattern without city walls but with an area designated for military functions only, and co-existing with the original residents and their buildings.

“Closed” Manchu cities incorporated fences, internal partition walls (Jie Qiang), and other buildings within the city boundary. Beijing Inner City was the first old city to be reconstructed in this way. In order to satisfy the political and military requirements as rapidly as possible, a significant part of the Manchu city planning was based on the reconstruction of old Ming Dynasty settlements in cities including Taiyuan, Jiangning, Jingzhou, Hangzhou, Dezhou, and



Kaifeng. They used a common reconstruction pattern. Taiyuan Manchu city is at the southwest corner of Taiyuan city, with walls on the east and north used as boundaries. Jiangning set up a new Manchu city in the north of the old city, then the Manchu city was moved into a designated district inside the old city, with internal dividing walls separating it from the Han city (Fig 2). Hangzhou’s Manchu city is at the west side of the main city, with city walls on one side and internal dividing walls on the other three sides (Fig 6). Jingzhou’s Manchu city constitutes the whole eastern half of the old city, whereas the west part was the Han city. A dividing wall ran down the middle (Fig 3, Fig 4). The reconstruction of the old cities saved building costs by moving Han residents and building internal dividing walls to close off separated spaces. The city walls of the Han and Manchu city are still in situ within modern Jingzhou City (Fig 5). Kaifeng’s Manchu city is a designated inner-city district with its own encircling city walls, just like a special Manchu camp within the old city.



**Fig 2.** Xi'an Manchu city and Han city

Source: Adapted from M. C.Elliott (2001) [33]



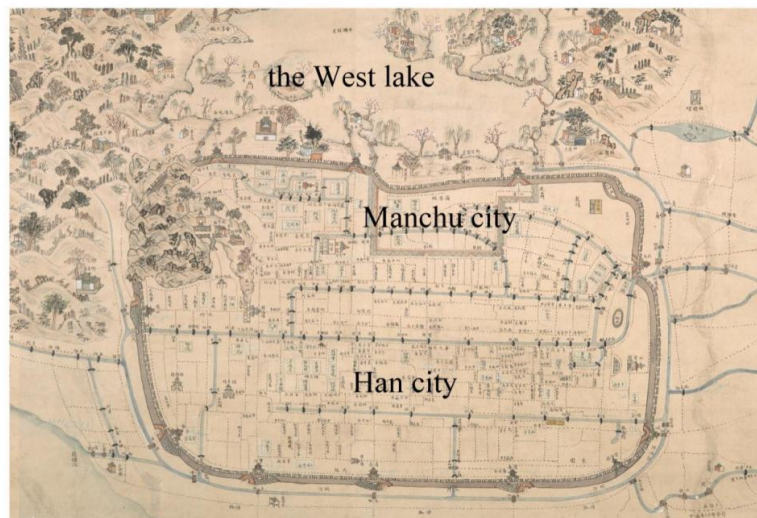
**Fig 3.** Jingzhou Manchu city and Han city [34]



Fig 4. The location of the modern Jingzhou city and historical Manchu city

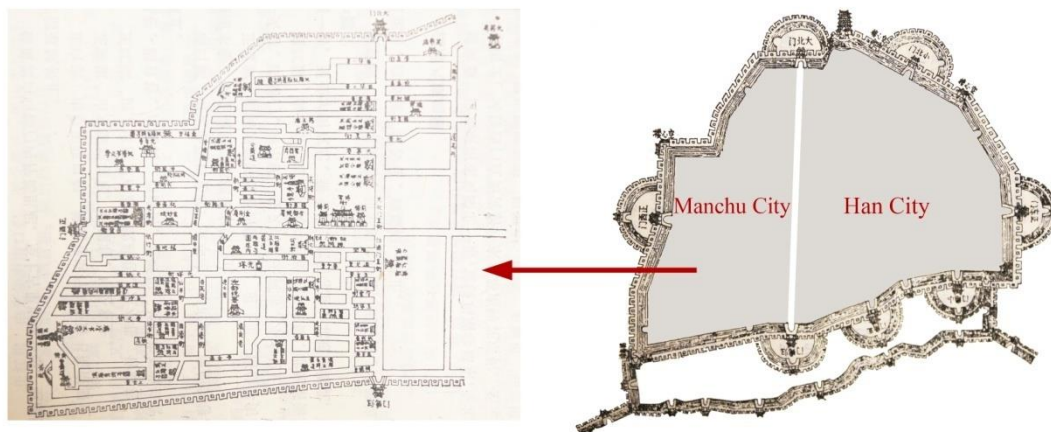


Fig 5. The East gate of Manchu city in modern Jingzhou city (2017)



**Fig 6.** The Manchu city and Han city in Hangzhou city during the Qing Dynasty, from the colored drawing “Hangcheng Xihu Jianggan hushutu” (1716–1727 AD), now in the British Museum.

The “open” Manchu city without closed city walls relied on the original Chinese city walls for defense. The designated districts for the soldiers of the Eight Banners were contained within a restricted area of the city, such as in Guangzhou and Fuzhou. Guangzhou Manchu city is at the northwest corner of the main city. The military district for the Eight Banner soldiers ran from Jiefang Road in the east to Renmin Road and Renmin North Road in the west, and from Dade Road in the south to the Big North Gate in the north. A military bastion was set up at Guide Gate to control the border zone with the Han city (Fig 7). In 1682, there were only Han Eight Banner soldiers defending the territory from here. In 1756, Manchurian Eight Banner soldiers were also moved into the city but were garrisoned in the district to the south of Guangta Road today, while the Han Eight Banner soldiers were all garrisoned in the north. In 1680, soldiers were first garrisoned in Fuzhou Manchu city. Later, all the Han soldiers converted to be ordinary citizens and this situation continued until 1755. Manchurian Eight Banner soldiers were then garrisoned in the districts of the East Gate, Tangxin, and Shuibu Gate in the eastern part of the old Fuzhou city. The “open” Manchu cities acted as military districts and the original residential buildings in the occupied areas were converted to military quarters to save construction costs while improving the defensive abilities of the city.



**Fig 7.** Guangzhou Manchu city's location in the old city and a hand-drawn map of the city [35]

### 4.3. Manchu Camps: Military Settlements with Special Military Camps

This type of Manchu city is the most common type of the entire Manchu city system. There are numerous so-called “Military settlements” listed in *Baqi Tongzhi Chuji* (the book recording the history of the Eight Banners), and they all belong to this type of Manchu city or Manchu camp, including Faku (1662), Jiuguantai (1676), Zhangwutai (1687), Yitong (1681), and Banlashan (1681) settlements. This kind of Manchu Camp supported temporary relieving garrisons instead of permanent garrisons, and housed relatively fewer soldiers. Most of these camps were set up during the Qianlong period.

## 5. Discussion and Implications

The concepts underlying Manchu city planning are affected by multiple ethnic and cultural ideologies, most notably the Eight Banners culture from Manchuria and the Five Elements philosophy from the Han people. To trace out how this planning ideology was applied in practice, we chose Beijing city, the biggest Manchu city in China, as a case study to analyze the effects of those two special ideologies on the city planning.

### 5.1. Cultural Elements in Manchu City

The Five Elements philosophy was formulated during the pre-Qin period and it became a traditional worldview for the Han people. It formed a special conceptual structure through

which the ancient Chinese people perceived and understood the world around them. The Eight Banners cultural concept was later combined with the concept of the Five Elements, demonstrating a level of Manchu-Han cultural hybridization during the Qing Dynasty.

The names of the Five Elements first appeared in Shang Shu:

The best moral integrity is good governance. The good governor should treat his people well. Water, fire, metal, wood, earth, and corn, all should be well cultivated. (Shang Shu, Dayumo)

The five elements are water, fire, wood, metal and earth. (Shang Shu, Hongfan)

The five elements above formed a cognitive foundation on which ancient Chinese people relied to interpret their world. The inter-relationship between the elements can be seen as promoting mutual growth and restraint. Mutual growth is implied in the relationships because wood generates fire, fire generates earth, earth generates metal, metal generates water, and water generates wood (Fig 8). This structured theory of mutual generation and restriction had a significant impact on the ancient Chinese culture.



Fig 8. The Five Elements and the force system

The five elements, and their directions and colors were utilized during the Warring States Period of ancient China. The book Huang Di Nei Jing matched the five elements with five colors as follows:

The East belongs to wood, with green color; the South belongs to fire, with red color; the center belongs to earth, with yellow color; the west belongs to metal, with white color; the north belongs to water, with black color. (Huang Di Nei Jing)

Zheng Xuan (127–200 AD), the famous Chinese philosopher of the East Han Dynasty (25–220 AD), matched the elements with the five directions to represent the weather and included this interpretation in the Yi Jing, or I Ching. First, heaven generates water in the north; then, the ground generates fire in the south; third, heaven generates wood in the east; fourth, the ground generates metal in the west; and fifth, heaven generates earth in the center (Table 1).

Table 1. Relationship table of the Five Elements and their corresponding directions and colors

Water	North	Black
Fire	South	Red
Wood	East	Green
Metal	West	White
Earth	Centre	Yellow

The concept of the Eight Banners was the social and military system developed by the founder of the Qing Dynasty. When employed in both agricultural and military work, the early Manchurians were assigned to one of the Eight Banners and were managed by the leader in charge of their banner. The Eight Banners are a plain yellow banner, a plain red banner, a plain blue banner, a plain white banner, a bordered yellow banner, a bordered red banner, a bordered blue banner, and a bordered white banner. The system is a national management system with political, military, and social implications. The system also has a special place in the culture and history of the Qing dynasty. After the establishment of the Qing dynasty, new cultural concepts appeared during the Shunzhi period when the Manchu and Han cultures were fused. Baqi tongzhi chuji indicates the blending of the Eight Banners system and the Five Elements philosophy. The colors and directions of the Eight Banners were hybridized together in the narrative about the Eight Banners and directions in that book:

The Eight Banners are divided into two groups: banners on the left side are bordered yellow, plain white, bordered white, plain blue; banners on the right side are plain yellow, plain red, bordered red, and bordered blue. The order is from North to South, and the General of the Army commands the war facing the South. Two yellow banners on the North mean earth restricting water. Two white banners on the East mean metal restricting wood. Two red banners on the West mean fire restricting metal. Two blue banners on the South mean water restricting fire. Water is black in the Five Colors. As a black flag is invisible in the dark, so black banners are replaced by blue ones. (Baqi tongzhi chuji) [36]

According to the historical texts, the Eight Banners system appeared as part of the Five Elements. The elements of the various banners are as follows: the plain yellow and bordered yellow are earth in nature. The plain red and bordered red are fire in nature. The plain blue and bordered blue were originally black in color, and associated with water in nature, but they were replaced by the color blue for military function. The plain white and bordered white are metal in nature.

The generation and restriction relationships with directions are: East is wood in element and has green color; wood generates fire and restricts earth. South is fire in element and has red color; fire generates earth and restricts metal. West is metal in element and has white color; metal generates water and restricts wood. North is water in element and has black color, water generates earth and restricts fire. Center is earth in element and has yellow color; earth generates metal and restricts water (Fig 8, Fig 9). The Eight Banners were assigned to various directions, and they explain and help indicate the generation and restriction associations within the Five Elements.

## 5.2. A City in a City

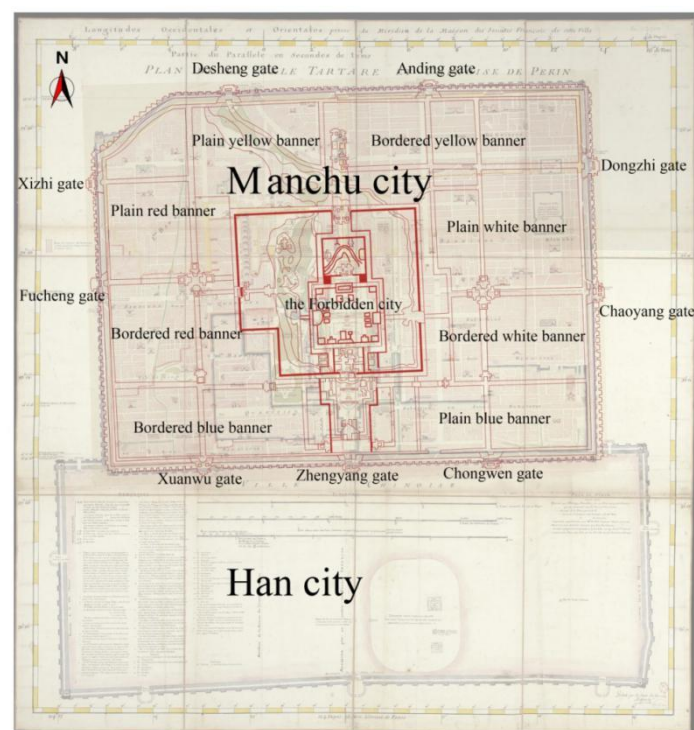
The Qing Dynasty considered that the social status of the Manchurians was higher than of the other peoples in the territory. "Manchuria is Supreme," was the basis for the whole empire, and the Eight Banner forces were also distinct from the civilian populations in all directions. The court policy was that the Eight Banner soldiers, the bannermen, were separate from the rest of the population. The strategy of different management policies for bannermen and civilian populations was established along with the banner system, and it strictly defined who was a bannerman and who was part of the civilian population. This was also the systematic basis for the foundation of Beijing's Manchu city in the early Qing Dynasty. Beijing's inner city was originally the residential settlement for the civilian population in the Ming Dynasty. When the Qing Dynasty took power it was re-designated as a planned quarter for the Manchurian people. In the 1st year of Shunzhi (1644), the Qing court formally moved into its capital in Beijing. At first the Manchurian and civilian populations lived together, and there were various sectarian clashes as a result. In the 5th year of Shunzhi (1648), the court set up a "city in the city" as a

settlement for Manchurians and it moved all the civilian population out of the Inner City in a policy of deliberate ethnic segregation.

The layout of the military garrison in Beijing's Inner City was influenced significantly by the Eight Banner cultural system, and quarters were allocated according to their directions within the banner philosophy (Fig 9). The palace was in the middle of the city and the Eight Banners were allocated space around it. The Eight Banner population protected the royal palace as both soldiers and common people. Beijing's inner city was, therefore, divided into eight districts for Manchurian settlement and so the Manchurians lived separately from the majority of the civilian population in Beijing City. According to Baqi tongzhi chuji:

Bordered yellow banners live in Anding Gate, and plain yellow banners live in Desheng Gate on the north. Plain white banners live in Dongzhi Gate and bordered white banners live in Chaoyang Gate on the east. Plain red banners live in Xizhi Gate and bordered red banners live in Fucheng Gate on the west. Plain blue banners live in Chongwen Gate and bordered blue live in Xuanwu Gate on the south. All the Eight Banners are located in the correct directions, ensuring that the military organization will be disciplined and the foundation of the nation will be strong and solid. It has never been watched like this ever before. [37]

According to translations of the historical text, the limits of Beijing's inner city ran from Desheng Gate and Anding Gate in the north to Xuanwu Gate, Chongwen Gate, and Zhengyang Gate in the south, and from Xizhi Gate and Fucheng Gate in the west to Dongzhi Gate and Chaoyang Gate in the east. In the inner city, the royal families, the Eight Banner officials, and soldiers were allocated houses. There were also the court offices, schools, and military facilities for all the different banners. The royal city in the central area was the residential area for three banners working for the Internal Affairs Department.



**Fig 9.** Manchu city and Han city in Beijing during the Qing Dynasty

Source: Adapted from the ancient map "Planning of Manchurian and Chinese City of Beijing," by Philippe Buache, 1752, state library, Paris, France.

The plan of Beijing's inner city is in accordance with the theory of the Five Elements and it fully incorporates the military garrison's defensive function into the design of the city (Fig 9). Beijing's inner city is actually the largest Manchu city of all and as the civilian population was the biggest threat against political ruling in the Qing, it makes sense that the forces surrounded the palace. The Eight Banners lived in the inner city with the royal palace in the center, and quarters were allocated according to the generation and restriction concepts of the Five Elements philosophy. This also demonstrates that the Manchurian soldiers were expected to defend the dynasty against all other ethnic groups. Plain yellow and bordered yellow banners lived around the Desheng Gate and the Anding Gate in the north, as yellow is earth in element, north is water, and its meaning was earth restricts water. Plain red and bordered red banners lived around the Xizhi Gate and the Fucheng Gate in the west, as red is fire in element, west is metal, and its meaning was fire restricts metal. Plain blue and bordered blue banners lived around the Chongwen Gate and the Xuanwu Gate in the south, as blue (black) is water in element, south is fire, and it means water restricts fire. Plain white and bordered white banners lived around the Dongzhi Gate and the Chaoyang Gate in the east, as white is metal in element, east is wood, and its meaning was metal restricts wood.

## 6. Conclusion

Manchu cities are one of the most common types of ancient China military garrisons and they also represent good examples of settlements that incorporate military and ethnic concepts into their street plans and quarter arrangements. Manchu city planning is, therefore, rewarding to research from the perspective of urban planning and related political and cultural contexts. The establishment of new Manchu cities continued through the whole of the Qing Dynasty. Manchu cities were founded from the late Jin regime to the late Qing dynasty (1616–1911 AD), and evolved through several distinctive stages. Manchu cities were related to Han cities but were different in several respects. The Manchu cities formed the largest and the longest-lasting group of ancient ethnically distinctive military cities in world history. The planning of the cities was deliberate and systematic and the cities were designed to be part of a regional military defense system that incorporated all the Manchu cities. The system of the Manchu cities demonstrates a well-designed network of military strong points that defended the regime and its territory.

The Qing Manchurian rulers carried out a nationwide policy of ethnic segregation for the Han people and they included other residential areas for other peoples. The period constitutes an important phase in the history of human settlements and urban segregation. The Eight Banner forces were settled in Manchu cities as both soldiers and civilians. They served as soldiers from generation to generation, and they provided long-term military support for the local representatives of the Qing Dynasty. Manchu cities were also significant locations for displaying and disseminating cultural messages. The cities facilitated communication between various different ethnic groups and shared cultural spaces show evidence of a degree of culture amalgamation during the Qing. Ultimately, the most significant legacy of Manchu city planning was to bring about the integration of several ancient Asian groups and to pave the way for the foundation of the modern multicultural country of China.

Manchu city planning history also casts light on the planning and development of Chinese cities in modern times. City planning in the Qing Dynasty is closely related to that in modern China as they form two continual phases in Chinese city planning history.

Manchu city planning in the Qing Dynasty was large-scale urban planning and a significant cultural event in architectural history, and as a result, China and Mongolia still share a large number of related urban cultural heritage sites and historical memories. Many modern cities once operated as Manchu cities and a significant quantity of historical information has come down to the present day in cities such as Beijing, Shenyang, Xi'an, Jingzhou, and Guangzhou.

Because of the rapid urban development of Chinese cities in recent years, it is becoming more important for cities to learn about the culture and history of Manchu city planning within their city boundaries. Historical information, especially relating to city ruins, can be used to promote the effective use of the historical areas, to promote the teaching of history and culture in these areas. Those cities, towns, or villages, once selected as the location of a Manchu city, still retain numerous buildings from the old cities and the planned Manchu cities continue to have an influence upon the present day. The modern cities should not forget their historic past when they served as Manchu cities, and a growing appreciation of the cultural past will encourage more sustainable development in the future.

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The authors declared no conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and /or publication of this article.

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