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Power and Identity in the Qing Empire: A Study of the Political and Economic Life of the Elites through Confiscation Inventories 1700-1912

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DECLARATION

I certify that the thesis I have presented for examination for the PhD degree of the London School of Economics and Political Science is solely my own work other than where I have clearly indicated that it is the work of others (in which case the extent of any work carried out jointly by me and any other person is clearly identified in it).

I warrant that this authorisation does not, to the best of my belief, infringe the rights of any third party.

I declare that my thesis consists of <75, 331> words, excluding bibliography and indexes.

ABSTRACT

China has often been portrayed as a society that changed little for centuries before 1912. It was ruled by the same "Chinese" elite. Some equate "Chinese" culture with Han culture and the Han *minzu*, who form most of the inhabitants of today's China. Yet in the Qing empire, which lasted from 1644 to 1912, the state declared that their ruling elite, the Manchus, as a distinct cultural entity. Their banner army system included separate Manchu and Mongol branches as well as a Han branch. After their consolidation of the central plain, the Qing rulers allowed Han people to join the bureaucracy, but Manchu officials worked in parallel. The Qing categorized the people under their rule based on vague cultural categories, but what did it mean to be Manchu, Mongol or Han? Did the Manchu and Mongol bannermen become assimilated to the majority Han culture because they only constituted 3% of the population? Or did they retain an independent identity of their own? This thesis examines the cultural identity of the Qing empire's elite through the evidence of their possessions in order to understand whether the Qing regime was a Han empire or a multi-cultural empire.

Existing research on Qing elite group identity focusses predominantly on textual evidence. Yet material culture is one of the hallmarks of identity. People, whether literate or illiterate, use material culture as a powerful medium through which to express themselves, whether through their clothing, the furnishing and decoration of their domestic environment or their activities. This study exploits the confiscation inventories of 17 Mongolian and 96 Manchu bannermen, and 192 Han families (127 officials), reported in memorials housed in various East Asia archives. It combines a quantitative analysis of possessions recorded in the confiscation inventories with the study of the cultural resonances of these goods.

It argues that the ruling elite, in general, maintained their proto-ethnic cultural distinctiveness throughout the Qing period. In private, the non-banner Han elite decorated their houses in ways rooted in the Chinese book culture and literati taste that had persisted since the Song period. They owned silk, porcelain, ritual objects, and carvings. They possessed hundreds of volumes of Chinese books and practiced calligraphies and paintings. In contrast, Manchu and Mongol bannermen kept to a northern taste and way of life. They acquired gold utensils, metalware, rare court-controlled luxuries, and rare fur clothes. They

practiced martial arts and owned more horses and weapons than Han elite. When we look at their dress, at least in public, elite presented themselves as Qing subjects, following the Qing sumptuary requirement on style, but Han scholar officials also mimicked the garments and hunting accessories preferred by the Manchu and Mongol bannermen. The material cultural analysis provided in this thesis suggests that the Qing empire was a multi-cultural empire at the elite level, ruled by a culturally distinct group of Manchu and Mongol bannermen who sat at the top of the society.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

When the banner army led by Dorgon, the thirty-year-old son of Nurgaci,[1] marched into Beijing in 1644, the commoners saw strangers with a "distinctive material attire and paraphernalia and who wore their hair in a bizarre fashion…some spoke Chinese, some spoke Manchu, some spoke Mongol".[2] They struggled to understand who they were, but knew they were not locals. Li Zicheng (李自成), the general, addressed them as the "Manchu army."[3] This army had an appearance distinct from the Ming people.

We know much more about the political history of Qing China than its social and economic development.[4] We have access to detailed accounts of the great battles and revolutions Qing elite led and suppressed. But we know little about how they lived their lives. What clothes did they choose to wear? How did they decorate their houses and take care of their families and horses? Liang Qichao (梁啟超) once critically commented that the *Twenty-Four Histories,* a set of official chronicles*,* only tells the history of the imperial ruling house.[5] In modern scholarship, historians still focus heavily on charting great trends and studying more "impactful" events because of their "significance" in shaping the past. However, without understanding the social and economic life of Qing elite, certain fundamental questions regarding the Qing state cannot be answered: What was the cultural identity of Qing elite? Did the Qing government create a multi-cultural empire or merge into the Ming? What was the nature of the empire? This thesis examines the material identity of the Qing elite: namely, the Manchu and Mongol bannermen and Han officials and commoners, to further our understanding of the elite culture of Qing China.

The question of identity has been reimagined, reinvented, debated, and altered by the Qing rulers and modern scholars. Nurgaci, the mastermind behind this army, founded the Late

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[1] Kam Tak-sing, "The Romanization of the Early Manchu Regnal Names," ed. Juha Janhunen and Volker Rybatzki, *Writing in the Altaic World*, Studia Orientalia, 87 (Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 1999): 133–48.

[2] Susan Naquin, *Peking, Temples and City Life* (Berkeley, Calif; London: University of California Press, 2000), 289.

[3] "Li Zicheng watched the battle on a horse, remarked surprisingly: this is a Manchu army! 自成方立馬高岡觀戰，詫曰：「此滿洲兵也！」" Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽, *Qing Shigao* 清史稿 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 1998), Juan 474, Liezhuan 261, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=98755&remap=gb.

[4] Evelyn S. Rawski, "Presidential Address: Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 4 (1996): 831.

[5] Liang Qichao 梁啟超, *Xin Shixue* 新史學 (Beijing 北京: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館, 2014), 1.

Jin state in 1616. His son Hong Taiji renamed it to the Qing state in 1636. He had already rebranded the core peoples of the banner army as the Manchus in 1635. He ordered the creation of a written Manchu script based on the Mongolian script. The Manchus constituted 25% or less of the total banner population.[6] In 1634 and 1635, the government split the eight-banner army. In each banner, soldiers were assigned to one of three groups—the Manchu, Mongolian and Han branches. Pamela Crossley and numerous other scholars have depicted the mixed nature that existed within each of the cultural branches.[7] However, later emperors expected these vague cultural categories to reflect a coherent, homogeneous identity.[8] They imposed a series of cultural projects to reinforce the Manchu, Mongol, and Han cultures within the banners.[9] They also segregated bannermen from Han people in cities, establishing garrisons in strategic locations.

In addition, the Qing government also selected Han people as the other pillar of the core ruling elite. In the words of John K. Fairbank and Edward Rhodes, the Qing state employed a loose Manchu-Han dyarchy within officialdom.[10] Who were the Han people in the eyes of the Qing government? The Qing called the former Ming's subjects, constituting the majority of commoners, *Nikan* – that is, Han. It is tempting to translate *Nikan* as Ming Han people, but the meaning of this word has been debated by scholars for half a century. Chen Yinke (陳寅恪) suggests that *Nikan* may be derived from the Mongol word *Khatai*.[11] Manchu archival documents demonstrate that the Qing government called the Ming state

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[6] Mark C. Elliott, Cameron Campbell, and James Lee, "A Demographic Estimate of the Population of the Qing Eight Banners," *Études Chinoises: Bulletin de l'Association Française D'études Chinoises* 35, no. 1 (2016): 11.

[7] Du Jiaji 杜家驥 and Chen Shengxi 陳生璽, *Qingshi Yanjiu Gaishuo* 清史研究概說 (Tianjin: Tianjin Jiaoyu Chubanshe 天津教育出版社, 1991); Meng Sen 孟森, *Qingshi Jiangyi* 清史講義 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghuashuju 中華書局, 2006); Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F. Siu, and Donald S. Sutton, *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China*, Studies on China 28 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

[8] Mark C. Elliott, "Ethnicity in the Qing Eight Banners," in *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China*, ed. Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F. Siu, and Donald S. Sutton, Studies on China 28 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 27.

[9] Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

[10] John King Fairbank, "The Manchu-Chinese Dyarchy in the 1840's and '50's," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 12, no. 3 (1953): 265–78; Edward J. M. Rhoads, *Manchus [and] Han: Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861 - 1928*, Studies on Ethnic Groups in China (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).

[11] Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, "Yuandai Hanren Yiming Kao 元代漢人譯名考," *Jinmingguan Conggao Chubian* 金明館叢稿初編 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1980), 90–95.

nikan i gurun, and the frontier of the Ming, *nikan i jasei*.[12] At the very least, *Nikan* was used by the Qing imperial authority to indicate the civilisation that has lived on the other side of their frontier. Therefore, in the Qing government's eyes, the Han people were associated with the Ming and its particular political and social culture. However, the literature never presents convincing evidence as to whether the originally imprecise cultural categories assigned by the Qing—Manchu, Mongol, Han—reflected the actual cultures of its ruling elite. Yet, these vague categorization had a tremendous impact on the modern creation of *minzu* (民族), meaning ethnonational identity, in modern China.

Minzu probably derives from a Japanese translation of the German *das Volk*, meaning "nationality" or "a people."[13] The P.R. China inherited most of the territory of the Qing and formally employed a Stalinist definition of ethnicity, dividing its citizens into fifty-six *minzu*.[14] The Han, Manchus, and Mongols were all included among the *minzu*. Yet the homogeneity of these categories in modern China continues to be questioned by historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists.[15] The government of P.R. China further equated "Han", comprising over 90% of their citizens, with "Chinese" and employed a "civilising project" to portray all of its past histories and current territories as "Chinese" states and "Chinese" histories.[16]

Then, what is China? The word "China" entered European languages in the sixteenth century via Portuguese. However, it was not until the nineteenth century that the word "China" became the most common equivalent to *Zhongguo* (中国), the middle kingdom.[17] In Chinese

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[12] Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Questions about Ni- and Nikan," *Central Asiatic Journal, The Manchus and "Tartar" Identity in the Chinese Empire* 58, no. 1–2 (2015): 49.
[13] Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), Chapters 3 and 4; Jerry Dennerline, *Qian Mu and the World of Seven Mansions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 8–10; Jonathan Neaman Lipman, *Familiar Strangers: A History of Muslims in Northwest China* (Studies on Ethnic Groups in China) (University of Washington Press, 1997), xix.
[14] Thomas S. Mullaney, *Coming to Terms with the Nation, Ethnic Classification in Modern China* (California: University of California Press, 2011), 6.
[15] Thomas S. Mullaney, "Critical Han Studies: Introduction and Prolegomenon," in *Critical Han Studies, The History, Representation, and Identity of China's Majority*, ed. Thomas S. Mullaney et al. (California: University of California Press, 2012), 1–23; Lars Peter Laamann, *Critical Readings on the Manchus in Modern China* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Andrew C. Willford and Eric Tagliacozzo, *Clio/Anthropos: Exploring the Boundaries between History and Anthropology* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2009).
[16] Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), Chapter 1; Stevan Harrell, *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, Studies on Ethnic Groups in China (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995).
[17] Endymion Porter Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 84 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 191.

written records, the meaning of *Zhongguo* changed multiple times, as discussed by Wilkinson.[18] Yu Fengchun's (于逢春) article summarises modern scholarship's interpretation of "central kingdom."[19] He suggests that scholars should employ a cautious attitude when using *Zhongguo* to describe the past imperial states that ruled the East Asian central plain.

As the last imperial state, the Qing profoundly influenced the creation of modern China. However, the Qing government adopted multiple names besides China and the middle kingdom to describe their state. They also called themselves the Great Qing state*, amba cing gurun*, superb great Qing state, *amba dacin gurun*, and the Aisin state, *aisin gurun*.[20] The government and officials adopted these names for different situations. *The Secret Chronicles of the Manchu dynasty 1607-1637* state that during the early period of their reign, "the *Aisin/Daicing gurun* had three different subordinate state *gurun* (Ma. ilan gurun) within: *Nikan, Jurchen /Manju,* and *Mongol*". During the Kangxi and Yongzheng reign, Tulišan, a Manchu official, called the Qing *amba cing gurun*.[21] In the 19th century, the Qing government used the name *amba dacin gunrun* on diplomatic credentials presented to Great Britain.

Section 1.1 Nature of Qing Rule and Elite Identities

The importance of investigating "who is who" in Qing China can help us to understand the construction of *minzu* ethno-national units and the formation of modern China. Historians have reached contradictory conclusions to this question. The dominant trend in interpretation varied across the 20th and early 21st century because of the political developments in East Asia, the availability of primary sources, and scholars' interpretations of European concepts of nation, ethnicity, and European history. This changing trend was reflected in two of the presidential addresses to the Association for Asian Studies. In 1967, Ho-Pingti (何炳棣) argued that "the key to its [Qing] success was the adaptation by early Manchu rulers of a

[18] Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, 191.
[19] Yu Fengchun 于逢春, "'China' and 'the World' in the Perspective of Territory: Images of 'The Kingdom of the Central Plains' and 'The Central Kingdom'" 疆域視域中'中國'與'天下'、'中原王朝'与'中央政權'之影像, *Yunnan Shifan Daxue* 雲南師範大學 42, no. 1 (2010): 10–20.
[20] Kanda Nobuo (trans. and ed.), *Manbun Rōtō* 滿文老檔 *Tongki Fuka Sindaha Hergen-I Dangse* (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1956), vol 2, 569; The Qing Government, *Diplomatic Credential Presented by the Great Qing Empire's Overseas Survey Envoy to the Great British* (National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, 1875-1908).
[21] Zhuang Jifa 莊吉發, *Lakcaha jecen de takūraha babe ejehe bithei* 滿漢異域錄校注 (Taibei 台北: Wenshizhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社, 1983), 5.

policy of systematic sinization."[22] Thirty years later in 1996, Evelyn Rawski challenged this assumption, asserting that "its [Qing] success was a consequence of its hybrid origins. A non-Han conquest regime, it drew on multiple sources and adapted ideologies of rulership and administrative structures to the culture of subject peoples."[23]

Scholars have presented three general arguments: 1) Manchus were assimilated by the Han culture by the 1800s, and the Qing was a Chinese/Han empire. 2) The Manchus retained their identity as the ruling elite, and Qing was a Manchu, non-Chinese/Han empire, an inner Asia empire. The Qing government employed dualism in governance and elite culture, and Manchus maintained their Manchu ways. 3) Qing was a multi-cultural empire where the boundaries between peoples remained blurred.

Under the first group of arguments, scholars apply a Sinocentric view to the Qing state. In particular, they assign a "Chinese" cultural identity to Confucianism, and assume Confucian scholars must be Han Chinese. They examine the "Chinese" imperial rituals and decorations of the Qing emperors and scrutinise the "Chinese" behaviours of the Qing ruling house and other elite. Wang Rongzu (汪榮祖), for example, argues that the Qing was a Chinese regime because the government obeyed Confucian traditions, emphasised filial piety, and, most importantly, the emperors in the Qing never declared themselves to be non-Chinese rulers.[24] In this view, Qing history is inseparable from the history of the Chinese.[25] Gan Dexing (甘德星) studies the will of the Kangxi emperor. He finds that the Kangxi emperor declared himself to be *Huangdi* (皇帝), not Khan, in both Manchu and Chinese versions of the edict.[26] Qianlong also saw himself as the Son of Heaven, built a library of scholarly studies of China, and wrote commentaries on the history of all previous dynasties.[27] Huang Pei (黃培) claims that the transition from Manchus carrying hunting bags to carrying delicate wallets

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[22] Ho Ping-Ti, "The Significance of the Ch'ing Period in Chinese History," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 2 (1967): 191.
[23] Rawski, Presidential Address: Reenvisioning the Qing, 842.
[24] Wang Rongzu 汪榮祖, *Qing Diguo Xingzhi de Zai Shangque: Huiying Xinqingshi* 清帝國性質的再商榷：回應新清史 (Taibei 台北: Yuanliu Chubanshe 源流出版社, 2014).
[25] Wang Rongzu, Qing Diguo Xingzhi de Zai Shangque, 6.
[26] Gan Dexing 甘德星, "Kangxi Yizhaozhong suojian Daqing Huangdi de Zhongguo Guan 康熙遗诏中所见大清皇帝的中国观," in *Qing Diguo Xingzhi de Zai Shangque: Huiying Xinqingshi* 清帝國性質的再商榷：回應新清史 (Taibei 台北: Yuanliu Chubanshe 源流出版社, 2014), 109.
[27] Li Aiyong, "New Qing History and the Problem of "Chinese Empire"—Another Impact and Response?" *Contemporary Chinese Thought* 47 ((2016): 21.

signalled the assimilation of Manchus into Han culture.[28] However, he uses only scattered evidence from material culture. Scholars in this group equate the behaviours of the state and members of the imperial house with the ruling culture and assume the natural existence of the Han group and culture, unquestioningly associating "Han" with "Chinese."

The second group of scholars scrutinise the "non-Han/non-Chinese" behaviours of the Qing elite. Decades apart, both Karl Wittfogel and Mark Elliott proposed that the Manchus were not assimilated into Han culture as they spoke their own language, had distinct personal names (i.e., the founder Nurgaci's name means the skin of a wild boar, unheard of by Han elite, who usually have elegant and carefully chosen names).[29] The Qing state also conquered traditionally "non-Han ruled areas" colonising the frontiers.[30] In this view, the Manchus maintained their identity until the fall of the Qing because the government continued to produce Manchu documentation and the Manchus continued to practice their language and archery. Even when Manchu bannerman spoke Chinese, "they invariably spoke a particular Beijing dialect. That is, their speech, while not Manchu, nevertheless continued to mark a clear difference between them and the surrounding Han population."[31] This group of scholars also associates the behaviours of the state and imperial house with the nature of Qing rule and assumes the natural existence of the Manchu group identity. However, like the first group, they provide only scattered evidence on the cultural behaviour of the Manchu bannermen.

The third group of historians disagrees with both of these interpretations. One of the founding fathers of Qing institutional studies, Meng Sen (孟森), rejects the view that the Qing was entirely Manchu. He traces the tribal and personal background of Nurgaci and his fellow Tungusic people from the Chosŏn veritable records. He affirms that Nurgaci was the leader of the Jurchen tribes who lived in and near Jianzhou. In his letter to the Chosŏn state, Nurgaci used the seal of *Jianzhou Zuowei* (建州左卫) of the Ming, indicating that he was a member

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[28] Huang Pei 黃培, *Reorienting the Manchus: A Study of Sinicization, 1583-1795* (Ithaca (N.Y.): East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2011), introduction.
[29] Mark Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 241-246, 468-469.
[30] James A. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005); Liu Lydia He, *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004); Max Oidtmann, *Forging the Golden Urn: The Qing Empire and the Politics and the Politics of Reincarnation in Tibet* (Columbia University, 2018); James Louis Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995).
[31] Mark Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 304.

of the Ming military before he "rebelled."[32] However, the banner system should not be considered a system created by the emperor to accentuate Manchu identity. In Meng's view, the Qing state established the eight banners as an inclusive federal system to include diverse cultural components such as Mongols, Hans, Russians, and Tibetans.[33]

The Qing ruling strategies and ruling images changed multiple times.[34] The emperors differed in their attitude towards their subjects and the diplomatic image they aimed to project to foreigners. Indeed, they maintained a very fluid and sometimes contradictory approach. They sometimes presented themselves as religious rulers to Mongols and Tibetans, as demonstrated by Nicola Di Cosmo and Johan Elverskog.[35] They also declared themselves to be "khan," having inherited the golden blood from the former Mongol emperors. The Qing imperial family married more than 300 Mongol princesses.[36] Qing monarchs also learned Chinese and mastered every art form related to the Chinese language. The Yongzheng Emperor even published a book to explain and justify his righteous morality as a ruler "all under heaven" *tianxia* (天下).[37]

From local and regional studies such as those by Susan Naquin on Beijing, Jonathan Lipman on northwest China, Evelyn Rawski on northeast China, William Rowe on Hankou, and Bryna Goodman, Lian Linling (連琳玲), and Emily Honig on Shanghai, we learn that many "Chinese" people spoke more than one language; and "different" groups intermarried.[38] They identified and organised themselves based on religion, occupation, native-place sentiments, and gender. This phenomenon occurred not only in the capital and frontiers, but

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[32] Meng, *Mingqingshi jiangyi*, 370.
[33] Meng Sen 孟森, "Baqi Zhidu Kaoshi 八旗制度考實", *Shiyusuo Jikan* 史語所集刊, Vol 6, Part 3, 1936.
[34] Pamela Kyle Crossley, *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations and the End of the Qing World* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1990), Introduction Chapter.
[35] Nicola Di Cosmo and Dalizhabu Bao, *Manchu-Mongol Relations on the Eve of the Qing Conquest: A Documentary History* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Johan Elverskog, *Our Great Qing: The Mongols, Buddhism and the State in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).
[36] Du Jiaji 杜家驥, *Qingchao Manmeng Lianyin Yanjiu* 清朝滿蒙聯姻研究 (Beijing 北京: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社, 2003).
[37] Aisin Gioro In Jen, *Dayi Juemi Lu* 大義覺迷錄 (Beijing 北京: Wenwu chubanshe 文書出版社, 2020).
[38] William T. Rowe, *Hankow: Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796-1895.* (Stanford: University Press, 1989); Lipman, *Familiar Strangers*; Naquin, *Peking, Temples and City Life*; Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853-1937* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995); Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Early Modern China and Northeast Asia: Cross-Border Perspectives*, Asian Connections (Cambridge: University Press, 2015); Emily Honig, *Creating Chinese Ethnicity: Subei People in Shanghai, 1850-1980* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Ling-ling Lien, "Searching for the 'New Womanhood': Career Women in Shanghai, 1912–1945," PhD diss., (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2001), https://search.proquest.com/docview/304687761?pq-origsite=primo.

also in areas supposedly characterised by homogeneity within that vast category of "Han people," for instance as demonstrated by studies on Hakka and Subei "Han" people.[39]

In this dissertation, I characterise Manchu, Han, and Mongol cultural groups as proto-ethnic groups for two reasons. From a historical perspective, the theories of nation, ethnicity, and race derive from Europe. They were imported to China during the late Qing. People who lived in early and mid-Qing did not acquire the European definition of these concepts. From an interdisciplinary and social science perspective, ethnic identity denotes a reciprocal relationship established between a group and an individual, which requires both parties to express their relationship through explicit statements and acts of identification.[40] The families examined in this study did not explicitly self-identify as part of a cultural group; as there are no written records indicating this. Rather, the state assigned them an identity in the memorials and other official documents. According to this study, they also implicitly identified themselves via material culture. This one-way relationship was stronger than the vague definition of "cultural identity" but weaker than that of the "ethnic identity."

This thesis examines culture in a concrete way, connecting the abstract notion of culture to a "material basis."[41] It studies the material ownership of Qing officials and elite by scrutinising confiscation inventories and the cultural meaning behind objects. Social, cultural, economic, and political status shape people's choices of consumption and material culture. This thesis advances our understanding of the nature of Qing empire and the Qing rule by investigating elite's material culture in the public and private spheres.

Section 1.2 Material Culture and Consumption Literature

Historians of East Asia have rarely taken material culture as the focus of their research. A small but emerging interdisciplinary literature began to grow in the 1980s. I use material culture as my main subject of inquiry because East Asian elite historically valued material culture. Luxury goods played a significant role in expressing social and political status. The

[39] Honig, *Creating Chinese Ethnicity*; Nicole Constable, *Guest People, Hakka Identity in China and Abroad* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005).
[40] Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity, Fourth Edition., Key Ideas* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014), 18; Walter Pohl, "Introduction — Strategies of Identification: A Methodological Profile," in *Strategies of Identification, Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Gerda Heydemann and Walter Pohl, vol. 13 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers n.v., 2013), 2.
[41] Gustav F Klemm, *Allgemeine Culturwissenschaft* (Leipzig: Romberg, 1854).

Ming Qing burgeoning commercial activities supported an increasing trend towards luxury consumption.

Elite in East Asia developed a positive view towards consumption and profits from the Song and Ming periods onwards. Qing elite increasingly acquired luxury objects to display their economic and political status. Early generation of scholars such as Yu Yingshi (余英時) argued that many Song and Ming officials had a positive attitude towards commerce, consumption, merchants, and profits because, when faced with the practicality of managing the welfare of a state, commercial activities proved useful.[42] Merchants also gradually increased their status in society through three methods: marrying officials, cultivating their sons to become officials, and purchasing titles.[43] Fu Yiling (傅衣凌) pioneered research on the Qing consumption trends. He claimed that both elite and commoners increasingly consumed luxurious objects.[44]

Multiple studies examining the consumption trend and material culture of different regions in Qing reach the same conclusion. For instance, Antonia Finnane and Ho Ping-ti (何炳棣) scrutinise the luxurious lifestyle of Yangzhou salt merchants. Finnane provides a detailed case study of Yangzhou architecture, vividly describing the luxurious houses built by salt merchants.[45] To address the increasing awareness and interest in luxury goods, Hsu Wen-chen analyses urban consumption in Jingdezhen (景德鎮), the porcelain factory town. Elite are described as having "a high level of interest in material goods and a marked attention to household décor."[46]

Although Wu Renshu (巫仁恕) mainly writes about Jiangnan, his recent work on the theft records of Ba county in Sichuan province, the movement for preserving precious Chinese

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[42] Yu Yingshi 余英時,*Song ming li xue yu zheng zhi wen hua* 宋明理學與政治文化 (Taibei 台北: Yunchen wenhua 允晨文化 , 2004).
[43] Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), Chapter 17.
[44] Fu Yiling 傅衣凌, *Ming Qing Shehui jingjishi lun wenji di yi ban* 明清社會經濟史論文集第一版 (Beijing 北京: Shangwu yinshu guan 商務印書館, 2017); Li Bozhong 李伯重, *Agricultural Development in Jiangnan, 1620-1850* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).
[45] Antonia Finnane, "Chinese Domestic Interiors and Consumer Constraint in Qing China: Evidence from Yangzhou," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient 57*, no. 1 (2014):112.
[46] Hsu Wen-Chin, "Social and Economic Factors in the Chinese Porcelain Industry in Jingdezhen during the Late Ming and Early Qing Period, Ca. 1620-1683", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 120, no. 1 (1988): 135-159; Wu Renshu 巫仁恕, *Youyou fangxiang: mingqing jiangnan chenshi de xiuxian xiaofei yu kongjian Bianqian* 優游坊廂：明清江南城市的休閑消費與空間變遷 (Taibei 台北: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo 中央研究院近代史研究所, 2017).

characters, and women's consumption demonstrates the increasingly luxurious consumption patterns in Qing. Wu finds that women in Jiangnan not only enjoyed consuming luxury goods but also actively went shopping on the streets.[47] Another essay explains the advertisement method employed by merchants to resolve the dilemma of using Chinese characters, which some gentry regarded as holding sacred power, in "inappropriate" wrapping.[48] The merchants created decorative words mimicking beautiful papercuts and advertised their products as having auspicious properties. Wu's examination of Sichuanese county records demonstrates the rising value of stolen goods.[49] Some of these goods equalled the daily wage of an artisan in Sichuan, although the victims claimed these items were not expensive.[50]

Lai Huimin (賴惠敏) studies imperial consumption. She tracks down the purchasing orders made by the emperor Qianlong by scrutinising the Imperial Household Department records.[51] His yearly orders amounted to tens of thousands of silver taels. The records also demonstrate that a wide range of domestic and foreign luxury goods were acquired by the state. Lai has also conducted a series of studies on luxury objects including fur, coral, and metalware.[52] Each of the case studies analyses not only the production techniques but also the consumption patterns. All accentuate the importance of luxury goods in court and elite circles.[53]

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[47] Wu Renshu, "Shi shang wenhua de chongtu yu tiaohe, 35-38.

[48] Wu Renshu 巫仁恕, "Shi shang wenhua de chongtu yu tiaohe cong guanggaozizhi kan qingdai xiaofei shehui yu wenhuashi zhi yimianxiang 士、商文化的衝突與調和—從廣告字紙看清代消費社會與文化史之一面相," in *Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo Jikan* 100 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 (2018): 1-45.

[49] Wu Jen-shu 巫仁恕 and Wang Dagang 王大綱, "A Preliminary Study of Local Consumption in the Qianlong Reign (1736–1796): The Case of Ba County in Sichuan Province" in *Living the Good Life: Consumption in the Qing and Ottoman Empires of the Eighteenth Century*, (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 197-199.

[50] Wu and Wang, A Preliminary Study of Local Consumption in the Qianlong Reign, 209-211.

[51] Lai Huimin 賴惠敏, *Qianlong huangdi de hebao* 乾隆皇帝的荷包 (Taibei 台北: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiu Chubanshe 中央研究院近代史研究出版社, 2014).

[52] Wu Renshu 巫仁恕, *Shechi de nvren: Mingqing shiqi Jiangnan de xiaofei wenhua* 奢侈的女人：明清時期江南的消費文化 (Taibei 台北: Sanmin Shuju 三民書局, 2005).

[53] Lai Huimin 賴惠敏 and Su Dezheng 蘇德徵, "Qingchao gongting yong xi de laiyuan yu gongyi jishu 清朝宮廷用錫的來源與工藝技術", *Xinshixue* 新史學 no. 3 (2019): 75-145. Lai Huimin 賴惠敏, "Qingdai wulianghai de gongdiao yu shangmao huodong 清代烏梁海的貢貂與商貿活動", *Jilin shifandaxue xuebao* 吉林師範大學學報 No. 4 (2019): 9-17; Lai Huimin 賴惠敏 and Su Dezheng 蘇德徵, "Qianlong gongting dujin de cailiao yu gongyi jishu 乾隆朝宮廷鍍金的材料與工藝技術", *Gugong Xueshu Jikan* 故宮學術集刊 35, Vol 3 (2018): 141-178.

As Peter Bol describes, material culture played a significant role in creating the literati culture, the *shi* (仕) or *shenshi* (紳士) identity, a scholar-official class that emerged after the introduction of the civil service examination policy around late Tang and the Song period.[54] They took pride in mastering past histories, practicing calligraphy, and collecting antiques. This literati culture continued into Ming and Qing, according to Craig Clunas and Richard Smith,[55] who examine textual evidence and employ qualitative analysis.

Commodity studies further illustrate the rich material culture of East Asia. Scholars analyse significant objects that changed ways of life such as opium, tobacco, silk, fur, ginseng, timber, and pork.[56] Opium, for example, eventually caused a major crisis in the Qing, though it had been a luxury good only enjoyed by the rich and the Ming court prior to this period. It had a beautiful name in the Ming period, *A Fu Rong* (阿芙蓉). During the Qing, consuming opium became a status symbol. Zheng Yangwen (鄭揚文) finds that the theory of culture and taste developed by Pierre Bourdieu best depicts this process.[57] In Zheng's analysis, taste denotes class, and Qing elite constantly wanted to distinguish themselves from the commoners. Opium thus provides a perfect example: "When the rich smoked it, it was cultured and a status symbol; when the poor began to inhale, opium smoking became degrading and ultimately criminal."[58] Harriet T. Zurndorfer investigates the transformation of textile consumption from the ancient period to the Qing, from wearing silk and hemp to cotton due to the influence of nomadic cultures during the Mongol period.[59]

Wu Tang traces the change in using chairs from the Han period to the Song dynasty (960B.C.-1279B.C.). Before A.D.1, central plain people never developed any furniture

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[54] Peter Bol, *'This Culture of Ours': Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (California: Stanford University Press, 1992).
[55] Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); Richard J. Smith, *The Qing Dynasty and Traditional Chinese Culture* (Lanham; Boulder ; New York ; London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).
[56] Seonmin Kim, "Ginseng and Border Trespassing Between Qing China and Chosŏn Korea," *Late Imperial China* 28, no. 1 (2007): 33–61; Jonathan Schlesinger, *A World Trimmed with Fur: Wild Things, Pristine Places, and the Natural Fringes of Qing* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2017); Ian M. Miller, *Fir and Empire: The Transformation of Forests in Early Modern China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020).
[57] Zheng Yangwen 鄭揚文, *The Social Life of Opium in China* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 7.
[58]Zheng, *The Social Life of Opium in China,* 7.
[59] Harriet Thelma Zundorfer, "The Resistant Fibre: Cotton Textiles in Imperial China," in *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850*, edited by Prasannan Parthasarathi and Giorgio Riello (Delhi: Primus Books, 2012), 45.

comparable to chairs or stools because of the traditional attitude of "valuing the group rather than the individual."[60] A close relative to the chair appeared at the same time—*Hu Chuang* (胡床) from the northern nomads and the throne chair *Sheng Chuang* (繩床) used by the Buddhists.[61] By the 12th century, the central plain elite had fully adopted the chair.[62] These studies narrate the adaptation of specific goods that Qing people eventually consumed.

While single commodity studies accentuate the movement of goods and their adaptations, archaeological and art historical studies find that East Asian elite developed geographically and culturally rooted preferences for particular goods and clothing styles.[63] For instance, the archaeological reports show that the Han emperors favoured lacquerware and silk clothes; while nomadic generals preferred gold and jade belts with specific patterns.[64] Material culture also mattered for state building in the East Asia central plain. The Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing governments all tried to regulate social expressions of hierarchy and political loyalty through sumptuary laws and other policies.[65] These scholarly works give me confidence in using material culture as a main subject of investigation. East Asian elite developed a complex and multifaceted material culture, and elite from different social backgrounds acquired luxury objects to display their power and identity.

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[60] Wu Tang, "From Imported Nomadic Seat to Chinese Folding Armchair," *Boston Museum Bulletin 71*, no. 363 (1973): 36.
[61] Wu, "From Imported "Nomadic Seat" to Chinese Folding Armchair," 37.
[62] Wu, "From Imported "Nomadic Seat" to Chinese Folding Armchair," 37.
[63] Yang Qingfan 楊清凡, *Zangzu fushi shi* 藏族服饰史 (Xining 西寧: Qinghai renmin chubanshe 青海人民出版社, 2003); Tomoko Torimaru 鳥丸知子 and Jiang Yuqiu 蔣玉秋, *Yizhen yixian: Guizhou Miaozu fushi gongyi 一針一線: 貴州苗族服飾手工藝* (Beijing 北京: Zhongguo fangzhi chubanshe 中國方志出版社, 2018); Li Rengpu 李仁溥, *Zhongguo gudai fangzhi shigao* 中國古代紡織史稿 (Changha 長沙: Yuelu shushe 岳麓書社, 1983); Li Yuebo 李躍波, *The clothes and ornaments of Yunnan ethnic groups* 雲南民族服飾 (Kunming 昆明: Yunnan minzu chubanshe 雲南民族出版社, 2000); Marina Mikhailovna Sodnompilova, "Luxury in Nomadic Culture: Women's Jewelry as a Marker of the Cultural Identity of the Central Asia Nomads," *Bulletin of the Irkutsk State University. Geoarchaeology, Ethnology, and Anthropology Series.* 24 (n.d.): 93–105; Ekaterina Barinova, "China Influence on Material Culture of South Siberia in pre-Mongol Period, ВЛИЯНИЕ КИТАЯ НА КУЛЬТУРУ НАРОДОВ ЮЖНОЙ СИБИРИ В ДОМОНГОЛЬСКОЕ ВРЕМЯ," *RUDN Journal of Russian History*, no. 3 (2012): 99–113; Elena B Barinova, "The Problem of Contacts between China and the Peoples of Central Asia in Pre-Mongol Period in Domestic and Foreign Studies of XIX–XX Centuries, Проблема Контактов Китая с Народами Центральной АЗии в Домонгольский Период в ОтечественныХ и ЗарубеЖныХ ИсследованияХ XIX–XX," *Гуманитарные Исследования в Восточной Сибири и На Дальнем Востоке*, no. 3 (2012): 76–83.
[64] He Jiejun 何介鈞, *Changsha Mawangdui Ersanhao Hanmu* 長沙馬王堆二.三號漢墓 (Beijing 北京: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 2004); Zhu Xing 褚馨, "Weijin nanbeichao yuqi yanjiu 魏晉南北朝玉器研究" (Art History Ph.D., The Chinese University of Hongkong, 2010).
[65] Shen Congwen 沈從文, *Zhongguo Gudai Fushi Yanjiu* 中國古代服飾研究 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shudian chubanshe 上海書店出版社, 2005).

Furthermore, the extensive literature on global material culture tells us that material culture provided a fundamental way for cultural, religious, and national groups to distinguish themselves. Elite luxury consumption, particularly the ruling elite's preferences, influenced patterns of assimilation, technological invention, and the trickle down of taste. Early pioneers such as Thorstein Veblen, Fernand Braudel, Nobert Elias, and Jean Baudrillard investigated social, economic, and political changes in society by studying material culture. They invented new vocabularies to describe consumer behaviour.[66]

Veblen coined the term conspicuous consumption—consumers acquiring luxury goods as a public display of economic power during the turn of the 20th century.[67] Three decades later, Elias traced the historical development of European court culture. He highlighted a correlation between changing consumption and material culture and the transformation of European society from "martial" to "civil."[68] Baudrillard invented the theory of the sign value of goods and built a framework for scholars to study and describe the meanings and values behind objects. He contended that an object has four values: use value, economic exchange value, sign exchange value, and symbolic exchange value.[69] The former two coin the practical and nominal market value of objects. The latter two describe abstract meanings behind objects.

Baudrillard's theory anticipated the two directions scholars pursued to investigate material culture in the latter half of the 20th century. One group of scholars study the economic impacts engendered by changes in consumption trend and material culture. For instance, Richard Goldthwaite and Susan Mosher Stuard investigate the material culture of the high Renaissance.[70] Although during the pre-modern period only elite could afford luxury goods, they stimulated the city dwellers' desire to consume because luxury goods passed through the hands of merchants and could be seen by other commoners.[71] This paved the way for later changes in consumption patterns. The social relationships of goods also shifted in price, as

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[66] Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism: 15th-18th Century* (London: Collins, 1981).
[67] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Oxford: University Press, 2007).
[68] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978).
[69] Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* (St. Louis, MO.: Telos Press, 1981), 123.
[70] Richard Goldthwaite, "The Renaissance Economy," 659–75; Richard Goldthwaite, "The Economic and Social World of Italian Renaissance Maiolica," *Renaissance Quarterly 42*, no. 1 (1989): 1–32.
[71] Susan Mosher Stuard, *Gilding the Market : Luxury and Fashion in Fourteenth Century Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 11-12.

demonstrated in *The Material Renaissance.*[72] According to Neil McKendrick and John Brewer, a consumption revolution was triggered in Europe, which pre-dated the industrial revolution of the 18th century.[73] The desire to consume changed both working and consumption habits.[74] Jan De Vries claims that an "industrious revolution" occurred in Europe— commoners worked harder to earn more as result of wanting to consume new luxury goods.[75]

Cultural historians and sociologists have investigated the cultural motivations underpinning European consumption habits. Pierre Bourdieu and Eric Hobsbawm demonstrated how groups and individuals exploited status goods to invent and retain their own "traditions" in France and Britain. Colin Campbell tied the rise of consumption to the romantic movement. The expression of desire was no longer demonised but expressed through consumption practices. Cosimo Perrotta embarked on a grand journey, tracing the ideological history of consumption from Aristotle to the early modern period. Luxury goods were transformed from a tool for leaders to maintain social order by demonstrating their superior status to the engines of economic and commercial development in Europe.[76] They gradually lost their official status as markers of power and might, but remained connected to the high culture, luring people to desire and possess them.

Consumer experience not only divides a society but also unites people by creating a common experience. It helped to consolidate the "imagined society" in the United States. British colonists sympathised with the experience of Bostonians who opposed the tea tax because of their shared experience of tea consumption. It indirectly fuelled the independence movement.[77] Foreign goods in China also influenced the creation of Chinese national identity.

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[72] Michelle O'Malley, and Evelyn S. Welch, *The Material Renaissance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).
[73] Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and John Harold Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa, 1982); John Brewer and Roy Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1992).
[74] McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*; Jan De Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behaviour and the Household Economy,1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), Chapter 4; Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches : An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004).
[75] Jan De Vries, *The Industrious Revolution.*
[76] Cosimo Perrotta, *Consumption as an Investment I: The Fear of Goods from Hesiod to Adam Smith* (London: Routledge, 2004).
[77] Timothy H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

In 1905, the first major national boycott of foreign goods took place in the late Qing, inspired by the San Francisco Chinese "benevolent associations" and their opposition to racist, exclusionary American policies towards "Orientals." During the Republican period, Chinese people expressed their national sentiment by boycotting foreign goods.[78]

Three critical interdisciplinary works further show that the theory of consumption applies to numerous societies across time: *Consumption and the World of Goods, The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, and *Living the Good Life: Consumption in the Qing and Ottoman Empires of the Eighteenth Century*.[79] The first two predominantly focus on Europe. The former is a response to Neil McKendrick's work on the consumption revolution, providing vivid case studies on distinct motives for consumption among men and women. *The Oxford History* strives to include areas outside Europe including Ming China, democratic Athens, and parts of Africa. The final book, the most recent which was published in 2017, includes seventeen essays on Ottoman and Qing empire's material culture. Although most studies focus on only one city, one area, or one family, these studies reveal pluralistic developments in world material culture.

Section 1.3 Research Objectives and Structure of the Thesis

I have chosen to mainly examine the inventories of Qing elite to study material culture because ownership sources provide direct evidence on material culture. The confiscation inventories are the only systematically produced inventories of Qing people who survive in large numbers to the present day. While making the inventories, the officials documented household assets in great detail, including the quantity and make of goods, colours, added gems, kilns, and sometimes also prices. The other inventories created in the pre-modern world, such as the probate and auction lists found in Europe and the Mughal empire, cannot compete with the details noted in the Qing confiscation inventories. Unlike probate lists, confiscation inventories are not affected by life cycle. These families were confiscated often during their peak moments of life. Confiscation punishment was a tool utilized by the emperor for

[78] Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 224.
[79] Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*; Frank Trentmann, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Elif Akçetin and Suraiya Faroqhi, *Living the Good Life: Consumption in the Qing and Ottoman Empires of the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

investigation and for maximising threat, reminding people of their imperial power. The inventories provide an opportunity to conduct an unbiased analysis of elite material culture.

In this study, I examine 305 Qing elite families' confiscation inventories, presenting the largest and most detailed body to date of cross-cultural and regional primary evidence on Qing elite material ownership (Appendix II). These sources have been used by Yun Yan (雲妍), Chen Zhiwu (陳志武), and Lin Zhan (林展) to study the financial portfolio of elite, but not their material culture.[80] I have also collected almost twice as many inventories as used in any previous study.

The confiscation inventories were reported in secret memorials *Zouzhe* (奏折) as part of the punishment of confiscation used by the Qing emperors. I scrutinised all the memorials published by the No.1. Archive in Beijing and the National Palace Museum in Taiwan. I also visited sixteen East Asian archives where memorials can be found, as recommended in Feng Erkang's (冯尔康) book on *Qing historical materials* (清史史料學). I surveyed all accessible memorials. I found 2800 reports in the No.1 Archives, 800 reports in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, 15 reports in the Sichuan Ba County archive, 30 reports in the Liaoning provincial archive, and 4 reports in the Tōyō Bunko on confiscation. I hand-copied them from the archives and then digitised them, using computer algorithms, to build an inventory data base with 29233 entries.

The chronicles and historical sources recorded a total of 2573 confiscations while memorials reported 600 detailed cases, of which 305 noted the inventories. These include inventories of 17 Mongolian, 96 Manchu bannermen, and 193 Han families. Among the Han families, 127 were officials and the remaining 66 were commoners. The majority of the confiscated families were elite: officials, bannermen, and wealthy commoners. The results of this study thus apply only to the affluent classes, not to commoners.

Combining the inventory data with chronicles and primary accounts, I also investigate the historical cultural meaning behind goods. For this research, I make use of the Erudition archive, containing 10,000 titles and more than 300 gb of gazetteers, which amounts to over 20,000 volumes. I exploit sources housed in sixteen provincial libraries in China, the

[80] Yun Yan 雲妍, Chen Zhiwu 陳志武, and Lin Zhan 林展, "Qingdai guanshen jiating zichan jiegou yiban tezheng chutan, yi chaojia dangan wei zhongxin de yanjiu 清代官紳家庭資產結構一般特征初探，以抄家檔案為中心的研究," *Jinrong Yanjiu* 金融研究, no. 02 (2018): 61–81.

Academia Sinica libraries, the National Library of China, the National Diet Library in Japan, the British Library, and the SOAS library. I also draw on archaeological, anthropological, and art historical studies to analysis the meaning of goods.

By studying the Qing material culture from an interdisciplinary perspective, this dissertation builds bridges across Qing social-economic history, art history, political history, ethnic history, and digital humanity studies. The dissertation is divided into three parts. Part I, which includes this chapter and the next, introduces the topic, sources, and methodologies. Part II, comprising chapters 3 and 4, scrutinises the household decorations of the confiscated families. Part III of the thesis, consisting of chapters 5 and 6, discusses dress and foreign goods to investigate the collective material culture and power dynamics of Qing elite.

I argue there existed a cultural dualism between a united Qing culture and distinct proto-ethnic cultures. The Qing elite in general maintained their proto-ethnic cultural distinction throughout the Qing period. The inventories testify that the state-defined categories had cultural implications for ruling and affluent elite in the Qing. I found only very low levels of material cultural assimilation among Manchu and Mongol bannermen. In private, Han elite acquired the literati cultural taste, practiced Chinese book cultures, and possessed a wealth of luxury goods traditionally produced and used by previous central plain elite, including silk, porcelain, and bamboo furniture. The Han scholar-officials collected antiques, renowned Chinese calligraphy and paintings, books, and ritual objects. Affluent Han commoners mimicked their taste. Less affluent commoners did not participate in collecting expensive antiques but owned expensive silk and porcelainware.

By contrast, Manchu and Mongol bannermen acquired an abundance of gold utensils, jade, rare court-controlled luxuries, and rare fur clothes. They thus maintained their northern material preferences and enjoyed court luxuries. Instead of reading hundreds of Chinese books, they practiced martial arts and owned many more horses and weapons in comparison with Han elite. Less affluent Manchu and Mongol bannermen followed the tastes of their affluent banner colleagues rather than those of Han elite.

In Qing, elite could use power to “buy” goods that money could not buy. Even though the total wealth of high officials in general remained much lower than that of the confiscated Han commoners, they acquired substantially more luxurious and rare goods and lived a more

comfortable life. Confiscation inventories documented the material wealth of these officials at a certain moment, not their capacity to grant favours or their social power.

The inventories also reveal the social hierarchies of society, where Manchu and Mongol bannermen were situated at the top. When comparing avid Manchu and Mongol bannermen collectors to Han, the former win the game. The policy of allowing them to settle in garrisons during the 19th century encouraged them to own status goods that related to their proto-ethnic identity. They were heavily influenced by the taste of the court. They had access to imperially controlled goods and dominated male fashion in public. Han scholar-officials who passed the provincial civil service examination or higher and occupied a government post above the third tier ranked second in terms of social hierarchy. They also owned imperially controlled goods, albeit in much smaller quantities. They mimicked the clothing fashions of Manchu bannermen, wearing rare fur clothes and *banzhi* (扳指) archery rings. At home, however, they decorated their houses in accordance with the Han literati taste, not the Manchu taste. As for the Han commoners, only families who owned assets above 1 million silver taels imitated the literati taste of the scholar-officials. The remaining who were less affluent purchased substitutions of luxury goods favoured by the Han scholar-officials. They owned copper utensils instead of gold utensils and white copper utensils instead of silver utensils. They acquired bamboo furniture instead of hardwood furniture.

Despite these differences, in public Qing elite did share some similarities in clothing styles and preferences for foreign goods. The Qing government succeeded in changing the wardrobe of the central plain elite. All confiscated families wore similar hybrid Qing-invented clothing styles, obeying the state's sumptuary requirements, and presented themselves as Qing subjects. However, the weak enforcement of sumptuary laws incentivised elite to wear clothing materials above their rank. Manchu and Mongol bannermen preferred luxurious fur clothes and dragon robes. The dragon robe in this thesis refers to a pattern of dragon that has four toes instead of five. *The Great Qing Legal Code* regulated that only the emperor could use a five-toed dragon pattern. None of the confiscated families owned the imperial dragon robe except for Li Shiyao (李侍堯), the purchaser of the Qianlong emperor who presumably bought them for the imperial family.

Han high rank scholar-officials followed their taste, while less affluent Han commoners preferred silk dress. Women also wore female versions of official embroidered

robes and dragon robes. They dressed as luxuriously as their husband and followed the taste associated with political rank and proto-ethnic identity. Yet they owned far fewer luxurious robes than the men. On average, one quarter of clothes in families belonged to women and the rest belonged to men.

The Qing elite exhibited a very open attitude to foreign goods, contrary to traditional assumptions. The majority of affluent Han officials and bannermen owned a variety of foreign luxury goods including clocks, watches, foreign lacquerware, foreign porcelain, and glassware in the 18th and 19th century. In the 18th century, these luxury goods entered Qing as gifts from afar. The merchants and foreign diplomats brought them from Europe, Japan, the New World, and Russia. This taste trickled down to the bannermen in the 19th century but not to the less affluent Han elite. In general, the ruling elite owned them. They were open to foreign ways of living and incorporated these objects into their daily lives. This open culture indirectly facilitated the late Qing and efforts to modernise the republic.

CHAPTER 2. CONFISCATION PROCEDURE AND METHODOLOGY

The Roman,[81] Mughal,[82] and Qing Empire,[83] the European Union[84] and modern nation states[85] all adopted confiscation practices as a governing tool. This involves confiscating assets from individuals to achieve a variety of political and economic objectives. Unlike those states that rely on the rule of law,[86] absolute monarchs utilised confiscation for political purposes and collecting revenues.[87] In Qing China, only emperors could issue an order to confiscate people. The mechanisms and rules of confiscation were not officially written down, but memorials survived, documenting every step. The following chapter investigates this process and the records generated by confiscation. It serves two purposes in the overall thesis. It first examines Qing confiscation to explain the mechanism and logic of this practice. Second, it lays the groundwork for later chapters studying the inventory lists.

The literature on Qing confiscation is scarce. It is comprised of two monographs and fewer than ten articles. Most works survey a fraction of sources and are more interested in the financial side of confiscation. Wei Meiyue (魏美月) from Taiwan first explored confiscation by studying four published selections of memorials.[88] Yun Yan (雲妍) and Wei Qingyuan (韋慶遠) calculate the total incidence, concluding that the emperors ordered about 2500 confiscations.[89] Yuan Yan, Chen Zhiwu (陳志武), and Lin Zhan (林展) sample 185 inventory lists to investigate the composition of the financial assets of the elite.[90] Lai Huimin (賴惠敏) studies the influence of confiscation on the state revenue in the Qianlong reign, showing that

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[81] Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives* (Loeb Classical Library edition, 1918), Vol. VI, 261.
[82] Yasin Arslantaş, *Confiscation by the ruler: a study of the Ottoman practice of Müsadere, 1700s-1839*, PhD thesis (The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2017).
[83] Yun, Chen, and Lin, "Asset Portfolios of Elite Households in Qing China," 61-81.
[84] *Confiscation & Asset Recovery* (Migration and Home Affairs - European Commission), December 6, 2016, accessed February 14, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/organized-crime-and-human-trafficking/confiscation-and-asset-recovery_en.
[85] *Asset Forfeiture Program* (The United States Department of Justice), accessed February 14, 2019, https://www.justice.gov/afp.
[86] *Confiscation & Asset Recovery*, accessed February 14, 2019.
[87] Yasin, *Confiscation by the Ruler*, 1; Wei Meiyue 魏美月, *Qing Qianlong Shiqi Chachao Anjian Yanjiu* 乾隆時期查抄案件研究(Taipei: wenshizhe chubanshe, 1996).
[88] Wei, *Qing Qianlong Shiqi Chachao Anjian Yanjiu*.
[89] Yun Yan 雲妍, "Re-investigating Household and Property Confiscation in the Qing dynasty," *The Qing History Journal,* (2017), Vol 3, 112-125; Wei Qingyuan 韋慶遠, "Qingdai de chaojia dang'an he chaojia anjian yanjiu 清代的抄家檔案和抄家案件研究*", Xueshu Yanjiu* 學術研究, (1982), Vol 5.
[90] Yun, Chen, and Zhan, *Asset Portfolios of Elite Households in Qing China*, 61-81.

the revenue gained was not significant in comparison with other means.[91] However, the question of how confiscation fitted into the practices of Qing governance has not been addressed. Confiscation reveals the legal culture, institutional procedure, and nature of rule of Qing. The rulers of East Asia's central plain and of the steppes have developed distinct legal cultures of confiscation over the past two millennia. Studying Qing confiscation furthers our understanding of Qing ruling culture.

No later than the Qin dynasty[92] in China, one of the earliest law codes, *the Canon of Laws* (法經), documented confiscation legislation.[93] Criminals who committed theft, rebellion, economic crimes, or multiple homicide of multiple would be confiscated.[94] One of the earliest historical records, *Hou Hanshu* (後漢書), notes that the central plain emperors utilised confiscation to accumulate wealth. During the Han dynasty, Emperor Wu (漢武帝) in 119 A.D wanted to expand the regime. He desperately needed money to pay his military. He increased commercial taxes by ten times and issued a law stating that the government would confiscate all tax evaders and rewarded anyone reporting this with half of the confiscated property. As a result, most of the wealthy merchants were apprehended and their assets were seized by the government.[95]

The civil service examination system, which began in the late Tang dynasty, altered the relationship between the emperor and officials. Through this examination system, emperors, rather than regional noble families, controlled the power to appoint officials. However, the fact that the emperor could not rule the whole empire by himself never changed. The rising ruling class of scholar-officials in Song, publicly stated "it is scholar-officials that govern all under heaven with the emperor."[96] They began to regard confiscation as an extreme

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[91] Lai, *Qianlong huangdi de hebao*.

[92] "The offender shall be confiscated, including his wife, children, concubines, clothes and livestock. 犯罪者籍沒其財產, 包括家室妻、子、臣妾、衣器、畜產" in Shuihudi qinmu zhujian xiaozu 睡虎地秦墓竹簡小組, *Shuihudi qinmu zhujian* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡 (Beijing 北京: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1990), 249.

[93] "The murder shall be sentenced to death, the state shall confiscate the property of the family. 殺人者誅，籍其家" in Shuihudi qinmu zhujian xiaozu, *Shuihudi qinmu zhujian*, 249.

[94]"The person who steal government seals and or counterfeit seals shall be sentenced to death; , the state shall confiscate the property of the family. 盜符者誅，籍其家; 敢盜鑄者，身死，家口籍沒" in Dongshuo 董說 ed., *Qiguokao* 七國考 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1956), 621.

[95] Fan Ye 范曄 and Li Xian 李賢 ed., *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2000), 430-445.

[96] Tuoketuo 托克托, *Song Shi Siku Quanshu Edition* 宋史四庫全書版, digitised by Zhejiang University, Accessed May 1st, 2020, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=6372&remap=gb.

and harsh punishment[97] that should be only applied to the most severe crimes like rebellion.[98] Some scholar-officials dissuaded the emperor from confiscating criminals.

Compared with Song scholar-officials, the Mongols viewed property in a different way.[99] The khan formed a personal bond with his followers.[100] This personalised absolute control relationship applied not only to tribal chiefs but also to all the commoners, who were slaves or properties of the Khan. In other words, the Khan held the absolute right of confiscating and redistributing his slaves and properties. According to Joseph Fletcher, this relationship was derived from the belief in Tengri, a universal sky god among all steppe tribes. The khan, like the sky god, claimed universal absolute dominion. He was not the son of heaven regulated by the mandate of heaven — a popular concept postulated in the central plain — he was heaven.

This relationship resulted in the development of a distinct steppe view of confiscation that can be traced all the way back to the Xiongnu (匈奴) period, in which steppe leaders freely confiscated enemies and distributed war gains and people's property. During the Xiongnu, a tribal confederation active from the 3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.D., the soldiers gained the assets from plunder.[101] In the 3rd century A.D., the ruler of Xianbei (鮮卑), also a steppe tribe, distributed war gains to his people. In 1077, Emperor Daozong of Liao (遼道宗), the ruler of the Khitan state, awarded confiscated property to officials.[102] The Yuan emperors inherited the custom of the khans. The Chinese language written records describe the power of the Yuan emperors as supreme and unquestionable.[103] Scholar Ye Ziqi (葉子奇) commented that in the Yuan dynasty, "(rulers) treated officials as slaves and servants, as cattle

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[97] Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 and Yang E 杨鶚, *Xishan xiansheng zhenwenzhong gongwenji* 西山先生真文忠公文集 (Taibei 台北: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan 台灣商務印書館, 1967), Juan 3, 80.

[98] Baoyi 竇儀 and Yue Chunzhi 岳純之 ed., *Song xing tong jiaozheng* 宋刑統校證 (Beijing 北京: Beijing daxue chubanshe 北京大學出版社 2015), 101.

[99] Joseph Fletcher, "The Mongols: Ecological and Social Perspectives," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 46*, no. 1 (1986): 23.

[100] Joseph Fletcher, "The Mongols: Ecological and Social Perspectives," 23.

[101] Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji, Sikuquanshu Wuying dian edition* 史紀四庫全書武英殿版, Xiongnu liezhuan 匈奴列傳 (Beijing 北京, 1736), Accessed May 1st, 2020, https://ctext.org/shiji/zhs.

[102] "Confiscate criminal's children, wife, slaves, property, distribute them to the officials 其幼稚及婦女、奴婢、家產，皆籍沒之，或分賜群臣" in Tuokeduo, *Liaoshi* 遼史, Daozong Ji3, Accessed May 1st 2020, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=845139&remap=gb.

[103] "Why should there be any distinction between us and the emperor when all the land in the world is in the emperor's mouth? 普天率土，盡是皇帝之怯憐口，何為更分彼我?" *Yuandai zouyi jilu* 元代奏議集錄, Accessed May 1st, 2020, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=733391&remap=gb.

and sheep."[104] The nomadic cultures exploited confiscation practices to directly extract wealth and control people. The steppe rulers developed distinct views and ways of employing confiscation in comparison with the Tang, Song, and Ming rulers.

My investigation of Qing confiscation indicates that the Qing government combined the confiscation traditions of the central plain with that of the steppes. The government continued to implement confiscations in the borderland areas as a criminal punishment for stealing cattle and for group revenge.[105] The board for the administration of outlying regions (理藩院) gave the reason: "Mongolians rely on cattle for a living, it is proper to punish these crimes this way."[106] However, the government executed a very cautious approach when ordering confiscation in the inner provinces and of officials. Confiscation performed three functions in Qing governance: 1) to investigate accusations received from memorial correspondents, because inventories provided direct evidence on a person's past behaviour, 2) to curb crimes, and 3) to eliminate political enemies. Emperors were acutely aware of the political nature of the accusations they received. Thus, they utilised confiscation as a method to investigate. They strategically confiscated related persons to warn rent seekers and to try and maintain a kind of power balance within bureaucracy. They also utilised confiscation as a display of their coercive power to society. In general, they did not frequently use confiscation as a punishment.

This practice reflects the multifaceted nature of Qing governance. The empire was neither purely Tungstic nor Chinese; it was uniquely Qing. Confiscation should be interpreted along with other institutional practices that shared the same mixed nature. For instance, the Qing government used both the Ming governing structure and the military banner system.[107] The emperor created complex ruling images: a sage king to the proto-ethnic Han group, the

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[104] "The later emperors treated their officials as slaves and cattle. 後世之待大臣。直奴仆耳。直牛羊爾" in Ye Ziqi 葉子奇, *Caomuzi Sikuquanshu edition* 草木子四庫全書版, Accessed May 1st, 2020, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=60418&remap=gb.
[105] Yuntoo, "Lifanyuan, xingfa, daozei 理藩院，刑法，盜賊", *Guanxiu Daqing Huidian Shili* 官修大清會典事例 (Taibei 台北: Taibei xinwenfeng chubanshe 台北新文丰出版社, 1990) Juan 994, 17014.
[106] Li Baowen 李保文, Trans., *Lifanyuan Lvshu* 理藩院律書, in *Gugong Xuekan* 故宮學刊, No1 (2004): 262.
[107] Du Jiaji 杜家驥, *Baqi Yu Qingchao Zhengzhi Lungao* 八旗與清朝政治論稿 (Beijing 北京: Renmin Chubanshe 人民出版社, 2008); Rhodes, *Manchus and Han*, introduction; William T. Rowe, *China's last empire: the great Qing* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012).

khan of the Khans (*bogdo kaghan*), the supreme leader of the Mongolian tribes,[108] and a Buddhist king to the Tibetans (Hong Taiji received the yi-dam consecration, hence the deity Mahâkâla[109]; later rulers were depicted as Manjusri, the bodhisattva of compassion and wisdom.)[110]

These findings on confiscation also provide new insights that add to the vivid literature on Qing legal cultural and property rights.[111] First generation scholars Edwin O. Reischauer and John Fairbank postulated the irrationality of Chinese laws and highlighted the "backwardness" of Chinese legal traditions.[112] They were influenced by the Weberian belief that the western concept of law, yielding much more calculable and credible results, laid the foundations of capitalism and modernity.[113] The revisionists, Philip Huang, Shiga, Zelin, Ocko, and Gardella, investigate approximately 700 legal cases and imperial law codes and institutions to argue for the predictability of the Qing imperial legal system.[114] The local adjudication process helped society to fulfil original contracts. Confucian kingship norms assisted the maintenance of property rights.[115]

However, Qing China's legal culture differed from the English common law tradition because the state controlled the interpretation and creation of legal rules.[116] Confiscation practice reaffirmed this. The government reserved the right to execute its monopoly of force,

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[108] Alekseĭ Matveevich Pozdneev, *Mongolia and the Mongol*s, translated by John R. Shaw and Dale Plank. Vol. 1 (Bloomington: Indiana University press, 1971), 331.
[109] Samuel M. Grupper, "The Manchu Imperial Cult of the Early Qing Dynasty: Texts and studies on the Tantric Sanctuuary of Mahâkâla at Mukden," Ph.D. diss., (Indiana: Indiana University, 1980).
[110] David Farquhar, "The Origins of the Manchus' Mongolian Policy" in *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations*, edited by John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 1.
[111] Debin Ma and Jan Luiten van Zanden, eds., *Law and Long-Term Economic Change* (California: Stanford University Press, 2011).
[112] Edwin O. Reischauer and John King Fairbank, *East Asia: The Great Tradition* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960).
[113] David Trubek, "Max Weber on Law and the Rise of Capitalism," *Wisconsin Law Review* 720, no. 3 (1972).
[114] Philip C Huang, "Civil Adjudication in China, Past and Present," *Modern China* 32, no. 2 (2006): 135–80; Shuzo Shiga, *Shindai Chugoku No Hou to Saiban [Law and Adjudication in Qing China] (2nd Ed.)* (Tokyo: Soubunsha, 2002); Madeleine Zelin, Jonathan K. Ocko, and Robert Gardella, eds., *Contract and Property in Early Modern China* (California: Stanford University Press, 2004).
[115] Zhang Taisu 張泰蘇, *The Laws and Economics of Confucianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
[116] Debin Ma, "Law and Economy in Traditional China: A "Legal Origin" Perspective on the Great Divergence," in *Law and Long-Term Economic Change*, ed. Debin Ma and Jan Luiten van Zanden (California: Stanford University Press, 2011), 48.

and sometimes acted outside the law. Property rights did exist in society;[117] but the emperors reserved their right to take them away. The Qing empire was an absolute monarchy; and laws served the imperial rule.

The chapter is comprised of five sections. The second and third sections explain the process and procedures of confiscation. The Qing emperors replied on a small circle of bannermen to implement confiscation and developed three processes and an informal procedure to do so. The fourth section investigates the scale and reasons for confiscation. The reasons that generate the inventory lists used in later chapters exhibit no systematic biases given the variety of reasons for confiscation outside the law. The final section concludes.

Section 2.1 Confiscation Process

The Qing emperors developed three confiscation processes depending on their aims: an investigation that surveils and monitors high officials, an investigation to monitor lower officials, or a purely politically-driven practice. They applied the former two processes to acquire detailed inventory lists of an individual's possessions to determine the validity of reported accusations. If evidence was found, the government kept the assets and punished the accused. If no evidence was found, the government returned the assets, and asked the official to remain in position. For the third process, the emperors exploited confiscation as a punishment to generate fear. The inventory list did not play any important role in the emperor's decision on the outcomes for individuals.

The first and second process of investigating official accusations stemmed from the political nature of the accusations received from memorial correspondents. The emperors relied on the memorial system[118] to communicate with officials. This had its advantages and drawbacks. It lowered the information cost for the emperor, but also provided officials with a chance to control information—one could choose to present a false report on a situation for their own benefits. Officials, especially those of high ranks, utilised *Zouzhe* (奏摺) memorials — secrete memorial system to report on each other. But such accusations of corruption or rebellion might be generated from political competition.

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[117] Mio Kishimoto, "Property Rights, Land, and Law in Imperial China," in *Law and Long-Term Economic Change*, ed. Debin Ma and Jan Luiten van Zanden (California: Stanford University Press, 2011), 68–90.
[118] Lei Rongguang 雷榮廣 and Yao Leye 姚樂野, *Qingdai Wenshu Gangyao* 清代文書綱要 (Chengdu 成都: Sichuan daxue chubanshe 四川大學出版社, 1990), 23.

In the first process, emperors employed confiscation to validate the information and accusations they received regarding high officials, who usually ranked above the third tier. The inventory lists helped them to determine political loyalty or find evidence of rent seeking. For instance, in the case of Hengwen (恆文) vs Guo Yigu (郭一谷), Hengwen, registered under the Manchu banner, occupied the position of Yunan governor general. Guo was a Han, and Yunnan provincial governor. Hengwen accused Guo of manipulating the gold price.[119] Guo replied to the emperor that he did this to buy gold hand warmers for him and he had informed the emperor long before Hengwen's accusation.[120] Both parties were confiscated.[121] The asset list indicated that the Manchu governor had benefited from manipulating gold price, while Guo had only acquired four gold hand warmers as the promised birthday gift to the emperor Qianlong.[122] Guo continued to work for the government as a high official and retired afterwards. The emperor Qianlong sentenced Hengwen to hard labour in the borderlands.[123]

This case is especially worth studying because there is a proto-ethnic element to the conflict. A Manchu, a member of the ruling proto-ethnic group, accused a Han official, a member of the conquered population, of committing a crime. The emperor Qianlong did not protect the Manchu. His response sent a political message to his bureaucracy: regardless of the proto-ethnic identity of officials, everyone must be loyal to him and he would punish whoever crossed the line. Laws must work for him, not for officials to fulfil their personal interests. To further express this message, Qianlong did not punish Guo for manipulating the gold price: he did it for the emperor.

The verdict might not be publicly displayed but the bureaucrats, officials, banner clan, and people who compiled the inventory documents and historical documents were aware of the ruling. Furthermore, the Qing government produced official newspapers called *dibao* (邸報), to publicise information. Many accounts of the surviving *dibao* newspapers mentioned that it reported crimes under investigation, imperial orders, changes of official appointments,

[119] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan 中國第一歷史檔案館, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* 乾隆朝懲辦貪污檔案選編 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 1994), Vol. 1, 20.
[120] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 20.
[121] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 20.
[122] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 25.
[123] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 20.

and civil service exam questions.[124] We can assume that even if the newspaper did not mention the confiscation of Hengwen and Guo Yigu, people would know that the government ejected Hengwen from his service while Guo remained in his position.

The emperors were highly aware of the potentially political nature of accusations of corrupt governance reported to them in memorials. Especially before the Jiaqing period, the three strongest emperors, the Kangxi emperor, Yongzheng emperor, and Qianlong emperor confiscated both the accuser and the accused. None of the governors offered suggestions to the emperors about who should be confiscated until the Jiaqing period. In the Jiaqing reign, provincial governors began to suggest the emperor confiscate lower government officials who owed assets to the government — *kuikong* (虧空). This could be a sign of the further institutionalisation of this practice. The provincial governors understood that these crimes could be subject to confiscation, but this could also be a sign of them daring and being able to abuse their power.

The second type of confiscation process involved punishing officials for mistakes they made in governance. Over 60% of the families in this study endured this process. Lower tier officials who were confiscated typically occupied government positions equal to or below the rank of 4th tier district magistrate; they never achieved a *Jinshi* degree, and some never obtained any degree at all. The emperor only confiscated the accused and looked for evidence in the inventory list in these cases. The household possession of a family provided direct proof of their past behaviour. A rebel might possess an illegal version of a late Ming history book or a poetry with double meanings that criticised the state.[125] Corrupted officials might retain wealth exceeding their earning capability. The emperor Qianlong commented on a report of the inventory list of one magistrate: "he only received about one hundred silver taels per year, how come he possessed more than one hundred and fifteen thousand of wealth?"[126] The confession of this official and those of his colleagues exposed the fact that he exploited his power to conduct trade secretly, *siying yinni* (私營隱逆).[127]

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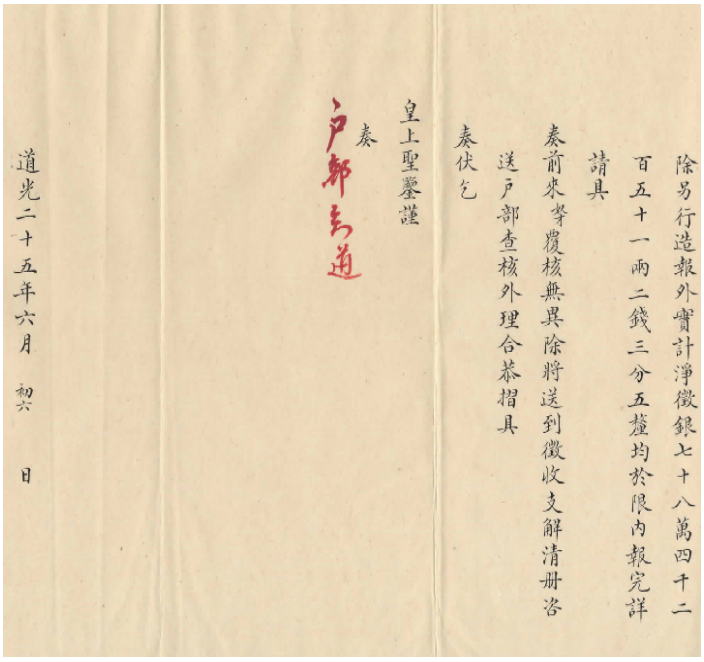
[124] Gu Keyong 顧克勇 and Ding Xin 丁鑫, "Dibao yanjiu shuping 邸報研究述評", *Journal of Zhejiang Sci-Tech University Social Sciences Edition*, Vol. 4 (2016), 391.
[125] Beiping gugong bowuyuan wenxianguan 北平故宮博物院文獻館, *Qingdai Wenziyu Dang* 清代文字獄檔 (Huawen Shuju Youxian Gongsi 華文書局有限公司, 1934).
[126] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 228.
[127] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 228.

Understanding the possibility of a shortage in cash and unforeseen accidental events in local governance, if the confiscated assets indicated that the official owned nothing at all, the emperor spared them from punishment and allowed them to continue to serve the government. Qinggui (慶桂) reported on 20 May, 1795 that the district magistrate Jiang Zhenchang (蒋振阊) failed to deliver military requirements. His inventory testified that he was in extreme poverty.[128] Qianlong spared him.[129] Certainly, the chance of the accused being in poverty was low.

After receiving the inventory report, the emperors personally wrote down their decision in the margin in red and told the governor to either return the assets or sell them at a local level (Photo 2.1), or send them to Beijing (Photo 2.2). The high level of involvement by emperors in every step of confiscation demonstrates that they were in control of this political show. They monopolised confiscation. If the family was living with elders, the Kangxi emperor left agricultural tools and cows and a few acres of land to the family, downgrading them from a socially privileged position to ordinary peasants.[130] One could view this as a display of his benevolence by not taking away everything from a family, but it also sends a cruel reminder to the whole of society: the emperor was able to decide the fate of everyone despite their inherited privileges or titles.

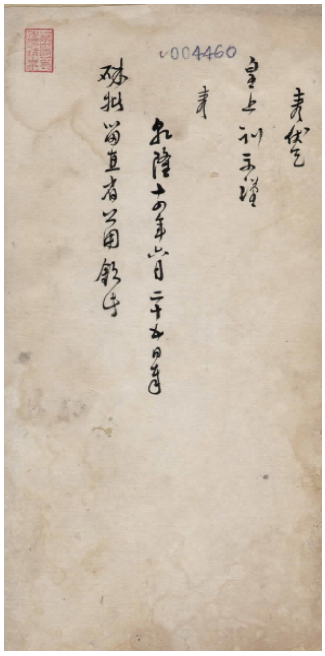
[128] Qinggui 慶貴, *Memorial correspondence 02-01-007-024961-0019* (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1795).
[129] Qinggui 慶貴, *Memorial correspondence 02-01-007-024961-0019*.
[130] *Qing Huidian Shili* 清會典事例, 1899 edition, (Taiwan 台灣: Taiwan xinwenfeng chuban gongsi 台灣新聞風出版公司), juan 727, Xingbu, mingli 刑部明例.

Photo 2.1 Memorial of the Daoguang Emperor



Source: Taibei Palace Musuem

Photo 2.2 Memorial of the Qianlong Emperor



Source: Taibei Palace Musuem

After receiving the verdict, military generals in the borderland areas sometimes sent an army of 2000 men to confiscate a family.[131] The inventory lists show that confiscation of the borderlands was indeed a task that required labour. These families lived a pastoral life, owning thousands of lambs and having direct family members numbering 80 or above.[132] But sending an army also demonstrates imperial power, reminding witnesses of imperial rule.

The third process of confiscation stemmed from the emperors' will to punish his opponents. Unlike the other kinds, the inventory list played a minimal role in determining the fate of the accused. Instead, officials sent waves of memorials to criticise a person who had lost favour from the emperors. In an iconic case during the Yongzheng period, Nian Gengyao (年羹堯) of the Han bordered yellow banner, a first rank official who fought extensively for the empire, was the subject of 92 accusations before he was confiscated.[133] These lists of crimes came from officials who decided to criticise Nian after learning that the emperor began

[131] Dou Erjia, *Memorial correspondent 03-0191-3053-032* (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1785).
[132] Dou Erjia, *Memorial correspondent 03-0191-3053-032*.
[133] Rao Yucheng 饒玉成, *Huangchao Jingshi Wenbian Xuji* 皇朝经世文编續編 (Baoshan shuju 寶善書局, 1882), Juan 19, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=748788&remap=gb.

to cast doubts on him.[134] The department of penal affairs (刑部) stratified the accusations into nine categories. Though most of the criminal activities reported matched the Qing law code, such as wearing royal colours, covering-up crimes, and corruption, many seemed to be exaggerated.

The government first accused Nian of treason.[135] Nian attempted to overthrow the empire with a Daoist priest Jing Yi (靜一) and a witch named Zou Lu (邹魯).[136] They speculated about divinations, predicting that Nian would be the next emperor.[137] Second, Nian overstepped the imperial authority by dressing more extravagantly than his rank deserved.[138] He dressed in a yellow four-fingered dragon robe and carried a yellow coloured wallet, another "sign" of his rebellious heart.[139] Nian kept the original edicts sent by the emperor.[140] He exhibited disrespect to imperial authority by returning the copies, not the originals.[141] He protected Wang Jingqi (汪景祺) who was involved in censorship accusations.[142] Third, he performed poorly in governance. He hid 28 sets of military armour and 4000 military arrows in his house.[143] He hid bullets.[144] The officials also accused him of hiding local information and accidentally killing people.[145]

The fourth category accused him of being an arrogant person.[146] He did not hang the emperor's appreciation on the wall.[147] He forced the daughter of a Mongolian prince to marry him as a concubine rather than a proper wife.[148] The fifth category portrayed him as an official who abused his power.[149] For instance, he paid the worker who built the city wall of Heyang

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[134] Ye Zhiru 葉志如, "Yongzheng sannian canhe niangengyao an shiliao 雍正三年參劾年羹堯案史料", *No.1 Historical Archive*, volume 2 (1986), 7-11.
[135] Li Weijun 李維鈞, *Zoubao yijing niangengyao zuizhuang tican 奏報已將年羹堯罪狀題參 memorial 402013489* (Taibei: National Palace Musuem, 1735 June 11th).
[136] Li Weijun, memorial 402013489.
[137] Li Weijun, memorial 402013489.
[138] Li Weijun, memorial 402013489.
[139] Li Weijun, memorial 402013489.
[140] Li Weijun, memorial 402013489.
[141] Li Weijun, memorial 402013489.
[142] Li Weijun, memorial 402013489.
[143] Li Weijun, memorial 402013489.
[144] Li Weijun, memorial 402013489.
[145] Li Weijun, memorial 402013489.
[146] Li Weijun, memorial 402013489.
[147] Li Weijun, memorial 402013489.
[148] Li Weijun, memorial 402013489.
[149] Li Weijun, *Memorial 402013489*.

(郃陽) county in advance without reporting this to the government.[150] He printed salt licences on 12000 private sheets.[151] The sixth category documented was corruption.[152] He ordered Ma Qilong (馬起龍) to sell tea and gained 99,000 silver taels.[153] He ordered Gao Si (高四) to buy horses,[154] and received an antique gift from Ge Jikong (葛繼孔) gold pearls and other gifts from Zhao Zhitan (趙之坦) and Song Shi (宋師).[155] He also robbed people on the streets for their clothes.[156]

The seventh category was composed of financial crimes. He failed to return the remaining budget of public projects to the central government, and used the government funds from one project for another.[157] The eighth category accused him of being oppressive in governance.[158] He did not grant military honours to Abingan,[159] and ordered Zhao Cheng (趙成) to lie about military supplies causing Yue Zhongqi (岳鐘琪) to almost delay transporting them.[160] The final category accused him of being crude. He imprisoned the secretary, *bithesi* (筆帖式), Daisu and Suonu without reason.[161]

When an emperor decided to punish a high official, the accused could rarely escape. Nian used to be one of the most trusted officials of emperor Yongzheng. His sister married emperor Yongzheng, gained the rank of the Imperial Noble Consort, and bore three children for him. Nian's family members also served in the government. The emperor Yongzheng once wrote to him: ''Emperors and officials before us have forged good relationships, but they would not be as close as we two."[162] After Nian lost favour, every aspect of his private and public life came under attack.

The emperors usually wrote the verdict of most cases in red at the margin of the memorial. However, in these types of cases, which was a symbolic display of power, the

[150] Li Weijun, *Memorial 402013489*.
[151] Li Weijun, *Memorial 402013489*.
[152] Li Weijun, *Memorial 402013489*.
[153] Li Weijun, *Memorial 402013489*.
[154] Li Weijun, *Memorial 402013489*.
[155] Li Weijun, *Memorial 402013489*.
[156] Li Weijun, *Memorial 402013489*.
[157] Li Weijun, *Memorial 402013489*.
[158] Li Weijun, *Memorial 402013489*.
[159] Li Weijun, *Memorial 402013489*.
[160] Li Weijun, *Memorial 402013489*.
[161] Li Weijun, *Memorial 402013489*.
[162] Aisin Gioro In Jen, *Memorial 40202937* (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1730).

emperors issued long verdicts. The emperor Yongzheng inscribed the following extended decision for Nian Gengyao:

> It is obvious that Nian Gengyao does not have the heart for being an official. But this is because he lost his mind and could not tell dream from reality. Zoulu is a despicable person. Although the crime of treason is real, the rumours had never spread. I do not want to punish him using extreme measures since he fought in the wars in Qinghai. I will let Aqitu arrest him and order him to commit suicide. Nian has a cruel character; he never listened to his father and his brothers and never respected them. They are both loyal and submissive. They will be dismissed from their post and spared of guilt. All royal gifts shall be returned. Nian has many sons; only Nian Fu shares a similar character with his father. He will be sentenced to death. His other sons who reached the age of fifteen and above will be sent to the borders of Yunnan and Guizhou to become military slaves.[163]
>
> The wives of Nian, if they are from a loyal lineage, should return to their natal family. His assets would be sent to Xian and given to Yue Zhongqi and Tu Lisheng to reimburse the public funds that Nian took. The relatives of the father's side will not be confiscated but if they held any official positions or are on the waiting list for positions, they will be dismissed. The sons and future descendants of Nian and his official wife, if they reach fifteen in the future, will be sent to the borderlands and can never return. If anyone dared to take care of the direct descendant of Nian, he will be charged as following Nian and thus treason. The cabinet should be clear and record: Sentence She Lu to death. The direct relatives of Nian and his other wives will be sent to Hei Longjiang as slaves to the military. Spare anyone else from the family.[164]

As revealed in the verdict, the emperor remained cautious about the scale of punishment even when executing a political purge. Only the direct family of the accused endured confiscations. One month later, the emperor Yongzheng reappointed Nian's brother as a second tier official and later his father. This development could also have been deliberately staged by the emperor as a gesture of his benevolence.

Nian was not the only high official who received this fate. Before the Jiaqing period, one hundred and thirty-three first and second tier officials endured confiscation. Longkodo, the younger brother of the Kangxi Emperor's third Empress Consort, faced 41 such accusations.[165] Hešen was the subject of 20 criminal charges. In rare cases, officials could be

[163] Li Weijun, *Memorial 402013489*.
[164] Li Weijun, *Memorial 402013489*.
[165] *Qingshilu shunzhixhao shilu* 清實錄順治朝實錄, Juan 53, Shunzhi Year 8 February, accessed https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=541757&remap=gb.

confiscated twice depending on political circumstances. Li Shiyao (李侍堯), governor general of Yungui, endured such a fate.[166]

After confiscating their assets, the emperors decided on the punishments of the involved parties, sometimes acting against the Qing law. *The Great Qing Legal Code* listed two kinds of punishment for confiscation: being sentenced to death or sent to do hard labour in the borderlands.[167] However, emperors often ordered high officials to commit suicide in prison.[168] This order was considered a privilege as it helped the accused to avoid public humiliation. The confiscation process revealed the remarkable flexibility of the imperial judical process. Emperors were not bound by laws; they interpreted them and acted on their own.

Section 2.2 Confiscation Procedure

The Qing emperors relied on a small circle of bannermen, their relatives, or officials who had worked for them for a long time to execute confiscations. The procedure was relatively primitive during the Kangxi and Yongzheng period in comparison with the Qianlong reign. In one case, the government spent almost thirty years completing one confiscation.[169] This case started in the Kangxi reign and ended during the Qianlong period. The officials under the Qianlong period complained about the diminishing value of the confiscated houses.[170] Qianlong increased the efficiency of confiscation procedure by establishing an informal routine, yet did not fix any rules for confiscation or establish a separate institution to manage it.

When Qianlong decided to confiscate a family, he first wrote an official edict in Manchu and sent it to the Council of State, *Junjichu* (軍機處), usually to one of his trusted banner officials such as Fuheng (傅恆) or Agui (阿貴). Fuheng, the younger brother of the Empress, a son and nephew of a first-tier official, rapidly rose to power from being an imperial

[166] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 996.
[167] Xu Ben 徐本, Da Qing Lv Li Qingding Siku Quanshu 大清律例欽定四庫全書 (Qing: The Qing Government, 1782), Xinglv 刑律, Duanyu Xia 斷獄下, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=602607&remap=gb.
[168] Aisin Goro Yong Yan, *Imperial order 03-18-009-000057-0001-0022* (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1799).
[169] Jalangga 查朗阿, *Memorial 04-01-35-0709-017* (No.1 First Archive, 1732 October 12th).
[170] Jalangga 查朗阿, *Memorial 04-01-35-0709-017* (No.1 First Archive, 1732 October 12th).

guard at the age of 20 to a first-tier official working for the Council of State at the age of 27.[171] By comparison, the average age of first-tier officials was around 50.[172] Qianlong's favour perhaps gave him more momentum to serve the state. He not only attended as a civil servant but also as a military general, participating in wars against minorities in Sichuan and Zungars.[173] Illustration 2.3 depicts a court painting of Fuheng with Qianlong's hand-written admiration in both Manchus and Chinese.

[171] Zhao, *Qing Shi Gao*, Benji 11.
[172] Zhao, *Qing Shi Gao*, Benji 11.
[173] Zhao, *Qing Shi Gao*, Benji 11.

Illustration 2.3 Fuheng Court Painting

Source: The Palace Museum, Beijing

Agui, another trusted official of Qianlong, a bannerman who assumed the responsibility for confiscation on multiple occasions, served the Council of State from the age of 45 onwards.[174] He attended four emperors: the emperor Kangxi, emperor Yongzheng, emperor Qianlong, and emperor Jiaqing.[175] Although he came from a less privileged family in comparison with Fuheng, he fought rigorously for Qing and won multiple wars. He served as the provincial governor of Sichuan and governor general of Yungui as well.[176] The emperor Qianlong, appreciating his ability, raised his entire family from one of the lower four banners to the upper three banners — his personal army.[177] In addition, emperors paid officials like Agui extremely well. The state paid them approximately 10, 000 silver taels of salary and benefits per year.[178] A farming family of five who lived in Jiangnan needed to work for 300 years to obtain such a large amount of money.[179] Officials like Agui, who had received huge benefits from the emperor, would have fewer incentives to act against the government.

Indeed, the emperors relied heavily on the bannermen to carry out confiscations. According to the 305 cases investigated in this study, bannermen only constituted around 40% of the total number of confiscated families. The Han officials could legally apprehend the remaining 60% of non-banner families. However, only 39 out of 305 reports were made by non-banner officials; a mere 12% of the total reports. This percentage was far lower than the total percentage of non-banner families. The bannermen took charge of 88% of confiscations. One of the possible reasons that the emperors chose to deploy predominantly bannermen to execute confiscation could be that the emperors wanted to remind the society that the eight banners were the conquerors. If an individual dared to disobey the emperor and undermine his authority, the government would send bannermen to confiscate their assets and punish their family.

This trust in bannermen was reflected in the Manchu Han dyarchy established in the bureaucracy. The imperial government proudly claimed that “Manchus and Han were as one

[174] Zhao, *Qing Shi Gao*, liezhuan 150.
[175] Zhao, *Qing Shi Gao*, liezhuan 150.
[176] Zhao, *Qing Shi Gao*, liezhuan 150.
[177] Zhao, *Qing Shi Gao*, liezhuan 150.
[178] Yuntoo, Qinding Daqing Huidian Siku Quanshu Version 欽定大清會典 四庫全書版(digitised by CADAL), Juan 18, Hubu Fengxiang 戶部俸餉, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=5542.
[179] Fang Xing 方行, “Jiang Nan Nong Min De Xiao Fei 江南農民的消費,” *Zhong Guo Jing Ji Shi Yan Jiu* 中國經濟史研究, no. 3, (1996): 91-98.

family" (滿漢一家 Manchu Han Dyarchy) because they reserved equal numbers of official positions to Han and Manchus.[180] However, the bannermen constituted the size of the population of Hungary while the Hans constituted the rest of Europe. The dyarchy was evidently disproportionate to their share of the population. This proclamation was also kept only loosely at the top two ranks of the provincial level. Over the course of the Qing, Manchu supplied 57% of governor generals and 48.8% of governors.[181] The bannermen enjoyed a faster promotion track. Compared with the Han officials, who normally attained a high level at the average age of 56, bannermen achieved the same positions 4-7 years earlier.[182]At the lower rank, although they were fewer in number, their share was still disproportionately large; "Manchu bannermen, 28 to 29% served as financial commissioners and judges, 21% were perfects, and 6% were magistrates."[183]

The government also reserved a few agencies to mostly bannermen. At the Grand Secretariat, bannermen took 83% of posts; at the board of Revenue, they held 69% of posts.[184] Respective Manchu and Mongol banner generals governed frontier agencies in Manchuria, Fengtian, Jilin and Heilongjiang, where a majority of posts were filled by bannermen.[185] An overwhelming number of officials in charge of the investigation came from the upper three banners, like Agui and Fuheng. The emperors directly controlled these banners. The imperial government reserved some agencies, including the Imperial clan court and Imperial household department positions, exclusively for the upper three banners.[186]

After emperors passed down an order to the Council of State, high officials who came from the upper three banners like Fuheng or Agui passed the order down to provincial governors. The provincial governors then carried out an investigation by informing district magistrates. In some cases, if the confiscation involved multiple officials or the bureaucracy

[180] Zheng Qin 鄭秦, *Qingdai Sifa Shenpan Zhidu Yanjiu* 清代司法審判制度研究 (Changsha 長沙: Hunan Jiaoyu Chubanshe 湖南教育出版社, 1988), 63-64.
[181] Chen Wenshi 陳文石, "Qingdai Manren Zhengzhi Canyu 清代滿人政治參與," *Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo Jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 48, (1977): 551-53.
[182] Rhoads, *Manchus & Han*, 44.
[183] Chen, *Qingdai Manren Zhengzhi Canyu*, 551-53.
[184] Zheng, *Qingdai Sifa Shenpan Zhidu Yanjiu*, 63-64.
[185] Zheng, *Qingdai Sifa Shenpan Zhidu Yanjiu*, 63-64.
[186] Zheng, *Qingdai Sifa Shenpan Zhidu Yanjiu*, 63-64.

of a province, the emperor appointed an imperial commissioner, *hese i takūraha amban* (欽差大臣), to investigate.

In the inner provinces, the provincial governor, or the person in charge, together with district magistrates stormed the residence of the investigated family. They sealed the house to prevent further manipulation of assets. They then interrogated the main suspects and his relatives, housemates, or students, to acquire information on this case and the assets this family owned. Depending on the investigation, other households of related officials, merchants, and servants could also be confiscated.[187] For instance, in the report prepared by Yingsheng, a Manchu official involved in the case of Li Shiyao (李侍堯), he states that he apprehended related officials who helped Li carry assets from Yunnan to Jiangsu province and sent them to Beijing for further interrogation.[188]

During the interrogation of the relatives and friends of the main suspect, the officials in charge also asked them to tell them about the recent activities of their family. Hence, they could investigate any suspected activities relating to hiding assets. In the case of Wang Xi (汪圻), he pretended to be sick and asked his relatives to visit his official residence. He gave them 38 taels of goldware and 1216 taels of silverware, 197 pieces of jadeware, three pieces of falangware, and four exquisite porcelain produced by the best kilns of his period.[189] He also wanted them to take 59 pieces of satin and silk cloth, 312 bolts of silk textile, and 8 pieces of fur cloth and 136 pieces of raw fur.[190] He carefully selected expensive luxury goods which he hoped to hide from the state.

After an initial investigation, the provincial governor or the imperial commissioner reported the inventory asset list and confessions to the emperor in a *Zouzhe* (奏摺). The local official subsequently followed the orders that returned from the emperor and dispatched the confiscated assets to their final destinations. In most cases, the provincial governors sent valuable assets to the imperial household department at Beijing and sold the remaining property in the confiscated place. Thus, the money became a minor part of the private assets

[187] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, Vol. 1-4.
[188] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*. Vol. 3, 1987.
[189] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*. Vol. 3, 1998.
[190] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*. Vol. 3, 1998.

of the emperor.[191] After receiving the goods, the imperial household department and military department reported every item back to the emperor to confirm.[192]

The routine invented by emperor Qianlong drastically increased efficiency. Most cases would be reported back within three months. Table A shows the confiscation speed for a set of ten cases calculated by counting from the date of issue of an imperial order to the date of reporting the inventories. I chose the following cases based on the completeness of reports. The surviving sources are not sufficient to determine the exact closing date of a case, when all assets would be sold and processed. But they enable me to trace the most important stages of confiscation: from the beginning to the completion of the gathering of inventory evidence (Table 2.1).

The confiscation speed varied depending on a person's total assets. Wang Tanwang (王亶望), Wang Qianyuan (王前院), and Hešen (和珅) owned at least one million silver taels. They represented the richest confiscated families, and all were first-tier officials. It took the bureaucracy a little less than three months to report their household inventories and wealth portfolio. Agui reported back in 114 days for Wang Tanwang, who owned assets worth 1,538,726 silver taels. The Jiaqing government took 88 days to confiscate Hešen, one of the richest men in the entire Qing history who possessed 20 million silver taels. These three men had multiple residences, hundreds of contracts and trade licenses, and tons of luxury goods; their lists were extremely long, containing more than 100 pages of reports. They were outliers among confiscated families. Most owned much less: the median for all 305 families was 7540 silver taels while the average was 481,800 silver taels, which was clearly influenced by the outliers. The remaining families in the table were still prestigious families, mainly first or second tier officials, but include one servant. The speed of report varied from 11 days to 107 days. It would take on average 43 days (one month and half) for the officials to report back.

[191] Lai, *Qianlong huangdi de hebao*, 25.
[192] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*. Vol. 1-4.

Table 2.1 Speed of Confiscation in Qing

Name	Imperial Order	Date Ordered	Date Reported Back (yy,mm,dd)	Days In Total
Changan 常安	Order Fuheng to allow provincial governor Aibida to confiscate him[193]	1748.02.05	1748.2.16[194]	11
Aibida 愛必達	Order Fulong an, Shuhede, and Yinglian to confiscate him[195]	1765.6.9	1763.09.26[196]	107
Hengwen 恆文	Order Liu Tong Dong to investigate the case[197]	1757.6.3	1757.7.7[198]	34
Guo Yigu 郭一谷	Order Liu Tong Dong to investigate the case[199]	1757.6.3	1757.7.21[200]	48
Liang Qing 良卿	Order Yinglian to confiscate him[201]	1769.10.15	1769.11.12[202]	27
Li Shiyao 李侍堯	Order special agent Hešen together with Shu chang to	1780.2.4	1780.3.21[204]	47

[193] Aisin Gioro Hung Li, *Imperial order 03-18-009-000007-0003-0030* (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1748).
[194] Aibida, memorial 03-0172-0872-001, (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1748).
[195] Aisin Gioro Hung Li, *Imperial order 03-18-009-00031-004-054* (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1765).
[196] Šuhede 舒赫德, *Memorial 05-0210-072*, (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1763).
[197] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, Vol.1, 11.
[198] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, Vol. 1, 22.
[199] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, Vol. 1, 11.
[200] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, Vol. 1, 32.
[201] Aisin Gioro Hung Li, *Imperial order 03-19-009-000036-0005-0014*, (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1769).
[202] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, Vol. 2, 1090.
[204] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, Vol. 2, 1101

	confiscate him[203]			
Zhang Yongshou 張永受	Order Yinglian to investigate and confiscate him[205]	1780.3.2	1780.4.19[206]	47
Wang Xi 汪圻	Order special agent Hešen and others to confiscate him[207]	1780.3.18	1780.4.15[208]	27
Wang Tanwang 王亶望	Order Agui and related personals to invest and confiscate[209]	1781.5.1	1781.8.25[210]	114
Hešen 和珅	Order Yongxuan and Yonghuang to confiscate him[211]	1799.1.8	1799.3.28[212]	88

The emperor Qianlong, when designing the confiscation procedure, tried to decrease the probability of corruption and inefficiency when choosing bannermen to act for him by increasing the punishment of misreporting. For instance, Chen Huizu (陳輝祖) was confiscated because he lied on Wang Tanwang's (王亶望) asset report.[213] In principle, these strategies would intimidate both the bannermen and other officials to stop them abusing their power or misreporting the inventory.

[203] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, Vol. 1, 940.
[205] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, vol1, 952.
[206] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, Vol. 2, 1235.
[207] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, Vol. 1, 983.
[208] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, Vol. 2, 1503.
[209] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, Vol. 2, 1194.
[210] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, Vol. 2, 1359
[211] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, Vol. 2, 1280.
[212] Yongxuan, *Memorial 03-2408-031*, (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive), 1799.
[213] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian,* Vol 3, 2543.

Although most of the confiscation procedure remained similar from the Qianlong period onward, three elements changed. First, the emperors stopped sending edicts to the Council of State. Instead, they sent orders directly to the provincial governors or appointed an imperial commissioner. Second, more people became involved in overseeing the confiscation procedure. The emperors ordered the ministry of revenue to oversee confiscated assets. The reporting officials still held the rank of third tier or above. This could be a sign of further bureaucratisation of this practice. Third, the confiscated goods were sent to the old summer palace: *Yuanming yuan* (圓明園), instead of the *Chongwen men* (崇文門). The reasons for these changes were not reported in the memorials or documented in chronicles or law codes.

The confiscation procedure show that the emperors developed an informal routine and relied on a small group of trusted banner officials to increase the efficiency of confiscation. The changes made to confiscation procedures during the Qianlong reign paralleled changes described by other scholars in the financing and logistics of military campaigns.[214] The emperors were closer to bannermen than others as they came from the families that first surrendered to Qing power. The high officials also demonstrated their loyalty and capabilities in serving the imperial causes. The emperors hoped to minimise abuse by relying on them. This arrangement also sent out a political message to Qing subjects that this country was run by the banners, a strong reminder of the political hierarchy.

Section 2.3 Purpose of Confiscation

According to Yunyan's analysis of 2573 confiscation cases, confiscation was carried out in eight general scenarios (Table 2.2): rebellion against the government (20%), corruption (19%), financial mismanagement in governance (33%), inefficiency in the military (2%), breaking the Qing laws (7%) which included counterfeiting money or trade licenses, borderland crimes, desertion, cannibalism, and assaulting aristocrats, and enforcing forms of moral righteousness that the law failed to consider (1%).[215] Appendix III presents her findings on total confiscations. Appendix IV details reasons for confiscation of the 305 legal cases with the inventories covered in this study. The reasons documented in both appendixes exceed those contained in *the Great Qing Legal Code,* during the Qianlong reign. The law lists one

[214] Theobald Ulrich, *War Finance and Logistics in Late Imperial China: A Study of the Second Jinchuan Campaign* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
[215] Yun, *Re-investigating Household and Property Confiscation in the Qing Dynasty*, 123.

crime for confiscation, *jimo* (籍没), rebellion against the state.[216] The other renowned law commentary, *Duli cunyi* (读例存疑), written by Xue Yunsheng (薛允升 1820－1901), the head of the ministry of punishment, also notes that confiscation should only be applied to rebels.[217] Clearly, the emperor applied confiscation beyond the reasons listed within *the Great Qing Legal Code*. My sample is representative of the total confiscated cases. This study also reveals additional reasons not included in Yun Yan's study: special political purges and immoral crimes.

Table 2.2 Reasons for Confiscation in the Qing

	Rebel ion	Corrupt ion	Financial Mismana gement	Military crimes	Qing Law	Relati ves	Moral	Other	Total
No.	509	478	837	64	199	133	2	351	2573
% age	20%	19%	33%	2%	7%	5%	1%	13%	

Source: Yan Yun, "Re-investigating Household and Property Confiscation in the Qing dynasty", *The Qing History Journal,* (2017), Vol 3, 112-125; Qingyuan Wei, "Qingdai De Chaojia Dang'an He Chaojia Anjian*", Xueshu Yanjiu*, (1982), Vol 5; No 1. Beijing Historical Archive; Taibei Palace Museum Archive; Sichuan Ba County Archive

The first scenario, rebelling against the government, implied that the emperors employed confiscation to help strengthen and defend their power. Threats came from both inside the banner system and from outside. The Qing banner bureaucracy initially promised equal power sharing among the banner heads.[218] For the early emperors, they wanted to centralise power, become one man above all, and ensure that only their sons could inherit the throne. They confiscated top banner officials to achieve this goal. Shunzhi, the grandson of Hong Taiji, assigned a variety of crimes alongside having a "rebellious" and "disrespectful"

[216] Xu Ben 徐本, *Da qing lyuli qinding siku quanshu* 大清律例欽定四庫全書 (Qing: The Qing Government, 1782), Xinglv 刑律, Duanyu Xia 斷獄下, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=602607&remap=gb.
[217] Xue Yunsheng 薛允升, *Duli Cunyi* 读例存疑 (Unknown, 1905), Juan 4, Juan 7, Juan 10, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=947756&remap=gb.
[218] Wei, "Qingdai de Chaojia Dangan He Chaojia Anjian," 96.

heart to Dorgon, Ajige, and Amin, and confiscated them.[219] Later, high-ranking officials, regardless of their proto-ethical identity, were confiscated if they lost the trust of the emperor.

Emperors also carried out censorship to purge people who challenged the legitimacy of the Qing rule, spreading anti-Manchu or anti-Qing propaganda. They especially disliked people criticising their "barbarian" origins. The emperors detested such accusations and relied on the confiscation inventory list to find literal evidence. Some of the confiscated literati had a real intention to organize uprisings. For instance, the government found printing blocks carved with rebellious messages in one of the houses being searched.[220] However, officials also exploited this opportunity to speculate about their colleagues by accusing them of secretly disliking the regime.[221]

The investigation of this type of crime turned ugly for many officials and sometimes the accusations were outright ridiculous. The accuser utilised every measure to ensure the accused would fall from power. They played around with phonetic similarities of Chinese characters to create their own interpretation. For instance, a poem on a red peony was interpreted as anti-Manchu because it stated that red is the best kind of peony (奪朱非正色，異種也稱王). The character red 朱 is the last name of the Ming emperor; thus the accuser interpreted this poem as a declaration of Ming to be the legitimate regime.[222] Another poem portraying a peaceful afternoon in a spring also outraged the emperor. The poem states that because the gentle blowing of wind could not identify the characters, why would it turn the pages of the book (清風不識字，何故亂翻書).[223] The accuser claimed that this poem criticised the Qing ruler, which shared the same first character of gentle blowing wind: Qing 清, as an illiterate, because the second clause stated they did not bother to flip the pages of a book.

The emperors also utilised confiscation to punish inefficiencies and crimes that related to governance. Financial mismanagement constituted the largest category, in which officials

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[219] Wei, "Qingdai de Chaojia Dangan He Chaojia Anjian," 96.
[220] Beiping gugong bowuyuan wenxianguan, Qingdai Wenziyu Dang, Accessed May 1st, 2020, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=778590&remap=gb.
[221] Beiping gugong bowuyuan wenxianguan, Qingdai Wenziyu Dang, Accessed May 1st, 2020, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=778590&remap=gb.
[222] Beiping gugong bowuyuan wenxianguan, Qingdai Wenziyu Dang, Accessed May 1st, 2020, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=778590&remap=gb.
[223] Beiping gugong bowuyuan wenxianguan, Qingdai Wenziyu Dang, Accessed May 1st, 2020, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=778590&remap=gb.

mismanaged state assets. This situation became especially common from the Jiaqing period onwards. In an severe case, Chen Mei (陳渼) used government funding for personal benefits.[224] The emperor confiscated his children, even the married-out daughters who were forced to divorce their husbands.[225]

Corruption, a crime that plagued pre-modern governments, should perhaps have constituted a higher percentage in confiscation cases. The Shunzhi emperor issued a decree, declaring confiscation to be carried out on officials who took 10 silver taels or above from the government.[226] However, there was little implementation of this law, even though the government knew about corruption. Only about 400 officials were found guilty of corruption during the 60 years of the Qianlong reign.[227] The imperial government spared most of them and only asked them to pay back the assets.

The emperor Qianlong tried to warn officials of the potential consequences of corruption and confiscated the bureaucracy of a whole province in one case. The Gansu provincial governor Wang Tanwang (王亶望) fabricated a famine incident in Gansu to earn extra relief funds.[228] The emperor Qianlong was furious after Agui, who passed by Gansu, reported that this place, claimed to be experiencing drought for two years, received rain regularly.[229] The emperor Qianlong had grown suspicious before Agui's report and had already questioned Wang Tanwang when he donated 50,000 taels for famine relief, an amount he should not be able to afford.[230] Agui's information affirmed that all officials of that area were dishonest about this situation.[231] The emperor Qianlong confiscated every official in

[224] Ruan Yuan 阮元, *Memorial 03-2439-015*, (No1. First Archive, 1805 June 13th).
[225] Wan, *Memorial 03-2439-015*.
[226] "Officials who received 10 silver taels of illegal income or above shall be confiscated. 嗣後內外大小官員，凡受贓至十兩以上者，除依律定罪外，不分枉法不枉法，俱籍其家產入官，著為例" in *Qingshilu shunzhichao shilu* 清實錄順治朝實錄, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=541757&remap=gb, Juan 95; More on punishments of officials in Ming and Qing: Bo Hua 柏樺, *Fumu guan, Mingqing zhouxian guan qunxiang* 父母官，明清州縣官群像 (Beijing 北京: Xinhua chubanshe 新華出版社, 2015), 187-203.
[227] Ma Qihua 馬起華, *Qing gaozong chao zhi canhe an* 清高宗朝之參劾案 (Taibei 台北: Huagang chubanbu 華岡出版部, 1974), 26
[228] Detailed Analysis of this case: Yang Huaizhong 杨懷中, *Huizushi lungao* 回族史論稿 (Yinchuan 銀川: Ningxia renmin chubanshe 寧夏人民出版社, 1991).
[229] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 486-590.
[230] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 486-590.
[231] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 352.

Gansu, from the top to the lowest level and even the family of deceased officials, regardless of the wealth they possessed.

However, sometimes half of the government bureaucracy engaged in criminal activities. In another case, Gao Pu (高樸), a relative of emperor Qianlong's favourite concubine, son of the governor general of the lower Yangtze delta, unlawfully mined 2000kg of jade from the imperial mines.[232] He transported the jade from Yarkent in Xinjiang province all the way to Suzhou, Jiangsu province, accruing a profit of about 140,000 silver taels.[233] Officials from Yunnan to Suzhou helped Gao to cover this up, allowing his cargo to pass without question.[234] This meant that almost half of the officials in the empire indirectly assisted this corruption, consciously or unconsciously. The emperor Qianlong could not confiscate everyone, otherwise he would have needed to find experienced officials to replace them in a relatively short amount of time. Instead, the involved provincial governors each paid 10,000 silver taels or more to compensate for their crimes.[235]

The power structure prevented some of the lower officials from reporting this corruption but the higher officials in this case remained dishonest until the last minute. The provincial governor of Jiangsu province Yang Kui (楊魁) first pretended that he did not know about the jade incident, then helped the investigators to confiscate three merchants involved in selling jade in Suzhou on 1778, September 29th.[236] Seven days later, he wrote another report apologising for his poor governance and asking to receive punishment from the government.[237] Two days later, he told the emperor that he would pay 30,000 silver taels as recompense for his mismanagement.[238] On October 24th, he wrote yet another apology to the emperor, voluntarily donating 8000 silver taels each year to the government.[239] He saved his job for five years, but was later confiscated together with Chen Huizu because of corruption.[240]

The next category, inefficiency in military affairs, could also lead to confiscation. These crimes include those officials who accidentally burned rice intended for a military

[232] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 370.
[233] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 398.
[234] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 350-390.
[235] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 350-390.
[236] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 350-390.
[237] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 392.
[238] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 393.
[239] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 396.
[240] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 398.

campaign, delayed the transportation of rice, deserters, and generals who lost wars. For instance, Yue Zhongqi (岳鐘琪), a first-tier general who served in both military and civil positions, and once commanded one fifth of the Han-green standing army, was accused of delaying reports containing important war information and attacking the enemy at the wrong time.[241] The Yongzheng emperor ordered his confiscation and requesting him to pay 700,000 silver taels. But Yue could not afford to pay the fine as he had accumulated little personal wealth. Ten years later, the emperor Qianlong reappointed him as a general. He proved himself again to the emperor Qianlong by winning another series of wars in the borderlands.[242]

A small percentage of confiscations did not relate to officialdom but to commoners breaking a law. These can be stratified into three categories: borderland crimes, extreme violence, and counterfeiting money or trade licenses. These laws combined both the tradition of the central plain and that of the steppes. Borderland crimes such as stealing herds and robbery could lead to confiscation. Emperors also punished extreme violence.

The emperor Jiaqing received a report on a crime of practicing dark sorcery leading to the murder of infants. He asked the governor of Anhui province to investigate. He found that Zhang Liangbi (張良壁) murdered or mutated 16 infants to consume their flesh.[243] Zhang received the punishment of execution in public by a thousand cuts. The government confiscated his assets, worth about 600 silver taels, and gave them to the victim's family as compensation.[244] In cases like these, the emperors used confiscation to fulfil the public's expectations of a sage king.

The emperors confiscated people in order to punish immoral behaviour they could not tolerate. The act of bullying, for instance, resulted in one official being confiscated. In that case, an official bullied a colleague, causing him to commit suicide. The emperor Qianlong, who cared very much about his wife, confiscated an official because he cut his hair short within the one-hundred-day period of mourning for her.[245] The official's behaviour, which was a prohibited cultural practice, showed disrespect for emperor Qianlong's wife. During the Guangxu period, a eunuch faced confiscation for smoking opium. Normally, the punishment

[241] Jalangga 查郎阿, *Memorial 04-10-35-0709-017* (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1737).
[242] Zhao, *Qing Shigao*, Juan 296, Liezhuan 83, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=98755&remap=gb.
[243] Šose 碩色, Memorial 04-01-35-0761, (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive 1801).
[244] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1, 370.
[245] Fuheng and Sailengce, *Memorial 05-0095-009* (Beijing: No 1 Historical Archive, 1748).

for smoking drugs would have been more lenient. However, the emperor chose to confiscate this eunuch to serve as a warning to all other servants: smoking opium while working in the palace was strictly prohibited.

The emperors in Qing combined the practices of the central plain and the steppes, employing confiscation to help fulfil a variety of goals when governing a vast empire. They treated confiscation as a tool to help secure power, monitor officials, and maintain peace in the borderlands. They also used it to display coercive power to the society and to signal people their imperial will in a candid way. Instead of increasing the size of the bureaucracy and the army, the emperors utilised confiscation as a way to warn people about the consequences of disobeying them. The emperors did not confiscate families because of their material culture, but for a wide variety of other reasons, thus the confiscation inventories can be used as evidence to examine the material culture of elite.

Section 2.4 Scale of Confiscation and the Inventories

Confiscation was not a common practice in the Qing, as the total known number of confiscations only reached 2,573 (Table 2.3).[246] On average, more than 700 incidents occurred per 100 years. Among the confiscated families, official families accounted for 59%, their relatives and servants accounted for 8%, members of the imperial houses 0.5%, the commoners 28%, and businessmen 4% (Table 2.4).[247] Emperors of later times increasingly utilised confiscation to monitor their officials. The early emperors employed confiscation to curb rebellion, censorship, and other activities; however, from the Yongzheng period, officials constituted the majority of confiscated families. This was especially the case for the period after the 1850s in which the emperors granted local governors more fiscal autonomy for suppressing rebellions; 80 – 90% of confiscations then were to purge officials.

During the first one hundred years of the Qing, the emperors worried more about non-officials and 88% of people confiscated by Shunzhi were commoners. To move power from the locals to the hands of the officials and to themselves, the emperors purged commoners much more often. But after 1722 during the Yongzheng and Qianlong period, officials became major rent-seekers and increased their power. Ninety nine percent of confiscated families on

[246] Yun, *Re-investigating Household and Property Confiscation in the Qing Dynasty*, 126.
[247] Yun, *Re-investigating Household and Property Confiscation in the Qing Dynasty*, 119.

the eve of the fall of the Qing 1874-1908 were officials. The late Qing emperors did not have the means to maintain their military might and granted power to the provinces. Confiscation was utilized as a mean to check the power of higher officials.

Table 2.3 Officials Confiscated in Qing Based on Reign Period

Reign Period	Incidents	Officials	% of officials
Shunzhi (1644-1661)	631	76	12%
Kangxi (1661-1722)	141	49	35%
Yongzheng (1722-1735)	130	90	69%
Qianlong (1736-1795)	769	514	67%
Jiaqing (1795-1821)	163	125	77%
Daoguang (1821-1850)	91	56	62%
Xianfeng (1852-1861)	85	70	82%
Tongzhi (1861-1874)	99	95	96%
Guangxu (1875-1908)	448	444	99%
Xuantong (1909-1911)	16	6	38%
Total	2573	1525	59%

Source: Yan Yun, "Re-investigating Household and Property Confiscation in the Qing dynasty", *The Qing History Journal,* (2017), Vol 3, 112-125; Qingyuan Wei, "Qingdai De Chaojia Dang'an He Chaojia Anjian*", Xueshu Yanjiu*, (1982), Vol 5; No 1. Beijing Historical Archive; Taibei Palace Museum Archive; Sichuan Ba County Archive

I collected 305 cases for which more detailed information, their inventories, survived. These are representative of the overall confiscation cases and can be seen in 2.4. They also include much more detail on family occupation, place of confiscation, and the reasons in comparison with the overall statistics (Table 2.5). Lower officials constituted 60% of the sample for 1700-1800 and 1800-1900. The high officials, first to third tier, comprised 15%. The remaining 20% of the families came from non-official backgrounds (Table 2.5). The total number of families may seem small in comparison with the total amount of confiscations, but is representative of the general categories and occupations.

Table 2.4 Occupations of the Known Confiscation Cases

	Officials	Relatives Servants	Imperial Household	Commoners	Businessmen	Other
Incidents	1525	190	12	726	98	22
%age	59%	8%	0.5%	28%	4%	0.5%
Inventory	244	20	0	24	16	1
%age	73%	6%	0	8%	5%	0.3%

Source: Yan Yun, "Re-investigating Household and Property Confiscation in the Qing dynasty", *The Qing History Journal,* (2017), Vol 3, 112-125; Qingyuan Wei, "Qingdai De Chaojia Dang'an He Chaojia Anjian*", Xueshu Yanjiu*, (1982), Vol 5; No 1. Beijing Historical Archive; Taibei Palace Museum Archive; Sichuan Ba County Archive

Table 2.5 Occupation Structure of Families with Inventory List

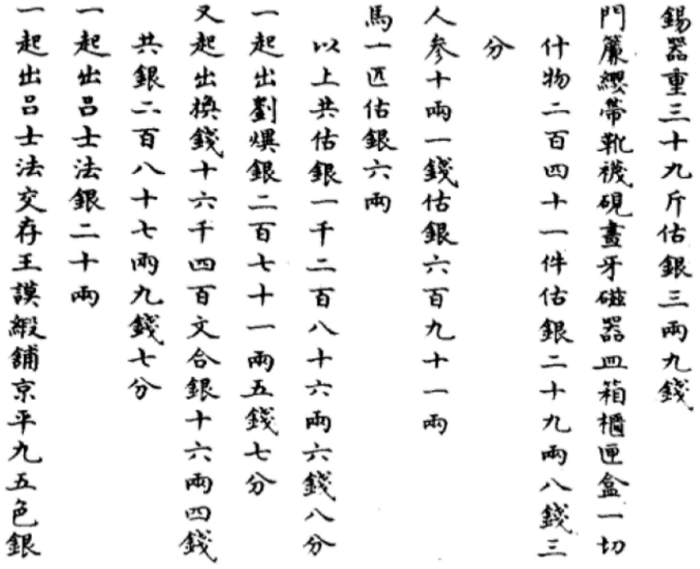
	1st-3rd tier Officials	4th -9th tier Official	Family & Servants	Businessmen	Commoners	Eunuch	Unknown	Total
1700s	24	148	20	13	7	0	11	223
	10%	65%	8.2%	8%	3%	0%	4.7%	73%
1800s	22	49	1	3	5	1	1	82
	27%	60%	1%	4%	6%	1%	1%	26%
Total	47	197	21	16	12	1	12	305

Source: Appendix II

The inventory lists contain 29233 entries on goods and assets. These entries derive from two types of memorial report, as demonstrated in photo 2.3 and 2.4. Both list detailed items, but one is with prices and the other without. In contrast to the probate lists used in European studies and the auction lists of Italian merchants, the Qing lists provided more in-depth detail on the goods confiscated. This enabled me to stratify the goods into three layers. The top layer depicts the type of goods, whether the goods that can be found or stored in the house such as utensils, clothes, accessories, or objects found outside the main house, including animals, weapons, and carriages, and financial assets. The medium catalogue specifies the

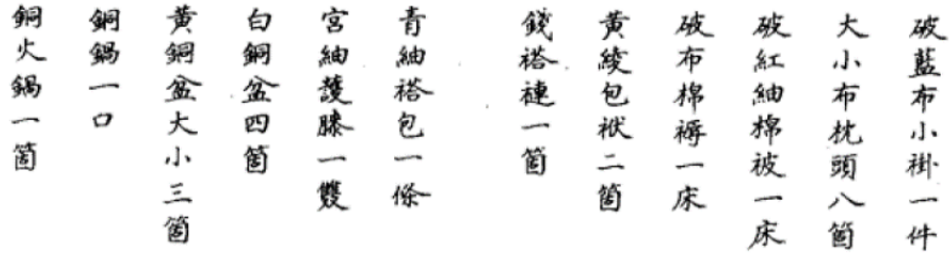
general character and use of the goods. It constitutes 25 categories: household goods comprising basic utensils and luxurious utensils, wearables such as accessories, jewellery, fur garments, fur pieces, silk garments, silk textiles, plant-based garments, plant-based textiles, and makeup; non-perishable food: luxurious food, staple food; weapons, horse carriages, herd animals; and financial assets: house, land, rented real estate, rented shops, cash, lent cash, pawned out, salt licences, and business contracts. The final layer, the most comprehensive one, depicts the 200 materials used to make these goods and 551 types of goods.

Photo 2.3 Inventory List with Price and Quantity



Source: Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1 - 4 (Beijing: Zhong Hua Shu Ju, 1994).

Photo 2.4 Inventory List with Quantity



Source: Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian* Vol. 1 - 4 (Beijing: Zhong Hua Shu Ju, 1994).

The first two layers of goods were categorised by computerised text analysis. In classical Chinese, the name of goods always embeds at least one character to indicate its shape or usage. For instance, a jade cup consists of two characters: *yu* (玉), which means jade, and *bei* (杯), which means cup. Fifty indicative characters are used in the checking and categorisation for household utensils, thirty-two characters are used for accessories and jewellery, and twenty are used for textile and garments. This process captures 95% of the inventories. The remaining 5% are book names that have no pattern or key indicating character. These were hand-sorted to be included in the categorisation.

I manually sorted the last layer and at the same time adjusted the other two to check whether this algorithm captured rare classical Chinese words and to differentiate the make of specific goods. Some of the names do not correlate with the meaning of the word itself. This turned out to be a common phenomenon; for example, *xiabu* (夏布), the literal transition of which is summer textile, says little about what it is. In order to acquire the specific knowledge on the names of goods, I cross checked three sources: a Chinese commercial guide written by S. Wells Williams in 1863, a Russian-Shanghainese-Chinese dictionary compiled to assist traders in the 1800s, and the digitised Manchu and Chinese archive available through a platform Erudition, in which 10,000 volumes of primary sources published since antiquity are

digitised.[248] These sources represent the merchant and literati knowledge networks of the four most active groups that deal with goods: the Russians, English, Chinese, and the Manchus. The sources help to provide a fuller picture, especially when a disparity exists between two sources. This categorisation is the most comprehensive to date to describe Qing goods.

After categorisation, the next step was to approximate the price of these goods. Approximately 2600 entries have price information. The accuracy of the prices attributed at the stage had never been questioned by the government or the emperor. When officials tried to steal from the confiscation assets, they would make a new list to omit the things they took. Although the inventories remained relatively free from manipulation by the families, as the government secretly stormed their residence not giving them much time to prepare, the officials in charge of confiscation could underreport the amount of assets. To prevent such underreporting and further corruption, the emperors set up mechanisms and incentives in the confiscation process such that the liar would also be confiscated. In fact, a few officials in the Qianlong and Jiaqing period were confiscated because of under reporting.

Two set of prices were composed based on price information reported in the inventory, one to approximate the price of goods before 1800 and the other after 1800. I chose to use *kuping wenyin* (庫平紋銀), the unit used for taxation purposes, as the currency of silver units because most of the inventory list is estimated in *kupin*. However, some are in *shiping wenyin* (市平紋銀). I use the exchange rate found in the report of the Jiangsu civil governor, Yang Kui (杨魁), who notes in 1778 that "one silver taels of *shiping* equals 0.95 silver taels of the finest silver. Thus 1 silver taels of *shiping* equals 0.97 *kuping*." I have identified nine exchange rates in total between *shiping* and *kuping*, reported in the same year in the same region and at the same rate. I do not have cross regional exchange rate information. Although most of the reports are already in *kuping* and only 7 are in *shiping*, this should not be a large concern. However, this methodology might underestimate the price of luxury goods across the regions, especially on jade and other materials that were not produced in the central plain.

[248] Samuel Wells Williams, *A Chinese commercial guide, consisting of a collection of details and regulations respecting foreign trade with China, sailing directions, tables, &c* (Sagwan Press, Reprint 2015); *Словари кяхтинского пиджина, Dictionaries of the Kyakhta pidgin* (Moscow: Восточная литература, 2017); Erudition Databases, 愛如生—中國基本古籍庫、中國方誌庫, http://er07.com/home/pro_3.html.

These goods were not bulk traded commodities according to James Millward.[249] Thus, their prices could be influenced by war, weather, and trading conditions.

I use 10,000 silver taels as a marker for affluent families based on the estimated total assets and the income of officials (Figure 2.7). The Qing sources and modern scholars suggest that 1000 silver tael of family wealth marks a family as middle-class (中人之家). But the confiscated families were much more affluent than the average Qing family. Although 10,000 silver taels is a very high threshold representing substantial wealth, I could not use a more reasonable figure of 1000 silver taels as the marker of affluence because 99% of the families owned more than this. I also explored using 2000 and 5000 silver taels as the marker of affluence. However, there would be fewer then 10 families in each of the wealth group, resulting in statistical insignificance for comparing large trends.

Therefore, I decided to recalculate the marker for wealth distinction relative to the sample I collected. Economists and sociologists have employed a range of ways to distinguish between classes: distance from the median income, range of distribution of total wealth, distance from poverty, social status, and absolute purchasing power.[250] For the Qing period, the range of distribution of wealth is unknown, as is the poverty line and absolute purchasing power. Social status could have been used but if adopted, the factor of wealth ownership would be omitted. Distance from median income, the income bracket approach, is the only approach left. Thus, I use the income bracket approach to calculate the threshold, which is 10,000 silver taels.

[249] James A. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).
[250] "Methodological Details on the Calculation Of household Incomes across the Distribution," *Economic Policy Reforms* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2015),311; Orsetta Causa, Alain De Serres, and Nicolas Ruiz,"Can Pro-growth Policies Lift All Boats?," *OECD Journal Economic Studies* 2015, no. 1 (2015): 227-68.

Figure 2.6 Wealth Distribution of Confiscated Elite

Source: Appendix II

Occupation, the other important factor that determines material culture and consumption trends, is also specified. Most of the information is documented in the memorials that reported confiscation, so I cross checked all the names of confiscated person with the list of officials: *Qingdai zhiguan nianbiao* (清代職官年表) and the database of the individual bibliography archive digitised by the Academic Sinica.[251] The scholar-official groups in Table 2.7 and 2.8 represent elite lived in the inner provinces. Table 2.9 details the families who lived in Xinjiang and Manchuria. Since the database of Academic Sinica, Qingdai zhiguan nianbiao (清代職官年表) , and confiscation memorials only provide official's degree status for those who have passed the provincial level exam or above, we do not know if the rest of the officials or gentries possessed lower level degrees. They might enter officialdom via other credentials such as Gongsheng. Some of them, according to the memorials, simply bought their titles and became officials.

[251] Qian Shifu 錢實甫, *Qingdai Zhiguan Nianbiao* 清代職官年表, 1644-1911 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1980); Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Qingdai zhiguan ziliaoku 清代職官資料庫 (Taibei: Academic Sinica), https://newarchive.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/officerc/officerkm2?!!FUNC2.

Table 2.7 Confiscated Family lived in Inner Province during the 1700s

Occupation	Proto Ethnicity	Exam	Total Wealth	No. of Families
Official	Han	Unknown	<10,000	37
Official	Han	Unknown	>10,000	37
Official	Han	Provincial or above	<10,000	3
Official	Han	Provincial or above	>10,000	23
Commoners	Han	Unknown	<10,000	24
Commoners	Han	Unknown	10,000-500,000	20
Commoners	Han	Unknown	>500,000	5
Official	Manchu	Unknown	<10,000	6
Official	Manchu	Unknown	>10,000	17
Official	Manchu	Jinshi	>10,000	1
Official	Mongol	Unknown	<10,000	7
Official	Mongol	Unknown	>10,000	9
Official	Mongol	Fanyi Jinshi	>10,000	1

Source: Appendix II.

Table 2.8 Confiscated Family lived in Inner Province during the 1800s

Occupation	Proto Ethnicity	Exam	Total Wealth	No. of Families
Official	Han	Unknown	<10,000	11
Official	Han	Unknown	>10,000	10
Official	Han	Provincial or above	<10,000	1
Official	Han	Provincial or above	>10,000	5
Commoners	Han	Unknown	<10,000	10
Commoners	Han	Unknown	10,000-500,000	5
Commoners	Han	Unknown	>500,000	1
Official	Manchu	Unknown	<10,000	8
Official	Manchu	Unknown	<10,000	1

Source: Appendix II.

Table 2.9 Confiscated Family lived in Xinjiang and Manchuria

Time	Occupation	Proto Ethnicity	Exam	Total Wealth	No. of Families
1700s	Official	Manchu	Unknown	<10,000	8
1700s	Official	Manchu	Unknown	>10,000	11
1700s	Official	Manchu	Bithesi	<10,000	1
1700s	Official	Manchu	Fanyi Jinshi	>10,000	1
1800s	Official	Manchu	Unknown	<10,000	9
1800s	Official	Manchu	Unknown	>10,000	20

Source: Appendix II.

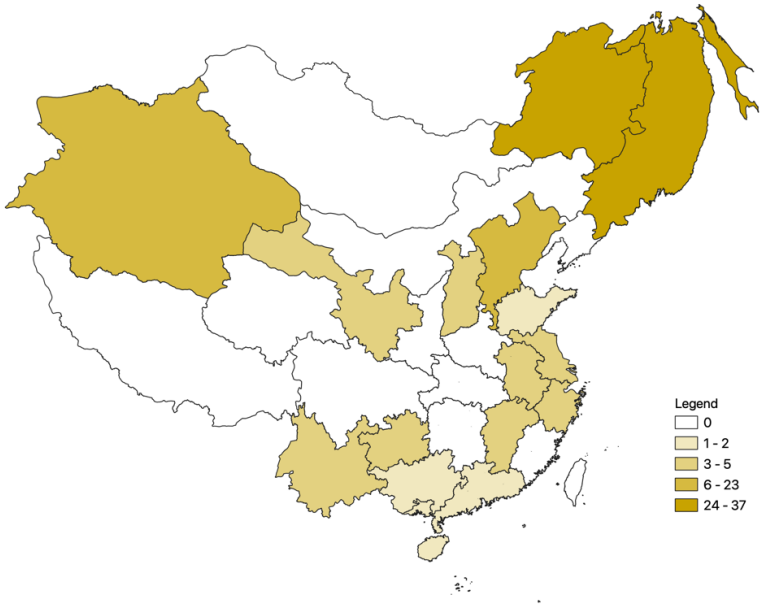
The families confiscated were mainly wealthy elite (Figure 2.6), comprised of 17 Mongolian and 96 Manchu bannermen, and 192 Han families (127 officials). Eight of the families, 2 Manchu and 1 Mongol bannermen, and 5 Han officials sat at the top of the social,

political, and economic hierarchy, holding a provincial civil service examination degree or above, serving official posts above 3rd tier, and owning around 10,000 silver taels or above. About two thirds of the Han families, 149 of them were confiscated before 1800s, 43 of them in the 19th century. Similarly, about two thirds of the banner families, 62 Manchu and Mongol bannermen were confiscated in the 1700s. The rest of the banner families were confiscated in the 1800s, 29 Manchu bannermen came from the borderland areas and 22 from the inner provinces.

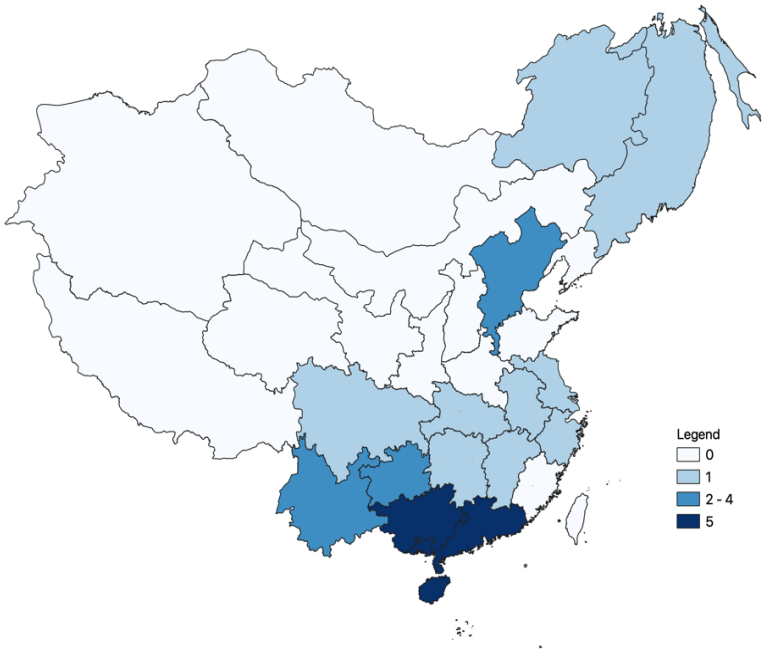
The bannermen constituted 40% of the families. This indicates that the emperors did not exempt bannermen from confiscation punishment. One would assume that the Qing emperors would be more lenient towards the bannermen, but they were also punished. Although the emperors relied on their banner officials to conduct confiscation investigations, they at least did not favour too much of one population over another when punishing them.

Confiscations were carried out on a family basis. Many of the elite owned multiple residences for investment and other purposes. I chose their main residence: the house in which their direct family members lived as their place of confiscation because the inventories show that most of the household goods were concentrated in this location. Most of the Han family members lived in their birthplace while Manchu and Mongol bannermen lived with their family in their stationed garrisons. Map1,2, and 3 show the location of confiscated families according to their proto-ethnicity. The families examined in this thesis came from 18 inner provinces and Xinjiang and Manchuria borderland areas.

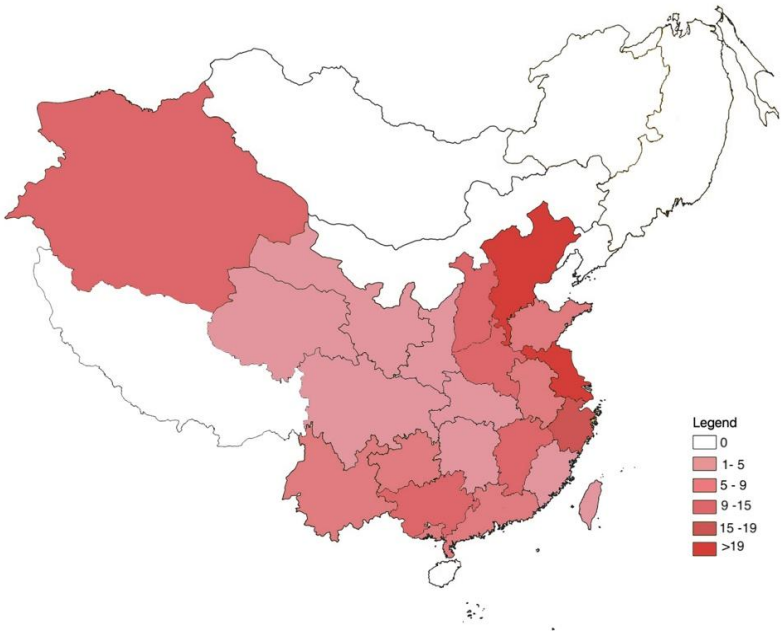
Map 1. Confiscation Place of Manchu Banner Families in Qing



Map 2. Confiscation Place of Mongol Banner Families



Map 3. Confiscation Place of Han Families



Source: Constructed based on Appendix II using Harvard GIS Map of Qing 1820

Conclusion

The Qing emperors exploited confiscation to overcome problems they faced in governance. One man can never rule all. Confiscation became a tool for them to centralise power, investigate crimes, and send signals. Emperors used it as a swift display of power to remind different factions (composed of regional native place ties, banner fractions, and proto-ethnic cultural ties) to be loyal to the imperial rule. This exercise generated fear and served as a warning. Even more symbolically, the emperor sometimes ignored the written law and used his own verdict to demonstrate his absolute control over everything. The law thus served him.

Confiscation also has the benefit of demonstrating the benevolent rule of Qing government to the commoners. It reminded commoners that the central government punished corrupt officials and violent criminals, even though a large percentage were not punished and most of the punishments stemmed from political struggles. When the person in charge of confiscation sealed off the largest villa in town, officials sent confiscated assets to Beijing and sometimes also the criminals, and when the state confiscated “criminals” and publicly

executed them, the whole of society was reminded of the existence of the central state. The ruler who sat in Beijing was regulating "criminal activities," providing justice and perhaps hope to the people.

The emperors utilised the inventory lists partially as evidence to ascertain political loyalty and signs of abuse of power. These lists once helped the emperor to determine the fate of a family. Now, the inventory lists have become the only comprehensive evidence left for us to learn about the material possessions of Qing elite. Because confiscation was ordered by the emperor for a variety of reasons, the inventory lists do not suffer the biases involved in capturing certain types of families because of their cultural background. The remainder of the thesis investigates the material culture of confiscated families. The next chapter scrutinizes the household assets of the Han people, the largest elite group confiscated.

CHAPTER 3. MATERIAL CULTURE AND IDENTITY AMONG THE HAN ELITE

Intellectuals living in the East Asia central plain often referred to themselves and previous elite based on dynastic names: such as the Han people, *Hanren* (漢人), the Tang people, *Tangren* (唐人), the Song people, *Songren* (宋人), the Ming people, *Mingren* (明人), and the Qing people: *Qingren* (清人).[252] Han people — *Hanren* entered the Chinese written record in the first century BCE, largely due to the establishment of the Han dynasty. [253] It was not until the Tang dynasty that *Hanren* appeared more frequently in the textual record.[254] In the late 19th century, intellectuals began to associate *Hanren* with the majority of the commoners ruled by the Qing as an ethnic or racial unit inspired by European and Japanese intellectual thought.[255] In the mid-20th century, the P.R. China labelled more than 90% of the inhabitants, constituting eight "mutually unintelligible" speech communities, as the Han *minzu* (民族) ethnic group.[256] But what is "Han" culture, identity, and society? Did this label convey any meaning other than serving as a tool utilised by a modern government to rule? Were cultural traits shared by the Han as a collective? If the Han people were the predecessor of a Han national identity, then by the time of the Qing, the last imperial state, did they exhibit aspects of a shared culture? And had their material culture been influenced by the Manchu rule?

From the 1950s onwards, scholars started to question and dissect the meaning of Han, motivated by trying to understand the Han people, the recurrent unity of the East Asia central plain, and the longevity of "Chinese" states.[257] Historians use two lenses, one internal and the other external, to study Han group identity. The internal school, Herold Wiens and Peter Perdue, envision the Han as a growing force that originated from inside of the central plain, a

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[252] Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, 196; Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (1264-1269), *Yuefu shijij* 樂府詩集, juan 25, 270 in HDW.
[253] Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji - qinding siku quanshu* 史記 – 欽定四庫全書本, juan123, dawan liezhuan 大宛列传, 3169, accessed February 2nd 2022 https://ctext.org/shiji/zhs; Wilkinson, 191.
[254] Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, 195–96.
[255] Rhoads, *Manchus and Han*, 3; Liang Qichao 梁啟超, *Yinbingshi wenji* 飲冰室文集 (Taibei 台北: Taiwan Zhonghua Shuju 台灣中華書局, 1970), part1, 77-83; Zou Rong 鄒容, *Gemingjun* 革命軍 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1971), 1-5.
[256] John DeFrancis, *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1984), 39.
[257] Thomas S Mullaney, "Critical Han studies: Introduction and Prolegomenon," 4.

historical term connected to the Han dynasty and a hegemonic cultural power.[258] The external school, Mark Elliott, claims that the development of Han as an ethnonym "owed greatly to the intervention of the Hu, the nomadic and semi nomadic people living to the north of the Central plains."[259] He proposes that Han is a "label for people who, by descent, language, and cultural practices, were recognized as Central plain dwellers."[260] Studies on the borderland areas and specific regions in the central plain add complexity to the definition of Han. They demonstrate the pluralistic nature of the different groups resided in the "traditionally Han dominated areas," which are also referred to by scholars as "China proper."[261] They question the homogeneity of Han group identity through scrutiny of linguistic differences, social and economic tensions, and ritual burial practices.

This chapter investigates Han elite's material culture in the Qing empire in order to explore their shared taste and distinction. The central plain elite's taste has been investigated by scholars through the exploration of a variety of sources. Timothy Brook, Craig Clunas, and Richard Smith explore the rich textual discourses surrounding the meaning of goods.[262] Multiple studies investigate photos, imperial household collections, and artifacts and museum collections.[263] Lai Huiming, Peter Purdue, and others also analyse the social, political, and

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[258] Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); Harold Wiens, *Han Chinese Expansion in Southern China* (Hamden, CT: Shoe String Press, 1967).

[259] Mark Elliott, "Hushuo: the Northern Other and the Naming of the Han Chinese," *Critical Han Studies, the History, representation, and identity of China's Majority*, ed. Thomas S. Mulaney, James Leibold Stepahane Gros, Eric Vanden Bussche (California: University of California Press, 2012), 74.

[260] Elliott, "Hushuo", *Empire at Margins*, 74.

[261] Donald S. Sutton, "Ethnicity and the Miao Frontier in the Eighteenth Century," in Crossley, Siu, and Sutton, *Empire at the Margins*, 190–228; Honig, *Creating Chinese Ethnicity*; Pamela Crossley, "Nationality and Difference in China: The Post-Imperial Dilemma," in *The Teleology of the Modern Nation-State: Japan and China*, ed. Joshua Fogel (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 138 – 58; Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation*; Prasenjit Duara, "Nationalists among Transnationals: Overseas Chinese and the Idea of China, 1900 – 1911", in *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism*, ed. Aihwa Ong and Don Nonini (New York: Routledge, 1997), 39 – 60; Mark Elliott, *The Manchu Way*.

[262] Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998); Smith, *The Qing Dynasty and Traditional Chinese Culture*; Clunas, *Superfluous Things*.

[263] Zhou Jingnan 周京南, "Gugong bowuyuan cang qingdai qianyu jiaju 故宫博物院藏清代嵌玉家具," *Art Market*, no. 11 (2007): 90–93; Zhu, Weijin nanbeichao yuqi yanjiu; Zhang Guangwen 張廣文, "Hetian Jade and Imperial Jade Ware of Qing Dynasty 和田玉與清代宮廷玉器," *Forbidden City*, no. 09 (2018): 52–87; Xu Tingting, "The Group Photograph as an Imbricated Ritualistic Event: Duanfang and His Altar Bronzes in Late Qing Antiquarian Praxis 該團體照片是一個混合儀式事件: 端方和他的祭壇青銅在晚清的古物實踐," *History of Photography* 44, no. 4 (2020): 249–66; Xu Lin 徐琳, "The Jadeite of Imperial Court in Qing Dynasty 翠華玉意兩逢迎,清代宮廷中的翡翠," *Forbidden City*, no. 05 (2018): 78–95; Xu Feng 徐峰,

trade history surrounding goods.[264] However, the literature does not build a linkage between the meaning of goods and their owners.

I investigate the possessions found in the confiscation inventories of 193 families located in 18 provinces, of which 127 were officials and the remaining 66 were commoners. For consistency, officials who attained a provincial degree and above are called degree officials, high officials, or scholar-officials; all occupied government positions in the 3rd tier and above. The rest of the confiscated Han officials who did not pass a provincial degree and occupied positions in the 4th tier and below are referred to as lower officials. The rest of the Han families were commoners.

I reveal a shared common taste among Han families. They owned jade, silk, porcelain, chair-level furniture, and auspicious carvings like Ruyi. In contrast to Xu Jieshun's (徐傑舜) "snowball theory" [265] in which he purposes the eternal existence of a non-changing Han cultural identity, the Qing Han elite actively sought to change and modify ancient cultural symbols including Shang Zhou dynasty utensils and ancient motifs. The scholar officials commissioned artisans to make these goods with new raw materials that became more widely available in this period to show off their proximity to imperial power and education.

Officials above the 4th tier who achieved at least a provincial civil examination degree collected the most amount of goods related to the pre-Qing material culture. They owned the largest number of rare antiques: Han dynasty ritual goods, ancient bronze utensils, and paintings and calligraphies from Song period. They ordered artisans to carve historical events and auspicious symbols into their decorations.

These degree-owning officials held hundreds of books on past histories and collected manuals that documented pre-Qing material culture: the chronicles, the various versions of the classics, the literati accounts, novels, dictionaries, and arts books. They knew as much

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"Inheritance between Jade Culture and Bronze Culture Viewed from Shape and Ornamentation 從形制與紋飾看玉器和青銅器之間的文化傳承," *The Central Plains Culture Research*, no. 5 (2016): 65–73.

[264] Lai Huimin 赖惠敏 and Su Dezheng 苏德征, "Qingchao gongting zhizuo huangtong jishu yu liuchuan 清朝宫廷制作黄铜技术与流传," *Jilin shifan daxue xuebao renwen shehui kexue ban* 吉林师范大学学报人文社会科学版 43, no. 01 (2015): 43–53; Peter C. Perdue, "Tea, Cloth, Gold, and Religion: Manchu Sources on Trade Missions from Mongolia to Tibet," *Late Imperial China* 36, no. 2 (2015): 1–22.

[265] James Leibold, *Critical Han Studies*, 210; Xu Jieshun 徐傑舜, *Xueqiu: Han minzu de renleixue fenxi* 雪球漢民族的人類學分析(Shanghai 上海: Shanghai renmin chubanshe 上海人民出版社, 1999), 1; Fei Xiaotong 費孝通, *Zhonghua minzu duoyuan yiti geju* 中華民族多元一體格局 (Beijing 北京: Zhongyang renmin xueyuan chubanshe 中央人民學院出版社, 1989).

about the cultural resonance of goods as modern scholars because they owned most of the primary sources on the meaning of goods cited by such scholars. Scholar-officials, as one of the core producers of books, also promoted their way of living as the right and healthy way to help people to achieve longevity.[266]

Scholar-officials embellished their houses with these symbolic decorations to send a cultural and political message to their visitors: specifically, that they mastered and owned previous cultures related to the Chinese language. This boosted their legitimacy to rule in addition to highlighting their credentials as having passed the civil service examinations. They were selected to be officials because they understood the classics and past histories. They showed their visitors that they had the legitimacy to govern this area because they knew the "culture" and historical lessons as a result of reading and memorising book after book.

In European societies, the correlation between cultural ownership and political legitimacy also manifested itself in multiple ways. For instance, European powers were obsessed with the Roman empire. The Hapsburg created a genealogical record to trace their ancestor to Julius Ceasar and also the Jewish King and the Soloman.[267] The eighteenth-century Italian government revived Roman architecture to become the legitimate owner of the Roman past.[268] Before commercialisation in the 18th century Europe, knowledge of aesthetic was a privilege of the learned aristocrats who acquainted themselves with past histories and classics and antiques.[269]

The Han officials' fondness for pre-Qing material cultures could also be interpreted as a statement to the Manchu rulers that they, the elite of the "Nikan" Han group, were different. They had a much "longer" written history and civilisation than the Manchus. Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong were deeply aware of this soft and hidden criticism based on their "inferior" cultural background. We can see their awareness in censorship campaigns. The emperor Qianlong, one of the emperors keen on dealing with this issue, often aggressively stamped the Chinese paintings and calligraphies he possessed with numerous Manchu and

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[266] Cao Tingdong 曹庭棟, *Laolaohengyan* 老老恒言 (Beijing 北京: Renmin weisheng chubanshe 人民衛生出版社, 2006).
[267] Geoffrey Barraclough, "Holy Roman Empire", Encyclopedia Britannica, 29 Oct. 2020, https://www.britannica.com/place/Holy-Roman-Empire. Accessed 8 March 2021.
[268] David Watkin, A History of Western Architecture (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2005), 369.
[269] Timothy Charles William Blanning, The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture. Old Regime Europe 1660-1789 (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002),168.

Chinese seals, to bluntly exhibit his ownership.[270] These emperors also mastered Chinese language related arts and collecting antiques.[271]

Han elite also localised, domesticated, and adopted the relatively new fashion goods and luxury raw materials that were made more available to them because of Qing expansion and diplomatic ties, materials such as coral, agate, jadeite, and ivory. (Chapter 6 discusses oversea foreign goods in detail; this chapter examines central and southern Asia goods.)[272] Han elite commissioned artisans to carve the imported raw materials with motifs and mystical beasts they had learnt from books written in classical Chinese. These were transformed into Qing Han cultural goods.

The confessions, reports, and memorials generated by the confiscations revealed that Han officials exploited an incredibly wide social network to acquire rare luxuries. Often following the confiscation of a high official, twenty to thirty officials wrote private letters to the emperor, regretting that they either helped or gave precious raw materials or other gifts to that official for free.[273] Most of the time, the emperor would not punish the gift givers. The boundaries between corruption and gift giving were blurred in Qing.[274] High officials, Jesuits,[275] domestic and foreign merchants were all involved in the "gift giving" culture.[276]

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[270] Zou Ailian 邹愛蓮, *Qingdai Dangan Yu Qinggong Wenhua, Dijiujie Qinggongshi Yanjiuhui Lunwenji* 清代檔案與清宮文化，第九屆清宮史研究會論文集 (Beijing 北京: Zhongguo dangan chubanshe 中國檔案出版社, 2010).

[271] Aisin Gioro In Jen, *Dayi Juemi Lu* 大義覺迷錄; Beiping gugong bowuyuan wenxianguan 北平故宮博物院文獻館, Qingdai Wenziyu Dang 清代文字獄檔; Lai Huimin 賴惠敏, "The Sovereign's Superior Goods: The Qianlong Emperor and Suzhou's Prosperity," *Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo Jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 50 (2005): 185–233.

[272] Mineral assets available in Qing: Guojia tushuguan gujiguan 國家圖書館古籍館, Guojia tushuguan cang qingdai mingguo diaocha baogao congkan 國家圖書館藏清代民國調查報告叢刊 (Beijing 北京: Yanshan chubanshe 燕山出版社, 2010); On change of mining policies in Qing: Shellen X. Wu, "Mining the Way to Wealth and Power: Late Qing Reform of Mining law (1895-1911)," *The International History Review*, Vol 34 (2012): 581-599; Dazheng Zhang and Carol Faul, "A history of geology and geological education in China," *Earth Sciences History*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1988): 27-32.

[273] Zhongguo diyilishi danganguan, Qianlong chengban tanwu dangan xuanbian, 1677.

[274] Detailed explanation see section 3.1.

[275] Noël Golvers, *Qingchu yesuhui shiluriman: Changshuzhangben ji lingxiubijiyanjiu* 清初耶穌會士魯日滿: 常熟帳本及靈修筆記研究(Beijing 北京: Daxiang chubanshe 大象出版社, 2007); Joyce Lindorff, "Missionaries, keyboards and musical exchange in the Ming and Qing courts," *Early Music*, Vol 32 (2004): 403-414.

[276] Zhongyangyanjiuyuan lishiyuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所, *Mingqing shiliao yibian* 明清史料 - 已編, ed. (Beijing 北京: Beijing chubanshe 北京出版社, 2008), 596-590; Persistence in gift giving culture in P.R.China: Andrew B. Kipnis, "The language of gifts: managing guanxi in a north China village," *Modern China*, Vol. 22, No.3 (Jul., 1996): 285-314.

These modified luxuries sent a double message to the visitors not only regarding their knowledge of Chinese language-based cultures but also their position of power, their closeness to the centre of imperial power, and vast networks.

Outside of high officialdom, lower tier officials owned very few of these literary goods and precious imported materials. Some joined the bureaucracy to further advance their personal interests. They did not possess many of these literati goods or the relatively new luxuries. Instead, they spent money on acquiring properties, shopfronts, and land. This absence of ownership reflected the choices that they made, which might reflect their limited social network in comparison with the high officials.

Han commoner household decorations varied depending on their wealth. Only families with total assets above 500,000 silver taels possessed goods similar to those owned by high officials, officials who had much less wealth in total, assets often of 10,000 silver taels or above. However, the commoners were limited by their political position, and only acquired relatively new antiques from Ming, and possessed few of the south and central Asian imported luxury goods. That said, special merchant groups such as the Shanxi merchants that oversaw imperial purchases might own these goods as they were the buyers for the emperor. The commoners confiscated were not special merchants. Instead, the commoners mimicked the taste of high officials by commissioning artisans to carve motifs and figures onto alternative materials, replacing hardwood with softwood such as fir, bamboo, and jade with stones. These materials were widely available in the central plain. The commoners used these decorations to show visitors their mastery of arts and culture, but not their power.

When entering the house of a Qing Han elite family, visitors could immediately identify the cultural identity of the household. The confiscated Han elite shared a common taste for silk, porcelain, chair-level furniture, and exhibited a higher degree of interest in Chinese literary goods than the Manchus and Mongol bannermen examined in the next chapter. Second, visitors could also discern the status of the family by scrutinising their household decorations. Han elite embedded information regarding their political, economic, and educational status into their living spaces.

The following chapter is divided into three sections. The first analyses furniture and textiles and then moves onto discuss goods that carry deeper cultural meaning, including utensils (器具) and carvings. The second section scrutinises the materials that were used to

make these goods. The third part books, paintings, and calligraphies. Each section discusses the overall trend and differences of ownership found in the inventories. The percentages presented in this study should be interpreted as a ratio of preferences, because I could neither prove nor disapprove the completeness of inventory lists.

Section 3.1 General Trend of Household Decorations

The furniture found in Han people's houses consisted of four categories: large pieces of furniture, textiles, utensils, and carvings. The large pieces of furniture laid the spatial frame for social and private living. Textiles added an embellishment to furniture and covered beds. Utensils allowed the families to conduct household work, cook, serve guests, and conduct ritual activities. Carvings decorated spaces along with paintings and calligraphies.

Furniture

Stepping into a Qing Han household, European visitors such as Jesuit Nicolas Trigault in the 17th century noted that the Qing people had adopted chair-level living.[277] Fernand Braudel provided one of the first modern analyses of chair-level living across the world.[278] China was the only country in East Asia that switched from floor level to chair level living before the 20th century.[279] The exact time of this transition is disputed. Scholars proposed three possible times: the period of disunion (420-589 AD), the Song (960-1279), and the late Ming (1500) and they attributed this adaptation to religious influences such as Buddhism and court tastes.[280]

By the time of the Qing, the confiscation inventories indicated that approximately 95% of families owned chair-level living furniture, including chairs, tables, and closets. Less than 5% of families did not own some pieces. Han elite completed the adaptation process to chair-level living, which reflects the cultural and political legacies of the past.

In the Han dynasty, elite did not sit on chairs; these belonged to the nomadic cultures.[281] The first written record that documented the usage of chairs by the East Asia

[277] Nicolas Trigault, *Xiru ermuzi* 西儒耳目資, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=241027.
[278] Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and capitalism,* Vol I, 283-311.
[279] Trigault, *Xiru Ermu Zi*, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=241027.
[280] Sarah Handler, "Rising from Mat to Chair, a revolution in Chinese furniture," in *Austere Luminosity of Chinese classical furniture* (California: University of California Press, 2001), 8.
[281] Handler, Rising from Mat to Chair, 8. John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003).

central plain elite appeared in the Eastern Han dynasty. *Hou hanshu* (後漢書) noted that Emperor Ling of Han (漢靈帝) preferred nomadic clothes, nomadic bed curtains, and nomadic seats.[282] In the Song period (960-1279), Gao Cheng (高承) noted the adaptation of nomadic chairs: *Huchuang* (胡床) to a type of Song chair, *Jiaoyi* (交椅). He quoted *Fengsu tongyi* (風俗通義) who wrote that "the chair used by the Hanling emperor marked the beginning of the development of today's chair."[283] In the Song Yuan period, literati also began to associate chairs with power. In *Shuihuzhuan* (水滸傳), composed by Shi Naian (施耐庵) in late Yuan, the author employs the phrase: the first (person sit on a) chair (第一把交椅) to portray the head of an organisation. Later writers then adopted this phrase.[284] This association of chairs with power could also have been induced by Mongol and Manchu rule. In Qing, Han elite, influenced by their ancestors and perhaps by the Manchu and Mongol culture, understood chairs as a part of their culture.

Besides chair-level furniture, the other large piece of furniture owned by Han families —*Pingfeng* (屏风), painted screens, also had a long cultural and political history; for instance, it used to be a good linked to the emperor. According to *the Book of Rites* (禮記), composed in Han, "the son of Heaven (emperor) should sit in front of a screen."[285] Painted screens, in addition, could also be used as a space separator. In Qing, affluent scholar-officials developed a strong preference for them. A majority of them utilised screens in their daily lives. Scholar-officials would arrange to place a screen behind a chair in the centre of their main hall. This arrangement would send a strong message, combining the tradition developed in Han and in Song that the person who sat on the chair in front of a screen was the head of the family.

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[282] "Emperor Ling of Han preferred nomadic clothes, nomadic bed curtains, and nomadic seats 漢靈帝好胡服、胡帳、胡床" in Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Hanshu - Qinding Sikuquanshu Ben* 後漢書 - 欽定四庫全書本, ed. Chen Hao 陳浩(Shanghai 上海: Wuzhou Tongwenju 五洲同文局, 1881), https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=77690.

[283] "Emperor Ling of Han preferred nomadic clothes, Jingshi made hu chuang, this was the origin of today's chair. 漢靈帝好胡服，景師作胡床，此蓋其始也，今交椅是也。"Gao Cheng 高承, *Shiwu Jiyuan - Qinding siku quanshu* 事物紀原 - 欽定四庫全書, ed. Tong Li (digitised by Zhejiang daxue tushuguan 浙江大學圖書館, 1881), https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=778&remap=gb.

[284] Lao She 老舍, *Sishi Tongtang* 四世同堂 (Beijing 北京: Beijing shiyue wenyi chubanshe 北京十月文藝出版社, 2008), 517.

[285] "The son of heaven shall be situated in front of a screen. 天子當寧而立" Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, Kong Yingda 孔穎達, Lu Deming 陸德明 ed., *Shisanjing Zhushu, Liji Zhushu* 十三經注疏，禮記注疏 (Beijing: Unknown, 1740), Quli xia 曲禮下, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=80189&page=2&remap=gb.

Types of furniture in Qing were made from hard materials. The Han families covered them with textiles, augmenting the level of comfort level of their home living. From the ownership statistics, it is clear that different types of furniture cover indicated a family's culture and power. Eight out of ten commoners and officials owned silk furniture covers to embellish their chairs, tables, and bedroom. Yet wealthy high officials owned substantially more fur covers than any other Han groups. Two out of three possessed fur-related decorations. Weather seemed not to be a driving force behind this as they came from diverse places and from the south. Their ownership of fur shared similarities with the Manchu and Mongol bannermen. It is likely that they were influenced by Manchu taste because they worked with them side by side. They used fur furniture covers and rugs as part of the larger messages that they embedded into their household decorations, which was that they held political power and were closer to the Manchu Qing government.

Chair-level living created a need for the elite to purchase more furniture, including low tables, high tables, and stools, adding dimensions to everyday spaces. Han elite filled the empty shelves and *bogujia* (博古架), a type of cabinet that performed a similar function to the curiosity cabinet, with ceremonial utensils used for food and drink and ritual ceremonies, carvings, and decorations. Certain types of utensils, tea and wine ceremonial wares, were used by elite in everyday life. These tea and wine ceremonial sets comprised of a tea tray, tea pot, teacup, wine pot, and wine cup. Multiple scholars, such as James A. Benn and Johan Evans, contend that people practiced tea drinking at all levels of society during Qing.[286] According to lists of possessions in the inventories, most of the people in Qing would not have drunk tea with ceremonial utensils, instead they poured tea into cups and bowls. All confiscated elite owned teacups and tea bowls. This indicated the commonality of tea drinking habit among the Han elite. They simplified the drinking rituals and presumably enjoyed tea every day. Tea ceremonies and wine utensils were a marker of wealth and status. The wealthier the family, the more likely it was that they owned them. One in three of the affluent officials and wealthy commoners owned them, compared with only one in ten of the less affluent families.

[286] James A. Benn, *Tea in China, a religious and cultural history* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii press 2015); John C. Evans, *Tea in China: the history of China's nation drink* (New York, London: Greenwood Press, 1992).

Ceremonial Ware

Tea and wine ceremonial wares became collectables for the literati at the latest by the Tang period. The first comprehensive book on tea drinking, *Chajing* (茶經), composed in the Tang by Lu Yu (陸羽), not only teaches the audience about the origin of tea, and tea preparation, but also about selecting tea drinking ware.[287] In part four of the book, the author details 23 types of utensils needed to prepare tea ceremonies. He even notes their exact measurement and shape.[288] In the Qing, Lu Tingcan (陸廷燦) wrote another comprehensive book on tea, *Xuchajing* (續茶經). He followed the same chapter order as the Tang book.

Comparing the first section on the origin of tea in the Tang book with the Qing, the latter *Xuchajing* notes the vast expansion of tea culture among the elite circles from Song to Qing period. The Tang book includes a very short paragraph on the origin of tea, only noting the biological nature of tea, while the Qing book cites a dozen authors' comments on the origin of tea.[289] Many were scholar-officials, including Ouyang Xiu (歐陽修), Cai Xiang (蔡襄), and Shen Congzhong (沈從中).[290] Even one of the emperors of Song, Song Huizong (宋徽宗), devoted himself to tea culture, and wrote an essay on it.[291] Compared with the Tang book, *Xuchajing* adds details on the place and county of tea production and also quotes the opinion of literati on the best tea utensil production kilns and counties.[292] The Chinese language based literati by the time of Qing clearly incorporated tea culture and tea utensil collecting into their literati taste.

Ritual Objects

In addition to tea and wine utensils, ritual objects and carved decorations served as both political and economic status goods. They also reflected educational attainment. The ritual objects found in families' hands include Shang and Zhou dynasty ritual vessel style inspired objects, Buddhist figures, Daoist objects such as Daoist flags, and music instruments.

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[287] Lu Yu 陸羽, *Cha Jing- Zuoshi Baichuanxuehai* 茶經 - 左氏百川學海 (Unknown, 1273), https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=86212&page=3.
[288] Lu, *Chajing*, Chapter 4, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=86212&
[289] Lu Tingcan 陸廷燦, *Xu Chajing - Qingding Siku Quanshu* 續茶經 - 欽定四庫全書 (Beijing: Unknown, 1773), https://ctext.org/datawiki.pl?if=gb&res=207227.
[290] Lu, *Xu Chajing*, Chapter 1.
[291] Lu, *Xu Chajing,* Chapter 1.
[292] Lu, *Xu Chajing,* Chapters 1-4.

These goods were owned to a much greater extent by degree officials. The ownership of ritual objects presented in Table 3.1 suggests that the high officials and wealthy commoners developed a strong desire to materialise their mastery of past art and book knowledge, belief, and imagination. A majority owned ritual objects and carvings. Lower officials and less affluent commoners preferred to spend their money elsewhere.

These objects show the influence of the three teachings that dominated the intellectual life of the literati, as claimed by Benjamin Schwartz and other historians of philosophical thought.[293] The ritual vessels and music instruments represented ancestor worship and ritual ceremonial traditions. This is similar to the findings in Pierre Bourdieu's famous study of French elite taste, in which education influences people's choices on a range of subjects. [294]

Table 3.1 Percentage Ownership of Ritual Objects

Occupation	Degree	Wealth	No.	Buddha	Dao	Music	Ritual Vessel	Total
Official	None	<10,000	48	5%	0%	5%	15%	17%
		>10,000	47	9%	0%	11%	9%	22%
	Provincial	<10,000	4	0%	0%	0%	33%	33%
		>10,000	28	37%	4%	37%	37%	56%
Non-official	None	<10,000	34	13%	0%	23%	16%	29%
		10,000-500,000	25	14%	0%	14%	36%	50%
		>500,000	6	0%	0%	0%	13%	13%

Source: Appendix II

[293] Benjamin Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China* (Cambridge, MA; London, England: Harvard University Press, 1985); Daniel J. Paracka, "China's Three Teachings and the Relationship of Heaven, Earth and Humanity," *Worldviews : Environment, Culture, Religion* 16, no. 1 (2012): 73–98; Susan E. Nelson, "The Bridge at Tiger Brook Tao Qian and the Three Teachings in Chinese Art," *Monumenta Serica* 50, no. 1 (2002): 257–94; Douglas Skonicki, "Getting It for Oneself: An Analysis of Chao Jiong's Conception of the Three Teachings and His Method of Self-Cultivation," *Asia Major* 28, no. 2 (2015): 77–108.

[294] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, translated by Richard Nice (London and New York: Routledge, 2010).

The Han elite in this study owned *ding* (鼎), *gong* (觥), *gongbi* (拱璧), *dou* (鋾), *gu* (觚), *zun* (罇), *gui* (圭), and *zhi* (觶). These ritual vessels originated during the Shang and Zhou dynasties. In ancient times, Shang and Zhou elite first developed them to eat and cook; they were also used to conduct rituals, feeding both ancestors and ghosts. In the belief of having an afterlife like the Egyptians, Shang and Zhou people buried bronze vessels in their tombs after death.[295] Many bronze objects were also buried in the ground because of warfare and foreign invasion.[296]

The earliest documented excavation of these surviving bronze vessels dates back to the Han dynasty.[297] In subsequent dynasties, depending on the attitudes of rulers and elite, excavations of bronze vessels were seen as auspicious or inauspicious omens.[298] In an attempt to revive classical culture, the Song emperors advocated the study of Confucian classics to rebuild the rituals.[299] During that time, scholar-officials developed a belief that these vessels and other antiquities carried "the way," *dao* (道), of ancient sages. Scholars began to pay close attention to epigraphy (金石學) and developed it as a supplement of historical research to help restore the rites. Such research also satisfied the spiritual needs of scholar-officials. In Qing, evidential scholarship (考據學) flourished.[300] The study of epigraphy became a mandatory subject for such scholars. Owning and displaying vessels in Qing signals that the family was a scholarly family who were familiar with the classics, rituals, and rites.

The Qing government also adopted the use of ritual vessels for ceremonies. The emperor Qianlong ordered scholars to compose the book *Illustrated Imperial Ritual Objects*:

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[295] Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳瀚, *Zhongguo qingtongqi zonglun* 中國青銅器綜論, vol1, (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2009), Introduction, Chapter 2.
[296] Zhu, *Zhongguo qingtongqi zonglun* 中國青銅器綜論, Vol 1, introduction; Chen Peifeng 陳佩芬, *Xiashangzhou qingtongqi yanjiu* 夏商周青銅器研究 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai gujichubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2004), introduction.
[297] Zhu, *Zhongguo qingtongqi zonglun* 中國青銅器綜論, Vol. 1, introduction; Ma Chengyuan 馬承源, *Zhongguo qingtongqi yanjiu* 中國青銅器研究 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2008), 3-13.
[298] Zhu, *Zhongguo qingtongqi zonglun* 中國青銅器綜論, Vol. 1, introduction.
[299] Chen Fangmei 陳芳妹, *Qingtongqi yu songdaiwenhuashi* 青銅器與宋代文化史(Taiwan 台灣: Taida chuban zhongxin 台大出版社中心, 2016).
[300] Sun Qinshan 孫欽善, *Qingdai kaojuxue* 清代考據學 (Zhonghua shuju 2018); Qi Yongxiang 漆永祥, *Qianjia kaojuxue yanjiu* 乾嘉考據學研究 (Beijing 北京: Beijing daxue chubanshe 北京大學出版社, 2020).

Huangchao Liqi Tushu (皇朝禮器圖式), which was first published in 1766.[301] The book provides detailed illustrations of the different types of ritual vessels. Furthermore, the Emperor Qianlong also employed Zhou dynasty made bronze vessels for ritual ceremonies.[302] By conducting ceremonies with Zhou bronze vessels, Qianlong attempted to convey a message that he was like the sage king, and was the carrier of the ancient ritual and rights. His gesture might have encouraged Han elite to also own them. In addition to the imperial rituals, officials also conducted ritual ceremonies in temples with ritual vessels, as shown photograph 3.1: portrait of Tohoro Duanfang (1861-1911) and colleagues with bronze ware in the 1900s.

Not surprisingly, among the confiscated Han elite, one in three of the degree official families owned ritual vessels while only one in ten of the commoners owned them. The degree officials had the highest interest in displaying their mastery of rituals because they, as shown in the photos, oversaw ritual ceremonies. A few of the rich degree officials also possessed Han-dynasty made ritual vessels. Other vessels documented in the list did not clarify the year in which they were made. However, these vessels were highly unlikely to have been made during the Han because if they had they would not cost only 40-100 silver taels. The non-degree officials did not manifest a large interest in owning them, perhaps because they did not need to send a political message of gaining power from the meritocratic structure.

[301] Yun Lu 允祿, *Huangchao liqi tushi - Qinding siku quanshu* 皇朝禮器圖式 - 欽定四庫全書, ed. Zhu Ling 朱鈴 (Beijing 北京: Zhejiang daxue tushuguan 浙江大學圖書館, 1766), https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=5300.

[302] "In Qianlong year 33, the government displayed Zhou dynasty made bronze vessels in the palace to be used as ritual ceremonial objects. 乾隆三十三年，頒內府周鼎、尊、卣、罍、壺、簠、簋、觚、爵各一，陳列大成殿，用備禮器." Zhao, *Qing shigao*, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=105505&remap=gb.

Photo 3.1 Portrait of Duanfang and Colleagues with Bronze Altar

Source: Unknown photographer, 'Portrait of Duanfang and colleagues with bronze altar', 1900s. Gelatine silver print, 17.5 × 23 cm. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, Gift from Thomas Lawton. FSA. A2003.

The Buddhist objects found in the inventories include Buddhist statues, Guanyin statues, Buddhist hand statues, and *sangong* (三供) — three set worship utensils and *wugong* (五供) — five set worship utensils. The inventories reveal a similar trend of ownership to ritual goods. One in three of the scholar-officials' families owned them, compared with one in ten of the other groups. According to research on Buddhist ritual practices from antiquity to the Qing, believers would worship before statue of a Buddhist deity at home.[303] However, the motivation for owning these objects was complicated because of the complex ritual practices and histories entangled with the three teachings. The inventories did not state how people actually used them, and therefore do not show us which of the three teachings gained

[303] Zhou Qi 周齊, *Qingdai fojiao yu zhengzhi wenhua* 清代佛教與政治文化 (Beijing 北京: Renming chubanshe 人民出版社 2015); Cao Ganghua 曹剛華, *Qingdai fojiao shiji yanjiu* 清代佛教史籍研究 (Beijing 北京: Renming chubanshe 人民出版社 2018).

most popularity among the intellectuals. The phenomenon exposed here at the very least shows that Han elite developed an interest in collecting these objects, materialising these teachings. The degree officials especially liked them.

Research by Kohn Livia, Gil Raz, and others show that Daoist practices underwent a series of changes since their invention because of competition with Buddhism and Confucian teachings.[304] Few documents tell us about the family practice of Daoism in Qing. From research, we know that the Daoists performed exorcisms in people's families and offered a range of services. [305] The Han elite collected very few Daoist goods in their houses and only one confiscated family possessed Daoist flags. It is extremely hard to deduce beliefs and family practices from the ownership of Daoist flags indicated in this study. The Qing elite could go to Daoist temples and worship deities in public spaces.

Carvings and Figures

The carvings owned by Han families again showed that the degree-owning high officials had a huge interest in demonstrating to their visitors their knowledge of the past. The scholar-officials owned the most carvings and auspicious objects. They owned twice as much as non-degree officials: 70% owned carvings and figures in comparison to 36% of wealthier non-degree officials. Only 13% of less affluent non-degree officials owned carved and other figures. The commoners imitated the scholar-officials' taste, and approximately 50% owned some forms of these motifs. The degree officials embedded their mastery of past histories, arts, and culture into their daily lives, coding their living spaces with the motifs and stories that they learnt.

Conventional studies on Han elite culture postulate a preference for these carvings because of their auspicious meaning and their connection to past histories.[306] The inventories indicate this taste has a strong association with education and wealth. The wealthy scholar-officials preferred these carvings the most. The inventory documents 53 kinds of motifs that

[304] Kohn Livia, *Daoism Handbook of oriental studies* (Leiden Boston: Brill 2000); Gil Raz, *The emergence of Daoism: creation of tradition* (London; New York: Routledge, 2012); Wang Yi'e and Chanzit Adam, *Zhonguo daojiao* 中國道教 (Beijing: China intercontinental press 2004).
[305] Liu Xun 劉迅, "Of Poems, Gods, and Spirit-Writing Altars: The Daoist Beliefs and Practice of Wang Duan (1793–1839)," *Late Imperial China* 36, no. 2 (2015): 23–81; Tsing Tsing Crystal Luk, "A Study on Daoist's Medical Scripture Yi-Dao Huan-Yuan in the Qing: The Relationship Between Daoism and Traditional Chinese Medicine from Theories of Healing to Neidan Practice," PhD diss., (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2017).
[306] Smith, *The Qing Dynasty and Traditional Chinese Culture*; Clunas, *Superfluous Things*.

can be divided into six themes -- animals, beasts, human figures, figure shapes directly related to auspicious words, and nature (Table 3.2). These motifs acquired their auspicious and cultural meaning mainly from three resources that relate to Chinese language and book culture: 1) the natural characteristics of plants and animals as believed by intellectuals, 2) homophonic words, and 3) intellectual beliefs derived from Chinese language books. Families need an education to appreciate these associations. These three sources could be mixed and matched within one motif. Understanding the meaning behind these motifs require an owner to be familiar with traditional Chinese language related classics, literati art, and history.

Table 3.2 Types of Carvings and Figures found in the Han Families

Kind	Types of motifs
animal	auspicious bird 鳥，bird and flower，butterfly，cow ，cow with male deer，double lion，double mushroom，duck，elephant，fish，horse，lion，tiger，two ducks，mandarin duck 鴛鴦
beast	chi 螭，immortal crane 仙鶴，crane deer，dragon 龍， jin chicken 錦雞，kilin 麒麟，phoenix 鳳凰，phoenix and mountain，sanrui 三瑞，tianlu 天祿
human and spirits	child 童子，the god of longevity 壽星，person，immortal
auspicious words	hejing 合錦，taiping drum 太平鼓，taiping youxiang 太平有象，sanyang kaitai (from Yi Jing) 三陽開泰，wugu fengdeng 五穀豐登
nature	chestnut，cloud，flower，gold fire，hulu 葫蘆，lily，linzhi 林芝，lotus leaf，mantanghong 滿堂紅，mountain figure，passionflower，peach，peach and bird，peach tree，plum tree，pomegranate
mixed	ruyi 如意

Source: Appendix II

The first way in which intellectuals infused motifs with good meaning was by associating them with the natural characteristics of animals and plants. For instance, owing to

its pairing behaviour, the Mandarin duck (鴛鴦) symbolises a good marriage. Numerous objects and carvings share a homophonic sound with auspicious words. For instance, fish, *yu* (魚) is homophonic to the word abundance, *yu* (余). Deer, *lu* (鹿) shares the pronunciation of salary, *lu* (祿). Second, intellectuals commissioned artisans to make unique carvings or objects based on Chinese phrases. The word: *taiping youxiang* (太平有象)，resulted in the birth of a figure combining an elephant and a bottle. The phrase, *taiping* (太平), shares similar sounds with bottle, *ping* (瓶); *you* (有) means have; *xiang* (象) means elephant. This particular figure was owned by the court of Qing. The P.R.China's government designated this object as the national gift for the China-ASEAN Expo of 2016.[307]

Some of the object such as *ruyi* (如意) gained great popularity in Qing. One in three confiscated degree officials held them, as did one in ten lower officials and commoners. This object was believed to have multiple origins. Southern Song dynasty scholar Wu Zeng (吳曾) believed that it originated as a back scratcher: "If (you) have an itch on the back and hand you cannot reach, (you) use it (ruyi) to scratch as your wish,"[308] and monks instead used it to take notes.[309] Ming dynasty scholar Fang Yizhi (方以智) agreed with the backscratcher theory, but thought that later practitioners used it to replace the fly-whisk[310]. Qing scholar-official Chen Yuanlong (陳元龍) added two other possible practical use of ruyi: it can be used to point at things and hit things.[311]

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[307] "Dongmeng Shiguo Guoli Junci Taiping Youxiang Huamei Liangxiang 东盟十国'国礼'钧瓷《太平有象》华美亮相 " (Yuzhoushi Renmin zhengfu 禹州市人民政府, 2016, Auguest, 29th) http://www.yuzhou.gov.cn/ztzl/025001/20160829/aeda0d06-614c-4140-9e04-aaa61621faac.html.

[308] "When the back itched, hands could not reach, use a back scratcher to fulfil the need. 或脊有癢，手所不到，用以搔爪，如人之意" in Wu Zeng 吳曾, *Nenggaizhai manlu - Qinding siku quanshu* 能改齋漫錄 - 欽定四庫全書 (Beijing 北京: unknown, 1881) digitised by Zhejiang daxue tushuguan 浙江大學圖書館, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=80187&remap=gb.

[309] "In Buddhism, even Manjushri hold a ruyi, did Manjushri want to scratch the back as well? Even monks hold a ruyi as well because they would write down phrases onto the handle to prevent themselves forgetting. Holding a ruyi and seeing it fulfils one's wish. 然釋流以文殊亦執之，豈慾搔癢耶？蓋講僧尚執之，私記節文祝辭與柄，以備忽忘。手執目對，如人之意。凡兩意耳。" in Wu, *Neng Gaizhai Manlu, Accessed Jan 20th, 2021.*

[310] Fang Yizhi 方以智, *Tong Ya - Qinding Siku Quanshu* 通雅 - 欽定四庫全書 (Beijing 北京: unknown, 1881) digitised by Zhejiang daxue tushuguan 浙江大學圖書館, Juan 34, under Zayong chuqi 雜用儲器 https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=740047.

[311] "Ruyi could be made with iron or jade, it could be used to point and hit at things. 如意铁为之或以玉以供指麾又可椎击诸物" Chen Yuanlong 陳元龍., *Gezhi Jingyuan - Qinding Siku Quanshu* 格致鏡原 - 欽定四庫

Sometimes elite mixed three sources together to create motifs. Pomegranate expresses the hope of having numerous offspring because it contains many seeds. Seeds, *zi* (籽) shares the pronunciation of child, *zi* (子). Cranes inhabit marshes, mudflats, and swamps, yet can produce a loud and clear call[312], therefore a crane implies a hermit with both virtue and talent.[313] The crane is also associated with longevity by Taoists. In *Huainanzi* (淮南子), a collection of essays compiled by the Prince of Huainan, Liu An (劉安) and his courts in 139 B.C., "The crane lives to a thousand years so it can wander to the extreme; a mayfly lives and die in one day, yet it enjoys the most of life."[314] *Baopuzi* (抱樸子), a Taoist classic written by the Jin dynasty scholar Ge Hong (葛洪 283-343), discussed the methods for achieving immortality: "the trees cannot follow the way of pines and cypresses; the animals cannot learn the path of tortoises and cranes; that is the reason why their lives are short and easily broken."[315] The gourd, *hulu* (葫蘆) has a similar pronunciation to fortune, *fu* (福) and salary of prosperity *lu* (祿). The dried gourd can be used to carry medicines. It is also the symbol of Li Tieguai (李鐵拐), one of Taoism's eight immortals. Hence it became the symbol of health and medicine. One type of carving, *shanzi* (山子), is that of mountain figures which were frequently collected by the high officials. The carvings depict a variety of mythical creatures, animals, and immortals living on a mountain, providing a comprehensive imagination

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全書 (Beijing 北京: Unknown, 1881), digitised by Zhejiang daxue tushuguan 浙江大學圖書館, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=125074&remap=gb.

[312] "Crane makes a very loud sound which could be heard from afar. 鶴鳴於九皋，声問於野" in Confucius 孔子 collected, *Mao Hengzhuan* 毛亨傳, edited by Zheng Xuanjian 鄭玄箋, Kong Ningda 孔穎達, in *Maoshi Zhengyi – Qinding siku quanshu* 毛詩正義 - 欽定四庫全書 (Beijing 北京: Unknown, 1881), digitised by Zhejiang daxue tushuguan 浙江大學圖書館, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=77714&by_node=13985.

[313] "Scholar that is widely admired. 鶴鳴之士" in Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Yuanben Zhouyi Benyi - Qinding Siku Quanshu* 原本周易本義 - 欽定四庫全書, edited by Wang Yanxu 王燕緒 (Beijing 北京: Unknown, 1881), digitised by Zhejiang daxue tushuguan 浙江大學圖書館, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=758&remap=gb; Fan, *Hou Hanshu - Qinding Sikuquanshu Ben* 後漢書 - 欽定四庫全書.

[314] "A crane lives for a thousand years and travels to its fullest; a mayfly lives in the morning and dies at the night and enjoys itself to the fullest. 鶴壽千歲，以極其遊；蜉蝣朝生而暮死，而盡其樂" in Liu An 劉安, *Huainan Hongliejie Juan - Qinding Siku Quanshu Huiyao* 淮南鴻烈解卷 - 欽定四庫全書薈要, ed. Gao You 高誘 (Beijing 北京: Unknown, 1881) digitised by zhejiang daxue tushuguan 浙江大學圖書館, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=6676&remap=gb.

[315] "All trees cannot be like pine and pak, and all insects cannot be like turtles and cranes, because they are short lived. 眾木不能法松栢，諸蟲不能學龜鶴，是以短折耳" in Ge Hong 葛洪, *Baopuzi - Qinding Siku Quanshu* 抱朴子 - 欽定四庫全書, ed. Qiu Tingshu 邱庭漱 (Beijing: Unknown, 1881), digitised by zhejiang daxue tushuguan 浙江大學圖書館, juan 3, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=5518&remap=gb.

depicted in classics. Only people who had a classical Chinese education and a rich understanding to the historical past could fully appreciate these objects.

Although officials and commoners shared similarities in their ownership of types of furniture, utensils, and ritual vessels, they diverged on the amount of antiquities, coded motif carvings, and the make of utensils and furniture. Their household decorations would send visitors different messages and make them immediately aware of their social, economic, and political status. The degree officials were much more likely to collect antiques to demonstrate their mastery of the Chinese language related culture, which was their source of power. The non-degree officials cared less about educational and cultural messages as they acquired their power through other means. The richest commoners shared many similarities in their household decorations with degree officials; they held soft power within the society and also developed a need to legitimise this by owning their own culture and precious materials that only officials would possess.

Section 3.2. Materials Used to Make Household Decorations

The Han officials in Qing deliberately chose the best and rarest materials to decorate their houses in order to display their social and political power. The degree-owning high officials managed to use their connections to acquire hardwood, jade, and central Asian luxuries. Their furniture and decorations were made from the most prestigious and expensive raw materials that were sourced from thousands of miles away from their home. The lower officials in general followed the choices of the high officials. Although they had not passed the highest civil service examination degree, and did not display an avid interest in decorating their houses with symbols of literati taste, they shared enthusiasm to owning furniture and tableware made from central and southeast Asian materials. The commoners owned almost none of these rare luxuries. Their furniture and decorations were made from bamboo, softwood, lacquer, and stones, all of which were available in the central plain. The only similarity shared among the Han families was their preference for porcelain.

The materials that were used to make furniture conveyed the strongest message regarding a family's political and economic power. The difficulties and hardships involved in transporting a small piece of jade or sandalwood from borderland or southern Asia to the central plain were drastically different to those involved in transferring large pieces of jade

and wood over a long distance. Although comprehensive calculations of the total amount of rare luxuries imported to Qing is lacking, borderland and trade studies conducted by James Milliard and Peter Purdue indicate that these goods arrived in the central plain either via tributary routes or ships or were transported by camels in relatively small quantities. These goods arrived at officials' houses. Eight out of ten high scholar-officials possessed hardwood compared with half of the commoners. Half of the high officials acquired jade furniture while only one in ten commoners and lower officials owned them. The ownership percentage doubled among the officials.

Hardwood (硬木) in Qing time referred to sandalwood, rosewood, and other wood species that took much more time to grow and in general were more durable than fir and other kinds of softwood (柴木, 軟木). Hardwood could be grown in southern China or southeast Asia.[316] However, southern China did not produce much of the hardwood used in Qing; instead, artisans imported hardwood from southeast Asia and designed them to fit the needs of the elite.[317] Two types of hardwood were popularly owned by confiscated Qing families -- red sandalwood (紫檀) and rosewood (紅木).

Art historians, Ming Qing intellectuals, and the Yuan, Ming, and Qing imperial families, considered red sandalwood to be one of the most prestigious materials with which to make furniture. According to *Gujinzhu* (古今注) written in the Weijin period and the Tang dynasty chronicles, only the imperial family possessed a few items of red sandalwood furniture.[318] The Yuan imperial family were the first royal family to develop the state capacity to transport sandalwood in scale from southeast Asia to Beijing and use it to build palaces. They revived both the land and sea Silk roads. As recorded in the chronicles of the Yuan, the Muslim official Yiheimishi (亦黑迷失) went to southeast Asia and purchased red sandalwood for the royal families to build a palace in the year 1288.[319] The trickle-down use of hardwood

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[316] Li Tiaoyuan 李調元, *Nanyue Biji* 南越筆記 (Beijing 北京: Unknown, 1777), juan 13, 6 https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/%E5%8D%97%E8%B6%8A%E7%AD%86%E8%A8%98/E00rAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0.

[317] Li, *Nanyue Biji* 南越筆記, juan 13, 6.

[318] "Zinanmu came from Funan, it has a colour of purple, called zitan. 紫楠木，出扶南，色紫，亦謂之紫檀。"Cui Bao 崔豹, *Gu Jin Zhu - Sibu Congkan Sanbian - Songkanben* 古今注 - 四庫從刊三遍 - 宋刊本 (Shanghai 上海: Hanfenlou 涵芬樓, 1914), Juan 6 https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=30705&remap=gb.

[319] Song Lian 宋濂 and Wang Yi 王禕, *Yuanshi* 元史 (digitised by Harvard Yanching library, n.d.) juan 131, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=95155&remap=gb.

furniture became possible for the Qing elite because of open sea policies and trade expansion of the empire.

According to the inventories, possessing a full set of red sandalwood furniture in Qing required the owner to be both wealthy and powerful. Thus, decorating the house with hardwood and rare materials reflected the affluent connections of a family; indeed, the official families in this study doubled their ownership of hardwood in comparison with the commoners. In one of the confession memorials sent by the governor general of Liangguang (兩廣總督), Kong Yuxun (孔毓珣 1724 – 1728) to the Yongzheng emperor, he apologised for helping Nian Gengyao's brother, Nian Xiyao (年希堯 1673 – 1783) to purchase sandalwood. He was afraid that his purchase would cause him trouble once Nian Gengyao was confiscated. He wrote that he helped Nian Xiyao to purchase 41 tree branches of red sandalwood worth 760 silver taels, but Nian Xiyao had not yet paid him[320] This amount of money could support a peasant family of five for 25 years.[321] The emperor replied and forgave him without any punishment.

In this case, although Sun held a higher official title than Nian Xiyao—he was the superior of Nian Xiyao—he helped him to buy red sandalwood using his status as the governor general of Guangdong. He seemed to have sent the tree branches as gifts for free as Nian had not yet paid. It seems likely that he was trying to gain a connection to the Nian family because the Nian family had direct connections to the court and also possessed military power.

Sun's ability to acquire a large amount of red sandalwood perhaps came from the power that he held as the governor general of Guangdong. He oversaw the Guangdong ports; hence merchants relied on him to negotiate trading rights with the central government. Although there is no direct evidence of merchants bribing him, in one of the confession reports documented by the ministry of penal affairs, *Xingke tiben* (刑科題本), in 1667, Spaniards that resided in Macau bribed the Guangdong government and the governor general to gain market access. They told the government that five boats containing commodities would arrive during

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[320] "Nian Xiyao zou yongzheng 2 nian 2 yue 年希堯奏雍正二年九月," in Aisin Gioro In Jen, *Shizongxian Huangdi Zhupi Yuzhi - Qinding Siku Quanshu* 世宗憲皇帝朱批御旨 (Shanghai 上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社, 1987), juan 2 shang, 2-22.

[321] The average annual income of a peasant family with 10 mu land was about 30-40 silver taels in Qing. Zhang Yan 張研, "18 Shiji Qianhou Qingdai Nongjia Shengji Shouru de Yanjiu 十八世紀前後清代農家生計收入的研究," *Gujin Nongye* 古今農業 1 (2006): 67–75.

this year. They claimed that if the Guangdong government managed to negotiate successfully with the central government to allow them to trade, they would give the Guangdong government 200,000 silver taels. In addition, they would give the governor general 100,000 silver taels and pearls, corals, and coral trees worth 2000 silver taels as gifts.[322] The Jesuits and Christian missionaries also sent gifts to officials when their supplies arrived from their home country throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.[323]

Jade, the crown jewel of Confucian scholars, enjoyed the second highest popularity among materials used to embellish furniture. Since Neolithic times, the central plain elite had a fondness for jade. Before the Spring and Autumn period, the elite commissioned artisans to carve them into ritual objects.[324] The Confucian scholar secularised the use of jade, transforming it from a material to make ritual vessels to a moral symbol.[325] Confucius in *Lunyu* (論語) specifically remarked that jade carries the characteristics of a gentleman:

> "Zi-gong asked Confucius, 'Allow me to ask the reason why the superior man sets a high value on jade, and but little on soapstone? Is it because jade is rare, and the soapstone plentiful?' Confucius replied, 'It is not because the soapstone is plentiful that he thinks but little of it, and because jade is rare that he sets a high value on it. Anciently superior men found the likeness of all excellent qualities in jade. Soft, smooth, and glossy, it appeared to them like benevolence; fine, compact, and strong - like intelligence; angular, but not sharp and cutting - like righteousness; hanging down (in beads) as if it would fall to the ground - like (the humility of) propriety; when struck, yielding a note, clear and prolonged, yet terminating abruptly - like music; its flaws not concealing its beauty, nor its beauty concealing its flaws - like loyalty; with an internal radiance issuing from it on every side - like good faith; bright as a brilliant rainbow - like heaven; exquisite and mysterious, appearing in the hills and streams - like the earth; standing out conspicuous in the symbols of rank - like virtue; esteemed by all under the sky, - like the path of truth and duty.[326]

However, jade, like hardwood, could not be found in the central plain. Jade mines were located in west and central Asia.[327] The availability of jade increased tremendously in the Qing

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[322] Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiu suo, *MingQing Shiliao - Yibian* 明清史料 - 乙編, Vol. 6, 596–99.
[323] Golvers, Qingchu yesuhui shiluriman 清初耶穌会士魯日滿.
[324] Smith, *The Qing Dynasty and Traditional Chinese Culture*, 283–84.
[325] Smith, *The Qing Dynasty and Traditional Chinese Culture*, 283–84.
[326]Zheng, *Shisanjing Zhushu, Liji Zhushu* 十三經注疏，禮記注疏, Pinyi 聘義, translated by James Legge and J.J.L. Duyvendak. https://ctext.org/liji/pin-yi?filter=635851.
[327] Xu Lin 徐琳, "Zhongguo Gudai Yuliao Laiyuan de Duoyuan Yitihua Jingcheng 中國古代玉料來源的多元一體畫進程," *Gugong Bowuyuan Yuankan* 故宫博物院院刊 214, no. 2 (2020): 94–107; Lu Jianfang 陸建芳, *Zhongguo Yuqi Tongshi, Qingdai Juan* 中國玉器通史，清代卷 (Guangdong 廣東: Haitian chubanshe 海天出版社, 2014).

following the government pacification of the Xinjiang and Yunan borderland areas.[328] But after securing the borderlands, the imperial family monopolised the production of many jade mines. Officials in charge of these mines broke these laws, however, and helped merchants to transport jade inland.[329]

Unlike jade pendants or bracelets, jade-embellished furniture required its owners to have the means to acquire large pieces of jade. The high scholar-officials had not only the money but also the connections to acquire jade and commissioned artisans to incorporate it into their furniture. These pieces of furniture sent a similar message as hardwood furniture, which was that this family held political and economic power in the Qing empire. They were the beneficiaries of the burgeoning trade and territorial expansion.

The commoners lacked the political power needed to acquire jade furniture. They possessed mostly lacquer (51%), softwood (77%), and bamboo (23%) furniture, all of which were available in the central plain. Lacquer and bamboo were also enjoyed by pre-Qing elite. Lacquer in Qing came from native lacquer trees—rhus verniciflua.[330] The earliest preserved lacquer artefacts were found in a burial site dating back to the 14th century B.C. in tombs belonging to central plain high officials, emperors, and princes.[331] The artisans of the Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing modified and improved the way in which they were made.[332] By the time of the Qing, lacquer furniture had trickled down to the homes of the most of commoners. These luxuries could be bought. The officials showed a lack of interest in them — only one in ten of the official families acquired them as they preferred hardwood and jade furniture than flaunted their power.

In comparison with lacquer, soft wood and bamboo cost much less and could be found almost anywhere in the central plain. The average value of such furniture totalled less than 2 silver taels. For instance, fir, and other softwood was massively produced and consumed in

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[328] Sun Ji 孫機, Zhongou gudai wuzh wenhua 中歐古代物質文化 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghuashuju 中華書局, 2014), 241.
[329] Case on Gaopu, Zhongguo diyilishi danganguan, *Qianlong chengban tanwu dangan xuanbian*, Vol 1
[330] Harry Garner, *Chinese lacquer* (London: Faber 1979),19.
[331] Garner, *Chinese lacquer*, 15.
[332] More details of the techniques on Qing lacquer could be found in: Filippo Buonanni, *Techniques of Chinese Lacquer: The Classic Eighteenth-Century Treatise on Asian Varnish* (London: Getty Publications, 2009); Kuo-Kuang Fan and Xue-Hui Li, "Taking Lacquer as a Mirror, Expressing Morality via Implements: A Study of Confucian Ritual Spirituality and the Concept of Consumption in the Ming and Qing Dynasties," *Religions (Basel, Switzerland)* 11, no. 9 (2020): 1–14; Shih Chang Hu, Jane Wilkinson, and National Museums of Scotland, *Chinese Lacquer* (Scotland: National Museums of Scotland, 1998).

China.[333] The Ming and Qing government allocated millions of silver taels per year to numerous provinces including Sichuan, Huguang, and Guizhou to facilitate timber production.[334] According to Samuel Holmes, one of the guards on British ambassador McCartney's mission, another type of plant, bamboo, could also be found in every part of China. Commoners used it to build huts and furniture.[335] In addition to its low price, literati since the Song dynasty praised bamboo because of its "upright, strong, and resilient, yet gentle, graceful, and refined character."[336] They wrote bamboo-related poems to metaphorically praise their friends or themselves.[337] It may be that the less powerful and wealthy Han elite preferred to use this material more than other groups because they were attracted to the meaning behind bamboo. For instance, they liked to portray themselves as the less corrupt, upright, and graceful officials.

The power dynamic revealed by the furniture materials that elite adopted also applied to utensils and carvings: dinnerware, ritual ware, and carvings and figures. Only one type of material escaped this power competition: porcelain. Nine out of ten families owned them. The inventories revealed seven kinds of minerals, nine kinds of metal, nine kinds of wood, five kinds of animal bones and shells, and four kinds of pottery. As with their furniture, degree officials took advantage of their positions, owning more utensils made from precious minerals and animal shells and bones including agate, elephant tusk, jade, jadeite, marble, realgar, stone, crystal, coral, pearl, and tortoiseshell, mimicking the imperial taste. These utensils were in rare materials collected by the imperial household and came from Africa, southeast Asia, and Central Asia.[338] Just like hardwood and jade furniture, these utensils conveyed to family visitors the wealth, culture, and power of the owner. One in ten of the degree officials owned rare luxurious utensils while only a handful of families from other groups owned them.

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[333] Miller, *Fir and Empire*; David Anthony Bello, *Across Forest, Steppe and Mountain: Environment, Identity, and Empire in Qing China's Borderlands* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Patrick Joseph Caffrey, "The Forests of Northeast China, 1600–1953: Environment, Politics, and Society," PhD diss., (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2002); Nicholas K Menzies, *Forest and Land Management in Imperial China* (London: Macmillan, 1994).
[334] Miller and Sutter, Fir and Empire, 147-148.
[335] Samuel Holmes, *The Journal of Mr. Samuel Holmes, One of the Guard on Lord Macartney's Embassy to China and Tartary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 38, 92.
[336] Smith, *The Qing Dynasty and Traditional Chinese Culture*, 280.
[337] Smith, *The Qing Dynasty and Traditional Chinese Culture*, 280-285.
[338] Qiu Zhili 丘志力, Wu Mo 吳沫, Meng Zenglu 孟增璐, Wang Xuelin 王學琳, "Qingdai feicui yu wenhua xingcheng tanxi 清代翡翠玉文化形成探釋," Zhongshan daxue xuebao, shehui kexueban 中山大學學報社會科學版, vol 27, no. 1 (2007): 46.

Among the luxurious materials, jade enjoyed the most popularity among the elite. The degree officials had the highest rate of ownership: 67% of these families owned jade utensils compared with 30% of the lower officials and commoners from the same wealth group. One in five of the less affluent lower officials and one in ten less affluent high degree officials and commoners owned jade utensils. Gold and silver utensils were largely owned by the Manchu and Mongol bannermen. One in three affluent bannermen owned gold and silver utensils while one in five affluent Han families owned them.

The commoners could not compete with the officials in acquiring the rarest luxury materials, but they shared a commonality with officials in owning luxury porcelain produced from famous kilns: Ruyao (汝窯), Guanyao (官窯), Geyao (哥窯), Dingyao (定窯), and Junyao (鈞窯). Porcelain from these five kilns gradually received recognition from Ming and Qing intellectuals as collectables.[339] The inventories noted them in detail, including the colour and the kilns, because of their high price. The cost of a set of dinnerware ranged from 10 to 50 silver taels. They were owned by most of the commoners and officials.

The commoners also owned numerous utensils made to imitate rare materials, such as gilded utensils imitating gold and white copper utensils imitating silver. One in ten of them possessed gilded or fake metal utensils, while other families generally did not own them. The average price of the gilded utensils was below 1 silver tael while real silver and gold utensils could cost more than 10 silver taels, depending on their weight. Gilded dinnerware was a much more affordable option. According to Lai Huiming, artisans in the Qing developed the best artistic metal techniques.[340] The high levels of demand apparent from the inventories in this study might be the motivation for this supply-side technological improvement.

The Han families shared a common taste when choosing the make of their utensils. They particularly liked porcelain. The Qing economic and political expansion allowed powerful and rich families to adopted luxury and novel materials to flaunt their status. Degree officials, influenced by their connections to the imperial government, sought out to imitate the court taste and owning rare luxury utensils made from imported central and southeast Asian

[339] Zhu Yan 朱琰, *Taoshuo* 陶說 (unknown, n.d.), digitised by Beijing University Library, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=3325; Lv Zhen 呂震 and Wu Zhong 吳中, *Xuande Ding Yipu* 宣德鼎彝谱 (Jieshu juzheng kanben 节署聚珍刊本, 1883), digitised by Harvard University Library https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=87116&remap=gb.
[340] Lai and Su, Qingchao gongting yong xi de laiyuan yu gongyi jishu.

materials. Most of the commoners did not have access to these materials, collected antique and renowned porcelainware and other more widely available metalware as a status marker.

Section 3.3 Books, Calligraphies, and Paintings

Literati, *shi* (仕) culture, which had flourished since the Song period due to the establishment of the civil service examination system, contained multiple components. The carvings, figures, and ritual objects displayed by the scholar elite were one of the manifestations of this taste. The other direct exhibition of this culture could be found on the bookshelves and the walls of a scholar's houses—Chinese language books, calligraphies, and paintings. Books are carriers of ideology, culture, and history. Access to books provided commoners with an opportunity to master the Confucian classics, which was the essential requirement for the civil service examination. Books in the Qing inevitably became one of the "gateways to social status, wealth and political authority."[341] Like the scholar officials, wealthy commoners also developed a book collecting hobby as a marker of taste. In addition, the confiscated Han elite collected paintings and calligraphies and practiced ink brush art. The inventories show that scholar-officials collected a large quantity of renowned paintings and the best stationary such as Duan inkstone (端硯).[342] Among the confiscated families, nine out of ten high officials owned books, stationary, paintings, and calligraphy, while two-thirds of the other groups owned them.

The scholar-officials owned the widest variety of books on history, classics, poetry, and literature, primary accounts, and notes. From the detailed lists of book collections presented in the inventories, we can see that except for the non-scholar-officials, high scholar-officials and the commoners owned a diverse range of books that helped them and their family members to obtain knowledge about past cultures. Starting from their primary education, scholar-officials and commoners used educational books on teaching classical Chinese and poetry. These books included *Guwen guanzh*i (古文觀止),[343] a Qing collection of past famous

[341] Cynthia Joanne Brokaw, "On the History of the Book in China," in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Cynthia Joanne Brokaw (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 3.
[342] Dorothy Ko, *The Social Life of Inkstones: Artisans and Scholars in Early Qing China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017).
[343] Wu Chucaci 吳楚材, *Guwen guanzhi* 古文觀止 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 1987).

essays, *San Zijing* (三字經,)[344] composed in the 13th century to teach young children about society, *Liwen jiayan* (笠翁家言),[345] a 46 volume collection of essays and teachings on composing poetry, and 17 other books on teaching classical Chinese. The scholar-officials also owned books on women's education such as *Guifantu* (閨範圖), a collection of paintings of women's behaviour.

After learning the basics of the Chinese language, the children of scholar-officials might proceed to learn the Confucian classics and other pre-Han texts. Scholar-official families owned a complete set of four books and five classics, which they would use to take the civil service exams. The other classics that high officials possessed include pre-Han texts on sage kings and other Confucian interpretations. By contrast, the lower officials and commoners did not possess full collections of the classics. They usually owned a few texts related to Confucianism including *Lunyu* (論語) and *Mengzi* (孟子). They also possessed classics on Buddhism, Taoism, and divinations, books not owned by the officials. This revealed the lower officials and commoners' diverse interests and the importance of three teachings in Han elite culture.

In addition to the classics, Han families owned a variety of history books, primary accounts, and novels. The most common history series possessed by the families was *the Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance, Zizhi tongjian* (資治通鑑), a chronicle first published in 1084 AD that was commissioned by the Song government to cover 1400 years of history (16 dynasties).[346] This huge historical project contains 294 volumes and about 3 million Chinese characters. It provided the Qing elite with a version of the past to imitate and learn from. *Shiji* (史記) — one of the first chronicles written by Sima Qian (司馬遷) — was also often owned by the Qing scholar-officials.[347]

Aside from history books, high officials and commoners also possessed primary accounts, notes, novels, poetry, and art books that had been published from antiquity to the Qing. Scholar-officials displayed an interest in engaging in a conversation with their peers on

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[344] Wang Yingling 王應麟, *Sanzijin* 三字經 (Zhejiang 浙江: Zhejiang guji chubanshe 浙江古籍出版社, 2003).
[345] Liyu 李漁, *Liwen yijia yanquanji* 笠翁一家言全集, accessed March 8th, 2021 https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=937020&remap=gb.
[346] Sima Guang 司馬光, *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 2009).
[347] Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 2006).

collecting art and culture. Tang poetry was the most widely collected genre. It was credited by pre-modern and modern scholars as the peak of poetry writing. Approximately 10-14% of scholar-officials and 4-9% of the commoners owned examples. The Han elite also owned poetry collections from previous regimes (10%).

Novels became a popular form of composition from the Tang period and onward. The renowned works, *Pipaji* (琵琶記),[348] *Xiyouji* (西遊記),[349] and *Liaozhai zhiyi* (聊齋誌異)[350] were owned by the scholar-officials. They were not simply fiction that told a plain story but works that played around with the metaphors seen in Daoist, Buddhist, and Confucian writing. For instance, *Xiyouji — Journey to the West,* on the surface tells the story of how Tang monk Xuanzang (玄奘) and his three disciples travelled to the West to obtain Buddhist sutras and returned to Tang after 108 trials. Some Ming scholars believed *Journey to the West* employed a Taoist world view or combined all three teachings,[351]while others thought it satirised the Ming emperor.

Primary accounts and notes composed by literati cannot simply be categorised as fictions or non-fictions due to the long-time span since the first publication of many of the works. The literati of the pre-Qing regimes dedicated themselves to documenting stories and the news they heard and also created stories of their own. Some of the confiscated elite collected massive story collections. For instance, *Quan tangwen* (全唐文), a complete collection of tang literature, edited by the Qing scholars constituted about 18,000 stories that took place or were written during 618-919 AC.[352] The Song story collection *Taiping guangji* (太平廣記), constituted 500 volumes of stories of the Song period.[353]

The surviving Ming Qing notes and novels (筆記小說) were mostly written by *Jinshi* degree owning officials. These personal notes, along with poetry collections, were circulated through the friends of the authors, and were even edited by their friends. One of the most

[348] Gaoming 高明, *Pipaji* 琵琶記 (Beijing 北京: Huaxia chubanshe 華夏出版社 2000).
[349] Wu Chengen 吳承恩, *Xiyouji* 西遊記 (Beijing 北京: Beijing lianhechuban gongsi 聯合出版公司 2019).
[350] Pu Songling 蒲松齡, *Liaozhai Zhiyi* 聊齋誌異 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 2009).
[351]"*Jouney to the West* is a philosophical work that combines the three teachings.《西遊記》為三教合一心學也" Xie Zhaozhe 谢肇淛, *Wu Zazu* 五杂俎 (Unknown, n.d.), https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=186337&remap=gb.
[352] Dong hao 董誥, *Quantongwen* 全唐文 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 1983).
[353] Li Fang 李昉, *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 2013).

collected works by the Qing families, *Chibei outan* (池北偶談), was written by Wang Shizhen (王士禎), a *Jinshi* degree holder at age of 24 who spent the next fifty years serving the Qing government; eventually becoming the head of the Ministry of penal affairs.[354] He published 26 volumes of primary accounts in four parts. The first part discusses the contemporary Qing society covering topics ranging from the Qing institution and civil service examination system to the clothes people wore and also the foreign countries of Russia, Turkey, and other European countries. The second part documents famous people that he knew or had read about from early Ming to his time, men and women alike. The third part discusses art and poetry. He copies his favourite poems and introduces the poets, writing mini biographies for them. He also writes about the renowned paintings and calligraphies that he thought were worth collecting and introduces high-achieving artists. Not surprisingly, he mentioned the majority of the artists collected by the Qing officials in this study. The final part of the book series documents miraculous stories that he had read or heard about.

Cao Tingdong (曹庭棟), another Juren degree holder who was born into a literati family in which his brother and relatives were high officials, dedicated his life to the study of longevity and classics.[355] He was a renowned scholar in Qing and had written books on poetry. He wrote a book/primary account on his findings of the methods to achieve longevity, *Laolao hengyan* (老老恆言) which was collected by the confiscated Han elite.[356] The Qianlong government selected this book for the Siku quanshu (四庫全書) project. According to the three prefaces from the Qianlong and Tongzhi period, a large number of people had read this book, practiced his method, and visited his family. The prefaces praised the usefulness of this book and the high social status of his family in the Qing. The provincial governor of Zhejiang visited this family frequently, for example.

In the book, Cao associated longevity (养生) with the way of living of high officials: decorating houses with sandalwood furniture, surrounding themselves with auspicious carvings, practicing calligraphy and playing zithers. Akin to the way in which modern scientists have proposed the "Mozart effect,"[357] this association between taste and health

[354] Wang Shizhen 王士禎, *Chibei outan* 池北偶谈 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 1997).
[355] Cao, *Laolaohengyan*, 1-5.
[356] Cao, *Laolaohengyan*, 1-5.
[357] Cacciafesta, M, Ettorre, E, Amici, A, Cicconetti, P, Martinelli, V, Linguanti, A, Baratta, A, Verrusio, W, and Marigliano, V. "New Frontiers of Cognitive Rehabilitation in Geriatric Age: The Mozart Effect

could also be found in Qing. Cao wrote five volumes that provided advice on the structure of daily life.

The first volume investigates ways to sleep, methods for waking up, food, and taking a walk.[358] The second volume details the appropriate way to prevent diseases, and the cautious steps that one needs to take on going out.[359] The third volume provides tips on household decorations, ranging from the study, bed, what to wear, and what utensils to own.[360] The fourth volume pays special attention to furniture, while the final volume provides cooking recipes.

In the fourth volume, Cao recommended that people own a sandalwood desk because sandalwood was not only hard and indestructible, but during monsoon season and hot seasons it also generates a great smell that is beneficial to health and "one should inhale the mist generated from the furniture."[361] In summer, he suggests switching to a marble desk and asking the furniture maker to create a sandalwood desk frame and put a gold fishbowl in the centre.[362] When playing with fish, one would feel calm and peaceful.[363] In winter, he advised people to put wool covers onto the marble and sandalwood chairs to keep warm.[364]

In addition to furniture, he also recommended that people practice painting and calligraphy for a healthy mood, especially when writing the running script and painting plants.[365] He commented that playing and listening to a zither could cultivate a good internal mood.[366] But he advises against overplaying the zither and suggests that people could hire someone to play the zither for them.[367]

The people who could afford to follow his suggestions, according to the inventories, were either officials or the millionaires. The furniture that he described were status goods that

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(ME)." *Archives of Gerontology and Geriatrics* 51.3 (2010): 79-82; Dana E Brackney, and Jessica L Brooks, "Complementary and Alternative Medicine: The Mozart Effect on Childhood Epilepsy—A Systematic Review," *The Journal of School Nursing* 34.1 (2018): 28-37; Klára Štillová, Tomáš Kiska, Eva Koriťáková, Ondřej Strýček, Jiří Mekyska, Jan Chrastina, and Ivan Rektor, "Mozart Effect in Epilepsy: Why Is Mozart Better than Haydn? Acoustic Qualities-based Analysis of Stereoelectroencephalography," *European Journal of Neurology* (2021): Web.

[358] Cao, Laolaohengyan, juan 1.
[359] Cao, Laolaohengyan, juan 2.
[360] Cao, Laolaohengyan, juan 3.
[361] Cao, Laolaohengyan, juan 4.
[362] Cao, Laolaohengyan, juan 4.
[363] Cao, Laolaohengyan, juan 4.
[364] Cao, Laolaohengyan, juan 4.
[365] Cao, Laolaohengyan, juan 5.
[366] Cao, Laolaohengyan, juan 5.
[367] Cao, Laolaohengyan, juan 5.

only families situated at the top of the hierarchy would own. Musical instruments and stationery were also more commonly owned by officials. The luxurious way of living revealed in the inventories were justified by and connected to longevity. The author was describing the method that he though was right, and because he was born into a powerful and rich family, inferred a causal relationship between the Han elite material culture and healthy life. The preface showed that he and his family were acquainted with governors. They agreed with his findings and gladly wrote prefaces for these volumes. This book helped to spread knowledge that reinforced patterns of high elite consumption.

Many books were composed specifically for art collectors but were only owned by scholar-officials. They possessed art books specifically dedicated to single painters as well as others that provided an overview of artists across past regimes. One of the iconic art collection book series, *Tuhui baojian* (圖繪寶鑒), composed by a Yuan literati Xia Wenyan (夏文彥), introduced more than 1300 artists who lived from the three-kingdom period to the Yuan.[368] This series was later extended by Ming literati, adding more than one hundred Ming artists.

The Han elite in this study either participated in Qing rule or studied it, and owned books related to governance including gazetteers, and taxation regulations: *Fuyi quanshu* (賦役全書), or *the Great Qing Legal Code*. They also often owned a wide range of reference books usually including a dictionary—specifically the Kangxi dictionary, geographic guides to the Qing state, reference books on writing formats and contract formats, and books on medical knowledge. These books helped them to navigate everyday life and provided them with a standard language and format of communication. They owned the most up to date Qing version of knowledge about governance and writing guides. About 30-40% of the families also owned other books that were categorised as "mixed themed" books (雜書).

The books collected by the Han elite explain the accumulation of culture that is reflected in the household objects and decorations. As the primary accounts of *Chibei Outan* (池北偶談) also demonstrate, scholar-officials not only engaged with learning the classics but also the history of the Chinese central plain, the art, poetry, and other writing composed by earlier elite and their contemporaries written in the Chinese language. Scholar-officials had

[368] Xia Wenyan 夏文彦 and Han Ang 韓昂, *Tuhui Baojian - Qinding Siku Quanshu* 圖繪寶鑑 - 欽定四庫全書 (Beijing 北京: Unknown, 1881), https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=6162.

the means and power to acquire objects that related to past histories, and deployed their cultural knowledge to decorate their living spaces. They transformed the homes into an embodiment of the cultural world built by the Chinese-language elite.

Calligraphy and painting since the Weijin period became a tool for distinction and culture building among the literati and became especially popular for the newly emerging neo-Confucian scholars of the Song period and later. All scholars were expected to learn the classics and have good handwriting.[369] The way one wrote represented their character.[370] The popular painting style of the Song diverged from Tang court painting that used a variety of colours. Song paintings emphasised shapes and lines, and in which writings and paintings combined into one.[371] Many of the most accomplished artists after the Tang were highly ranked scholar-officials holding *Jinshi* degrees. Their works were collected by the high scholar-officials in the Qing as a statement of distinction and of cultural continuity and belonging to the literati class.

The inventories include lists of the possessions of eight avid collectors who owned renowned Chinese paintings (Table 3.3). The person in charge of confiscation identified these paintings because of their fame and high price. The hometowns of collectors varied quite significantly. They came from Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Zhili, Henan, and Shanxi provinces. Education and occupation seemed to influence the elite's choices when collecting paintings. Five out of eight collectors gained civil service examination degrees. Three occupied high government positions above the 3rd tier. Their collections include examples of work by almost all the most renowned calligraphers and painters since the Song period who were credited by the literati during their time and by art historians.

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[369] Smith, *The Qing Dynasty and Traditional Chinese Culture*, 303.
[370] Smith, *The Qing Dynasty and Traditional Chinese Culture,* 303.
[371] Xu Huiji 徐慧極, "Tangsong shuhua pinping jiqi shuangchong pingjia tixi de jianli 唐宋書畫品評及其雙重評價體系的建立," *Meishu daguan* 美術大觀, no. 11 (2019): 48; Cui Qingzhong 崔慶中, "Yandai Zhaomengfu de shuhua yongbi tongfa jiqi yingxiang 元代趙孟頫的'書畫用筆同法'及其影響," *Gongguan shijie* 公關世界, no. 02 (2018): 71–77.

Table 3.3 Avid Collectors of Renowned Chinese Paintings

Name	Occupation	Degree	Home Province	Year of Confiscation
Qian Du 錢度	Yunnan Provincial Administration Commissioner 雲南布政使	Jinshi	Jiangsu	1772
Zhuang Zhaokui 莊肇奎	Commoner	None	Minzhe	1780
Gao Peng 高棚	Commoner	None	Zhili	1775
Gao Shuo 高說	Commoner	None	Zhili	1775
Yin Jiaquan 尹嘉銓	Director of Court of Judicial Review 大理寺正卿	Juren	Zhili	1782
Zhou Wan 周琬	Governor General of Huguang 湖廣總督	Yinsheng	Henan	1763
Cheng Yi 陳怡	Shanxi Qixian District Magistrate 山西祁縣知縣	None	Zhili	1848
Yao Xueying 姚學瑛	Shanxi Province Surveillance Commissioner 山西按察使司	Gongsheng	Shanxi	1797

Source: Appendix II

The Han elite collected paintings by artists ranging from the Song to the early Qing. The confiscation inventories documented six Song artists who were scholar-officials. One of the most famous is Su Shi (蘇軾), a *Jinshi* who came from a family of scholars; his father and brother also passed the *Jinshi* degree.[372] He is ranked as one of the eight most renowned artist scholars in Tang and Song. He, like enlightenment scholars, achieved excellence in many areas including poems, essays, paintings, and calligraphy and befriended many of the intellectuals of his time. He was a friend of Mi Fu (米芾) and Ouyang Xiu (歐陽修).[373] The work of these two prominent calligraphers were also collected by the confiscated elite. Although Mifu did not gain a high position in the government, his calligraphy gained equal recognition by the post-Song elite and contemporary art collectors with Sushi.[374] Zhu Xi (朱熹), the founding father of the neo-Confucian school, was better known for his Confucian scholarship than his calligraphy, but was also collected by these Han families.

The Yuan artists collected by the confiscated families, Zhao Mengfu (趙孟頫), Wang Meng (王蒙), Wu Zhen (吳鎮), were renowned artists in their time.[375] Zhao Mengfu was also a high official. He was one of the best regular script calligraphers and achieved distinction in seal carving and music. After the fall of the Song regime, the Mongol emperor Kublai appointed him to oversee the military department to help transition the government; he also helped to establish the Yuan paper currency system.[376] Song Yuan art works were expensive to buy in the Qing, ranging in price from 400 to 800 silver taels. Only wealthy officials owned them.

Most of the Han elite collected Ming artworks. The three most collected artists were Dong Qichang (董其昌): 224 pieces, Yun Shouping (惲壽平): 20 pieces, and Wen Zhengming (文徵明): 7 pieces. Dong Qichang had passed the *Jinshi* degree exam and served

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[372] Li Changshu 李昌舒, "Shenfen yu quwei: lun sushi de shiren hua sixiang 身份與趣味:論蘇軾的士人畫思想," *Yishu baijia* 艺术百家 33, no. 05 (2017): 162.
[373] Zhao Qiujia 趙秋嘉, "Sushi yu mifu jiaoyou shulun 蘇軾與米芾交遊述論," *Shu hua shi jie 書畫世界*, no. 7 (2019): 82–84.
[374] Shen Peng 沈鵬, *Mi Fu de shu fa yi shu: Song* 米芾的書法藝術：宋 (Beijing 北京: Renmin meishu chubanshe 人民美術出版社, 1980).
[375] Chen Qingguang 陳擎光. *Yuandai Huajia Wuzhen* 元代畫家吳鎮 (Taibei 台北: Guoli gu gong bo wu yuan 國立故宮博物院, 1983); Dong Qichang 董其昌, *Rongtai Bieji* 容台別集 (Unknown, 1644),juan 6 https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=83562&remap=gb.
[376] Shane McCausland, *Zhao Mengfu: Calligraphy and Painting for Khubilai's China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Univ Press, 2011), 5–10.

the Ming government as the head of the ministry of rites.[377] He came from a renowned Jiangnan family and lived in the Songjiang prefecture.[378] He participated in literati culture, and also wrote books studying past calligraphy.[379] During the Ming period, artists studied past painting styles. Qiu Ying (仇英), for example, repainted a renowned Song painting: "Qingming Shanghetu (清明上河圖)" by Zheng Zeduan (張擇端); the inventories note two pieces of painting by Qiu Ying.

Much of the Qing calligraphies and paintings collected by the confiscated elite was produced by artists that had lived through the Ming-Qing transition. Some refused to work for the Manchu government and instead became full-time artists. They still befriended scholar-officials and artists. For instance, Yun Shouping participated in the anti-Qing government movement. He was part of the Jiangnan literati culture circle, a friend with Wang Cui (王翠), also collected here, who was a high achieving artist, and Wu Zhengzhi (吳正治), a Kangxi period cabinet official.[380] The paintings collected by the Han elite in Qing were created by scholar and officials from previous dynasties who were experts in Chinese book culture. By collecting and displaying these paintings in the home, Han elite expressed their cultural belonging.

The other genre of paintings collected by high officials depicted historical moments or mystical stories. These paintings had significant high symbolic meanings. Some tell a story of passive resistance to nomadic rule. For instance, the painting — Wenji guihan tu (文姬歸漢圖) depicts the journey of the Han period woman Cai Wenji (蔡文姬), the daughter of a renowned scholar Cai Yong (蔡邕), traveling back to the Han regime.[381] The emperor ordered her rescue from the hands of the *Xiongnu* (匈奴) tribe 3 B.C.—1 A.D., where she had been.[382] The tribal leader abducted her and forced her to marry him.[383] After her return, she edited a

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[377] Yan Xiaojun 顏曉軍, "Dong Qichang Zhuzi Ji Dongshi Dizhai 董其昌諸子及董氏第宅," *Gugong Bowuyuan Yuankan* 故宫博物院院刊 188, no. 6 (2016): 123.
[378] Yan, "Dong Qichang Zhuzi Ji Dongshi Dizhai 董其昌諸子及董氏第宅," 119.
[379] Dong, *Rongtai Bieji* 容台別集.
[380] Ling Lizhong 淩利中, "Shixi Wangcui Shengping Gejieduan Zhi Jiaoyou Yu Chuangzuo de Guanxi 試析王翠生平各階段之交遊與創作的關系," *Zhongguo Yishu* 中國藝術 48, no. 3 (2018): 12–13.
[381] Yu Siying 余思穎, "Chen Juzhong Wenji Guihan Tu Yinyu Tanxi 陳居中《文姬歸漢圖》隱喻探析," *Art Education Research*, no. 12 (2017): 13.
[382] Yu, "Chen Juzhong Wenji Guihan Tu Yinyu Tanxi 陳居中《文姬歸漢圖》隱喻探析," 13.
[383] Yu, "Chen Juzhong Wenji Guihan Tu Yinyu Tanxi 陳居中《文姬歸漢圖》隱喻探析," 13.

large volumes of works collected by his father, contributing to the cultural development of the Han.[384] Song artists painted this story numerous times as a metaphor for their similarly agonistic relationship with the Jin state (金 1115 — 1234), a regime established by the Jurchens, one of the ancestors of Manchus.[385] The Han scholar-officials in Qing could also see this painting as a metaphor for their hope of a return to "civilised" rule. It captures the cultural conflict between the Han and the northern regimes which continued for thousands of years.

Conclusion

Three Han groups, the degree officials, non-degree officials, and commoners, decorated their houses following the invisible hand of the Han culture and diverging on their ownership of objects made from imported raw materials and linked to literati culture. The inventories indicate the revival of antiquarianism in the Qing period. The Han elite cherished past cultures: chair-level furniture originating from nomadic traditions, painted screens, which used to be a marker of the power, ritual vessels that carried the spirit of the sage kings, and also a general preference for jade, porcelain, and silk goods. Although this group of families came from 18 provinces and held various occupations and wealth and they do not represent all the Han elite, the confiscation inventories provide the best chance for historians to study Han proto-ethnic identity from a material perspective. Putting the metaphysical commonality aside, the Han elite created a physical commonality that materialised their cultural traits in everyday life.

The differences among the Han elite were also evident. Wealth, education, and power shaped the taste and forms of distinction employed by elite families. The high scholar-officials were well-connected to the Qing government and well-educated. They were among the most affluent families in society. They took pride in their scholarship in history, poetry, classics, and art, decorated their houses with antiques, and commissioned artisans to carve imported precious materials with motifs and figures that existed in books and their imaginations. They surrounded themselves with emblems of the universe portrayed by past elite who also shared a common written language. The objects the high scholar-officials chose to decorate and enjoy

[384] Yu, "Chen Juzhong Wenji Guihan Tu Yinyu Tanxi 陳居中《文姬歸漢圖》隱喻探析," 13.
[385] Yu, "Chen Juzhong Wenji Guihan Tu Yinyu Tanxi 陳居中《文姬歸漢圖》隱喻探析," 13.

in their houses, the precious materials used to make utensils and carvings, the famous paintings, the Han dynasty ritual vessels, and a library of books, served as status markers. These reminded visitors that they were the masters of history and arts in the central plain, and were also part of the ruling elite that shared political power with the Manchus.

The remaining non-degree officials gained power through other means. Although they enjoyed similar privileges to degree officials, they did not decorate their houses with literary goods, owned fewer paintings, fewer books, and fewer carvings. Visitors could distinguish them from the degree officials, but still they owned more luxurious goods and materials imported from abroad than the commoners. They displayed their political power without emphasising their mastery of the arts and culture. They allocated their assets in different ways to the scholar-officials (this is explored further in chapter 5).

The commoners did not have the same access to exotic luxury goods and decorated their houses with fewer political status goods. But the richest commoners with assets close to a million taels, worked closely with governors, as they were the most influential commoners outside the bureaucracy. They decorated their houses to mimic the taste of high ranked scholar-officials, partially because they had a close relationship with governors and partially because someone in their families might also have served in the government. For instance, the author of the *Laolao hengyan* came from a prominent family. His brother was an official and his family had been acquainted with governance and maintained its wealth and power since the Ming dynasty.

The less wealthy families, although they did not have access to the goods or the wealth of the richest families, used visually similar objects in decorating their house. They replaced hardwood with softwood and bamboo for furniture. They asked for auspicious messages to be carved onto softwood because they did not own rare and imported materials. They used regular porcelain rather than expensive porcelain from the top kilns. They covered their living spaces with silk and wool to hide the underlying materials, indicating that they were more affluent than commoners.

Qing visitors could easily deduce the social and economic status of a family from their household decorations because money and power determined the status goods that a family could own. Although they shared similarities, the Han elite distinguished themselves by

owning different status goods. The next chapter asks if this Han material culture was shared by the bannermen, in particular the confiscated Manchu and Mongol banner families.

CHAPTER 4. MATERIAL CULTURE AND IDENTITY IN THE HOUSEHOLDS OF THE MONGOL AND MANCHU BANNERMEN

The bannermen, a Tungusic military organisation established by Nurgaci, the founder of the Qing empire, conquered Ming China.[386] The Qing imperial house continued to use this organization throughout their reign to fulfil a range of "governmental, administrative, economic, and social functions."[387] The Qing government controlled and manipulated the proto-ethnic identities of bannermen for governance and state-building.[388] They imposed a series of regulations and cultural projects that kept them apart from the rest of the population.[389] The state provided them with benefits and constrained other aspects of their lives. This organisation and group identity of the banner Manchus sits at the centre of the debate on whether the Qing was a foreign conquest empire or a Hanified regime. This chapter discusses the household decorations found in confiscation inventories of the Manchu and Mongol banner elite and uses them to unveil their material identity.

The families examined in this section possessed two identities defined by law: one political, as bannermen, and the other cultural, as Manchu, Mongol, and Han. Their political entitlements provided bannermen with benefits. They received monthly salaries, priority for government posts, lenient civil service examination quotas, and entitlements to a welfare system that promised to take care of their families if they passed away when serving the government.[390] As a result, they occupied a majority of the high official posts and were overrepresented in all tiers of governance, even though they never exceeded 3% of the total population. [391]

The privileges associated with the status of a bannermen were hereditary to a certain degree. If bannermen committed serious crimes or behaved in a way that tarnished the

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[386] Elliott, *The Manchu Way*; Du Jiaji 杜家驥, *Qingdai Baqi Guanzhi yu Xingzheng* 清代八旗官制與行政 (Beijing 北京: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe 中國社會科學出版社, 2015); Rhoads, *Manchus [and] Han*; Kicengge, *Daichin gurun to sono jidai: Teikoku no keisei to hakki shakai (ダイチン・グルンとその時代: 帝国の形成と八旗社会, The Great Qing Empire: founding of the empire and the eight banner society)* (Nagoya (名古屋): Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai (名古屋大學出版會), 2009).
[387] Mark Elliott, "Ethnicity in the Qing Eight Banners," 29.
[388] Crossley, Siu, and Sutton, *Empire at the Margins*.
[389] Crossley, Siu, and Sutton, *Empire at the Margins*; Elliott, *The Manchu Way*.
[390] Chen Jiahua, "Baqi Bingxiang De Shixi 八旗兵餉的世襲," *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究 (1985.5): 63; Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 63,192.
[391] Elliott, Campbell, and Lee, "A Demographic Estimate of the Population of the Qing Eight Banners," 26.

character expected of bannermen, the government would remove them from the registry. They would then become commoners.[392] The state enacted segregation policies to manage bannermen. Many were stationed in garrisons, which were walled cities within cities.[393] There were four garrison networks established throughout the empire at its peak during the late Qianlong period.[394]

The second identity the bannermen possessed was their cultural identity. This started with the Manchu banners themselves. As the regime expanded, this was split into two along roughly cultural lines, the Manchus and the Mongols in 1635, with the Qing adding Mongol banners when their population reached ten thousand.[395] Finally, after the Han military demonstrated their prowess in using heavy artillery, the government consolidated the Han banners on the eve of further invasions of the Ming state in 1634. The Han banners earned the name of "heavy troops" (Manchu: ujen cooha).[396]

It is important to note that the cultural categories of the banner organisation were both social and political constructions. The early clans that surrendered to Nurgaci were not culturally homogenous.[397] Most of the clans did not call themselves Manchus.[398] They spoke different Tungusic dialects or languages belonging to Turkic or Mongolic.[399] There were also small groups of Koreans, Russians, and other cultural groups that joined the banners.[400] These were allocated to one of the three proto-ethnic branches. The Qing emperors developed cultural projects to modify the Mongol and Manchu banners into distinct and idealised proto-ethnic groups.

The Manchus was a political identity named by Hong Taiji. It was constituted from Jurchen descendants and other northern tribes such as the Yehe clan, who spoke different

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[392] Zhu Qingqi 祝慶祺, *Xingan Huilan Sanbian* 刑案匯覽三編 (Beijing 北京: Beijing Guji Chubanshe 北京古籍出版社, 2004), 694, 1994.
[393] Rhoads, *Manchus and Han*, 38.
[394] Ma, *Baqi zhidu*, 32-33; Rhoads, *Manchus & Han*, 34, citing China, Baqi Dutong Yamen Archives, No 4, "Qiwu", Shandong governor Zhang to the lieutenant-general of the Hanjun Bordered Red Banner, communication, GX 13/3/15.
[395] Elliott, "Ethnicity in the Qing Eight Banners," 41.
[396] Elliott, "Ethnicity in the Qing Eight Banners," 42.
[397] Yiming Tan and Yongxu Yang, "Congbaqi Jiapu Kan Manzu de Minzu Goucheng 從八旗家譜看滿族的民族構成", *Journal of Jilin Normal University Humanities and Social Science Edition*, no. 4 (2008): 80–82.
[398] Tan and Yang, Congbaqi jiapu kan minzu de minzu goucheng, 80-82.
[399] Tan and Yang, Congbaqi jiapu kan minzu de minzu goucheng, 80-82.
[400] Tan and Yang, Congbaqi jiapu kan minzu de minzu goucheng, 80-82.

languages.[401] Hong Taiji ordered the establishment of a written Manchu language by borrowing the Mongolian alphabet. The emperors placed a significant emphasis on martial spirit and the Manchu language as fundamental traits of the Manchus (国语骑射),[402] establishing schools to teach Manchu. They required them to be frugal, eat less meat, and wear plain clothes, even though Manchus historically ate meat.[403] The emperor Qianlong also modified their rituals and funerary practices, making them less "eccentric" and "barbaric" in the eyes of Han people.[404] The emperors before Jiaqing required Manchus to carry their deceased to Beijing and bury them, although their ancestors also practiced cremation.[405]

The imperial government also created a series of educational and religious programmes for the Mongol bannermen and Han people.[406] The emperors initiated large cultural projects, building dictionaries and libraries.[407] By the 1700s, the period when this study starts, the Han, Manchu, and Mongol bannermen should, in theory, have lived according to the laws and regulations imposed by the emperors, who wanted them to behave in a certain way and conform to idealised cultural patterns.

This complex development has led scholars to form multiple explanations about the nature of the Qing empire. The Manchu and the Mongol proto-ethnic identity did not fit Frank Dikötter's discourse on race in China. Scholars of race tend to examine how humankind has been divided based on genetic and biological features and by lines of blood and descent that cannot be altered by education, ritual, or other ameliorating practices.[408] However, the Qing government deliberately constructed identities for political purposes. This phenomenon of creating an imagined group identity after they had won political dominance of a region also happened throughout the world. Genghis Khan (1158-1227) decided to call his Turkic subordinates and followers Mongols.[409] The mameluke, a name used earlier to indicate slave

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[401] Elliott, "Ethnicity in the Qing Eight Banners," 33.
[402] Wang Zhonghan, "Guoyuqishe yu manzu de fazhan 國語騎射與滿族的發展," *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊, no. 02 (1982): 19–25.
[403] Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 8.
[404] Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 187.
[405] Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 164, 167.
[406] Crossley, "Making Mongols," 76.
[407] Wang Chunwei 王春偉, "Sikuquanshu Yu Qingdai Guojia Yishi Xingtai Kaolun 四庫全書與清代國家意識形態考論," *Journal of Ancient Books Collation and Studies* 4 (July 2021): 89–95.
[408] Frank Dikötter, "Racial Identities in China: Context and Meaning," *China Quarterly* 0, no. 138 (June 1994): 404–12.
[409] Charles Bawden, C. "Genghis Khan." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 14, 2021. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Genghis-Khan.

soldiers in the Muslim world, succeeded in establishing the Mamluk dynasty and ruled Egypt and Syria from 1250 to 1517.[410] Europeans who lived in America chose to call themselves Americans after the overthrow of British control in 1776.[411]

Even among multicultural empires, the Qing government was not the only one that attempted to transform its diverse peoples into more clearly defined groups. For example, when the Habsburg Empire promulgated a new constitution in 1867, it expected people to group themselves into ethnic groups in order to access resources.[412] But the people who lived in its Bohemian lands spoke multiple languages and practised diverse cultures and customs.[413] The question of "who is who'' puzzled the supreme court of the empire until the end of its existence.[414] The Qing emperors adopted a more unilateral approach when assigning groups into the three proto-ethnic banner branches. They expected people in different banners to act in accordance with their assigned group identity.[415] Did the categories imposed by the Qing government affect the bannermen? And if so, why did this matter?

The bannermen were the core elite that ruled the Qing empire. Their group identity determined whether we should understand the nature of the empire as being Manchu or Han Chinese, or a mix of the two. It influences the perception of the Chinese region as ruled by a continuous succession of Han dynasties or by other distinct groups. One standard analysis of this—the Han absorption or assimilation theory—traces its roots to the Boas School in anthropology. In 1935, Ralph Linton proposed that if two cultures clash, one would be either absorbed or acculturated. He believed that "the type of contact which makes acculturation possible is more likely to arise through conquest and the settlement of the conquering groups among the vanquished."[416] Stevan Harrell has expanded upon this phenomenon of "civilising

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[410] Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Mamluk," Encyclopedia Britannica, 7 Apr. 2020, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Mamluk. Accessed 6 September 2021.
[411] James T. Harris, Unit, Economist Intelligence, John Naisbitt, Thea K. Flaum, Bernard A. Weisberger, J.R. Pole, Edward Pessen, Wilfred Owen, Willard M. Wallace, Paul H. Oehser, Reed C. Rollins, Richard R. Beeman, Oscar O. Winther, Arthur S. Link, Harold Whitman Bradley, Frank Freidel, Warren W. Hassler, William L. O'Neill,` David Herbert Donald, Edgar Eugene Robinson, Wilbur Zelinsky, Karl Patterson Schmidt, Peirce F. Lewis, Oscar Handlin, and Adam Gopnik, "United States", Encyclopedia Britannica, 5 Sep. 2021, https://www.britannica.com/place/United-States. Accessed 6 September 2021.
[412] Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848-1948* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002).
[413] King, *Budweiser into Czechs and Germans.*
[414] Tara Zahra, "'Each Nation Only Cares for Its Own': Empire, Nation, and Child Welfare Activism in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1918," *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1378–1402.
[415] Elliott, Ethnicity in the Qing Eight Banners, 27.
[416] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man: An Introduction* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1936), 335.

projects," whether this refers to Christian projects, Confucian projects, and communist projects.[417] He modifies the Boasian proposition, portraying these projects as an unequal dialogue between a central civilisation and a peripheral one. Huang Pei (黃培) and Wang Rongzu (汪榮祖) believe in the complete success of Confucian projects: they argue that the Manchus were fully acculturated into the Han culture.[418]

Karl A. Wittfogel disagreed strongly with the Boas school's conclusion about assimilation. He argued that dualism in governance existed in the conquest dynasties of the Liao Khitans, the Jin Jurchens, the Yuan Mongols, and the Qing Manchus. Their ruling strategies contained political dualism—a difference in power between the conquering elite and the rest—and cultural dualism, with rules based on the cultures of different areas.[419] The later generation of Qing historians, including John Fairbank, Mark Elliot, and Yao Dali (姚大力), endorse this theory and claim that the Manchus retained their group identity, language, and ways of living. In short, they retained their Manchu way.[420]

However, Pamela Crossley and Jonathan Lipman view the situation as being more uncertain. The Qing was a multi-national and complex empire, they suggest.[421] Before the modern ideology of race and nation was imported to China, the boundaries between peoples were often fluid.[422] This vagueness of boundaries can be seen in the attempt by P.R. China's government to assign ethnicity. Taking the Muslim peoples as an example, they were assigned into ten ethnic groups. The first ethnic group, the Hui, refers to Muslims or atheists of Muslim parentage who speak native Chinese, Tibetan, Utsat and Bai and other languages.[423] Conversely, Bonan, Kazakh, Tajik, Tartar, Dongxiang, Kirghiz, Salar, Uygur, and Uzbek refer to Muslims who live in China in different areas and speak distinct languages.[424]

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[417] Harrell, *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, 18.
[418] Huang, *Reorienting the Manchus*; Wang, *Qingdiguo Xingzhi de Zai Shangque* 清帝國性質的再商榷.
[419] Karl August Wittfogel, *History of Chinese Society: Liao, 907-1125* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society: distributed by the Macmillan Co, New York, 1949).
[420] Yao Dali 姚大力 and Sun Jing 孫靜, "Manzhou Ruhe Yanbian Wei Minzu, Lun Qing Zhongye Qian Manzhou Rentong de Lishi "滿洲" 如何演變為民族——論清中葉前"滿洲"認同的歷史變遷," *Journal of Social Sciences*, no. 7 (2006): 5–28; Elliott, *The Manchu Way*.
[421] Lipman, *Familiar Strangers*; Pamela Kyle Crossley, *Orphan Warriors*.
[422] Crossley, Siu, and Sutton, *Empire at the Margins*.
[423] Jonathan N. Lipman, "Hui-Hui: An Ethnohistory of the Chinese-Speaking Muslims", *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 11, no. 1 (1987): 112.
[424] Lipman, Hui-Hui: an Ethnohistory of the Chinese-Speaking Muslims, 112.

One of the central expressions of group identity is the use of specific forms of material culture associated with particular groups. Notably, Qing historians always mention this, but without comprehensively investigating it. Huang Pei claims that the Manchu bannerman were assimilated into Han culture because they moved from carrying "the *faduy*, a rustic Jurchen bag for hunters and warriors to carry food, to the *hebao*, a small and elegant Chinese pouch of an aesthetic nature."[425] However, he does not examine other aspects of the material culture of the Manchu and Mongol bannermen. Hu Xueyan (胡雪艷) judges Manchu assimilation based on the emperor Qianlong and later emperors, engagement in Han material and literary culture; thus, she concludes that the Manchus were assimilated into the Han.[426] However, she neglects the political intentions of this act; as the rulers of a multicultural empire, they needed to carefully manage a balance of representations of different cultures in the court.[427]

Mark Elliott provides a more substantial treatment of the material culture of bannermen. He employs a qualitative analysis. The English described a house of the bannermen:

> "the decoration of the rooms… displays of military prowess figure in alternate succession upon the walls. As their business is fighting, bows and arrows, matchlocks and gingalls [a kind of heavy musket], powder and other warlike materials are blended with the furniture of the dwellings and meet the visitor at every turn."[428]

Manchu women also owned distinct pieces of jewellery and accessories. They wore three earrings on each ear and tied their hair in a distinctive style that was very different from that of Han women.[429]

This chapter moves our understanding of the proto-ethnic identity and assimilation of the bannermen forwards by developing a more comprehensive understanding of their material culture. I achieve this by examining the confiscation inventories of 17 Mongolian and 96 Manchu bannermen. About two thirds of the families, 62 Manchu and Mongol bannermen were confiscated in the 1700s, in which time 21 Manchu bannermen lived in the borderland areas and 24 Manchu and 17 Mongol bannermen were stationed in the inner 18 provinces.

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[425] Huang, *A Study of Sinicization,* 16.
[426] Hu Xueyan 胡雪艷, "Shizhi qianlongchao de manzu hanhua jingcheng 時至乾隆朝的滿族漢化進程," *Hulun Beier Xueyuan Xuebao* 呼倫貝爾學院學報 17, no. 05 (2009): 42–45.
[427] Philippe Forêt, *Mapping Chengde the Qing Landscape Enterprise* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000).
[428] Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 115.
[429] Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 230.

The rest of the families were confiscated in the 1800s, 29 Manchu bannermen came from the borderland areas and 22 from the inner provinces. The lack of a Mongol banner inventory after 1800 could be caused by the accidents that happened to the imperial edicts in the 20th century, or because the No.1 Historical Archive has not yet catalogued them.

The inventories show that, in general, Manchu and Mongol bannermen maintained distinct consumption habits. They preferred hardwood, jade, cotton textiles, hunting related goods, and metalware. A few, however, were heavily impacted by Han elite material culture. This was particularly the case for those bannermen who held the *Jinshi* degree and were extremely wealthy high officials above the third tier. In thinking about the degree of acculturation that we observe among bannermen, education, wealth, and power mattered.

The bannermen who lived after 1800 bowed slightly to Han material culture, but this did not prevent them from continuing to own northern goods They held items from both worlds, possessing porcelain and metalware, silk and cotton textiles. After 1800, the bannerman did not need to march to the borders and help the Qing government conquer external regions. They increasingly needed to work with local gentry. The weakening of the central government, especially in financial terms—replacing generous pensions and material benefits with loans and never adjusting salaries according to inflation after the 1650s—fostered this need. Eventually, in the 1850s, the government ordered inner provincial bannermen to settle in their garrisons, and they became permanent residents among the Han people. This change in position was reflected in their material culture.

Although the Manchu bannermen confiscated after 1800 appreciated and possessed Han cultural goods, they remained distinct from their Han counterparts. In particular, they held types of Han literary goods that were much less diverse. Most did not own Chinese language carvings and figures or complete sets of histories and Confucian classics. Even the versatile book owner Gaopu, the nephew of Qianlong's concubine, a Manchu of the bordered yellow banner (originally of a Han banner but later elevated to this banner), primarily possessed books written by Qing authors or histories and dictionaries published in Qing times. Thus, he engaged with Qing culture. Manchu and Mongol bannermen did not fully assimilate into Han culture. Instead, they maintained their northern consumption habits and created their own version of banner culture.

The remainder of this chapter is organised into three parts. The first analyses the possession and distribution of specific types of goods: furniture, utensils, martial decorations, carvings, figures, and books and paintings. The second examines the general trends in the raw materials used to manufacture these goods. The third investigates the detailed inventories of civil examination degree holders.

Section 4.1 General Trends in Household Decorations

Home is a semi-private and semi-public space. Homeowners decorate the space both for their family members and for guests. Here I discuss the various types of household decoration in order to piece together a plausible "typical" picture of household material culture, attending to the differences between wealthy and relatively less privileged houses, and between Manchu and Mongol bannermen. I begin by examining large pieces of furniture, followed by utensils and decorations and books and paintings.

Furniture

Stepping into the house of a bannerman, one would immediately be able to differentiate between a house of the Qing elite and those of other East Asian cultures. Like Han elite, the bannermen enjoyed chair-level living, while Japanese and Korean domestic furnishings remained at ground level. Chair-level living was not a novelty to northern cultures. *Houhanshu* (後漢書) notes that it was the *Xiongnu* people who first introduced chairs to the Emperor Ling of Han (156-189).[430] In the inventories, over 70% of the Borderland Manchus owned tables, chairs, beds, and shelves regardless of the time of confiscation (Table 4.1). Fewer than 50% of the inner provincial Manchus and Mongols confiscated before 1800 possessed them. After a policy shift toward the greater permanence of appointments, ownership levels increased to 80%. The Qing institutional policy and job requirements of bannermen impacted their ownership of furniture because it defined when they could settle down without the need to constantly move to other places to fight wars. For Mongol bannermen, approximately 47% of the inner Mongol banners owned furniture, but the inventories did not include borderland Mongols. It is arbitrary to determine whether the Mongols shared a similar preference for furniture overall with the Manchus and the Han.

[430] Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Hanshu Wuyingdian ben* 後漢書武英殿本 (Beijing 北京: Tongwenju 同文局, 1874), juan 11, 174.

Table 4.1 Percentage Ownership of Furniture

Time	Area	Proto ethnicity	No. Family	Ownership Percentage
1700s	Border	Manchu	21	71%
	Inner	Manchu	24	48%
		Mongol	17	47%
1800s	Border	Manchu	29	76%
	Inner	Manchu	22	61%

Source: Appendix II

The large differences evident here between borderland Manchus and inner provincial Manchus were possibly caused by the types of pensions they were granted by the government. Unlike borderland and capital bannermen, few garrison bannermen ever received land grants.[431] The banner policy also forbade garrison banners from living outside garrisons or finding a job outside the government, indirectly rendering them unable to purchase a permanent house. This had a significant impact on the ownership of furniture, especially before 1800. Inner provincial Manchus had very little incentive before 1800 to purchase furniture, for they needed to move and serve the state.

If a visitor knew the household decoration details of a Han elite family, he would notice that a large piece of furniture was missing in the house of Manchu or Mongol bannermen. Painted screens — a symbol of power in classical Chinese tradition were not preferred by them.[432] A majority of Han officials owned these pieces while only three inner provincial Manchu families and one Mongol family confiscated before 1800 and six Manchu families after 1800 had screens in their houses. The other 70% of banner families did not own them. The Manchu and Mongol banners tended to possess fewer goods such as screens that were clearly related to the Chinese language culture.

Ceremonial Utensils

In the inner quarters of the banner houses, a visitor would find ceremonial utensils for daily and ritual uses. Manchu bannermen increased their ownership of tea and wine ceremonial utensils from the 18th to the 19th century. The share of bannermen who owned tea utensils expanded from less than 10% in the 1700s to 30-40% in the 1800s, while the share of

[431] Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 233.
[432] Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji Wuyingdian ban ben* 史記武英殿版本 (Beijing 北京: Tongwenju 同文局, 1874), juan 77, 52.

less affluent inner provincial Manchus increased from zero to 67% (Table 4.2). The level of ownership of tea utensils remained the same among the affluent inner provincial Manchus. Only one banner family-owned ceremonial wine tableware before 1800. This share increased to about 20% in the 1800s. By contrast, Mongol banner families were indifferent to these goods and only two families owned them.

Table 4.2 Percentage Ownership of Ceremonial Utensils

Time	Area	Proto-ethnicity	Wealth	No. Family	Tea Utensil	Wine Utensil
1700s	Border	Manchu	<10,000	7	0%	0%
			>10,000	10	10%	0%
	Inner	Manchu	<10,000	5	0%	0%
			>10,000	16	25%	6%
		Mongol	<10,000	6	33%	0%
			>10,000	11	9%	9%
1800s	Border	Manchu	<10,000	7	43%	14%
			>10,000	14	29%	14%
	Inner	Manchu	<10,000	6	67%	17%
			>10,000	12	17%	25%

Source: Appendix II

Tea drinking originated from the central plains and became a part of the borderland diet from the 13th century.[433] The Mongolian empire facilitated extensive trade routes in Asia and made tea a much more widely available commodity. The borderland communities would add milk and other ingredients to it, while tea drinkers in the central plain preferred plain tea from the Song period and onward.[434] The inventories do not tell us about the ways in which the bannermen used these utensils. Just as Europeans would use Qing porcelain to serve their domestic meals, the increase in ownership of these goods did not necessarily indicate that after acquiring ceremonial utensils, the bannermen decided to prepare tea in the central plain way. However, they indicate at least that the appreciation of these ceremonial utensils increased over time.

[433] Bamana Gaby, "Tea Practices in Mongolia, A Field of Female Power and Gendered Meanings," *Asian Ethnology* 74, no. 1 (2015): 193–214.
[434] James A. Benn, *Tea in China*.

Another feature distinguishing the Manchu and Mongol bannermen's houses from those of the Han was their ownership of ritual objects. Bannermen, in general, showed little interest in Han literati luxury goods, such as Shang and Zhou bronze vessel inspired objects and zithers. The levels of ownership across wealth tiers, location, and proto-ethnic branches remained low (less than 30%). No confiscated banner families possessed ritual goods related to Taoism.

Manchus and Mongols practised Buddhism to an extent. Indeed, it was one of the Mongolian clans' core religious practices because of their increasing entanglements with Tibet since the era of Genghis Khan in the 12th century. The Mongols conquered Tibet multiple times from 1240 to 1354, and thereafter indirectly influenced Tibetan politics, aiding the establishment of the Dalai Lama lineage in the 15th century.[435] The Manchu emperor used Tibetan Buddhism as a political tool to engage with Mongolian and Tibetan authorities. In one of the letters sent by the Mongolian tribal leaders Bodisung and Güyeng to Hong Taiji from 1628 to 1631, the first sentence began with the mantra, "Om mani padme hum."[436] According to the first Buddhist document in which it is included, the phrase *Karandavyuha Sutra* represents all Buddhist teachings in a condensed form. It is one of the principal mantras in Buddhism.[437] The Tibetans also addressed the Manchu emperor as one of the Bodhisattvas.[438]

The inventories do not differentiate Han Buddhist statues from Tibetan Buddhist statues. They do, however, show that Buddhist statues of whatever kind were greatly preferred by the richer bannermen, whose household possessions exceeded 10,000 silver taels in value. Approximately 45% of Mongol bannermen and 30% of Manchu bannermen owned Buddhist statues compared with less than 30% of the Han elite. The Mongol bannermen preferred to own Buddhist ritual objects than the other two groups.

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[435] Stephen G. Haw, "The Mongol Conquest of Tibet," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 24, no. 1 (2014): 37–49; Andreas Siegl, "Damu Emke Dabala – 'There Can Only Be One': Tibetan-Mongol-Qing Discussions Concerning the Succession of the 5th Dalai Lama," *Central Asiatic Journal* 58, no. 1–2 (2015): 181–87; Paul Hyer, "The Dalai Lamas and the Mongols," *The Tibet Journal* 6, no. 4 (1981): 3–12.
[436] Di Cosmo and Bao, *Manchu-Mongol Relations on the Eve of the Qing Conquest*, 80.
[437] Alexandra Studholme, *The origins of Om Manipademe hum: A study of the Karandavyuha Sutra* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2002), 72; Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia, "Mantra," Encyclopaedia Britannica, June 21, 2013. https://www.britannica.com/topic/mantra.
[438] James Louis Hevia, "Lama, Emperors, and Rituals: Political Implications in Qing Imperial Ceremonies," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 16, No. 2 (1993): 244.

Shamanism was the indigenous religion of the Manchus. It was practised at both imperial and garrison level according to *the Imperial Eight Banner Gazetteer* (欽定八旗通志) and *Imperial Manchu Worshiping God and Heaven Book* (*Hesei Toktobuha Manjusai Wecere Metere Kooli Bithe*). Both books provide detailed descriptions of the ritual objects used for these ceremonies. Mark Elliott argues that the *Hesei Bithe* standardised Manchu shamanism while Di Cosmo and Jiang Xiaoli (蔣曉麗) disagree, referring to Qianlong memorials which stated explicitly that this book should be used as a guide to the imperial ceremonies.[439] That said, when comparing the *Hesei Bithe* and the *Eight Banner Gazetteer*, the ritual objects recorded were highly similar, even down to their style and colour. Both referenced swords, three-string and four-string plucked instruments, copper incense burners, porcelain bowls decorated with a flower pattern, and silver cups.[440] The inventories indicate that the overall ownership of ritual related objects doubled after 1800. Bannermen preferred to own more religious objects in the 19th century.

Carvings and Figures

In addition to ritual objects, a visitor would also find carvings and figures on tables or hanging on the walls. These decorations further illustrated the northern taste rooted in Manchu and Mongol bannermen's daily life and the pre- and post-1800 transition. During that time, bannermen doubled their ownership of decorations from about 30% of families on average to more than 60%. The Manchu and Mongol bannermen owned fewer varieties of auspicious decorations with motifs that originated from Chinese classics and history. Whereas Han officials owned statues of 17 types of mythical beasts derived from *Shanhai jing* (山海經), a book explores such creatures, or from Chinese historical writings,[441] the banner families owned carvings of only 4 types of beasts. Several Han officials owned statues of a famous

[439] Nicola Di Cosmo, "Manchu Shamanic Ceremonies at the Qing Court," in *State and Court Ritual in China*, ed. Joseph Peter McDermott (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 380; Jiang Xiaoli 江曉麗, "Did the Imperially Commissioned Manchu Rites for Sacrifices to the Spirits and to Heaven Standardize Manchu Shamanism?" *Religions (Basel, Switzerland)* 9, no. 12 (2018): 7.
[440] Wu Yude 吳裕德, *Qinding baqi tongzhi, qinding siku quanshu ben* 欽定八旗通志, 欽定四庫全書本 (Beijing: Wuying dian 1786), digitized by CADAL, Zhejiang University Library, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=5123.; Hesei toktobuha manjusai wecere metere kooli bithe, ningguci debtelin: wecere metere de dobome faidaha tetun agûrai durun-i nirugan (Manzhou ji shen ji tian gong xian chen she qi min xing shi tu 滿州祭神祭天供獻陳設器皿形式圖), digitized by Harvard-Yenching Library, https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/chinese-rare-books/catalog/49-990096072180203941.
[441] For a detailed discussion on Han ownership, see Chapter 3.

historical figure, Dongfang Shuo (東方朔), born in the Western Han dynasty, who was an official later deified as an immortal; however, no bannermen did. Bannermen preferred carvings of different types of animals. They possessed representations of bats, cicadas, geese, rabbits, shrimps, and squirrels, while the Han people owned animals considered auspicious according to the Chinese traditions.

Compared with the diverse types of mythical beasts favoured by the Han elite, the bannermen owned carvings of just four: *chi* (螭), *hou* (犼), dragon (龍), and phoenix (鳳). The first three were related to dragons, which were viewed as symbols of imperial power.[442] *Chi* is one of the nine sons of the dragon. *Hou* is a strong violent beast, capable of fighting multiple dragons at the same time. Phoenix, in both Manchu and Han contexts, has auspicious meanings. One of the mountain peaks near Changbai mountain (長白山) was named phoenix peak.[443] The bannermen only owned carvings of beasts that related to imperial power or those with which they were familiar: they selectively chose these motifs instead of assimilating the full variety of Han tastes. They preferred to commission artisans to carve them on jade.

The animal figures the bannermen possessed reveal a nostalgic attachment to their ancestral way of life as hunters in the pastoral clans of the north. They owned images of the animals they hunted in the wild: rabbits, deer, birds, geese, and squirrels. They also held horse and sheep figures, animals their ancestors raised. The Han elite did not choose to own most of these. The bannermen decorated their houses in a way that accorded with and emphasised their ancestral way of life. They did not imitate Han elite material culture but created their own, which conveyed a distinctive proto-ethnic identity rooted in their religious practices and ancestor's lived experience.

Martial Objects

One of the most significant distinctions that existed between the steppe culture and that of the central plain culture was the distinct rituals (an act established to insert social hierarchies and distinctions among people) that developed based on their social and political

[442] Lu Rong 陸容, *Shu Yuan Zaji* 菽園雜記 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2007), 16; Li Xu 李詡, *Jiean laoren manbi* 戒庵老人漫筆 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2006), 113; Li Dongyang 李東陽, *Huailu tangji* 懷麓堂集 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1992), 1250.
[443] *Qingtaizu wuhuangdi shilu* 清太祖武皇帝实录, Juan 2, 151, accessed August 12th 2021, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=830353&searchu=%E5%87%A4%E5%87%B0&remap=gb.

organizations and activities. The steppe cultures oriented themselves around martial rituals and executed this through military operations, military practices, and hunting gatherings.[444] In the central plain, military rituals were gradually demilitarized and faded away from the main ritual practices since the Han period.[445] Both the Mongol Empire and the Qing Empire emphasized martial rituals and military practices. They strengthened social hierarchy within these practices through the act of determining the marching order and redistributing military and hunting gains.[446] Even in the hunting ground, the Ming literati Xiao Daheng (蕭大亨) noted that the tartars obeyed strict orders from their commanders and did not dare to steal any of the animals they hunted, for fear of severe punishment.[447]

British observers visiting the Qing noted that the bannermen used martial items to decorate their homes,[448] and indeed visitors to their houses would see bows, swords, and arrows. The central government required bannermen to practice riding and shooting with bow and arrows and this was one of their primary markers of cultural distinction. Although confiscated bannermen possessed these weapons, they appear primarily in the hands of more affluent bannermen. About one third of the richer Manchu bannermen owned armour, arrows, bow, and swords regardless of their place and time of confiscation. Only families confiscated before 1800 owned carrying bags for their weapons, suggesting that these weapons became decorative items after 1800. A few families also owned crossbows and fire guns. Compared to the levels of ownership among confiscated Han, less than 5% of whom possessed martial items. It was six times more likely for a visitor to find a bow and arrows in a bannerman's house than in the house of a Han elite.

The other significant difference between the Han and the Manchus was their ownership of horses. The Han people predominantly used horses for war, unlike in 19th

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[444] Martial ritual of the steppes: Zhou Sicheng 周思成, *Guixun, chengfa, yu zhengfu meng yuan diguo de junshi liyi yu junshi fa* 規訓、懲罰與征服，蒙元帝國的軍事禮儀與軍事法 (Shanxi 山西: Shanxi renmin chubanshe 山西人民出版社, 2020.5).

[445] Maruhashi Mitsuhiro 丸橋充拓, *Tangdai junshi caizheng yu lishi* 唐代軍事財政與禮制, translated by Zhang Hua (Xian 西安: Xian daxue chubanshe 西安大學出版社, 2018), 241, 243.

[446] Rashid-al-Din Hamadani, *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, translated by Yu Dajun 余大鈞 and Zhou Jianqi 周建奇 (Beijing 北京: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館, 1983), vol 1, No 2, 41, 60, 163-164; Paul Ratchnevsky, *Cinggis-Khan: Sein Leben und Wirken* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1983), 61-62.

[447] Xiao Daheng 蕭大亨, *Beilu fengsu* 北虜風俗, edited by Bo Yinhu 薄音湖 and Wang Xiong 王雄, in *Mingdai menggu hanji shiliao huibian* 明代蒙古漢籍史料匯編 (Huhehaote 呼和浩特: Neimenggu daxue chubanshe 內蒙古大學出版社, 2000), Vol II, 243.

[448] Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 115.

century Europe and America where horses were also used for farming. Horses, in the eyes of the Qing government, were military animals. They forbade commoners in the central plain from raising horses and issued restrictions multiple times in 1648, 1664, and 1730; they also incorporated this restriction into the *Great Qing Legal Code*.[449] This was reflected in the inventories. Powerful Han officials possessed horses, but almost none of the Han commoners did. Four out of five border Manchus confiscated before 1800, and inner provincial Manchus confiscated after 1800, owned horses. Indeed, the majority of confiscated bannermen owned horses. The imperial strategy of maintaining banner group identity by requiring bannermen to practice riding and archery (國語騎射) shaped the material possessions of the bannermen.

Books, Paintings, and Stationery

Allowing Manchu and Mongol bannermen to settle permanently encouraged bannermen to acquire more delicate and heavy objects, including books, paintings, and stationery. Although after 1800 the share of Mongol and Manchu bannermen who owned examples of these items increased from 30% to 70% on average, they predominantly participated in what we might think of as Qing culture, not Han culture (Table 4.1.3). They did not possess as many pre-Qing Chinese language books as the Han elite. Only two non-civil degree bannermen possessed any of the renowned Chinese language related paintings, and very few owned books on Daoism, history, art, and primary accounts. The Manchu bannermen living in the inner provinces after 1800 collected a diverse range of luxurious stationery items: *duan* inkstones (an inkstone renowned for its elegance since the Tang period) and hardwood, luxury porcelain, silver, jade, and ivory implements. Like the Han people, they also used brush pens and ink to communicate and explore various types of art.

[449] Xie Chengxia 謝成俠, *Zhongguo Yangmashi* 中國養馬史(Beijing 北京: Nongye chubanshe 農業出版社, 1991), 231.

Table 4.3 Percentage Ownership of Books, Paintings, and Stationary

Time	Area	Proto-ethnicity	Wealth	No. Family	Books, Paintings, and Stationary
1700s	Border	Manchu	<10,000	7	14%
			>10,000	10	50%
	Inner	Manchu	<10,000	5	40%
			>10,000	16	75%
		Mongol	<10,000	6	17%
			>10,000	11	45%
1800s	Border	Manchu	<10,000	7	71%
			>10,000	14	71%
	Inner	Manchu	<10,000	6	83%
			>10,000	12	50%

Source: Appendix II

However, unlike their Han peers, Manchu bannermen exhibited little interest in the various types of Chinese calligraphy art. Only two banner households, perhaps by coincidence both from the bordered white banner, owned them. Han Xiyu (韓錫玉), a magistrate confiscated in January 1763, owned the Qiu Ying version of the famous painting *Qingming Shanghetu* (清明上河圖). In the full set of confiscations, four families owned five of Qiu Ying's works: the other three were Han. Shengbao (勝保), a 1st tier military general confiscated one hundred years later in 1862, acquired artworks by Dong Qichang (1555-1636) and Wen Zhengming (1470-1559).[450] The inventories demonstrate that five Han families collected Dong's art. The Qing elite expressed a profound interest in collecting Ming artworks, however the intensity of their engagement varied between Han, Mongol, and Manchu banners.

Within the inventories that provided detailed lists of books, one or two non-scholar families owned a full set of Confucian classics (四書五經) and a more comprehensive range of Chinese works. However, the banner families' book lists were significantly shorter than those of the Han scholar-officials. The inventories documented in detail the book inventory of Gaopu (高樸), a Manchu of the bordered yellow banner, who was not originally a Manchu,

[450] Nei Wufu 內務府, *Inventory of Han Xiyu* 韓錫玉 *Memorial 05-0206-022* (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1763 Jan. 25th) ; Nei Wufu 內務府, *Inventory of Shengbao 勝保 Memorial 03-4604-056* (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1862, Dec. 13th).

for his family had belonged to the bond-servant Han banner. His grandfather, a first-tier official, had a successful career in government and married his daughter to the emperor Qianlong. The emperor Qianlong grew fond of her and elevated the entire family to the Manchu bordered yellow banner, which was the most prestigious. While holding a 2.5 tier official position in Xinjiang, Gaopu illegally asked the locals to mine jade and transported it to Suzhou, sand this led the emperor Qianlong to confiscated him in 1778. He possessed the most diverse collction of books among the confiscated banner families. Specifically, he collected more than 38 book series, of which two were first published in Song times, two in the Yuan, four in the Ming, and twenty-six in Qing.[451]

Gaopu predominantly engaged with the literary culture of his contemporaries rather than with works from the distant Chinese past. Most of the primary accounts and poetry collections he possessed were written during the Qing. He owned collections of poems by Zhu Yan (朱琰), *Jinshi* of 1766 – *Liting shiji* (荁亭詩集); Li Huanan (李化楠), *Jinshi* of 1772 – *Li Shiting shiji (*李石亭詩集); and Shen Deqian (沈德潜), *Jinshi* of 1739 – *Guochaoshi biezaiji (*國朝詩別栽記), all of which were Qing publications. He also possessed memoirs, notes, and novels written by his contemporaries Wang Shizhen (王士禎), *Jinshi* of 1658 and Sun Zhu (孫洙), *Juren* of 1744.

Some of the earlier books in Gaopu's collection were written during the Ming-Qing transition by scholars who surrendered to the Qing and served the Manchu cause. *Xitang Quanjii* (西堂全集) was a primary account written by Youtong (尤侗), *Gongsheng* of 1646, who was born in the late Ming (1618). He became an official in 1679 and was one of the editors of the Qing government-commissioned chronicles of the Ming. He lived until the age of 84 and became one of the celebrated elders of his hometown. When the Kangxi Emperor visited the Jiangnan area, Youtong—then in his seventies—composed a poem to celebrate the emperor's birthday. The Kangxi emperor was delighted and wrote a Chinese calligraphy door decoration, *He Qi Tang* (鶴棲堂), as a return gift.[452] Gaopu did not possess any books written by Ming rebels, just those produced by Qing loyalists.

[451] Zhongguo diyi lishi danganguan, *Qianlongchao chengban tanwu dangan xuanbian,* Vol 1, 391-397.
[452] Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊, *Baoshutingji* 曝書亭集, 四部叢刊初編, accessed August 12th 2021, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=269985.

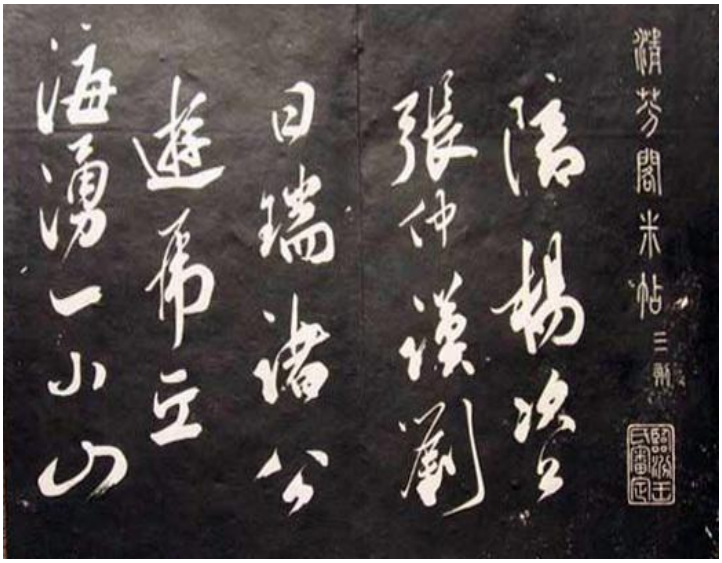
Gaopu owned only Qing editions of dictionaries and Confucian works. For instance, he possessed the Qing royal commission edition of the Confucian classics composed by Yin Jiaquan (尹嘉銓), a Han scholar-official. This book became one of those that was censored in 1782, four years after Gaopu was confiscated. The emperor Qianlong disliked the author's "unruly" conversations with him and decided to confiscate him as well.[453] Prior to that his book had gained official recognition from the Qing. He also owned *Xinglu shengdian* (幸魯盛典), a book documenting the Kangxi imperial tour to Confucian's family mansion in Shandong, where the 67th generation of Confucian descendants lived. It portrays the highly political event of the Qing imperial house paying respect to the Confucian culture. Gaopu also possessed the dictionary *Qing wenjian* (清文鑑), which incorporated five official languages—Manchu, Chinese, Mongol, Tibetan, and Uyghur - one of the Yongzheng era's attempts to create multicultural personas.

In addition to Qing era books, Gaopu was well-versed in China's history and the Qing commentaries on histories. He possessed both *Zizhi tongjian* (資治通鑑) and *Tongjian zhiyao* (通鑑摯要). The former series was composed by Sima Guang (司馬光) in Song on the history from 403BC to 959AC. The latter series was composed by Yao Peiqian (姚培謙) and Zhang Jingxing (張景星), *Jinshi* of 1745, and commented on *Zizhi tongjian*. Seemingly Gaopu read both primary sources and the state-recognised secondary sources on history.

As a family relative of the imperial house, Gaopu also acquired knowledge of past material cultures. Gaopu's possessions can be understood as tools that would have helped him advance his position within the court. He possessed *Bogutu* (博古圖), a book that presents a series of graphs and commentaries on past conspicuous and luxurious items. He also owned *Qingfen ge mitie* (清芬閣米帖), a calligraphy ink scrub collection of Mi Fu, Qianlong's beloved Song calligrapher (illustration 4.1). Ink rubbings were used both for appreciating and practising calligraphy. Gaopu might have practised Mi Fu's calligraphy style using this ink rubbing so that when he wrote memorials to the emperor Qianlong. The emperor might gain a good impression of him from his handwriting.

[453] Lu Xun 魯迅, *Qiejieting zawen* 且介亭雜文 (Beijing 北京: Yilin chubanshe 譯林出版社, 2013), 39.

Illustration 4.1 A page in *Qin fen ge mitie* 清芬閣米帖



Source: Mi Fu, *Beijing gugongcang mingqing ketie* 北京故宮藏明清刻帖 (Beijing 北京: Zijingchengchubanshe 紫禁城出版社 2010)

Gaopu was one of the role models for Han bannermen, only reading the works of other loyal Han servants of the Qing and understanding the Qing political rhetoric on Han governance. His book holdings differed from those of the Han officials, who owned many more books on Chinese past literature and culture than he did (see chapter 3). Given his unique political and cultural stance among the Qing imperial family and bureaucracy, he carefully walked the line of politics in his collection. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that he is exceptional in his engagement with literature: other bannermen possessed far fewer types of books than Gaopu.

The four people examined above were the only bannermen who possessed renowned art pieces and government-approved Chinese language texts. The majority of the confiscated bannermen did not fully invest in celebrating the literati culture their Han counterparts. Essentially, the bannermen limited their participation in Han culture.

Section 4.2 Materials Used to Make Household Decorations

Most historical studies on inventories and material culture pay little attention to the materials used to make goods, yet they reflect cultural tastes powerfully, especially in an age before the industrial revolution when the cost of transporting goods was high. The choice

between materials found at home or brought from afar reflected one's economic and social connections. The materials that were used to manufacture decorations and furniture further reveal the differences between the Manchu and Mongol bannermen and the Han elite, and the effect of the 1800s Qing transition when the Qing slowed down their borderland expansions.

If a visitor paid close attention to the materials used for these household goods, they would find evidence of ingrained northern cultural preferences and choices that reflect proximity to power. The Manchu and Mongol bannermen mostly owned hardwood furniture. They did not choose bamboo. They owned more jade, gold, and metalware than porcelain, even after the 1800s. They preferred cotton, sheepskins, and wool for their furniture covers and bedding instead of silk. The few Manchu collectors, besides owning the materials the Han elite possessed, also collected utensils made from manas jade and eastern pearls, goods that were exclusive to the imperial clans.

The Manchu bannermen favoured hardwood furniture, in particular rosewood and sandalwood. Owning hardwood furniture symbolised wealth and power. Genghis Khan was the first emperor to build a palace using sandalwood.[454] Hardwood became the Qing emperor's first choice of wood for furniture. The average rate of ownership of hardwood furniture for the Mongol banners ranged between 30 to 60%, higher than the average of the Han elite. The 1800 transition affected the level of ownership. The border bannermen and inner provincial bannermen who were confiscated after the 1800s possessed about 20% more hardwood furniture than the inner provincial banner before the 1700s. The inner provincial Mongol bannermen were indifferent to this development; three out of seventeen owned hardwood furniture.

The second favourite material for furniture among the bannermen was lacquerware: 26 out of 94 families, 27% of the Manchu and Mongol banners, possessed this. Bamboo furniture, however, was only rarely found in their houses: 18 out of 94, 20% of the families, owned this. They did not favour goods that resonated with Han material culture. One or two families possessed engraved furniture made using jade, bamboo, enamel, copper, iron, and marble. Many more Han elite owned engraved furniture.

[454] Song Lian 宋濂 ed., *Yuanshi Wuyingdian ban* 元史武英殿版(Beijing 北京: Tongwenju 同文局, 1874), Juan 31.

The textiles used in the furniture displayed in Manchu and Mongol bannermen's houses also differed from the Han. Approximately 30 to 60% of the Manchu and Mongol banners owned cotton and wool, while less than 20% possessed silk. Levels of ownership of cotton textiles increased from 30% on average to 50% after the 1800s for both provincial and borderland Manchus. Living in the inner province did not completely alter the material preferences for cotton.

The materials used for decorative carvings and ritual figures revealed that the bannermen preferred jade over all other types of materials. This came from mines located in the north of China. It was already a prestigious status good among the northern people long before Manchus became Manchus. In numerous tombs excavated before the 10th century, northern leaders used jade belts and utensils. The banner families had an even stronger preference for jade than the Han elite, with between 30 to 50% of bannermen owning jade. To put this in context, while jade appeared in the homes of over 60% of the richest Han scholar-officials, less than 20% of all other Han elite subgroups possessed jade.

Because of their military duties and northern traditions, the banner families owned more daily utensils made from metals such as gold, copper, and tin than porcelain before the 1800s. Porcelain were produced mostly at the south of the yellow river; most of the imperial and commercial kilns were in Zhejiang, Jiangsu, and Guangdong province. On average, about 70% of the Manchu and Mongol banner families possessed copperware. Less than 50% of the inner provincial bannermen in the 1700s owned porcelain. However, after the 1800s, the level of ownership of porcelain increased to about 70%. This did not reduce their enthusiasm for metalware, which remained constant.

Very few Manchu and Mongol bannermen collected goods made from rare materials. However, those who did -- six Manchu families and one or two Mongol families -- collected as many rare materials as the Han officials, including ivory, pearls, agate, amber, crystals, jadeite, realgar, tourmaline, and turquoise. They also owned larger quantities of imperially-controlled rare goods than the Han elite, such as manas jade which comes from a specific mine in Xinjiang. The state monopolized the production of Manas jade since 1789.[455] The location was protected so well that it remained unknown to the public until the 1970s. Guo Fuxiang, a

[455] Guo Fuxiang 郭福祥, "Qianlong Gongting Manasibiyu Yanjiu 乾隆宮廷瑪納斯碧玉研究," *Gugong Bowuyuan Yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊, no. 2 (2015): 8.

researcher from the Beijing palace museum who studied manas jade and concluded that it only circulated within the imperial palace.[456] The confiscation list indicated otherwise. Two Han scholar-officials and four Manchu bannermen possessed it in the 1800s. Owning this type of jade symbolised direct access to royal resources.

The three Manchu families who owned manas jade, namely Hengqi (恒棨),[457] Xiangen (祥恩),[458] Shengbao (勝宝),[459] and one Mongol bannermen Tai Feiyin (台斐音),[460] were all high officials above third tier. They collected substantially more manas jade than the two Han scholar-officials Yao Xueying (姚學瑛)[461] and Chen Fuen (陳孚恩).[462] The two Han families owned five manas jade table screens and *ruyi* pieces. They used this solely for decorative purposes, while the Manchus preferred to use this for tableware. The four banner families in total owned 26 manas jade utensils, 25 of which were dinning ware: cups, bowls, vases and one small *ruyi.* The Manchus could have commissioned the artisan to carve other shapes, but they chose cups and bowls instead. Although these could be objects for display, they also could be used to entertain guests at a dinner. In this, the Manchu and Mongol bannermen elevated their display of power to another level.

The bannermen maintained their distinctive preferences for jade, metalware, and cotton throughout the two hundred years covered by the confiscations. After 1800, more bannermen possessed porcelain, and a few also began collecting rare and precious goods. However, this did not affect their distinct fondness for northern goods. A visitor could see the differences between the houses of the Han and the bannerman. There were commonalities: they all enjoyed chair-level living and the affluent families adored hardwood furniture. But very few bannermen used softwood furniture and bamboo furniture. All Qing elite preferred

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[456] Guo, Qianlong Gongting Manasibiyu Yanjiu, 6–31.
[457] Yi Jing 奕經, *Inventory of Hengqi* 恒棨 *Memorial 03-2664-038* (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1837, Oct.13th).
[458] Nei Wufu 內務府, *Inventory of Xiangen* 祥恩 *Memorial 03-4605-024* (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1862, Dec.20th).
[459] Nei Wufu 內務府, *Inventory of Shengbao* 勝宝 *Memorial 03-4604-053* (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1862, Dec.13th).
[460] Xirabu 西拉布, *Inventory of Tai Feiyin* 台斐音 *Memorial 00003-4153* (Taibei: Taibei Palace Museum, 1860, June, 25th).
[461] Woshenbu 倭神布, *Inventory of Yao Xueying* 姚學瑛 *Memorial 03-2382-019* (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive, 1797, Feb. 23rd).
[462] "Inventory of Chen Fueng 陳孚恩," in Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, 101.

jade decorations. The Manchu and Mongol bannermen predominantly used metalware for dining. They decorated their houses with weapons, carvings with motifs that correlated with their ancestral ways of living or the imperial power, and ritual goods related to Buddhism and ancestral worship and shamanism. Han elite were antiquarians who materialised their imagined past recorded in classical Chinese texts to create their own cosmos while the bannermen largely ignored earlier Chinese language art and literature.

Section 4.3 Acculturation, the "Confucian Civilising Project"

The general patterns of ownership apparent in the confiscations make clear the distinction between the material culture of the Manchu and Mongol bannermen and the Han elite. But how far was this maintained? Were at least some bannermen assimilated into Han culture?

Among the Manchu and Mongol bannermen, a small percentage passed the civil service examination, a test of their ability to understand, translate, and interpret Chinese language classics. There were two tracks of civil service examination a bannermen could take. One was more challenging, available also to the Han people with an acceptance rate at each level of less than 5%.[463] The other, slightly easier path was designed for Manchu and Mongol bannermen. [464] It had a more lenient quota and tested them on translations. It used simpler questions on the Chinese classics than the other track. In the early nineteenth century, one in every fifteen bannermen passed the provincial translation degree and about one in every five passed the metropolitan translation examinations.[465] Both examinations gave similar ranks, with the latter adding the word "translation" (翻譯) before the official name.

If we suppose that the theory proposed by Stevan Harrell on the "Confucian civilising project" was correct, then those bannermen who mastered Confucian culture should have converged towards the tastes of the Han scholar-officials who were native Chinese language users, and had mastered the Confucian classics and passed the harder exam track. If so, the

[463] Shang Yanliu 商衍鎏, *Qingdai Keju kaoshi shulu* 清代科举考試述录 (Beijing 北京: Sanlian Shudian 三聯書店, 1958), 202-210.
[464] Raymond W. Chu, *Career Patterns in the Ch'ing Dynasty: The Office of Governor-General* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1984), 49.
[465] Shang, *Qingdai Keju kaoshi shulu*, 202-210.

Manchu and Mongol bannermen who passed these exams should also presumably have adopted the same domestic material culture as the Han scholar-officials.

There were five bannermen in the confiscation inventories who had passed either the normal or translation examinations. This provides an opportunity to test the theory of a Confucian civilising project. The Mongol bannermen Fuer Huna (傅爾瑚訥) and Manchu bannermen Huaigu (懷谷) passed the translation exams. The former was awarded the title of translating *Jinshi*, and the latter gained the entry-level title *Bithesi*. The other three Manchu bannermen passed the harder level of civil service examination. Shengbao (勝保) gained the Juren degree, while Changling (長麟) and Guodong (國棟) passed the highest *Jinshi* degree. Their inventories demonstrate that mastering Confucian culture did not result in close convergence with Han culture at least for them. However, two out of the five bannermen did lean somewhat towards the Han culture. Those who did had experience governing Jiangnan and occupying a position above 2.5 tier.

Fuer Huna, the only Mongol bannermen in the confiscation list who held a translating *Jinshi* degree, was a district magistrate of Yunnan province.[466] He was punished in 1772 for receiving a *chaozhu* (朝珠) bead necklace from others. He decorated his house with typical northern taste. The luxurious utensils that he possessed included silver cups and dishes. He also owned copper, tin, and woodware. He did not use porcelain for everyday utensils but preferred metalware. He owned a few pieces of furniture and utensils worth 22 silver taels. From a material culture perspective, the Confucian hypothesis of cultural assimilation applies poorly to Fuer Huna. He did not own porcelain or silk, or the renowned Chinese paintings or auspicious carvings preferred by the Han officials.

For the Manchu bannermen, their progression through the civil service examination degree affected the officials. The higher their degree and official position, the more integrated into the Han culture they became. Huaigu held the lowest level translating exam degree, and was not yet even an official when he was confiscated in 1795. The luxurious items that he owned had Chinese shapes but were made with European techniques. He possessed an incense burner decorated with a pink colour overglaze enamel. This type of utensil usually had a

[466] "Inventory of Fuer Huna 傅爾瑚訥" in Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian,* 3472.

copper core or was made in porcelain. The enamel overglaze was part of a new colour palette introduced to China from Europe during Kangxi's reign (1654–1722) by Jesuits who worked at the palace: it was a fashionable and novel technique during his time. Huaigu also possessed a small screen and a table decoration made from glass. The total amount of furniture and ornaments he possessed was twice that of Fuer Huna, but rather than traditional Han elite favoured objects, he owned fashionable new foreign goods that were modified to fit into the Qing culture.

Shengbao, a first-tier military general and later a special agent of the state (欽差大臣) who held a regular Juren degree was confiscated in 1862.[467] He possessed 315 items of household goods worth approximately 1205 silver taels. He owned more Chinese language related pieces, including the paintings of Dong Qichang discussed earlier. However, in general he displayed more of a Manchu or northern taste. He mainly owned metalware made from tin and copper, 44 pieces in total. He possessed three pieces of jade: a cup, snuff bottle, and mountain water carving that were less associated with the Han literary culture. As a general, he also owned a map of Henan province and a portable telescope. He did not own any porcelain. He focused on collecting robust decorative objects, along with a few Chinese language cultural goods. His possessions reflected his high status as an affluent military general who had studied the Confucian culture, while appreciating both the northern fashions and Han literary culture.

Changling and Guodong both achieved a *Jinshi* degree. They served as high officials governing the Jiangnan area, perhaps because they proved their mastery of Han culture through their exam degrees. Changling belonged to the blue banner. He was the governor general of Liangjiang when he was confiscated in 1795, the highest official of Jiangnan.[468] He failed to investigate a criminal case, resulting in him receiving the punishment of confiscation and being exiled to Xinjiang. The Jiaqing emperor called him back after his father's retirement and appointed him once again as a first-tier official.

Changling owned an impressive collection of 1,920 pieces of furniture and utensils worth more than 3,000 silver taels. The value estimated here is an approximation that gives

[467] Nei Wufu 內務府, *Inventory of Shengbao* 勝宝 *Memorial 03-4604-053*.
[468] "Inventory of Changling 長麟" in Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian, 3542-3549.*

the lowest possible price of his possessions, because pricing for antiques and jade could vary significantly from one item to another. Changling's house would have been one of the most luxurious and comfortable private homes in the empire besides the imperial palace and the houses of high imperial lords (brothers and cousins of the emperor). He slept on a rosewood bed, sat on rosewood and sandalwood chairs, and wrote memorials on rosewood and sandalwood tables. His wardrobes were also made from sandalwood, and he used glass mirrors to check his appearance before venturing out. When he wrote calligraphy and read books at night, 24 sandalwood glass lamps, 12 glass vase lights, and 50 sheep horn lamps lit the house. Fifty screens, large and small, divided his living spaces, excluding table screens. He cared about the time and needed to know this wherever he was in the house. Twenty-four clocks that functioned in distinct manners surrounded him. He possessed seven traditional water clocks, thirteen foreign clocks, one mirror with a watch attached to it, and one astronomical clock. He even owned seventeen watches.

Changling's study held the finest writing instruments. He possessed forty calligraphy pens produced in Shanliang county (湖筆), one of the most renowned pen-making counties of Qing. He washed his pen after writing in a washbasin that matched his mood of the day. He owned pen washbasins made from jade, carved with Chinese peony or dragon or *lingzhi* (靈芝), and porcelain washbasins produced by the most famous kilns established during Song or Ming era: Jun kilns (鈞窯), Longquan kilns (龍泉窯), Ding kilns (定窯). These kilns were constantly mentioned in primary accounts and pieces from them were collected by the imperial house. He put his pen in a jade pen holder. Within the holder, he also had a jade bodied pen. To match his jade collection, he owned a jade paper holder and a jade inkstone. He, predictably, wrote and painted on the finest paper, made of silk, of which he had 44 pieces.

Changling's interest in collecting antiques and luxurious utensils extended far beyond stationary. He collected fifty-six later produced Shangzhou bronze vessels in the shape of *ding* (鼎), *zun* (罇), *gu* (觚), *gongbi* (珙壁), *lu* (卣), and *qing* (罄), which were made from jade, antique copper, green copper, Han dynasty antique copper, and other pieces of porcelain created at the famous kilns. He owned 47 types of jade utensils: auspicious carvings of Han words, animal and nature carvings, daily utensils including flower vases, tea utensils, and snuff bottles. He surrounded himself with both natural scenes of mountain carvings and auspicious figures that originated from the Chinese language texts. For instance, he possessed

a *pingan youxiang* (平安有象), an elephant-like figure, derived from the exact phrase meaning "safe and peace." In addition, he had a pair of mandarin ducks with the auspicious Chinese meaning of a long and happy marriage.[469] The kitchenware that he acquired included four iron woks and hundreds of utensils made from copper, tin, domestic and foreign porcelain, and jade, which would serve both guests and his everyday use.

The only differences between a Han scholar-official and Changling was the quantity of complete book series and famous paintings that each possessed. The Han high officials generally possessed book series and paintings that were created by Confucian scholars of the past, such as Mifu or Dong Qichang. For instance, comparing Changling to Wang Tanwang (王亶望), Changling owned no famous paintings while Wang owned stone rubbings of the Song period.

The second Manchu bannerman *Jinshi*, Guodong, a bordered yellow bannermen, oversaw rice transportation in Zhejiang province and was confiscated in 1782.[470] Ironically, he had been in charge of confiscating Wang Tanwang. In comparison with Changling, Guodong's possessions were much less varied and luxurious. Although he accumulated twice the total number of household goods then Changling, possessing 2,097 items, a majority of them were ordinary everyday utensils of which 986 were made from porcelain (日用瓷器), 40 from wood, 155 from lacquer, 118 from copper, and 210 from tin. He possessed plain furniture, which was made from unspecified species of wood. However, like Changling, he also lit his house with 48 glass lamps and divided the living spaces using 17 screens made from various materials, including jade and marble. He had one desk clock and one large full-body glass mirror.

Guodong favoured jade and silver utensils and decorations the most. He owned 71 silver utensils and 147 jade pieces. The jade objects were in various shapes, including ritual vessels, teapots, cups, vases, carvings, figures, washbasins, animals, and *ruyi*. Like Changling, he possessed a complete set of jade stationery. He also collected ritual vessels of four types, all made from jade. The largest three types of jade carvings and figures he possessed were animals, mythical beasts, and 26 examples of *ruyi*. He owned jade horses, fish, cicadas, a

[469] Smith, *The Qing Dynasty and Traditional Chinese Culture*, Chapter 7.
[470] "Inventory of Guodong 國棟" in Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian,* 2647-2651.

chicken, a deer, a shrimp, a bat, gooses, cranes, and a small dragon. He also owned 170 unclassified books and 35 calligraphy and paintings. Most of the time, unclassified books and paintings held much less monetary value than complete sets of books and renowned artworks. Guodong's possessions, although sharing similarities with the Han officials and with Changling, reflected northern tastes. He owned a large amount of metalware and also a vast range of animal figures.

Both Guodong and Changling were avid collectors of Han literary goods. At this level, the differences between a *Jinshi* high official and a translating *Jinshi* high official were slim. The Manchus owned less diverse book collections, and renowned Chinese paintings and Guodong also retained some northern preferences. However, even mastering Han culture did not assimilate one fully into the Han elite's taste and material culture. The Mongol translating *Jinshi* possessed metal and wood utensils. The Manchus shared elements of Han conspicuous consumption, but their homes still diverged from those of Han scholar-officials. They owned a large amount of metalware and more animals and natural carvings. They possessed only two to three pieces of carvings and figures that had a Chinese-word auspicious meaning. They did not own a lot of famous Chinese language related paintings and extensive collections of pre-Qing published books. They also had a greater interest in European goods, a new luxury fashion trend of the mid- and late Qing (see chapter 6 for further details).

Conclusion

The bannermen from the north shared a collective geographically rooted and politically influenced cultural identity. They preferred distinctive objects and specific materials for household goods. A majority of them, regardless of their occupation or wealth or place of confiscation, possessed metalware, jade, and cotton textiles. Depending on the bannerman's place, time, and education, they owned additional possessions that suited their needs. Their ways of living, as a "nomadic" soldier or as a settled official, encouraged them to decorate their house and allocate their assets in different ways.

The physical and mental walls created by the Qing imperial agenda, the banner garrisons, and cultural programmes, discouraged the Mongol and Manchu banner from assimilating into the Han culture. They were effective before the 1800s when the Qing state could afford to keep the conquering population affluent and self-sufficient in managing their affairs. Only four Manchu and Mongol banner families owned Han literary goods in this

period. The occupational limitation put on the bannermen to serve as government personnel before the 1800s also discouraged them from acquiring delicate and heavy objects. The emperors conquered distant places with the help of bannermen who needed to move for military campaigns, which meant they had to live a nomadic soldier's life.

After 1800, the Qing government withdrew much of their support for the banner population and halted expansionary war efforts, making the bannermen more stationary. This change was reflected in the Manchu bannermen's increased ownership of heavy and delicate goods. They began to participate more in Han literary culture. They also needed to work with the local residents more, whether for military or civil affairs. Many influential military lords in the post 1850s Qing world were Han officials. They helped to defend the Qing regime from peasant rebellions by raising Han armies. Yet despite the increasing participation of Manchu officials in Han material culture, they retained their northern traits of preferring metal, jade, and cotton.

The bannermen who held a civil examination degree, although not entirely acculturated, exhibited a greater tendency to participate in Han culture. They worked in civilian posts and became colleagues of Han scholar-officials. But they owned fewer Han literary goods, including the Chinese-language auspicious carvings, books, and renowned paintings. However, the few families that demonstrated more interest in competing with the Han scholar-officials for luxurious household decorations could compete and flaunt their political status as the conquerors.

Their household possessions provide strong evidence that the core of the Qing elite, the elite Manchu and Mongol bannermen, were culturally different from the majority of the Han people. Their household goods reflected the persistence of northern consumption habits. They used imperial status goods as a means of distinction. In short, the government succeeded in maintaining political and cultural dualism. Acculturation happened to an extent among the top elite group who mastered the Han culture and were governing the Jiangnan area. The rest of the elite Manchu and Mongol bannermen exhibited little interest in Han literary culture. The Qing empire should not be categorised as a regime ruled only by the Han. The Manchu way (Ma: Manju Doro) existed side by side with Han culture.

CHAPTER 5. CLOTHES AND FASHION: IDENTITY AND APPEARANCE

Dress provides a window for people to communicate and express their sense of themselves. It is a silent language that reveals the group one belongs to. Consequently, pre-modern states including East Asian regimes, the Roman Empire, Medieval Britain, France, and Germany imposed sumptuary laws.[471] The symbolic meaning of dress has attracted the attention of scholars from multiple fields because it "visually attests to the salient ideas, concepts, and categories" fundamental to a culture.[472] The following chapter turns our attention away from the objects inside a Qing elite household to focus on the elite's public display of power and cultural identity by investigating the forms of dress they owned.

Dress has served as a status mark in China since antiquity. The ruling elite dressed up to express their status within society and to differentiate their cultural and political identity with other states.[473] The philosophical rationale behind sumptuary laws can be traced back to classical tests such as the *Book of Rites* (禮記).[474] Confucius also encouraged people to follow the strict dress code of the gentlemen, the kings, and lords. He views sumptuary regulation as a materialisation of social hierarchy.[475] The Qing government, inspired by Ming tradition, also imposed sumptuary laws but modified them according to their concerns. This chapter studies the cultural and political meanings behind dress in the Qing by examining the sumptuary laws and their effects on dress ownership.

The definition of dress used in this chapter follows Eicher and Roach-Higgins' categorisation. It includes ornaments worn on the body and hair, and the ornaments' texture

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[471] Emanuela Zanda, *Fighting Hydra-like Luxury* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013); Danae Tankard, "'I Think Myself Honestly Decked': Attitudes to the Clothing of the Rural Poor in Seventeenth-Century England," *Rural History* 26, no. 1 (2015): 17–33; Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, "Reconciling the Privilege of a Few with the Common Good: Sumptuary Laws in Medieval and Early Modern Europe," *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 3 (2009): 597–617; Gerhard Jaritz, "Ira Dei, Material Culture, and Behavior in the Late Middle Ages: Evidence from German-Speaking Regions," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 18 (2001): 53.

[472] Linda B. Arthur, *Religion, Dress and the Body*, *Dress, Body, Culture* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1999), 1.

[473] "*Xia* is big. China has big rituals, thus is named as *Xia*; it has beautiful clothes, thus called *Hua*. 夏，大也。中國有禮儀之大，故稱夏；有服章之美，謂之華" in Kong Yingda 孔穎達 ed., *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi wuyingdian shisanjing zhushu* 春秋左传正义, 武英殿十三经注疏, (Beijing 北京, 1739) https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=80217&page=2&remap=gb.

[474] Zheng, Kong and, Lu, *Liji Zhushu* 禮記十三經注疏, jiyi 祭義.

[475] Burton Watson, *The Analects of Confucius* (New York: Columbia University Press 2009), 67.

and colour, and scent and sound.[476] This broader definition enables us to engage more fully in the observer's and wearer's experience of dress and its social and political impact. The theory underpinning the correlation between dress and its social and political meaning has been thoroughly investigated by European scholars since the mid-20th century. Earlier scholars viewed forms of dress as a system of signs. Mary Douglass and Erving Goffman viewed the body as bearing symbols of social order.[477] Bourdieu, Foucault, Burroughs, and Ehrenreich build on this theory and contend that social systems impose the dynamics of power relationships onto people's bodies and appearance, creating social identity.[478]

These theories about dress inspired scholars to look more closely at this issue using interdisciplinary methods. It resulted in a wave of studies focused on dress and its correlation to many aspects of identity, including religion, gender, and ethnicity from a global perspective.[479] These studies uncover the universality with, which people bestow social meanings onto dress. Among these studies, very few focus on China, however, and those that did concentrate predominantly on the Tang, Yuan, and Ming periods.

Historians have focused more on European and Neo-European dress cultures than that of China. Their studies can be divided into two groups by time period because of the vast changes that took place in European sumptuary laws and regulations: before and after the medieval period. Researchers scrutinised the effect of sumptuary regulations in society and aristocratic fashion changes in medieval Europe. The have shown how the governments of the time wanted to hold the corrupting force of luxury consumption in check; however, most of their efforts failed.[480] Unlike Qing regulations, most European sumptuary laws did not

[476] Joanne B. Eicher, *Dress and Ethnicity: Change across Space and Time* (Oxford: Berg, 1995), 1.
[477] Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (London: Barrie & Rockliff: The Cresset Press, 1970); Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 1991).
[478] Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2002); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Vol. 1, The Will to Knowledge* (London: Penguin, 1998); Catherine B. Burroughs and Jeffrey Ehrenreich, *Reading the Social Body* (University of Iowa Press, 1993).
[479] Arthur, *Religion, Dress and the Body*; Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion: A New History of Fashionable Dress* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); Eicher, *Dress and Ethnicity*; Toby F. Martin and Rosie Weetch, eds., *Dress and Society: Contributions from Archaeology* (Oxford ; Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2017); Joanne Bubolz Eicher and Ruth Barnes, *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Women (Oxford: Berg, 1993).
[480] Breward, *The Culture of Fashion*, 55.

regulate the styles but the materials used for clothes and their quantities.[481] Scholars studying later periods incorporate dress into work on the larger discourses of social and political changes that occurred in societies after the 16th century. Changes in political systems, from feudalism to capitalism, aristocratic to democratic states, and evolutions in economic production and transportation drastically affected people's perceptions of dress.[482] People's desire to consume, made much more possible by the industrial revolution, expanded in the 19th and 20th century.[483]

Very few studies focus on dress in Qing China. In the existing literature, scholars considered the topic from two angles: the sumptuary laws, or how social changes were reflected in dress. Qing sumptuary laws regulated both the styles and materials of dress and were not enforced in the form of negative prohibitions like that of England; instead, they were imposed immediately after their conquest of the Ming capital and the south to help them differentiate status and loyalty.[484] The implementation of the Qing Sumptuary laws was often portrayed by late Qing revolutionaries and modern scholars as a traumatising experience for the old Ming residents because of its distinct Manchu, northern nomadic style.[485] However, Luo Wei (羅瑋), who studies Ming clothing style, has partially refuted this argument using multiple sources, including the Ming law, primary accounts, and Ming archaeology, which all

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[481] Sarah-Grace Heller, "Anxiety, Hierarchy, and Appearance in Thirteenth-Century Sumptuary Laws and the Roman de La Rose," *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 2 (2004): 318.

[482] Eicher and Barnes, *Dress and Gender*; Eicher, *Dress and Ethnicity*; Eminegül Karababa, "Approaching Non-Western Consumer Cultures from a Historical Perspective: The Case of Early Modern Ottoman Consumer Culture," *Marketing Theory* 12, no. 1 (2012): 13–25.

[483] Frank Trentmann, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), introduction; Eicher and Barnes, *Dress and Gender*; Arthur, *Religion, Dress and the Body*.

[484] "Ministry of ritual: The system of the crown and costume of each generation has been in place for a long time. Recently, I have seen that many Chinese officials do not follow the system in terms of the style of their crowns and the width of their cuffs. Is it difficult to imitate the Manchurian costume? The Chinese are so accustomed to the custom that they have a problem with the Manchurian style. In future, it is important to follow the Manchurian style and not to differ from it. If there are any discrepancies or deviations from the standard, it is a crime to break the rules. 禮部：一代冠服，自有一代之制，本朝定制，久已頒行。近見漢官人等，冠服體式，以及袖口寬長，多不遵制。夫滿洲冠服，豈難仿效？漢人狃於習尚，因而恣縱。以後務照滿式，不許異同。如仍有參差不合定式者，以違制定罪。順治十年 二月 丙寅" in Qingshilu shunzhichao shilu 清實錄順治朝實錄, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=541757&remap=gb.

[485] Wang Guocai 王國彩, "Qingdai fushi de tedian fenxi 清代服飾的特點分析," *Yishu Daguan* 藝術大觀, no. 08 (2012): 164; Xu Le 徐仂, "Lun qingchao fuzhi fazhan he yanbian yu zhengzhi de guanxi 論清朝服飾發展和演變與政治的關係," *Meishu daguan* 美術大觀 , no. 10 (2010): 55.

demonstrate the persistence of nomadic style clothes in the Ming period.[486] Furthermore, the Qing sumptuary laws encompassed multi-cultural elements.[487] The Qing styles include designs originating from Ming official clothing, Tibetan Buddhist accessories, motifs originating from Chinese language textual culture, and Manchu and Mongolian clothing styles.[488]

Instead of viewing sumptuary laws as constraints, Paola Zamperini argues that they encouraged people to dress more luxuriously than their rank because they gained social benefits by pretending that they belonged to a higher class.[489] Fu Yiling (傅衣凌) views this desire to consume as a seed for capitalist development in the late imperial period. He asserts that "during the early Qing, the social hierarchy mindset shattered, new fashion trends emerged in all regions."[490] Kishimoto Mio, Mori Masao, Antonia Finnane, and Wu Jen-shu advance this theory using notes, novels, shopkeeper's books, and newspapers.[491] These studies indirectly demonstrate that the wealthy elite broke these constraints.

Qing sumptuary law also had a limited effect on commoners' lives because it outlawed only a few of the embroidery patterns. Most of the laws applied to the officials and people who were under the legal jurisdiction of *the Great Qing Legal code*. The artisans developed a multitude of local embroidery patterns and techniques fully complied with the laws. For instance, in Sichuan, woodblock paintings inspired the artisans to develop matching

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[486] Luo Wei 羅瑋, 'A Preliminary Study of Mongol Costumes in the Ming Dynasty', *Social Sciences in China* 39, no. 1 (2018): 165–85.

[487] Yang Jingwei 杨静薇, "Qianxi qingchao fushi yu peishi 淺析清朝服飾與佩飾," *Spiritual Leaders*, no. 15 (2015): 78; Tian Cuiying 田翠英, "Qingdai guanfu zhidu kaolue 清代官服制度考略," Lantai world 蘭台世界, no. 19 (2007): 68–69.

[488] Yang, "Qianxi Qingchao fushi yu peishi, 78; Pu Wenying 樸文英, " Qingdai de chaozhu yu shuzhu 清代的朝珠與數珠," *Manzu yanjiu* 滿族研究, no. 01 (2001): 59–60.

[489] Paola Zamperini, "Clothes That Matter: Fashioning Modernity in Late Qing Novels," *Fashion Theory* 5, no. 2 (2001): 195–214.

[490] Fu Yiling 傅衣凌, "Cong Zhongguo lishi de zaoshu xing lun minqing shidai 從中國歷史的早熟性論明清時代," *Shixue jikan* 史學集刊, no. 01 (1982) collected in Fu Yiling 傅衣凌, *Minqing shehui jingji bianqian lun* 明清社會經濟變遷論 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2007), 201.

[491] Mori Masao 森正夫, "Ming matsu no sha gakari ni oke wi chitsujo no hendō nitsuite 明末の社會關係における秩序の変動について," *Mori masao Ming kiyoshi ronshū* 森正夫明清史論集 (Tokyo: Kyoko Shoin 汲古書院, 2006), 45-84; Mio Kishimoto 岸本美緒, *Ming Kiyoshi kōtai to Kōnan shakai 17 sei no chitsujo* 明清交替と江南社會——17 世紀の秩序問題 (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1999); Chang Chun-shu 張春樹 and Loh Hsueh-lun 駱雪倫, Ming Qing shidai zhi shehui jingji jubian yu xin wenhua: liyu shidai de shehui wenhua ji qi xiandaixing 明清時代之社會經濟巨變與新文化：李漁時代的社會文化及其現代性 (Shanghai 上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社, 2008); Wu, Youyou fangxiang 優游坊廂; Wu, Pingwei shehua 品味奢華; Wu, Shechi de nvren 奢侈的女人.

embroidery patterns.[492] In Yunnan, Zhejiang, and Jiangsu provinces, people decorated their clothes with cloud collars and sleeve bands; "Guxiu" (顧綉), an embroidery technique that originated in Suzhou, enabled artisans to embroider urban landscapes on silk clothes, wearing the Jiangnan culture on their body.[493] The clothing styles of cultural minorities, the Miao people, the Mongols, and Tibetans, suggested they maintained their proto-ethnic clothing styles instead of assimilating to those of other groups..[494]

Qing studies separate sumptuary laws and the analysis of fashion. They also predominantly use scattered descriptive evidence, material objects, or prescriptive laws. They have not yet examined the effect of sumptuary laws, the usage of clothes, and fashion in terms of ownership of dress. How did sumptuary laws affect people's choices of clothing for public display? How did different photo-ethnic officials and commoners express their social and political identity and status?

In this chapter, I use the inventories to examine the influence of sumptuary law and fashion on Qing elite men and women. I find that sumptuary laws impacted on the style, but not the materials used to make clothes. The sumptuary laws succeeded in creating a hybrid clothing style. The 1-3rd tier Qing officials who needed to meet the emperor from time to time followed all the sumptuary regulations. However, the government failed to regulate the materials used to make clothes for other groups. The remaining confiscated elite dressed more luxuriously than their social rank permitted. The sumptuary laws in the Qing indirectly encouraged the extravagant consumption of clothes like that of the European sumptuary laws.

According to the inventories, Manchu and Mongol bannermen led elite male fashion. Affluent Han scholar-officials and commoners followed their style and possessed as many northern hunting wearables as wealthy bannermen. Affluent male Han officials possessed more fur clothes, nomadic-style banzhi (扳指) archery rings, and precious gems imported from central and south Asia than other Han elite. They chose not to differentiate themselves

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[492] Catherine Pagani, "From Woodblock to Textile: Imagery of Elite Culture in the Blue-and-White Embroideries of Sichuan," *RACAR: Revue d'art Canadienn* 24, no. 1 (1997): 28–41.
[493] Rachel Silberstein, "Cloud Collars and Sleeve Bands: Commercial Embroidery and the Fashionable Accessory in Mid-to-Late Qing China," *Fashion Theory* 21, no. 3 (2017): 245–77.; Rachel Silberstein, "Eight Scenes of Suzhou: Landscape Embroidery, Urban Courtesans, and Nineteenth-Century Chinese Women's Fashions," *Late Imperial China* 36, no. 1 (2015): 1–52.
[494] Yang, Zangzu fushi shi 藏族服饰史; Torimaru and Jiang, Yizheng yixian: Guizhou Miaozu fushi gongyi 一針一線: 貴州苗族服飾手工藝; Li, Ancient Chinese history of weaving 中國古代紡織史稿; Li, The clothes and ornaments of Yunnan ethnic groups 雲南民族服飾.

from the bannermen in public. They knew in detail the subtle extra accessories and styles preferred by the bannermen. The Han mimicry of banner styles of dress and ornament reflected the fact that Manchu and Mongol bannermen stood at the top of the Qing's social and political hierarchy. Their dress style symbolised a direct connection to imperial power.

The less wealthy Han officials and commoners did not mimic the Manchu and Mongol bannermen's preference for fur and hunting accessories at least in part because of their lower wealth. They faced a limit on their resources in comparison with wealthy Han families. They instead focused their wealth on to buying land, houses, conducting business, and also furnishing their households.

Women followed their husbands' clothing trend. About two-thirds of the confiscation inventories distinguish female and male jewellery and clothes. Some of the inventories even give piece-by-piece descriptions of the gender and style of clothes and accessories. Just like their husbands, affluent Han women owned substantially more fur and also Manchu-style hair decorations. Manchu women also possessed Han-style hair decorations as well. The differences between less affluent Manchu and Han women were significant. Manchu women owned numerous pieces of fur clothing and coral accessories in comparison with Han women. This difference was also evident in their husbands' clothing.

Qing elite women dressed as luxuriously as men by wearing dragon robes, golden accessories, and the female version of official attire. Social status played a more substantial role than gender in clothing ownership and the display of status in Qing. Gender determined quantity of clothes one would possess. Although women dressed similarly to their husbands in terms of embroidered and clothing materials, they owned a notably lower quantity of luxurious clothes than men in a family. The following chapter is divided into two sections. It first examines the effect of sumptuary laws and male fashion. The second section scrutinises women's dress.

Section 5.1 The Sumptuary Laws of Qing and Male Fashion

The most significant restriction on dress in Qing was imposed by the state. The Qing government invented their dress style, engaging in state-building activities similar to those presented in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's classic social history on European

invention of traditions.[495] As a nascent state, the Qing rulers from the very beginning were acutely aware of the importance of dress style in the central plain in distinguishing different groups of people. They were aware that elite wore large sleeve robes while the nomadic and semi-nomadic cultural groups preferred small sleeve.[496] In one of the reply letters written by Nurgaci to Jahara Khan (查哈拉汗) on January 17th, 1620, he tried to persuade him to join his causes by pointing out the similarity of clothing style shared between their tribes.[497]

Within a few months of the Qing occupation of the Ming capital, the government mandated all ruling subjects to change their hair and clothing style into the Manchu style.[498] If this was not followed, people would be charged with treason and sentenced to death.[499] Late Qing nationalists condemned this behaviour as a sign that the Manchus were foreign conquers who did not have the best interests of the Han people in their hearts.[500] Yet the Manchu style: small sleeves, tight waists, protective hunting gear, was not a completely strange style to people of the central plain. It differed from the large sleeve robes of Ming officials, but shared similarities with the Ming yesa dragon robe worn by eunuchs and military personnel, which the Ming government inherited from Mongols.[501]

Illustration 5.1.1 depicts a Qing dragon robe, which has a style similar to the yesa robe from the Mongol reign presented in photo 5.1.3. Both are small sleeve robes. The Ming dragon robe in photo 5.1.2 is of a similar style to the Mongol dragon robe. Both Ming and Qing dragon robes are embroidered with a four-toed dragon. Qing dragon robes could thus be categorised as a variation of Ming and Yuan dragon robes and styles: they invented their version of the dragon robe based on existing styles and motifs.

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[495] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: University Press, 1983).
[496] BuYun Chen, "Wearing the Hat of Loyalty: Imperial Power and Dress Reform in Ming Dynasty China," in *The Right to Dress Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c.1200–1800*, ed. Riello Giorgio (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 416–34.
[497] Qingtaizu wuhuangdi shilu 清太祖武英殿实录, Juan 2, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=745065&searchu=%E6%9C%8D&remap=gb
[498] *Qingshilu shunzhichao shilu* 清實錄順治朝實錄, Juan 17, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=541757&remap=gb.
[499] "若規避惜發，巧辭爭辨，決不輕貸。該地方文武各官，皆當嚴行察驗。若有覆為此事，瀆進章奏，欲將朕已定地方人民，仍存明制，不隨本朝制度者，殺無赦。其衣帽裝束，許從容更易，悉從本朝制度，不得違異。該部即行傳諭京城內外，並直隸各省府州縣衛所城堡等處。俾文武衙門官吏師生一應軍民人等，一體遵行。順治二年 六月 丙寅," *Qingshilu shunzhichao shilu* 清實錄順治朝實錄, Juan 17, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=541757&remap=gb.
[500] Peter Zarrow, "Anti-Manchuism and Memories of Atrocity in Late Qing China," *History and Memory* 16, no. 2 (2004): 67–107.
[501] Luo, "A Preliminary Study of Mongol Costumes in the Ming Dynasty," 173.

Illustration 5.1.1 Qing Dragon Robe.

Source:皇朝禮器圖式：文七品蟒袍圖 V&A.

Photo 5.1.2. Ming Dragon Robe.

Source: 藍羅盤金繡蟒袍 Shandong Provincial Musuem

Photo 5.1.3. Ming Yesa Silk Robe.

Source: 明代曲水如意云纹暗花缎曳撒袍 China National Silk Musuem, https://www.chinasilkmuseum.com/zggd/info_21.aspx?itemid=1900

This forced change in dress style might not have been especially traumatic as the Qing government was not inventing new styles but modifying previous styles. Moreover, some of the Ming people were still wearing Mongol style clothing. The Ming Emperors continued issuing edicts to order people to abandon Mongol style clothing until 1392, the mid-Hongwu period.[502] And archaeological reports also found Mongol style dress in tombs during the 1600s.[503] Commoners who lived north of the yellow river wore Mongol clothing until late Ming because of its convenience.[504] The confiscation inventories reveal a complete transformation from Ming large sleeve robes to Qing style clothes among the Qing elite, indicating the successful imposition of this new Qing style tradition among governors, commoners, and a few rebels.

The second wave of sumptuary laws came in 1676, a few years after the first set of orders issued in 1645. The previous Jurchen (one of the major ancestors of Manchus) Jin state (1115-1234) did not have this tradition of differentiating people through dress.[505] Inspired by Ming sumptuary laws, Qing laws regulated clothes in more detail. The government put an emphasis on dress materials and patterns. Most of the sumptuary laws regulated official clothing. The laws aimed to control the public display of power. The formalisation of sumptuary law implicitly informed the old Ming elite that the new Qing authority respected Ming and central plain traditions of maintaining social hierarchy through clothes. By putting the regulations on paper, the government emphasised this message and thereby formalised their invention of tradition.

The official's attire constituted a dynastic robe (朝服), a hat, and *chaozhou* (朝珠) beads. The robe had a Manchu style cut and mandarin squares, an invention of Empress Wu Zetian (武則天) of the Tang, which the Mongols and Ming emperors also selectively adopted (Illustration 5.1.4). Wu Zetian was the only empress to formally reign over China. She perhaps imposed the embroidery squares to increase the presence of female power in court. The Qing

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[502] Xia Yuanji 夏原吉 ed., *Ming taizu shilu jiaye tang ben* 明太祖實錄, 嘉業堂本校 (1418), Vol. 209, 3116, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=4850076&remap=gb.
[503] Chen, "Wearing the Hat of Loyalty," 418.
[504] Wang Tonggui 王同軌, "The Disaster of the Mongol Disruption of China in the Yuan Dynasty,", in Ertan leizeng 耳談類增, in *A Sequel to the Siku Quanshu*, Book 1268, 255, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=842041.
[505] Tao Jinshen 陶晉生, *The Jurchen in Twelfth-Century China: A Study in Sinicization* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), 20.

inherited the tradition. The outer coat (朝褂) was also embellished with a mandarin square (Illustration 5.1.5). Each tier was assigned a specific pattern with mythical creatures or rare animals.[506] Civil officials wore mythical birds.[507] Military officials wore mighty mythical beasts.[508] Dragons, flying fish, fighting cows, phoenix patterns, and yellow- and purple-coloured clothes were reserved for the prince.[509]

Illustration 5.1.4 5th tier Civil Governor Official Robe 朝服.

Source: *Royal illustrated ritual object.* 皇朝禮器圖式

Illustration 5.1.5 3rd tier Civil Governor Official Outer Coat 朝褂.

Source: Taibei Palace Museum

Influenced by Tibetan Buddhist taste, the emperor Qianlong later added court beads—*chaozhu* (朝珠) to the official dress style. Court beads share similar features with Tibetan counting beads; both have 108 beads and numerous side attachments.[510] Civil officials above

[506] Xuben, Santai, and others, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17 Lilyu yizhi, 6-12.
[507] Xuben, Santai, and others, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17 Lilyu yizhi, 6-12.
[508] Xuben, Santai, and others, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17 Lilyu yizhi, 6-12.
[509] Xuben, Santai, and others, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17 Lilyu yizhi, 6-12.
[510] Tong Yan 童燕 and Lian Zhong 連仲, " Nianzhu yu chaozhu 念珠與朝珠," *Zijincheng* 紫禁城, no. 03 (1981): 22.

the 5th tier and military officials above the 4th tier could wear court beads (Photo 5.1.6). This ornament adds sound to the outfit so when officials walked by, people would hear beads clashing with each other, augmenting the aura of the officials.

Photo 5.1.6 Photo Taken in Beijing in the Late 1800s

Source: China through the lens of John Thomson, 1868-1872, Beijing: Beijing World Art Museum, 2009, 31

The legal code further regulated hat accessories. Dukes were required to wear more than one eastern pearl (a freshwater pearl harvested in Manchuria) on the top of the hat with a ruby stone and a gold base.[511] First-tier to fifth-tier officials should also use a floral gold base on top of their hat but decorate them with different stones.[512] The first tier officials were allowed to choose an eastern pearl; second-tier officials, coral and a small ruby; third-tier officials, a large sapphire and a small rugby; four tier officials, lazurite and a small sapphire; fifth tier officials, large crystal and a small sapphire; and sixth tier officials, a tridacnid and a sapphire.[513] The seventh tier officials could only decorate their hat with a plain gold hat top base with a small crystal and silver on top of the hat.[514] Officials below the sixth tier could

[511] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol.17, 6-12.
[512] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17, 6-12.
[513] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17, 6-12.
[514] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17, 6-12.

not wear gold or jade accessories, but only tridacnid and plain silver.[515] The state developed an official clothing style that combined multiple cultural features from the major ruling elite groups: the Han, the Manchus, the Mongols, and Tibetans.[516] The official style was alien to everyone, yet the ruling elite could find parts with which they were already familiar.

The sumptuary laws also restricted the dress and accessories of commoners, but in much less detail compared with the restrictions they imposed on officials. A commoner could wear one piece of gold jewellery with one pair of gold earrings.[517] Gold threads were forbidden for use in any type of decoration.[518] Silk could only be worn by officials.[519] The commoners could only wear fur from the land otter and weasel. Princes and titled aristocrats could wear raccoon, fox, lynx, and Pallas' cat. Officials could wear Sumatran serow and fox fur.[520] Degree holders could wear fur or simple flower patterned silk.[521]

If anyone disobeyed the law, they would in theory be punished.[522] The penalty for disobedient official was 200 blows, for a commoner 50 blows.[523] If an ordinary person borrowed a garment bearing the pattern of a dragon or phoenix from an official, both should be punished with 100 blows.[524] The dress privileges of an official were exclusive; his sons and relatives should not use his clothing styles.[525] The law also established incentives for people to report on each other. An informer would receive 50 silver taels.[526] If the clothmaker made a report, he would also collect a reward.[527]

The Qing government's desire to enforce sumptuary laws was strong on paper; they published a written version in *The Great Qing Legal Code* (大清律例), an illustrated version in *The Illustrated Great Qing Collected Statutes* (大清會典圖) and also embedded the

[515] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li,* Vol. 17, 6-12.
[516] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17, 6-12.
[517] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17, 6-12.
[518] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17, 6-12.
[519] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17, 6-12.
[520] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17, 6-12.
[521] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17, 6-12.
[522] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17, 12-18.
[523] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17, 12-18.
[524] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17, 12-18.
[525] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17, 12-18.
[526] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17, 12-18.
[527] Xu and San, *Daqing lv li*, Vol. 17, 12-18.

information in *The Royal illustrated ritual object* (皇朝禮器圖式).[528] All three include the details of rules requirements for both men and women. The illustrated versions provide even more details than the written version of the laws. For instance, *The Illustrated Great Qing Collected Statutes* provide a description of the position of patterns, namely if a dragon should face forward or sideways in an embroidery: the *Great Qing Legal Code* did not provide such information.

The punishment set out in the legal code perhaps helped with the initial enforcement of the law, but there were few incentives for local officials to enforce the regulations on commoners' consumption because it would have hindered the tax base of certain parts of the empire. In the south, silk weaving at home helped people to pay taxes.[529] The enforcement of the silk sumptuary law would decrease the demand and production of silk. The magistrates might receive less tax revenue as well as other revenues.

Similarly, in the north, fur travelled on global circuits. After gaining trading rights, fur merchants established a wide trade network that extended from "Beijing to Lake Khövsgöl, the Amur delta, Sakhalin Island, Siberia, Hokkaido, Alaska, and even Baja California."[530] The flourishing Mongolian Russian trade was growing "in 1756, Russians sold merchandise in Mongolia for 450,768 roubles and Chinese traders sold to Russians for 241,252 roubles; in 1784 it was almost 2.5 million for each country, all together 5 million roubles."[531] Officials gained fees from issuing trade licenses and sometimes received bribes for by allowing unauthorised merchants to trade in fur prior to the 1850s, as noted by a string of memorials.[532]

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[528] Kun gang 崑岡, *Qinding daqing huidian tu* 欽定大清會典圖 (Beijing 北京: Unknown 1881) vol 57-83, digitized by Beijing daxue tushuguan, accessed November 2021, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=2311; Yun lu 允祿, *Huangchao liqi tushi – Qinding siku quanshu* 皇朝禮器圖式 – 欽定四庫全書 (Beijing 北京: Unknown 1881) digitized by Zhejiang daxue tushuguan, accessed November 2021, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=5300.

[529] Ye Mengzhu 葉夢珠, *Yueshipian* 閱世編, Juan 6, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=310267.

[530] Schlesinger, *A World Trimmed with Fur*, 11.

[531] Magdalena Tatár, "Through the Sayan Mountains: Trade Routes Between Mongolia and Siberia," in *Asian Trade Routes, Continental and Maritime*, ed., Karl Reinhold Haellquist (London: Curzon Press, 1991), 54.

[532] Le Bao 勒保, *Shangan zongdu ti wei zouxiao gansheng weiyuan yajie kuche chahuo minren toudai eluosi maopi dengwu songjing gei panfei yinliang shi, Memorial Number: 02-01-04-17702-014* 陝甘總督題為奏銷甘省委員押解庫車查獲民人偷帶俄羅斯毛皮等物送京支給盤費銀兩事 (Beijing: No.1 historical archive, 1792, April. 26th); He Longwu 和隆武, *Jilin jiangjun zou chengzhi sanxing defang weijin congshi pimao fanyun zhi min zhe, Memorial Number: 03-0188-2830-031* 吉林將軍奏懲治三姓地方違禁從事皮毛販運之民褶 (Beijing: No.1. historical Archive 1780, 7.3); Akifumi Shioya 塩谷哲史, "The Treaty of Ghulja Reconsidered: Imperial Russian Diplomacy toward Qing China in 1851," *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 10, no. 2

Indeed, in Qing personal notes (筆記), authors indicated that sumptuary laws regarding the materials to make clothes were not followed from the start of the 18th century onwards. Ye Mengzhu (葉夢珠), who lived in Songjiang county, today's Shanghai, published his account during the Kangxi period before the 1700s. He notes that at first, "everyone feared and respected the law. But people needed time to purchase or make new clothes, providing a chance for criminals to blackmail or rob people on the street."[533] The reports of crime increased quickly, especially in Beijing. It soon became a problem for the government.[534] Less than one year after 1676 when the law was first issued, the government decided to relax the enforcement.[535]

Gong Wei (龔煒), a *Jinshi* degree holder who lived in the mid 18th century, reports the consequences of the weak enforcement of sumptuary laws. The dragon patterns and luxurious textile had come back into fashion. When he was young, only educated people wore fur clothes. Ten years later, women, elders, and the young all wore them.

> "Only one to two people among ten could afford to wear a red hat, now nine out of ten people wear it. Poor people who did not have rice at home were ashamed if they wore simple cotton cloth. People also wear dragon patterns or gold embroidered cloth, which they should not wear because they did not have high enough social status."[536]

During the late Qing, in the 19th century, Xu Ke (徐珂 1868 — 1928) described how lower officials breached sumptuary laws and wore clothes that should only be worn by high officials. He provides a list of fur garments he or someone else observed in a large official banquet held in Beijing.[537] Lower officials and bannermen wore rare furs, mimicking the clothing style of top officials.

The confiscation inventories confirmed this trend—most of the confiscated families who had the means to break the sumptuary laws did so, except for the 1st -3rd tier officials. They faced few restrictions in the first place. They also perhaps chose to follow the sumptuary

(2019): 147–58; James A. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

[533] Ye, *Yue Shi Pian*, Juan 6.

[534] Ye, Yue Shi Pian, Juan 6.

[535] Ye, Yue Shi Pian, Juan 6.

[536] Gong Wei 龔煒, *Chao Lin Bi Tan* 巢林筆談 digitized by Beijing Daxue tushuguan 北京大學圖書館, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=513996&remap=gb.

[537] Xu Ke 徐珂, *Qing Bai Lei Chao* 清稗類鈔 (Beijing 北京: Shangwu yinshu guan 商務印書館) https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=502424&remap=gb.

laws because they needed to meet the emperor. They were under the gaze of many watchful eyes. Furthermore, none of the confiscation verdicts mentioned any breach of sumptuary regulation except for Nian Gengyao, who received 91 other accusations in addition to this one, which symbolises the intensity of the emperor's purge.

Most officials below 3rd tier owned hat tops and dress patterns that legally they should not wear. Chen Xiaosheng (陳孝升), a 4.5 tier magistrate, possessed a red ruby hat top, a luxury reserved for first-tier officials.[538] Eleven Han officials, four Manchu officials, and two Mongol officials below the second tier owned coral hat tops. One Han and one Manchu official below the third tier had sapphire hat tops. No lower tier officials mimicked hat top material permitted to those below the third tier. Instead, they imitated the dress of the first three tier officials. The less wealthy bannermen also followed this trend. One in five bannermen owned coral accessories.

The patterns of mandarin squares was not documented in confiscation inventories, but dragon robes were listed separately. This design, reserved for aristocratic families, became a symbol of wealth and power in Qing: 59% of the rich Han scholar-officials, 50% of the wealthy Manchus and Mongol bannermen, and 50% of the wealthiest Han commoners possessed dragon robes. Manchu and Mongol bannermen owned the largest numbers of dragon robes per family. By contrast, only approximately 30% of the less affluent Han commoners owned them. Fulehun (富勒渾), who came from the Mongol bordered white banner, possessed 128 dragon robes.[539] Hešen, a Manchu red banner official, owned 37 mink dragon robes, each worth more than 200 silver taels.[540]

Regarding other accessories such as beads and belt decorations, male elite preferred jade and jadeite the most. However, only one in ten of them owned rare accessories made from golden amber, agate, incense, lapis, elephant task, and ruby. Hešen was the only person among the 305 families who possessed eastern pearls.[541] He was married to a princess, an imperial relative, which gave him access to court-monopolised materials. Eastern pearls were

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[538] Ruan Yuan 阮元, *Report on Chen Xiaosheng* 陳孝升 *confiscation assets, memorial no. 03-2433-027* (Beijing: No.1. historical Archive, 1806, June. 13th).
[539] Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan, *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Dangan Xuanbian*, 3138
[540] Aisin Gioro Miyan en 綿恩, Aisin Gioro Šuwening 淳穎, Wenbu 溫布, *Reporting on Hešen's inventory, Memorial no 03-2408-031* (Beijing: No.1 Historical Archive 1830).
[541] Aisin Gioro Miyan en 綿恩, Aisin Gioro Šuwening 淳穎, Wenbu 溫布, *Reporting on Hešen's inventory*.

strictly controlled by the court. Starting from 1661, only workers with imperial permission could extract them.[542] The aristocratic bannermen liked to exhibit their power through dress.

Commoners also breached sumptuary laws on the make of cloth they could wear. The majority of families owned some silk cloth. About 15% of the families in the wealthier cohort also used gold thread to decorate their clothes, which in theory was illegal. They also owned furs reserved for the top officials, with, 20% owning lynx and 30% fox fur. The only sumptuary law commoners did not break was the hat top: they did not own official hats.

The motivation for breaching sumptuary laws can be simply postulated. In a pre-modern world with high information costs, a man's clothing provided the most straightforward indication of his social status. As noted by Japanese scholars who arrived in Shanghai by a ship — Chitose Maru (千歲丸) in 1862, Mine Kiyoshi asked a local man, Gulin (顧麟), "what are the preferences for clothing style and colour in this area?" He answered, "commoners wore similar clothes, but officials dress differently to differentiate their status."[543] But how did people know the cloth patterns outlined in the sumptuary laws? The cost of buying the official printed *Royal Illustrated Ritual Goods* (欽定四庫全書武英殿版皇朝禮器圖) was extremely high. Rong Qing (榮慶 1859-1917), a first tier Mongol yellow banner official, spent around 160 silver taels to buy four sets of books: the *six classics* (六经), *Yuanjian Leihan* (渊鉴类函), *Royal Illustrated Ritual Goods,* and *Quan Tangshi* (全唐诗).[544] It was highly likely that knowledge of sumptuary laws did not disseminate to the public by books but through the behaviour of Han and banner officials.

Li Xinghuan (李星浣), a second tier Daoguang period (1820-1850) Han official, kept diaries for ten years in which he documented the clothes he wore in different situations.[545] I extracted patterns of clothing and present it in Table 5.1 to demonstrate his choice of official clothes in different public spheres. He identified three types of clothes that he wore for

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[542] Wang Yunying 王雲英, "Qingdai dui dongzhu de shiyong he caibu zhidu 清代對東珠的使用和采捕制度," *Shixue Yuekan* 史學月刊, no. 06 (1985): 52.

[543] Matsudaya Banichi 松田屋伴吉, Mine Kiyoshi 峰潔, and Hibino Kikan 日比野輝寬, *1862 Nian Shanghai Riji 1862* 年上海日記, trans. Tao Zhenxiao 陶振孝, Yan Yu 閻瑜, and Chen Jie 陳捷 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghuashuju 中華書局, 2012), 220.

[544] Rong Qing 榮慶, *Rongqing Riji* 榮慶日記, ed. Xie Xingyao 謝興堯 (Xibei 西北: Xibeidaxue shubanshe 西北大學出版社, 1985), 125.

[545] Li Xinghuan 李星浣, *Li Xinghuan Riji* 李星浣日記 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghuashuju 中華書局, 1987).

different events: (朝服) dynastic robes, (補服) mandarin square robes, and (蟒袍) dragon robes. In general, he wore dynastic robes to meet the emperor, mandarin square robes to visit temples, and dragon robes to conduct military and government affairs. He wore both dragon robes and mandarin robes to visit temples and meet guests. He switched to plain white dress during days to commemorate his ancestors and when he conducted rain-making rituals to try to end a drought. In other words, for an official, wearing plain clothes, especially white uncoloured ones, had a negative meaning. They wore them to show abstinence and mourning.

Table 5.1 Dress Wearing Pattern of Li Xinghuan 李星浣

Type of Clothes	Place and Circumstances
朝服 Dynastic Robe	Various Temples (文庙, 武庙, 文昌宫, 太阳风神祠, 火神庙, 吕祖庙, 社稷坛主祭, 风神庙, 沧浪亭畔先农坛九叩) and Imperial Gatherings (万寿行宫行礼，终南山神庙, 万寿宫九拜祝皇太后万寿, 谢恩拜印, 万寿宫九叩, 拜印九叩, 院贺, 出北门随行大云礼, 万寿宫贺冬至, 天后宫, 接藩司印).
補服 Mandarin Robe	Various Temples (文昌庙, 城隍庙, 武庙, 文庙, 龙王庙, 火神庙, 雷神庙, 江渎庙, 太阳宫) and Government Affairs (拜印, 九叩发贺万寿褶及请安褶, 诣院).
蟒袍 Dragon Robe	Various Temples (火神庙, 刘猛将军庙, 武庙, 文庙, 龙神祠, 土地庙, 城隍庙, 太阳宫, 苏文忠祠), Military Affairs (武场校步射, 制府将军春操，卯刻校场, Government Affairs (大院前团拜, 纠察司, 本署财帛司, 拜印) and Personal Affairs (祝阿母福寿,张公祠致祭)
蟒袍補服 Dragon Robe and Mandarin Robe	Temples (五岳庙、龙王庙、西岳庙、太白庙、风神庙、刘猛将军庙、火神庙、城隍庙), Meeting Guests (见客) and Imperial Affairs (谢恩拜印).

素服 Plain White Clothes	Memorial Day (忌辰) and Rain Making (祈雨).

Source: Li Xinghuan 李星浣, *Li Xinghuan Riji* 李星浣日記 (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1987).

Li's diary suggests how Qing high officials selected official dress and dragon robes to conduct important business related to the government and to meet their superiors. They utilised dress to convey distinct messages about their daily schedule. People would see powerful officials wearing embroidered clothing at temples, in front of government agencies, and in front of the city gates. The officials even set a bottom line by not wearing plain white clothes unless it was for special occasions. This indirectly encouraged commoners to wear luxuriously embroidered clothes and mimic official dress styles, because in Qing, what you wore conveyed who you were and potentially what you were up to. Local bureaucrats had to think twice before dragging a person dressed like an official or degree owner to prison. Indeed, the ownership of dress in this study demonstrates that most of the elite dressed more luxuriously than their rank deserved.

The general usage of official clothes revealed in Li's diary was not unique only to Han officials. Yan Chang (延昌), a Mongol bordered white banner *Jinshi* of 1903, wrote a book to explain the preparation and manners one needed before travelling to take over a government post.[546] His suggestions on clothes matched Li's conduct. In another diary kept by Rong Qing, he stated that emperors gave robes to top officials as an honour.[547] Unlike Li, who never received robes from the emperor, the emperor gave Rong dragon robes and also the honour of wearing a special mink robe made from throat fur (带膆貂褂).[548] The imperial house only gave this coat to first tier powerful Qing officials like Li Hongzhang (李鴻章) and Baojun (寶鋆).[549] The imperial Manchu court elevated the social and political meaning of wearing rare fur clothes.

[546] Yan Chang 延昌, *Shiyi Xuzhi - Guanzhen Shu Jicheng* 事宜須知 - 官箴书集成, ed. Guanzhen shu jicheng zuan weiyuanhui 官箴书集成纂委員會, Vol. 9 (Anhui, hefei: huangshan chubanshe, 1997).
[547] Rong, *Rongqing Riji* 榮慶日記, 79.
[548] Rong, *Rongqing Riji* 榮慶日記, 56 and 69.
[549] "Gave various first tier officals a special mink robe made from throat fur 敬題孝貞顯皇後神主之大學士寶鋆、李鴻章，齋肅潔誠，恪恭將事，著加恩各賞給帶嗉貂褂一件" in *Qingshilu guangxu chao shilu* 清實錄光緒朝實錄, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=470498&remap=gb.

In the confiscation inventories, Manchu and Mongol males preferred fur clothes, dragon robes, and hunting accessories. Their fashion became a popular style that was imitated by the affluent Han elite, who owned a similar amount of these clothes and accessories. One in five of the richer Han elite and affluent bannermen held banzhi (扳指) rings, and eight in ten possessed fur clothes. Fur pieces, which could be used to make fur clothes or decorations or for storing value, were widely owned by both groups, with 60% to 80% of richer bannermen and 67% of Han richer officials and 40% of affluent commoners owning them. An equal number of Manchu and Mongol bannermen and Han families, seventeen each, held more than 100 pieces of fur. Among the seventeen Han families, fourteen lived south of the Yangtze River (table 5.2). The majority did not live in the frozen north yet owned many pieces of fur. Eight out of seventeen Han elite who owned fur had passed the provincial level degree civil service exam. They also served in high government positions, indicating their closeness to the court and the bannermen. Wealth, education, and official titles impacted fur ownership rather than the weather.

Table 5.2. Families Owned More than 100 Pieces of fur

No.	Name	Official Tier	Proto-ethnicity	Degree	Place	date
1	Qian Du 钱度	2.5	Han	Jinshi	Liangjiang	1772.8.03
2	Ye Shiyuan 葉士元	0	Han	0	Minzhe	1772.9.29
3	Zhao Junrui 趙君瑞	0	Han	0	Xinjiang	1778.12.02
4	Wang Qianyuan 王前院	4.5	Han	0	Shangan	1781.10.29
5	Wang Sui 王燧	4	Han	0	Liangjiang	1781.2.17
6	Guo Deping 郭德平		Han	0	Henan	1782.4.24
7	Wang Tanwang 王亶望	1.5	Han	Juren	liangjiang	1783.7.5
8	Yang Kejie	0	Han	0	Liangjiang	1782.10.21

	杨科捷					
9	Pu Lin 蒲霖	2.5	Han	Jinshi	Minzhe	1795.06.27
10	Family members of Qian Shouchun 钱受春家人	0	Han	0	Liangjiang	1795.09.21
11	Qian Shouchun 钱受椿	0	Han	Jiansheng	Liangjiang	1795.09.22
12	Cheng Guobiao 程国表	4.5	Han	0	Shanxi	1781.12.07
13	Dong Qiyan 董启埏	4.5	Han	Gongsheng	Minzhe	1788.03.23
14	Yao Xueying 姚学瑛	3	Han	Gongsheng	Shangan	1797.2.23
15	Gao Ji 高積	2.5	Han	Juangong	minzhe	1779.05.20
16	Zhang Luan 張鸞	0	Han	0	Shanxi	1778.10.15
17	Lu Feichi 陸費墀	2	Han	Jinshi	Minzhe	1790.11.23
18	Hengwen 恒文	1.5	Manchu	0	Yungui	1757.7.7
19	Funing 福宁	4.5	Manchu	0	Beijing	1782.1.15
20	Guolin 国霖	2.5	Manchu	0	Shandong	1783.7.4
21	Guodong 国栋	2.5	Manchu	Jinshi	Liangjiang	1782.10.21
22	Fusong 福崧	2.5	Manchu	0	Minzhe	1793.1.11
23	Changling 长麟	1.5	Manchu	Fanyi Jinshi	Manchuria	1795.09.20
24	Sahaliang 萨哈諒	3	Manchu	0	Shanxi	1742.6.3
25	Heqizhong 和其衷	2.5	Manchu	0	Shanxi	1763.09.27

26	Shushan 舒善	5	Manchu	0	beijing	1768.8.12
27	Weigengning 尉赓宁	7	Manchu	0	Manchuria	1803.10.26
28	Lichunte 李淳特		Manchu	0	Manchuria	1806.5.7
29	Guangxing 广兴	1	Manchu	0	Beijing	1808.08.13
30	Zhuntai 準泰	2.5	Manchu	0	Shandong	1751.09.10
31	Hešen 和珅		Manchu	0	Beijing	1830
32	Fulehun 富勒浑	0	Mongol	0	Liangguang	1786.6.16
33	Yisabu 伊辙布	2.5	Mongol	0	Manchuria	1795.06.28
34	Family of Pufu 普福家眷	0	Mongol	0	Zhili	1768.7.21

Source: Appendix II

The less wealthy Han elite did not mimic the banner style. The less affluent bannermen owned twice as many banzhi rings and items of fur clothing than the less wealthy Han elite. On average, one in ten of the less affluent Han officials and commoners possessed banzhi rings, while one in five of bannermen did. Two in three of the lower wealth bannermen had fur clothes. The borderland Manchus possessed slightly more, reaching 80 to 100%. However, only half of the lower wealth Han families owned fur clothes. It was not education or occupation but wealth that determined which Han families followed the Manchu and Mongol preferences.

The Qing imperial government and the Manchu and Mongol elite greatly influenced public expressions of status. Through gift giving and law making, the Qing state established a multi-cultural dress persona for officials and commoners with an emphasis on the northern preference for fur and rare luxury decorations. The affluent Han elite, regardless of education and occupation, broke the sumptuary laws and mimicked the official attire of the 1-3rd tiers, wearing rare fur clothes and dragon robes. They also mimicked other elements of Manchu and Mongol fashion, which indirectly revealed that Manchus and Mongol bannermen were at the

top of the social hierarchy. The Han elite wanted to pretend to dress like them, while the reverse was not the case.

Section 5.2 Women's Clothes and Accessories

Women's attire has always been a subject of debate in East and West. The Romans and Venetians regulated women's consumption because they believed that "women and ladies' extravagance… gravely offends God."[550] The Qing laws and society viewed women as a part of a family, not an independent people. Therefore, *the Great Qing Legal Code* required women to dress in line with the social status of their husbands.[551] The imperial household in Qing exemplified this tradition. Illustration 5.2.1 is a painting of the Xiaoxianchun empress (孝賢純皇後), a wife of the emperor Qianlong. She wore an attire closely matching that of the emperor. Her hat was decorated with eastern pearls while her robe was made from silk and fur and embroidered with dragons on her shoulders. She wore *chaozhou* (朝珠) beads made of coral and eastern pearls. It was hard for anyone to make a mistake her status while she wore this formal attire.

[550] Zanda, *Fighting Hydra-like Luxury*, 94.
[551] Kun gang 崑岡, Qinding daqing huidian tu 欽定大清會典圖, Vol. 57-83.

Illustration 5.2.1 Empress Xiaoxianchun by Giuseppe Castiglione and others

Source: The Palace Museum, Beijing https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/233703.html

Elite women dressed as luxuriously as their husbands according to those inventories which separately noted male and female dress. Their clothes shared designs and materials with their husband's official attire (Photo 5.2.2 and 5.2.3). They were similar in patterns and materials but different in style. The male outfits constituted a long robe. The female outfits included a shorter upper coat and an embroidered skirt decorated with golden threads. The differences in style were subtle enough that the outfits conveyed similar information about status to the viewer. But the separation of coat and dress also underlined their affluent economic background. The attire made for women cost as much as their husband's clothes. For example, one set of female dragon robes would cost from 50 to 200 silver taels depending on the materials and embroidery techniques.

Photo 5.2.2 Wife of a First-Tier Official

Photo 5.2.3 Female Dragon Robe in Qing

Source: Valery M. Garrett, Chinese Dress: from the Qing to the Present Day (Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing, 2019)

The confiscation inventories noted mostly women dragon robes instead of embroidery patterns of official attire. Four Manchu bannerwomen, one Mongol bannerwomen, and four Han women owned dragon robes (table 5.3). Eight out of nine of these families were officials.

We do not know who purchased these clothes; we do know that the wife of an official or the mother ran the household when the official was away from home, as was often the case while rotating through different locations for their work.[552] These clothes had symbolic functions. Women would wear this attire during a festival or on a wedding, reminding the audience of the status of the family (photo 5.2.4).

Table 5.3 Families Owned Female Dragon Robe

Name	Official Tier	Proto-Ethnicity	Civil Degree	Place	Date
Fang Luo 方洛	0	han	0	Unkown	1780.9.30
Yang Guangyang 楊廣颺	4.5	han	0	Yungui	1782.1.25
Fu Lehun 富勒浑	3	mongol	0	Liangguang	1786.7.29
Guo Deping 郭德平	9	han	0	Henan	1782.4.24
Guo Lin 国霖	2.5	manchu	0	Shandong	1783.7.4
Wang Zhaochen 王兆琛	2.5	han	進士	Shandong	1849.7.2
Sun Yuanjun 宋元俊	2	han	進士	Liangjiang	1772.7.14
Jiang Quandi 蔣全迪	4.5	han	0	Liangjiang	1781.2
Sheng Bao 勝宝	1	manchu	0	Manchuria	1863

Source: Appendix II

[552] Susan Mann, *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

Photo 5.2.4. A Manchu Bride

Source: China: a Manchu bride. Photograph, 1981, from a negative by John Thomson, 1871. Thomson, J. (John), 1837-1921. Wellcome Library no. 19685i.

Furthermore, the differences between affluent banner and Han women's ownership of clothes were minimal. They shared similarities in silk dresses, jewellery, and accessories indicating their family status. About one in three wealthier families and half of the less affluent families owned women's jewellery. Most inventories do not provide details on the types of women's jewellery, but among those that do, it is apparent that about one in three affluent women owned jade bangles and hair accessories. Approximately one in five possessed gold and silver earrings and rings.

Bianfang (扁方), a ruler-like hair accessor, and nail covers, according to Mark Elliott, were part of banner women's preferred style.[553] Photo 5.2.5 shows three Manchu women, who wore a *bianfang*, buying hair accessories from a merchant. These accessories would prevent women from doing any forms of heavy labour. Wearing them meant that the elite household was wealthy enough to hire others to work for them. An equal amount of minority banner

[553] Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 250.

women and Han women possessed *bianfang*. Three banner women and four Han women acquired *bianfang*, and two banner women and one Han woman owned nail covers.

Photo 5.2.5 Manchu Ladies Buying Hair Ornaments

Source: Manchu ladies buying hair ornaments, Peking, Pechilie province, China. Wellcome Collection. Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0)

The other hair accessory found in inventory, *zanzi* (簪子), bore the shape of a long thin stick, typically with a piece of decoration attached to the end. It was also found within a similarly frequency in both Manchu and Han families. One in three possessed *zanzi*. The phenomenon of banner women wearing *zanzi* was also depicted by painters in Qing. Illustration 5.2.5 depicts a birthday celebration party in a banner house in which the women on the left had tied her hair with *zanzi* while the one on the right used *bianfang*. The other supposed cultural marker, foot binding, could not be examined because the inventories do not distinguish different types of female shoes.

Illustration 5.2.6 Celebration of a Birthday in Bannermen's House

Source: University of Altar Canada

While affluent Han women, like their husbands, followed the dress style and preferences of the banner women, less affluent Han women remained distinct. Among less affluent families, banner women, like their husbands, preferred to allocate wealth to purchase wearables. The banner women owned substantially more items of fur clothing and more jewellery made from coral than their Han counterparts. About one in two of the less affluent Manchu women possessed fur clothes, while only one in five Han women owned them. The

less affluent Manchu women were twice as likely to own coral accessories as Han women. One in three Manchu women owned coral accessories, compared with one in ten Han women.

Although women dressed as luxuriously as men, they owned a much smaller quantity of luxury clothing. On average, in one family, one-quarter of the luxury fur and silk clothing was for females, the rest were for males. The inventories rarely noted the total numbers of people in a family. The average ratio indicates the dominance of men in a family's consumption choices.

Qing society supposedly gave women very little to no public space, yet they owned luxurious robes that were similar to their husbands' attire to present their family's cultural, economic, and political identity. This suggests that there existed situations in which women represented their husband's status to others. It is not known exactly when and where they wore these clothes, as Qing women's diaries rarely survived. However, evidence from paintings, photographs, and the biographies of men suggests that in festivals and times when the head of the household was not at home, they wore this richly symbolic luxurious clothing to represent their family. In short, women had a certain social power in Qing.

Conclusion

The Qing government and the Manchu and Mongol banner culture profoundly impacted forms of public expression in the society. They had limited cultural influence in the private sphere, as demonstrated in the previous chapters. But they made their mark on the dress culture of the central plain. The government demanded that the majority of their subjects switch to a Qing style of clothes and adopted the central plain tradition of using clothing to control the social expression of power. They invented an official attire to express their multi-cultural approach to governance. All of the confiscated elite switched to the Qing dress style and the high officials of 1-3rd tier obeyed the sumptuary laws. They represented a "united" Qing culture.

However, the government failed to enforce the strict distinction of class through dress within society. Affluent elite breached the make and type of embroidery stated in the sumptuary laws to dress for power. In addition, affluent Han elite mimicked the dress culture of bannermen. They chose not to differentiate themselves from their conquerors in public. Sumptuary laws did not require them to own hunting jewellery, jadeite, or fur clothes. Yet they purchased them to match the banner style. This indirectly reflected the fact that the

wealthy Han elite recognised the status of Manchu and Mongol bannermen. They defined fashion because they held more political and military power. Thus, they set the trend for the rich.

Less affluent Han people did not want to or could not follow this trend. They did not own as much of the northern status goods as wealthy Han elite. It could be that they were limited by their wealth. They also might felt less need to mimic northern tastes. They would seldom meet a bannermen or seek befriend them like the high officials.

The women in the household followed the material culture of the male household head. Affluent Han women were also influenced by banner women's fashion. In the households of the high officials, regardless of proto-ethnicity, location, and banner status, the women dressed in female versions of official attire and dragon robes. During festivals and when welcoming guests, their dress sent a strong message to the visitor regarding the family's political and economic status. The female head of the household held a certain status and dressed like an official. Affluent Han women also mimicked the banner style in both dress and accessories.

The dress of Qing elite, both men and women, recapitulated social and political hierarchies. Commoners could tell a person's status by looking at their appearance in public. The Manchu and Mongol banner high officials and their wives dressed most luxuriously in comparison with other people. The officials wore rare fur robes gifted by the emperor, embellishing their outfits with accessories made from south and central Asian gems. Their wives also wore official attire and fur robes and rare luxurious jewellery. They maintained their distinctive northern preferences and stood at the top of society. Wealthy Han officials from the 1st-3rd tier mimicked banner fashion. Less affluent bannermen shared similar tastes with the affluent high official bannermen. They owned more fur clothes and luxurious robes in comparison with the less affluent Han elite. Banner families preferred to spend money on dress instead of on properties and other household decorations found in the Han families.

CHAPTER 6. THE RISE OF "YANG HUO" FOREIGN GOODS

The Qing elite followed a hybrid clothing style that had been invented by the state. They "united in diversity" in public, even though they maintained their distinction in private. The Qing elite had a certain collective consciousness of their group identity. This chapter examines the ownership of foreign goods in elite houses in order to study the political, social, and cultural penetration of these items on the elite culture. Foreign goods, carriers of new external ways of living and technology, entered Qing China in an increasingly large amount once the Kangxi emperor loosened the sea trade ban in the late 17th century. Kenneth Pomeranz believes that the Chinese lacked interest in consuming these goods.[554] The traditional literature portrays Chinese elite as antiquarians, closed to change. However, studies by Lai Huiming, Lars Laamann, and Carol Benedict show that the Qing elite were interested in everything foreign, from wool to drug.[555] Who owned foreign goods? How did elite utilised them to express their sense of distinction? What role did the imperial government play in dispersing foreign goods?

Foreign goods, known as *yanghuo* (洋货), came from Europe, Russia, and Japan. I identify them from the confiscation list based on the information provided by British and Russian merchant guides. Most of these goods gained a Chinese character, ocean - *Yang* (洋) before their functional name, although some, such as the different types of woollens and textiles as pointed out by Samuel Williams, did not carry the character *Yang* and the merchants invented new names for them.[556] Foreign goods were comprised of two types: rare expensive gifts - clocks, watches, microscopes, telescopes, glass, and fragile utensils, and the more common type of bulk traded goods: woollens, cotton textiles, opium, and fur. This chapter discusses the first type of goods because these were final products that conveyed European ideas, technologies, and ways of living most closely.

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[554] Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton University Press, 2009), 213.

[555] Lai Huimin 賴惠敏, "Qianlong Chaoneiwufu de Pihuo Maimai Yu Jingcheng Shishang 乾隆朝內務府的皮貨買賣與京城時尚," *Gugong Xueshu Jikan* 故宮學術集刊 21, no. 1 (2003): 1–23; Carol Benedict, *Golden-Silk Smoke: A History of Tobacco in China, 1550-2010* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Frank Dikötter, Lars Peter Laamann, and Xun Zhou, *Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2016).

[556] Samuel Wells Williams, *A Chinese Commercial Guide*.

These rare and expensive foreign goods arrived in Qing mainly through two channels: diplomatic tributes or gifts sent by the Jesuits and other Europeans to the Qing elite as a gesture of friendship or as bribes. Some missionaries also opened glass and clock factories to prepare gifts for the emperor or others. But these were rare and most were located in the coastal area.[557] Reports by the East India companies did not mention these rare and expensive goods.[558] Yet they appear in Qing official reports, missionaries' account of their expenditures, and the writings of their Chinese recipients.[559] These foreign goods played an essential role in Qing diplomacy, formal and informal.

The earliest generation of scholars to study the tributary system interpreted it from a political perspective. In 1942, John King Fairbank's seminal essay "Tributary Trade and China's Relations with the West," claims that the value of the items presented was insignificant to the Qing treasury; the value of the court's returning gifts outweighed those tributes. The emperors viewed these goods as signalling others' acceptance of his mandate from heaven.[560] Joseph Fletcher, Michael Hunt, and John Wills postulate a more sophisticated and flexible approach to the tributary system, arguing that these goods carried a high symbolic value.[561] Mark Mancall elaborates this idea further, asserting that in "traditional societies," goods held "paramount importance since the distinction between symbol and reality was very vague and that for Chinese society forms were taken as reality."[562]

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[557] Yang Kaijian 湯開建 and Huang Chunyan 黃春艷, "Qingchao Qianqi Xiyang Zhongbiao de Fangzhi Yu Shengchan 清朝前期西洋鐘錶的仿制與生產," *Zhongguo Jingjishi Yanjiu* 中國經濟史研究 3 (2006): 114–23.

[558] Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company: Trading to China 1635-1834* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1926), Vol. 1-5.

[559] Zheng Zhenze 鄭振鐸, *Wanqing Wenxuan* 晚清文選 (Beijing 北京: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe 中國人民大學出版社, 2012); Zhang Benzheng 張本政, ed., *Qingshilu Taiwan Shiliao Zhuanji* 清實錄台灣史資料專輯 (Fujian 福建: Fujian renmin chubanshe 福建人民大學出版社, 1993); Zheng Guanying 鄭觀應, *Shengshi Weiyan* 盛世危言 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2013).

[560] John King Fairbank, "Tributary Trade and China's Relations with the West," *Fareastquar The Far Eastern Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (1942): 129, 135.

[561] Joseph Fletcher, "China and Central Asia, 1368-1884," in *The Chinese World Order*, ed. John King Fairbank (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), 206–24, 337–68; Joseph Fletcher, "Ch'ing Inner Asia c.1800," in *The Cambridge History of China*, ed. John King Fairbank, Vol. 10 (Cambridge (Massachusetts): Cambridge University Press, 1978); Michael M. Hunt, "Chinese Foreign Relations in Historical Perspective," in *China's Foreign Relations in the 1980s*, ed. Harry Harding (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 6; John E. Wills, *Embassies and Illusions: Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K'ang-Hsi, 1666–1687* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center Publications Program, 1984).

[562] Mark Mancall, *Russia and China: Their Diplomatic Relations to 1728* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971), 85.

Dorathea Heuschert Laage, James Hevia, Di Cosmo, and Johan Elverskog have all considered the changing relationships between the giver and recipient of rare expansive foreign goods. Laage's studies of the Manchu and Mongolian sources reveals that the Qing government before 1646 did not fully adopt the tributary system.[563] The memorials noted mostly the gifts received rather than the gifts given.[564] However, in the Shunzhi reign, starting from 1646, the Lifanyuan (理藩院), a government agency that oversaw diplomatic relationships, began to record presents and returned presents which were labelled as "donations" equally.[565] By the 1660s, the Qing government had developed a full system of gift exchange — tributary relations — and both the recipients and givers knew the importance of gift giving and attending dinners. Mongolian tribal leaders sometimes avoided attending dinners to passively resist the Qing rule.[566] As this suggests, Marcel Mauss' theory on gift giving applies well to Qing. Just like the Potlach system, as Hevia proposes, the Qing gift giving system "completes the hierarchical relationship of superior and inferior," allowing "lesser lord's powers into the universal rule of the emperor."[567]

Rare and expensive foreign goods had a political importance, clearly; yet few studies have examined the daily usage of these goods by the Qing elite. There are some exceptions. Yangwen Zheng briefly mentions the imperial use of clocks by the Qing emperors as a tool to combat Han rule.[568] While Yan Zinan (顏子楠) examines the elite's attitude towards glasses through poetry.[569] However, to date, the literature has rarely reflected upon the connection between elite ownership of foreign goods and the degree of openness of Qing culture. Yet the

[563] Dorothea Heuschert-Laage, "From Personal Network to Institution Building: The Lifanyuan, Gift Exchange and the Formalization of Manchu-Mongol Relations," *History and Anthropology* 25, no. 5 (2014): 657.
[564] Heuschert-Laage, "From Personal Network to Institution Building: The Lifanyuan, Gift Exchange and the Formalization of Manchu-Mongol Relations," 657.
[565] Heuschert-Laage, "From Personal Network to Institution Building: The Lifanyuan, Gift Exchange and the Formalization of Manchu-Mongol Relations," 657–58.
[566] Heuschert-Laage, "From Personal Network to Institution Building: The Lifanyuan, Gift Exchange and the Formalization of Manchu-Mongol Relations," 659–61.
[567] Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar*, 123 and 129.
[568] Yangwen Zheng, *China on the Sea: How the Maritime World Shaped Modern China* (Leiden, Netherlands); v. 21 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 147.
[569] Yan Zinan 顏子楠, "An Object-Oriented Study on Yongwu Shi: Poetry on Eyeglasses in the Qing Dynasty," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 79, no. 2 (2016): 375–97.

openness of a culture is generally considered to be a major factor influencing economic performance.[570]

Confiscation inventories provide a large body of evidence that advance our understanding of the overall impact of rare expensive foreign goods on the elite's material culture and their social and political life. With the aid of other primary accounts, government records, and Qing publications, I argue that these goods gained social value as political status goods for powerful officials in addition to their symbolic value as gifts. Officials, especially Manchu and Mongol bannermen, owned a variety of such goods.

In the first part of the chapter, I examine the overall trend. Twice as many Manchu and Mongol bannermen owned foreign luxury goods as Han families. They were heavily influenced by the Qing court. The bannermen, in general, had a closer relationship to the court and held greater political power. They quickly followed Qing emperors' politisized decision to use foreign goods in court life. More than 80% of Han scholar-officials also owned rare foreign tributary goods, influenced by court taste. The level of ownership of these goods doubled in lower wealth Manchu and Mongol bannermen's households from the 18th to the 19th century.

The second part studies scholar-officials' ownership of foreign goods. Even though Qing elite sometimes expressed worries about foreign goods in memorials and diaries, they possessed a variety of them. Almost all of the officials who held a provincial civil service examination degree or above, 27 out of 31, possessed rare foreign goods. Although the officials were on the front line in fighting opium wars and European imperialism, they were open to consuming foreign goods. They also enjoyed the fruits of European modernisation. They counted time like the Europeans, used a telescope in war, read newspapers, and wrote memorials using reading glasses and glass lamps.

However, the Qing elite were not satisfied with the original version of the foreign goods. They commissioned artisans to modify them to suit their preferred styles. For instance,

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[570] Eelke De Jong, Roger Smeets, and Jeroen Smits, "Culture and Openness," *Social Indicators Research* 78, no. 1 (2006): 111–36; Stephen Broadberry and Kevin H. O'Rourke, *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Europe: Volume 2, 1870 to the Present* (Cambridge: University Press, 2010), Chapter 2; J. Benson Durham, "Economic Growth and Political Regimes," *Journal of Economic Growth* 4, no. 1 (1999): 81–111; Friedrich Schneider and Alexander F. Wagner, "Institutions of Conflict Management and Economic Growth in the European Union," *Kyklos*, 54, no. 4 (2001): 509–31; Romain Wacziarg, "Measuring the Dynamic Gains from Trade," *The World Bank Economic Review* 15, no. 3 (2001): 393–429.

clocks were modified into jade clocks; and glasses were used as sandalwood lamp covers. They absorbed these goods into their familiar material cosmos. Through this localising process of modification and imperial advocacy, the Qing elite, especially officials, adopted foreign luxury goods in daily life, and consciously or unconsciously became much more open to foreign culture and ways of living. This open culture indirectly facilitated late 19th and early 20th century modernisation efforts.

Section 6.1 Gifts from Afar

European merchants and missionaries sought to show their goodwill to the Qing emperors and high officials through gift giving. Although giving rare and expensive goods did not guarantee success in doing business with the Qing, it was better for foreigners to provide impressive gifts rather than not. In the 17th century, the Jesuits gained an important position in the court, becoming responsible for making calendars and telling the time because of their expertise in astronomy, maths, and clock making.[571] By contrast, the British Ambassador Lord George Macartney and his team failed in his mission because they did not prepare "to send goods of the highest quality, made in Britain by the most modern manufacturing methods."[572] Macartney and others believed that "Asian courts would only be impressed by elaborate display, spectacle and pomp."[573] The failure to prepare an impressive array of gifts contributed to the overall failure of the mission as set forth in the rejection letter sent by the emperor Qianlong.[574]

Despite the traditional belief that the Qing elite were not interested in foreign goods and were entirely ignorant about them, in fact they gained a good knowledge of tributary goods through two channels. First, the imperial court acted as a redistributor, remaker, and advocate of luxury foreign goods, especially before the opium wars. The court learned about European goods and technology by working with Jesuits and missionaries. They also attempted to regulate foreign trade by limit European trading to the Guangdong ports. They required "all foreign curiosities that might arrive were to be reserved for the benefit of the

[571] Zheng, *China on the Sea*, 147.
[572] Maxine Berg, "Britain, Industry and Perceptions of China: Matthew Boulton, 'Useful Knowledge' and the Macartney Embassy to China 1792–94," *Journal of Global History* 1 (2006): 278.
[573] Berg, "Britain, Industry and Perceptions of China, 278.
[574] Berg, "Britain, Industry and Perceptions of China, 278.

emperor."[575] Just like Augustus the Strong, elector of Saxony and king of Poland-Lithuania who established the manufacturing of Meissen to crack the secret of porcelain making outside China, the Qing court founded imperial factories to produce foreign porcelain, lacquerware, and glasses as early as the Kangxi reign (1661-1722).[576] The government also used foreign material culture to combat Han elite material culture and signal court favour. They ordered Jesuits, not Han Confucian scholars, to make the calendar and tell the time.[577] They, perhaps unconsciously, persuaded the ruling elite to incorporate elements of the European ways of life by giving them foreign goods as gifts.

The Qing elite also could obtain these goods as gifts and bribes. Foreign merchants and missionaries gave provincial governors and officials rare expensive gifts to gain their protection and obtain indirect access to the emperor. Most of the rare foreign goods, clocks, watches, glass goods, foreign porcelainware, and foreign lacquerware, arrived at the houses of the powerful bannermen and Han scholar-officials in the 18th century. Owning rare foreign goods signalled to visitors that the household had connections with the court or with Europeans. Manchu and Mongol bannermen owned far more of these objects than Han elite. Less affluent Qing bannermen increased their consumption of these goods overtime. In the 18th century, 5% of the confiscated families owned luxury foreign goods. This percentage increased ten-fold to 50% in the 19th century. The next section analyses elite ownership and attitudes towards the four most common types of luxurious foreign goods: clocks and watches, glassware, foreign lacquerware, and foreign porcelain.

Clocks and Watches

Clocks were not new to China in the Qing period. Historians usually attributed the introduction of clocks to Matteo Ricci, but it began with Michel Ruggieri.[578] During the Ming period, Jesuits brought them from Europe to impress the court and merchants. Chen Rui (陳瑞) bribed an official with a clock, which earned him a pass to enter China in December

[575] James Bromley Eames, *The English in China: being an account of the intercourse and relations between England and China from the year 1600 to the year 1843 and a summary of later developments* (London: Pitman, 1909), 66.
[576] Eugenio Menegon, "Telescope and Microscope. A Micro-Historical Approach to Global China in the Eighteenth Century," *Modern Asian Studies* 54, no. 4 (2020): 1318.
[577] Zheng, *China on the Sea,* 147.
[578] Zheng, *China on the Sea*, 141.

1582.[579] However, the Qing court elevated the status of the clock to a new height.[580] Kangxi not only hired Jesuits but also put clocks "standing and mounted onto the walls in the halls where he read documents, consulted his ministers and gave audiences to foreign dignitaries."[581] He also travelled with clocks, fitting them onto the imperial cruiser that carried him down to the Grand Canal during his southern tours in 1699.[582] The Qing court stopped employing Confucian scholars to tell the time, diminishing their influence in governance.

Following this signal of the taste of the court, Manchu and Mongol bannermen owned the most clocks and watches. Among the most affluent confiscated families, those with assets exceeding 10,000 silver taels, a majority of affluent inner provincial banner families owned clocks and watches. Only one in five of the wealthy Han elite did so. This percentage remained unchanged throughout the 18th and 19th century. This affluent banner habit was adopted by the lower wealth banner families, not the Han families. In the 18th century, none of the less affluent banner families owned clocks. By the 19th century, more than half did.

The appeal of clocks and watches among affluent bannermen is discussed straightforwardly in Qing primary accounts. They liked clocks, even though they occasionally caused them some inconvenience. For example, Zhao Yi (趙翼), 1727-1814, a *Jinshi* degree holder who worked in the Council of State with Fuheng (傅恆), the bordered yellow Manchu banner first-tier official who was in charge of confiscation multiple times, see chapter 3 illustration, expressed his opinions on clocks and tells the following anecdote about Fuheng:

> "Chiming clocks and watches came from countries located in the western oceans. Chiming clocks can report time. Watches tell the time in seconds. They are marvellous. Westerners are hired to determine the positions of the stars and tell time in the court… Watches and clocks need to be fixed often. Otherwise, the time will go wrong. Many officials that possess watches and clocks are often late to the imperial meetings. Fuheng owned many clocks and watches, and he required everyone who worked for him to wear watches in order to cross check the time with them. But one day, his watches were slower than the accurate time; he did not know this. He walked into the imperial hall without any hurry. Then he saw that everyone was already present, including the emperor. They were all waiting for

[579] Zheng, *China on the Sea,* 147.
[580] Catherine Pagani, "Eastern Magnificence and European Ingenuity": Clocks of Late Imperial China (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001); Catherine Pagani, "Clockmaking in China under the Kangxi and Qianlong Emperors," Arts Asiatiques 50 (1995): 76-84.
[581] Zheng, *China on the Sea*, 147.
[582] Zheng, *China on the Sea,* 148.

him. He immediately kneeled and put his head on the floor (kowtow) to apologise to the emperor."[583]

The elevated status of clocks and watches permeated the court culture. As the inventories suggest, it became a popular must-have for high Manchu banner officials.

In a Mongolian novel written by Inǰannasi (1837-1892), who was born into a scholar family of the Tümed Right Banner at present-day Liaoning province, chiming clocks and western golden watches were an integral part of the dowry of the rich merchants. The author listed the dowry, which included "pearls bracelet, gem decorated hairpin, four chiming clocks, one golden foreign watch, fur clothes…."[584] Inǰannasi's novel suggests that Mongolian literati were aware of the trend of foreign consumption.

By contrast, the Han elite expressed a mixed attitude toward clocks. Many works praise their usefulness and brilliant construction, but a few authors believed that Europeans employed witchcraft to make these objects. Among these who appreciated the new way of counting time brought by clocks were Li Tiaoyuan (李調元 1734-1803), Zheng Yongxi (鄭用錫 1788-1858), and Yun Yuding (惲毓鼎 1862-1917), all of them *Jinshi* degree-holders. Li grew fond of the reporting function of the chiming clocks. [585] Zheng wrote poetry that expressed the advantages of Western clocks in comparison with the Chinese ones. [586] Yun also voiced a similar gratitude to clocks. [587] In the medical magazine, *Wuyi huijiang* (吳醫匯講), traditional Chinese doctors used the movement of the clock hand to describe the movement of the blood in the human body.**[588]** According to Li Dou (李斗 1749-1817), Han scholar-officials increasingly liked to decorate their house with clocks.[589]

Affluent Han and Manchu and Mongol elite owned clocks that had been decorated in accordance with their own taste. Ye Shiyuan (葉士元), a low-level official confiscated in 1722, had collected 18 clocks, of which 7 were made from white jade, two from green jade (青玉和

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[583] Zhao Yi 趙翼, *Yanbao Zaji & Zhuyeting Zaji* 檐曝雜記,竹葉亭雜記 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1997), 36.
[584] Inǰannasi, *Qi Hongting* 泣紅亭, Chapter 1 第一回 https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=260975
[585] Li, *Nanyue biji* 南越筆記.
[586] Zheng Yongxi 鄭用錫, Beiguo yuan shichao 北郭園詩鈔 (Jinmen: Jinmenxian zhengfu wenhua ju, 2007), https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=413011&remap=gb.
[587] The Qing Government, *Qingshilu guangxuchao shilu* 清朝實錄光緒朝實錄, Juan 270, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=470498.
[588] Tang Dalie 唐大烈 ed., *Wuyi huijiang* 吴医汇讲, juan 3, Shizhi yihua 石芝医话, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=57503&remap=gb.
[589] Li Dou 李斗, Yangzhou Huafang lu 揚州畫舫錄, juan 17, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=426604.

碧玉) and two from green-white jade (蔥白玉). Fulehun (富勒渾), a Mongolian bordered white bannermen confiscated in 1789, owned two hardwood clocks made from ebony. Jade and hardwood were both favourite materials of the Qing elite, but jade was rarely used by Europeans in clock making. This aesthetic refashioning must have occurred in China.

However, this enthusiasm for clocks was limited to the ruling class. Less wealthy commoners did not completely follow court fashion. Some of the Han elite disliked clocks. Zhang Zhentao (張甄陶 1753-1780), a *Jinshi*-degree magistrate, thought that "barbarian monk," a reference to the missionaries — exploited the eyes of the Chinese and conducted witchcraft rituals to make western goods, including glasses and clocks.[590] Although this attitude was rarer than more positive ones, such beliefs were held by some commoners. Among the 344 major anti-missionary riots in Qing, worries about European witchcraft caused 23.76% of riots.[591] This belief might have restrained some people's desire to consume foreign goods.

Although evidence on clock making and artisans are scarce to the point that we cannot calculate the exact number of factories or clock makers in Qing China, we do know that some of the coastal cities developed clock making industries. These workshops were concentrated in three cities: Guangdong, Nanjing, and Suzhou. Some of the factories in Guangdong were sponsored by the government.[592] The imperial clock making workshop (清宮做鐘處) also produced many clocks.[593] But it was not until 1906 that the government began to encourage the private sector to import European machinery to make clocks.[594] Judging by the confiscation inventories, it is highly likely that most of the clock artisans and factories served the wealthy ruling elite. Among the confiscated elite, officials mostly owned these pieces.

Clocks and watches carried different messages about their owners in Qing China than they do in European societies in the 18th and 19th century. They signalled the owner's close

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[590] He Changling 賀長齡, Huangchao jingshi wenbian 皇朝經世文編, juan 26 https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=180896&remap=gb; Zhang Zhentao 張甄陶, *Aomen tushuo* 澳門圖說 (Guangdong 廣東: Guangdong renmin chubanshe 廣東人民出版社, 2011, originally published in 1891) https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/%E6%BE%B3%E9%96%80%E5%9C%96%E8%AA%AA/cPy3zQEACAAJ?hl=en.

[591] Su Ping 蘇萍, Yaoyan Yu Jindai Jiaoan 謠言與近代教案 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Yuandong Chubanshe 上海遠東出版社), 32.

[592] Zhang Xialing 張遐齡 and Ji Qinzhi 吉勤之, eds., *Zhongguo Jishi Yiqi Tongshi Jinxiandai Juan* 中國計時儀器通史 - 近現代卷 (Anhui 安徽: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe 安徽教育出版社, 2011), 5.

[593] Zhang and Ji, *Zhongguo Jishi Yiqi Tongshi Jinxiandai Juan,* 99.

[594] Zhang and Ji, *Zhongguo Jishi Yiqi Tongshi Jinxiandai Juan*, 5.

relationship to political power. They also transformed some scholars and high officials' conception of time from vaguely splitting the day using water clocks and sun dials into a more precise way of dividing a day into 24 equal length hours with precision into minutes—clock time. This change of conception in Europe was argued by E. P. Thompson to be one of the bedrocks of industrialisation because modern factories relied on clock time to discipline their workers.[595] A closer look into the adaptation of clock time in Europe by Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift suggests that this was not a straightforward process. Rather, it was a multi-dimensional journey, requiring people to change their world view and machines to deliver the clock time.[596] In the Qing, the ruling elite had taken the steps first into this slow march towards modernity.

Glassware

Glassware, like clocks, remained rare in the Qing. Zeng Yandong (曾衍東 1750-192), a Juren official, writes that the Ming eunuch Zheng He (鄭和 1405-1433) first brought back glass making artisans to China during his tour to south Asian countries.[597] Glassware appeared only on the tributary accounts recorded by the Qing government, not in the account books of European trading companies. The Qing government noted that in 1725, the pope's delegates to Qing gave multiple gifts, including a green glass pot and a glass chessboard.[598] In Russian language sources of the Forbidden palace, the provincial governor of Irkutsk (Иркутск), gave numerous pieces of glassware to the borderland officials to celebrate the new year and on January 2nd 1840, he gave 35 glass cups and dishes.[599]

The Manchu and Mongol bannermen were considerably interested in glassware. Two out of three affluent Manchu and Mongol bannermen possessed these objects. Only one in ten

[595] Edward Palmer Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past & Present* 38, no. 1 (1967): 56–97.
[596] Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift, *Shaping the Day a History of Timekeeping in England and Wales 1300-1800* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), Chapter 2.
[597] Zeng Yandong 曾衍東, Xiao Doupeng 小豆棚, juan 6, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=479952&remap=gb.
[598] Ji Huang 嵇璜 and Liu Yong 劉墉, *Qingding huangchao tongdian* 欽定皇朝通典, Juan 60, Li 20, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=292275&remap=gb.
[599] "Gift list of January 2nd, 1840 伊爾庫次克省長贈送庫倫總管邊疆事務各大臣新年禮品清單, 一八四○年一月二日" in Wang Zhixiang ed., 王之相, Gugong ewen shiliao 故宮俄文史料, Vol 1, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=420304&remap=gb.

borderland Manchu bannermen owned glassware in the 18th century, but nine out of ten families owned them in the 19th century. The less affluent Manchu bannermen tripled their ownership of glass goods from 20% in the inner province and 40% in the borderlands in the 18th century to 60% in both regions in the 19th century. The Han elite's ownership increased about 10% from the 18th to the 19th century, but the share of household owning glass never exceeded 40%; and most of the Han families that owned glassware were scholar-officials.

One explanation for these vast differences in levels of ownership lies in elite's proximity to political power. Officials and bannermen were influenced by court taste and had access to the supply. Glass factories in early Qing were established mainly by the Jesuits because it was more convenient to produce glass locally than to transport it from Europe.[600] The Qing imperial factories also produced glass. The Qing government used this material in their symbolic campaigns to counter Han culture. The emperor Qianlong ordered his officials to send all censored Chinese-language wooden printing blocks to the glass factory to be used as firewood. [601] The memorial reported that the officials sent 52,480 wooden blocks weighing 36,530 *jin* (斤) and worth 98.6 silver taels, collected from 1773 to 1780 and another 15,759 wooden blocks seized in 1781 to the glass factories.[602] The emperor Qianlong could destroy these printing blocks in myriad ways, but that he chose to send them to the glass factories reminded Han of the imperial power. The officials, especially banner elite, followed.

Court fashion influence had the strongest on high officials who lived in the inner provinces in the 18th century, where they promulgated a culture of favouring foreign luxury goods. By the 19th century, elaborate trade networks were established which helped borderland elite to obtain these goods. Russians conducted trade with the Qing at Kiakhta and Xinjiang, and frequently sent gifts to the borderland authorities and governors.[603] They also had trade connections with Beijing and Shanxi traders.[604] They conducted business at Zhang Jiakou (張家口), a city north of Beijing, exchanging fur with tea and cotton from the

[600] Trigault, *Xiru ermuzi* 西儒耳目資.
[601] Zhongguo diyi lishi danganguan, *Qianlong chao shangyu dang* 乾隆朝上諭檔 (Beijing 北京: Zhongguo dangan chubanshe 中國檔案出版社, 1991), 815.
[602] Zhongguo diyi lishi danganguan, *Qianlong chao shangyu dang* 乾隆朝上諭檔, 815.
[603] Lai, "Qianlong Chaoneiwufu de Pihuo Maimai Yu Jingcheng Shishang 乾隆朝內務府的皮貨買賣與京城時尚," 1-2.
[604] Xu ke 徐珂, *Qing Bai Lei Chao* 清稗類鈔, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=502424&remap=gb.

Chinese.[605] In response to the decrease in support from the Qing government, Mongol monasteries also joined the trading network in the 19th century.[606] These long distance trade networks helped the borderland Manchus incorporate these goods into their daily lives.

Most of the Han officials praised the usefulness and practical function of glass. Qing emperors were actively involved in introducing eyeglasses to their officials. Song Luo (宋犖 1634–1714), a provincial governor, recorded an event that occurred in 1703 in his life-chronicle (年譜): "Yesterday I requested eyeglasses; today Wushi [name of an imperial bodyguard] brought out a pair of eyeglasses with a green frame, gave it to me and said, 'This is the emperor's reserve pair. If this is no good, you will be granted with the pair which the emperor is wearing now.'"[607] Zhang Taijiao (張泰交 1651–1706), also a *Jinshi* and a provincial governor, recorded a similar gift. He was summoned by the emperor who asked him about his eye condition. He replied that his vision deteriorated in autumn. The emperor asked him, "Why don't you use eyeglasses?" He responded, "My eyes are ill; it's not that I have presbyopia. If I use eyeglasses, there is just one more layer of obstacle." The emperor said, "Once you try the right [ones], it will be fine."[608]

A number of Han scholars celebrated the new devices. Zha Shenxing (查慎行 1650-1727), a scholar from Zhejiang, composed two poems on the usefulness of eyeglasses, "I am so fortunate, my blurry eyes can now compete with those of a young fellow."[609] Ruan Yuan (阮元 1764-1849), another governor general and a 1st tier official, also praised eyeglasses, stating that "wearing eyeglasses can brighten and polish eyes." Similarly, Liu Fenggao (劉鳳誥 1760–1830), a single-eyed *Jinshi* degree holder, claimed that "wearing eyeglasses can

[605] Mao Tingting 毛婷婷, "Qingdai Zhangjiakou dui e maoyi xingshuang yanjiu 1689 - 1911 清代張家口對俄貿易興衰研究," *Hebei Shifan daxue* 河北師範大學, (2021) ; Zhang Junhua 張俊華, Zhangjia kou chaye duiwai maoyi 張家口茶葉對外貿易, *Nongye Kaoku* 农业考古, No. 4, (1996):269.
[606] Devon Dear, "Holy Rollers: Monasteries, Lamas, and the Unseen Transport of Chinese–Russian Trade, 1850–1911," *International Review of Social History* 59 (2014): 69–88.
[607] Song Luo 宋犖, Mantang nianpu 漫堂年譜, in Xuxiu siku quanshu 續修四庫全書 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2002), Vol. 554, 238.
[608] Zhang Taijiao 張泰交, Shouhutang ji 受祜堂集, in Siku jinhuishu congkan 四庫禁燬書 叢刊 (Beijing 北京: Beijing chubanshe 北京出版社, 1997), Vol. Ji. 53, 284–5.
[609] Zha Shenxing 查慎行, Jingyetang shiji 敬業堂詩集 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1986), Vol. 2, 811.

brighten the eyes."[610] Eyeglasses became a practical tool for learned officials, which influenced fashion in the 19th century. The imperial court succeeded in persuading high officials to wear glasses. According to Yang Jingting (楊靜亭 1888) and Li Hongruo (李虹若), an increasing number of affluent people wore glasses to signal that they were erudite.[611]

Glass inserts in furniture and lighting also became a popular aspect of domestic decoration in the 19th century, especially for lanterns. In *the Yanjing Suishiji* (燕京歲時記), the author describes that during the lantern festival, glass lights could be seen on the streets in Beijing.[612] Outside the capital this was less widespread. According to *Anpingxian Zaji* (安平縣雜記), a town gazetteer in Taiwan, glass lamps were rarely sold in the town. Glass remained an object of elite consumption in short.

Very few accounts express a negative attitude toward glass-made materials, but they certainly existed. The solitary example that I have found is by one of the Gongsheng degree holders, Qin Duhui (秦篤輝), who conveys a sense of patriotism in his writing and asserts that paper is better than glass:

> "Since the Qin period, we have paper, invented by eunuch Cai Lun (蔡倫); it has benefitted us forever. It is listed as one of the four treasured stationaries. It is also used in the window to block the winds. However, glass is costly, low-income families cannot afford it. Paper windows are more convenient, and glass windows in winter attract coldness, worse than paper windows."[613]

None of the other elite seem to have shared this opinion, yet it reflected a growing consciousness of Chinese self-integrity. British intellectuals in the 18th century went through a similar phase of rising patriotism stemming from the increasing presence of foreign goods in the country. For instance, Jonas Hanway worried about the corruptive effects of drinking Chinese tea.[614] Many intellectuals linked household decisions to "national security."[615]

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[610] Liu Fenggao 劉鳳誥, Cunhuizhai ji 存悔齋集, in Xuxiu siku quanshu 續修四庫全書 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2002), Vol. 1486, 156.
[611] Yang Jingting 楊靜亭 (Li Hongruo 李虹若, ed.), Chaoshi congzai 朝市叢載 (Printed in 1887), juan 7, 41.
[612] Fuca hala dunchong 富察敦崇, *Yanjing suishiji* 燕京歲時記 (Beijing 北京: Beijing chubanshe 北京出版社, 1961), Dengjie 灯节, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=233902.
[613] Qin Duhui 秦篤輝, Dushi shengyan, Hubei yeshuben 讀史賸言,湖北叢書本 (Yucao tang 餘艸堂, 1891), https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=77891.
[614] Eugenia Zuroski Jenkins, "'Nature to Advantage Drest': Chinoiserie, Aesthetic Form, and the Poetry of Subjectivity in Pope and Swift," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 43, no. 1 (2009): 75.
[615] Jenkins, "Nature to Advantage Drest," 75.

The Qing ruling elite: the Manchu and Mongol bannermen and Han scholar-officials, viewed glass as a symbol of political power. Glassware, like clocks, enjoyed high popularity among these groups. The emperors played a critical role in advocating foreign ways of life and created a new hybrid court culture. They advocated the use of eyeglasses and gave them to officials. The expansion of long-distance trade networks in the 19th century also allowed the borderland bannermen to own luxury foreign goods. Among the confiscated elite, the less affluent Han commoners did not own them at all. This implies that in addition to their practical value, clock and glassware were status goods by which elite expressed their political and economic distinction.

Foreign lacquerware and porcelain

Foreign lacquerware and porcelain were either made from abroad or made from imperial factories, in which the artisans used foreign imported materials to build them. The confiscated elite owned very few examples of them in comparison with their ownership of clocks and glassware. Foreign porcelain and lacquerware has distinct brighter colours compared with those traditionally produced in China. Foreign porcelain in the inventories includes some general references that did not provide more details on the technique, simply written as "outer sea porcelain" and others that indicate the technique: *falangcai* (琺瑯彩), enamel colours. The Jesuits introduced the colour palate of *falangcai* to the Kangxi emperor. Only imperial kilns produced wares with this technique. Because of its rarity, the imperial court put seals under all of them to avoid mixing them up with other types of colourful porcelain.[616] For instance, the Jingdezhen kilns invented another type of colour palate, *fencai* (粉彩), which was used to make export goods. Beause of this uncertainty, the foreign porcelain I discussed in this study comprise *falangcai* and "outer sea porcelain."

The owners of both foreign porcelain and lacquerware had money and power before being confiscated. In the 18th century, the elite rarely owned these objects. One in five affluent banner elite and one in ten affluent Han elite possessed foreign lacquerware. The less wealthy Han and Mongol elite did not own foreign lacquerware at all. In the 19th century, ownership

[616] Ye Peilan 葉佩蘭, *Falangcai Fencai* 琺瑯彩，粉彩 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe 上海科學技術出版社, 1999), 10.

slightly increased from 10% to 20% for the affluent class. The less affluent inner provincial Manchus imitated the wealthy class and increased ownership from zero to 30%.

The ownership of foreign porcelain was similar. In the 18th century, most of the foreign porcelain was held by the affluent inner provincial groups: 40% of these families had examples. No more than 10% of the other Manchu, Mongol, and Han elite households possessed any. In the 19th century, the less affluent Manchu banner men favoured these goods the most. Their ownership increased from zero to 30% while other groups increased their ownership slightly to less than 20%.

Discussions of these two types of goods in Qing texts are not as elaborate as those of clocks and glassware. They do appeare in the list of goods describing affluent bannermen's houses, such as in the home of *The Dream of the Red Chamber* (紅樓夢), written by Cao Xunqing (曹雪芹) from the white Han banner. He also experienced confiscation when he was a child. A foreign lacquerware tea tray was used by Jia Mu (賈母), the matriarch leader of the family while Jia Baoyu (賈寶玉), the main male character, owned a *falangcai* decorated box.[617] These goods were not mentioned in other primary accounts and novels describing affluent Han families. Nor were they mentioned in *the Yang Zhou Huafanglu* (揚州畫舫錄), an account of the villas built by the salt merchants in Yangzhou.[618]

A few of the Qing elite praised the beauty and delicacy of these goods. Li Zhaoling (李兆齡 1688—1737), a *Jinshi* holder, mentioned the gold decorated foreign lacquer boats he saw in Macao in his poetry collection.[619] Xu Zhiheng (許之衡 1877—1935), a *Gongsheng* degree holder and a graduate from the Meiji University in Japan, wrote an elaborate book on porcelain. In it he explains the different types of foreign porcelain in detail, differentiating their base make and patterns and notes that "the government uses the most delicate foreign porcelain."[620]

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[617] Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹, *Hong Loumeng* 紅樓夢, Hui 40 第肆拾回, 史太君兩宴大觀園, 金鴛鴦三宣牙牌令, https://ctext.org/hongloumeng/ch40/zh.

[618] Li Dou 李斗, *Yangzhou Huafang lu* 揚州畫舫錄, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=426604.

[619] Li Zhaoling 李兆齡, *Shuxiao ge shiji* 舒嘯閣詩集 collected in Sikuweishoushuji kan bianzuan weiyuanhui 四庫未收書輯刊 編纂委員會 ed., *Sikuweishou shuji kan* 四庫未收書輯刊 (Beijing 北京: Beijing chubanshe 北京出版社, 1997), 679.

[620] Xu Zhiheng 許之衡, *Yingliuzhai shuoci* 飲流齋說瓷, edited by Du Bing 杜斌 (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2012).

The Kangxi emperor had a more complex attitude towards foreign lacquerware. In *The Critical Words of Kangxi* (聖祖仁皇帝庭訓格言), he acknowledge that foreign lacquerware was the best, but suggest this was not because foreigners had better skills but because they produced better lacquers:

> "Foreign countries were islands in the sea, they have high humidity, therefore produce beautiful lacquer. But China (中國) is a dry place. Therefore, the lacquer produced here has a darker colour. And again, this is not because foreigners (洋人) have better skills than the Chinese (中國人)."[621]

When expressing opinions on foreign goods, emperor Kangxi tried to defend his subjects. He sided with China, the country that he ruled. After receiving rare and luxurious objects as tribute, the emperor Kangxi asked artisans to produce equivalents to these goods in the imperial factories and awarded them to his trusted officials and bannermen. The emperor Yongzheng, emperor Qianlong, and later emperors continued this strategy and used these goods to influence court culture. The emperors of Qing also had anxieties, just like Qin Duhui (秦篤輝), when they received better quality foreign goods. The emperors had the power and money to address their concerns and sought to gain control of foreign technologies through Jesuits and missionaries. Rather than spreading them across the economy, they then retained these technologies for their own use until the foreigners managed to force the Qing government to open more doors for trade.

The Qing imperial house tactically utilised foreign luxury goods and production technology to counterbalance the traditions and shape the cultural dynamic in the court. They gave these goods another layer of meaning to the elite. Owning foreign goods signalled the owner's close relationship to the court and the ultimate source of political power. Manchu and Mongol bannermen owned most of these goods. In general, the Han elite held very few of them, except for the scholar-officials who incorporated them into their daily lives and praised their usefulness. The sign value of rare foreign goods incentivised the elite to own them, consciously or unconsciously impelling them to form a culture open to foreign ways of living. These goods impacted the elite's perceptions of the world. Clocks changed their view of time, while foreign utensils made them question their existing knowledge on the "civilisations" with which they were "familiar."

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[621] Aisin Gioro In Jen, *Shengzu ren Huangdi tingxun geyan, chizaotang siku quanshu huiyao* 聖祖仁皇帝庭訓格言, 摛藻堂四庫全書薈要, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=672133.

Section 6.2 Scholar-officials' Possessions

To further illustrate the influence of foreign goods among scholar-officials, this section scrutinises their holdings in detail. Among the confiscated, 27 out of 31 scholar-officials (87%) possessed foreign goods. Except for two families, these were high officials above the 3rd tier (Table 6.1). Their geographical spread was quite diverse. Officials from the Jiangnan area and Jiangxi province (near Fujian, coastal province) owned the largest amount of foreign goods, with more than 100 pieces in their house. Geographical factors — closeness to ports — mattered to the quantity of goods acquired, not the variety. All of these scholar-officials owned a wide range of foreign goods.

Table 6.1 Foreign Goods Owned by Qing scholar-officials

Time	Wealth	Proto-Ethnicity	Name	Place	Occupation (Appendix I)	Quantity
1700	<10,000	Han	Dong Qiyan 董啟埏	Zhejiang	Shengfang Associate Administrator 甚防同知	54
	>10,000	Han	Chen Huai 陳淮	Jiangxi	Provincial Governor of Shanxi 山西巡撫	206
			Gao Ji 高積	Guizhou	Guizhou Provincial Administration Commissioner 貴州布政使	8
			Jiang Zhou 蔣洲	Jiangsu	Provincial Governor of Shanxi 山西巡撫	5
			Qian Shouchun 錢受椿	Jiangsu	Guangxi Provincial Administration Commissioner 廣西布政使	3569

			Song Yuanjun 宋元俊	Liangjiang	Regional Commander 總兵	17.5
			Wang Xi 汪圻	Liangjiang	Anhui Surveillance Commissioner 安徽按察使	36
			Wang Tanwang 王亶望	Zhejiang	Governor General of Shangan 陝甘總督	224
			Xiong Xuepeng 熊學鵬	Jiangxi	Taiwan Regional Investigator 巡臺禦史	56
			Yao Xueying 姚學瑛	Shanxi	Anhui Surveillance Commissioner 山西按察使	46
			Yin Jiaquan 尹嘉銓	Zhili	Director of Court of Judicial Review 大理寺正卿	80
			Zhou Wan 周琬	Henan	Governor General of Huguan 湖廣總督	13
			Chen Huizu 陳輝祖	Hubei	Governor General of Minzhe 閩浙總督	36
			Pu Lin 蒲霖	Zhejiang	Provincial Governor of Fujian 福建巡撫	993
			Qin Huang 秦鐄	Liangjiang	Guangdong Salt Distribution Commissioner 廣東運司	625

			Zhou Xuejian 周學健	Jiangxi	Director General of the Grand Canal 總河	1
1700	>10,000	Manchu	Guodong 國棟	Jiangsu	Regional Officer 藩司	114
			Huangu 怀裕	Manchuria	Son of Changling 長麟之子	9
			Changling 長麟	Manchuria	Governor General of Minzhe 署閩浙總督	2808
1700	>10,000	Mongol	Fuer Huna 傅爾瑚訥	Yunnan	Kaifeng District Magistrate 開封府知府	76
	>10,000	Han banner	Li Shiyao 李侍堯	Beijing	Governor General of Yungui 雲貴總督	48
1800	>10,000	Han	Chen Fuen 陳孚恩	Jiangxi	Department of State Affairs official 尚書	165
			Che Qi 陳祁	Zhejiang	Gansu Regional Officer 甘肅藩司	25
			Dai Junyuan 戴均元	Jiangxi	Grand Secretary of the Grand Secretariat 大學士	657
			Wang Zhaochen 王兆琛	Shandong	Provincial Governor of Shanxi 山西巡撫	24

			Zhang Jixin 張繼辛	Hubei	Guizhou Provincial Administration Commissions 貴州臬司	9
	>10,000	Manchu	Shengbao 勝保	Shanxi	Council of State Official 軍機大臣	31

Source: Appendix II

If we take the inventories of four members of the elite with highly detailed lists, we can see the impact of their diverse cultural backgrounds, and different confiscation times. They all sat at the top of Qing political power, ranked as first-tier officials. Two, Pu Lin (蒲霖) and Changling (長麟), were confiscated in the 1700s. Pu Lin was a Han provincial governor of Fujian while Changling was a Manchu governor general of Mingzhe. Two, Dai Junyuan (戴均元) and Shengbao (勝保), were confiscated in the 1800s and were also first tier officials. Dai was a Han first-tier official. Shengbao worked for the Council of State. They owned the full range of rare and expensive foreign goods. The Manchu bannermen also held foreign fur and textiles.

While governing Fujian province in the 1700s, Pu Ling acquired numerous examples of rare expansive foreign goods and a small number pieces of foreign textiles. He collected clocks and watches, owning five foreign watches and 28 chiming clocks and watches. He filled his house with furniture using glass, including 233 glass screens, mirrors, and lamps. He commissioned artisans to insert the glass into the furniture type that he liked. He also possessed 11 pieces of foreign wool and embroidered silk textiles.

In comparison with Pu Ling, the Manchu high official Changling, filled his house with even more foreign goods, and owned more varieties of foreign textile. He owned 23 clocks and 17 watches. He even had a hat mirror with a watch inserted in it. Presumably, this would help him to know the time when he was preparing his outfit before heading out. He also decorated his house with furniture using glass: two glass plate lights, 17 glass inserted screens, two glass full-body mirrors, 24 sandalwood glass lights, 12 glass bottle shaped lights, and one glass inserted sandalwood Kang desk. He domesticated the foreign material, glass, by

coupling it with sandalwood, one of the favourite materials for furniture among the Chinese elite.

In addition, Changling owned foreign lacquerware and porcelain. He possessed nine foreign porcelain bowls, nine bottles, two teapots, and four foreign lacquerware flowerpots, all employed in his hobbies of drinking tea and garden planting. Like other Manchu and Mongol bannermen, he owned a variety of foreign textiles so that he could dress for power: seven foreign mink capes, nine grey fur capes, 2600 pieces of grey fur, and five pieces of wool textile.

Dai Junyuan, a first-tier Han official confiscated in the 19th century, also owned a full range of foreign luxury goods. He had one chiming clock, two watches, 36 glass gauze lamps, and over 400 pieces of non-differentiated luxury household decorations, including more foreign glassware, clocks, and watches. He did not possess any foreign textiles. Conversely, Shengbao, the Manchu general scholar-official owned a wide range of foreign things. His possessions indicate that he was constantly on the move to fight military campaigns. He did not own large pieces of furniture but still had a variety of valuable foreign utensils and clothes: a music box, three western dining knives and forks, one glass medicine bottle, three foreign silk-covered fur coats, one foreign wool cape, two foreign duvet covers. As a general, he also owned a telescope, a clock, and a bag of foreign produced dynamite.

Scholar-officials had a strong interest in acquiring and using foreign goods. Both the Manchu and Han collected the full range of luxury goods, although the Manchus owned more foreign textiles. These goods infiltrated the everyday life of the ruling elite. They internalised foreign materials and ideas and then used them. The emperor's quiet on advocacy of foreign goods encouraged high officials to adopt and employ them as sources of comfort, technologies for living, and a mean of distinction.

Conclusion

When foreign and rare luxury goods arrived in the Qing empire, it was because the foreigners who brought them intended to use them to create connections to the court and with the officials. The emperors who received them as official gifts viewed these items as a new body of technology and signal of distinction that they could use to augment their court culture. At the same time, they also began to worry about their "national" integrity as these goods

involved better technology. They executed a policy of control and containment, which was in alignment with their overall policy towards overseas foreigners. They wanted to control this new body of people and knowledge. The emperors quickly asked their court to establish factories to produce these goods.

Court culture and gift-giving incentivised officials to adopt these goods in their everyday lives They acquired these goods from merchants and court factories. Among the confiscated elite, the Manchu and Mongol bannermen and Han scholar-officials owned a variety of these goods. They also modified them and embellished them with jade and hardwood. The high level of ownership also indicates that the high officials were open to new cultures and ways of living. Even if they were conservative, they made a compromise and chose to follow the court culture. The benefits of participating in the ruling Qing empire were large enough that few would resist the opportunity.

In the 19th century, the more developed trading networks and increasing presence of foreigners and their factories provided lower wealth officials and bannermen with the opportunity to mimic court culture and their superiors. The trickle-down to the less affluent Han commoners had yet not happened and foreign luxury goods were not on their list of purchases. Instead, they prioritised other luxury decorations and forms of property. Nevertheless, the officials and related elite were willing to adopt at least some foreign ways of living and the goods that permitted them. This elite openness to other cultures and technologies was an essential factor in facilitating long-term economic growth.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

Things acquire an entirely different life after being sold. Once objects and clothes are settled into the living space and lives of their buyers, they convey information about their owner's power and identity through their shape and style, the skill and technology of the artisan who made them, the distance they had travelled, and the materials that were used to make them. In Qing China, the long historical development of East Asian material culture collided with the imperial manipulation of material culture as part of its state-building efforts to shape the symbolic meanings that dress, furnishings and luxury goods possessed for the country's elite.

The families examined in this study came from diverse geographic, proto-ethnic, financial, and occupational backgrounds. They lived in 18 provinces and two borderland areas, with wealth ranging from 50 silver taels to 2 million. Mainly elite, they occupied social and political positions as civil and military officials, rebels, merchants, and wealthy commoners. By exploring the material culture of this group of families, this study has sought to explore the physical expressions of the abstract notion of culture in the lives of the emperor's subjects.

The Qing state deliberately manipulated culture in many of its numerous state building activities. These have led scholars to adopt different perspectives on the culture of Qing elite and the nature of the empire. Some have argued that the Qing empire was a Sinicised regime, while others have rejected this proposal. Material culture probes both the private and public lives of the elite. Ownership of clothing reflected how the elite was seen in public, whereas their household possessions showed how they lived. By examining their household possessions, we can gain knowledge of their cultural values, their ancestral habits, and spot newly adopted consumption preferences. We capture something of their abstract ideas of culture, both old and new, along with change and continuities, from its material expression. This study has first interrogated what material choices did the elite prioritise to convey their distinction, power, and identity and whether the vague cultural categories imposed by the state had any meaning? Secondly, it asked how these meanings influenced the Qing elite, and whether Manchu and Mongol bannermen became assimilated into the Han culture?

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Before Qing became Qing and Manchu became Manchu, East Asian elite had already developed sophisticated systems of goods and clothing that were employed to indicate their owner's cultural, social, and economic status, and these can be traced back to antiquity. Geographical differences paved the way for vast contrasts in everyday commodities and lifestyle. From the Song period and onward, in the southern agriculturally-based areas, artisans from south of the Yangtze River specialised in silk weaving and porcelain production. In the north, people practised semi-pastoral or pastoral and hunting activities to make a living. Archaeological excavations north of the yellow river have uncovered a vast number of gold and other metal objects carved with various animals of the north.[622] People wore cotton and fur clothing for warmth in winter.

These geographical differences still existed in the Qing as society continued to be largely divided by physical barriers and local cultural spaces. The inventories indicate that the less affluent Han commoners in the south preferred silk and porcelain, whereas the less affluent Manchu and Mongol bannermen preferred cotton and fur. Most commodities were not transported in large quantities to faraway places. Only high officials and top elite enjoyed the best materials that were produced across the empire, acquired the luxury foreign goods brought by the expansion in international trade, and collected expensive antiques. Society was highly unequal and the market poorly integrated.

Cultural, technological, and historical developments had left a strong imprint on material culture before the Qing came to power. Since the Song period, governments had adopted the civil service examination system, which produced a distinct class, the *shi* (仕) scholar officials, as studied by Peter Bol.[623] The exam system provided incentives for people to learn classical Chinese and to indulge in literary culture. Consequently, they developed a distinctive literati culture. With the aid of printing, they revived ancient Chinese language classics, collected ritual utensils, practised painting and calligraphy, and communicated with each other through gifts of art and objects to form cultural circles. In the north, the Mongol empire developed two exams, one for the southerners and the other for the Mongols and *Semu*

[622] Yang Jianhua 楊建華 and Zhao Xingxing 趙欣欣, Neimenggu dongzhou beifang qingtongqi 內蒙古東周北方青銅器 (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2019).
[623] Peter Bol, "This Culture of Ours."

people. However, the northern regimes instead prided themselves on martial arts. As a result, literati culture had a profound impact on Han society, but had less of an influence on the Manchu and Mongol bannermen in Qing.

The Qing emperors since Hong Taiji all feared that their fellow Manchus and northern army would be seduced by the material opulence of the southern Han culture. They were concerned that the Manchus would lose the "old way" of living. Thus, the government forbade bannermen from marrying Han people, built garrisons to physically isolate bannermen from the commoners, and established schools to teach Manchu and Mongol. In 1752, the emperor Qianlong was sufficiently worried that he ordered the engraving of Hong Taiji's 1636 warning "onto stelae and displayed everywhere that bannermen trained" to raise consciousness of the Manchu identity.[624]

The messages that the Manchu rulers had carved on stone steles were symbolic political messages and propaganda advocated by the state. The inventories tell us that during the Qing rule, their northern culture also affected Han elite cultures. It was not always the case that the southerners influenced the people of the steppes. The bannermen became figures for wealthy Han elite to emulate because they held high political power. This trickle-down of fashion and taste was limited to public displays through clothing and to the private household decorations of Han officials. It did not impact Han commoners because the state reserved status goods for loyal state servants.

This study demonstrates that two cultures existed in Qing China, partially promoted by the emperors and partially because of the distinct elite circles that emerged based on power and identity. The first culture was a "united" hybrid Qing culture that borrowed elements from different cultures: a hybrid style of dress, Qing editions of books, and a high official culture closely associated with rare luxury Western foreign goods and objects monopolised by the court.

The second culture was a divided one; the emperors "respected" or employed cultural projects to modify each proto-ethnic elite's culture so that they were distinct from one another. They did not ask everyone to follow the Manchu way, ride horses, practise martial arts, or abolish classical Chinese or the book culture. The Qing empire was founded by a very small group of northern elite. They knew the danger of over promoting or weakening a "culture" as

[624] Elliott, *The Manchu Way*, 11.

demonstrated in their strategies of creating a multi-cultural ruling image. This might have provided another reason for proto-ethnic elite to delegitimise their rule and rebel.

The "united" Qing culture consisted of two parts, both of which were multicultural. The first part was clothing. The Qing government demanded that their subjects change to Qing style a few months after entering Beijing so that their status could be differentiated. They then enforced more sumptuary laws, following the embroidery style of the central plain and adding decorations based on northern traditions that included religious elements to control the public display of power. They partially succeeded in changing the dress of their subjects: the confiscated families, even rebels, wore Qing small sleeve robes instead of Ming large sleeve robes. However, the elite did not strictly comply with the sumptuary law requirement designed for them, except for the top three tiers of officials who needed to meet the emperor. Most of the confiscated elite who had money dressed beyond their rank and mimicked the dress of the higher classes. Arguably, this could be considered a sign of the success of the Qing rule: the elite did not reject the sumptuary requirements; rather, they engaged in a competition staged by the government to display their power.

The Qing court also promoted a hybrid high culture for top officials. The emperors rewarded them with luxury goods which the court monopolised either by trade or by production. They gave top officials rare fur robes and dragon robes. They also rewarded them with eyeglasses and foreign luxury objects produced by imperial factories or received as tributary gifts. The imperial house offered them unique opportunities to exhibit their political power in private and public spheres as a signal and reward for their loyal service. Only high officials who won imperial favour owned the best and rarest household decorations and wore the finest robes.

The inventories indicate that top officials (above the 3rd tier) possessed a large number of luxury goods that were favoured by other proto-ethnic groups. For instance, Changling (長麟), as a governor general of Jiangnan, owned a full set of rare luxury porcelain stationery and many Shangzhou ritual utensils. Top Han officials possessed as much fur clothing and rare fur pieces as Manchu and Mongol officials. Yet, if we compare avid Manchu collectors with Han collectors, the Manchu bannermen won the competition: they sat at the centre of Qing political power and thus had access to luxury objects.

In general, high officials tended to absorb multi-cultural elements because they were exposed to these in their working environment, and their colleagues came from other backgrounds because of the Manchu-Han dyarchy policy on official appointments. They were sent to govern distinct parts of the empire, enabling them to collect rare objects. Their powerful positions also made them the key people for merchants, missionaries, and gentries to bribe in exchange for favours.

In addition, officials had access to the knowledge required to select the finest objects. Top officials collected a multitude of books which introduced them to past histories and material culture. They bought multilingual dictionaries to learn other languages. The official illustrated books on material culture were still expensive according to Rong Qing (榮慶), who spent more than one hundred silver taels, equal to four to five years of wages for a peasant family of five, on buying sets. A multi-cultural and antiquarian luxury consumption habit was a sign of privilege, as only top officials who had both economic and political power could exercise it.

There were a very few of top officials in Qing. After all, there were only 1,448 official positions.[625] Although small in number, they held political power and ran the empire. The objects and materials they owned demonstrate that the ruling elite were well aware of past histories, cultures, and ways of living, underlining the fact that scholars should not isolate Qing from past histories when analysing social, economic, and political phenomena.

China's ruling elite were also not just antiquarians, they were open to new cultures – something which was conducive to later modernisation. This to some degree anticipated twentieth century political rhetoric around constructing a multi-cultural modern state advocated by the Republican government. For example, in his 1912 presidential address, Sun Zhongshan (孫中山) of the Republican government put forward the idea of unifying the five nations (五族共和）.

The second culture — divided proto-ethnic cultures, was exercised by commoners and elite below the third tier who did not have the privilege of engaging with this multi-cultural luxury consumption, unless their wealth exceeded 1 million silver taels. Most of the Qing elite maintained the proto-ethnic material cultural distinctions that were formed through their

[625] Kun gang 崑岡 and Li Hongzhang 李鴻章, Qinding daqing huidian shili 欽定大清會典事例, digitized by Beijing daxue tushuguan, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=472226&remap=gb.

location, ancestral way of living, and occupation. The Han commoners and Han officials below third tier preferred porcelain, silk, and jade. They developed an antiquarian taste, absorbing the luxury material preferences of the previous central plain elite. The learned elite also practised the literati culture. However, they did not collect a full set of luxury porcelain produced by five of the renowned kilns, nor did they collect Song paintings due to their rareness and high price. In general, they also did not own central and south Asian luxuries or European goods. The small number that did owned very few. They lacked the economic means and political power to access to these goods. Their tastes remained stable across the 18th and 19th centuries as a result.

The less affluent Manchu and Mongol bannermen maintained their ancestral preferences and remained distinct from the Han culture throughout the Qing period. They preferred cotton and fur robes and textiles. They liked animals and sought artisans to carve them into household decorations. They practised martial arts, owned weaponry, and most rode horses. As a privileged class – the servants of the state – the government gave them the right to carry weapons and obtain horses. The government did not offer Han commoners these privileges. This difference was evident in the inventories: the mental and physical walls built by the state to separate bannermen from Han culture largely succeeded in keeping them apart.

The 19th century transition to allowing bannermen to settle in garrisons did not encourage Manchu and Mongol bannermen to become assimilated into the local Han culture. Instead, they still chose to decorate their houses to convey their distinction as banner elite. They obtained an increasing number of decorations that related to their ancestral ways of living and martial role. They also began to mimic the taste of affluent bannermen and became fond of rare foreign goods. The general trends indicated a doubling of ownership of these objects. However, Han commoners did not lean towards obtaining more luxury foreign goods in the 19th century.

In this study, Manchu and Mongol bannermen have been treated in most cases as the same group because they shared much of their material culture. But Mongol bannermen, unlike Manchu bannermen (among whom some adopted a multicultural persona), remained more distinct, possessed a large amount of luxury fur and dragon robes, gold and metal utensils, chanting beads, weapons, and horses. They did not possess much of the Han elite preferred luxuries.

The characteristics of the social and economic life of the three groups among the Qing elite reflected in the inventories discloses the nature of Qing rule. The Qing empire was not a purely Han empire nor was it a purely Manchu or Mongol regime. Nor was it a European style colonial empire, in which the government championed the assimilation of local people by forcing their subjects to abandon their mother tongue, clothing, and religious practices. The three groups among the core ruling elite, the Manchu, Mongols, and Han, remained distinct and lived differently throughout the period. The Qing government's assigned cultural categorisation was reflected in their material cultural and dress. The Qing government created a multi-cultural empire in which they maintained complicated ties with distinct cultural elite. This study highlights a dualism in culture, not only between the Manchus and the rest of the elite, as proposed by Karl August Wittfogel, but also between a united hybrid Qing culture centred around the court and officialdom and the distinct proto-ethnic cultures among the people whom the state governed.

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Appendix I. Translation of Official Titles and Institutions.

Hucker, Charles O. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China.* California: Stanford University Press, 1985.

Provincial Governor: **巡撫.** Early in Ch'ing，*xun fu* was transformed into a substantive post itself, rank 2b, still with nominal concurrent status as Vice Minister of War *(ping- pu shih-lang)* and Vice Censor-in-chief for prestige purposes; still had no official staff, as if appointees were still Ming-style special commissioners; the title now appears as a suffix, e.g., Shantung *hsŭn-fu.* In both Ming and Ch'ing, *hsŭn-fu* who had more than regular coordinating authority over general civil administration were identified with specifying suffixes, e.g.，*hsŭn-fu* Shantung (or Shantung *hsŭn- fu* in Ch'ing) *chien tsan-li chŭn-wu* (Grand Coordinator [or Governor] and Concurrent Associate in Military Affairs). After mid-Ming and through Ch'ing, each *hsŭn-fu* commonly became militarily subordinate to a multi-Province *tsung-tu* (Supreme Commander in Ming, Governor-general in Ch'ing). P225.

Governor General: **總督.** This post is an outgrowth of the Ming system, now a regular post in the governmental hierarchy, rank 2a, sometimes also concurrent Minister of War*,* in which case his rank rose to lb; overall supervisor of both military and non-military affairs in a group of 2 or more neighbouring Provinces, for one of which he normally served also as Governor. In the mature Ch'ing system there were 9 such posts. P534.

Director- general of Grain Transport: **漕運總督.** in Ch'ing a regular post of rank 2a or, if held concurrently by a Minister in the central government, lb; in Ming cooperated with a military Grain Transport Commander*;* in both eras importantly assisted by Transport-control Censors. Had general supervisory responsibility for the transport of tax grains from the Yangtze delta *to* the Peking area along the Grand Canal.

District Magistrate: **知縣.** originating as a commission or duty assignment for a central government official to "take charge of the affairs of a District", but before the end of Sung becoming the standard designation of the senior local official. Rank variable in Sung, fluctuating from 6b to 7b in early Ming, then 7a through Ching with some variations up to 6a in especially prestigious Districts. A common variant rendering is County Magistrate. P158.

Grand Secretary of the Grand Secretariat: **內閣大學士.** In Qing, 2 Manchus and 2 Chinese. P347.

Council of State**: 軍機處.** It was established in 1730 as successor to a previous quasi-official Deliberative Council*;* by taking over many functions previously performed by the Grand Secretariat*,* became the most prestigious and powerful agency in the policy-formulating procedures of the central government; normally, but with wide variations, consisted of 5 Grand Ministers of State*,* 3 Manchus and 2 Chinese，who were all normally concur- rent Grand Secretaries or senior officials of the Six Ministries*;* often chaired by an Imperial Prince, At the apex of the central government hierarchy, the Council deliberated with the Emperor on all policy matters, civil as well as military, and promulgated the Emperor's decisions. P200.

Grand Secretariat**: 內閣.** It was the most distinguished and influential body in the central government, like a collective prime minister ship; staffed with Grand Secretaries of the Hanlin Academy detached to establish offices within the imperial palace to handle the

Emperor's paperwork, recommend decisions in response to memorials received from the officialdom, and draft and issue imperial pronouncements. P346.

Provincial Administration Commission: 承宣布政使司. Office of the commissioner for undertaking the promulgation (of imperial orders) and for disseminating governmental policies: Provincial Administration Commission, made specific by prefixing the name of a Province (sheng) or comparable area. P127.

Court of Judicial Review: 大理寺. An important central government agency, considered one of the Nine Courts and one of the Three Judicial Offices. P468.

Surveillance Commissioner: 按察使**.** Rank 3a' overseer of judicial and surveillance activities in Chin Route (lu), Yuan Circuit (tao), Ming-Qing Province {sheng). P103.

Associate Administrator: 同知. Associate Administrator or Associate, common designation for a secondary executive official in an agency headed by an Administrator, P553.

Regional Commander: 總兵官. Military head of a territorial jurisdiction generically called a Defense Command. A regular position, rank 2a, in the Chinese military forces called the Green Standards; from 2 to 7 per Province, somewhat comparable to civil service Circuit Intendants; subordinate to Provincial Military Commanders and Provincial Governors, each oversaw lesser officers and Green Standards garrisons in his jurisdiction. P533.

Regional Investigator: 巡查御史. A duty assignment for Investigating Censors twice a year to tour and inspect governmental operations in regions not clear, to provide data for consideration in the promotion and demotion of local officials. Also, could be a Regional Investigator for the Metropolitan Area, from 1726 a duty assignment for 6 censorial officials. P254.

Salt Distribution Commission: 運司 (Abbreviation). officials responsible for the transport of tax commodities to the dynastic capital or for even broader fiscal affairs. P152.

Regional Office: 藩司**.** Regional Office, unofficial reference to a Provincial Administration Commission. P208.

Director General of the Grand Canal: 總河 (Abbreviation). They controlled maintenance and operation of the Grand Canal and shipping on relevant sections of the Yellow River. P530, P225.

Grand Secretary of the Grand Secretariat: 內閣大學士. Regular official post, rank la. P347.

Provincial Administration Commissions: 藩臬兩司. Two Provincial Offices, collective reference to Provincial Administration Commissions and Provincial Surveillance Commissions, or to their heads. P207.

Appendix II. Confiscation Inventory Citation.

A=第一歷史檔案館; B=台北故宮博物院; C=乾隆朝懲辦貪污檔案選編; D=清代文字獄檔; E= 宮中檔嘉慶朝奏摺, 第 34 輯; F=宮中檔咸豐朝奏摺, 第 15 輯; G= 四川省檔案館

Entry	Memorial Number	Cite	Confiscated Family	Occupation	Proto-ethnicity	Date
1	04-10-35-0709-017	A	岳鐘琪	陝甘總督	漢人	1738.10.21
2	04-10-35-0710-024	A	薩哈諒	山西布政使	滿人	1742.6.3
3	04-01-35-0711-042	A	元展成	甘肅巡撫	漢人	1744.11.17
4	2867 軍機	B	周學健	總河	漢人	1748.08.06
5	2959 軍機	B	鮑成龍	四川同知	漢人	1748.08.06
6	03-0172-0872-001	A	常安	浙江巡撫	滿人	1748.4.14
7	05-0092-013	A	常安	浙江巡撫	滿人	1748.4.14
8	05-0092-065	A	伊拉齊	不明	滿人	1748.5.6
9	3931 軍機	B	劉士縉	四川文川縣降調知州	漢人	1749.1.19
10	05-0103-011	A	江都	吏	漢人	1749.12.07
11	第 4 頁	C	鹿邁祖	按察司副使	蒙古人	1749.2.4
12	04-01-35-0714-031	A	李盛唐	四川成都知府	漢人	1749.2.5
13	05-0106-001	A	四達賽	張家口關監督	滿人	1750.05.10
14	04-01-35-0716-047	A	圖爾炳	原雲南巡撫	滿人	1751.05.12
15	3931 軍機	B	準泰	山東巡撫	滿人	1751.09.10
16	8187	B	吳尚賢	知府	漢人	1752.03.24
17	p95-98	C	蔣洲	山西巡撫	漢人	1757.11.12
18	p73-74	C	郭一裕	雲南巡撫	漢人	1757.7.21
19	p20-23	C	恆文	雲貴總督	滿人	1757.7.7

20	p60	C	恆文	雲貴總督	滿人	1757.10.19
21	03-1390-019	A	王蘭繡	安徽商人	漢人	1760.4.5
22	03-1390-019	A	汪聖儀	安徽商人	漢人	1760.4.5
23	05-0210-075	A	周琬	湖廣總督（署湖北巡撫兼署	漢人	1763.06.10
24	03-1392-030	A	周琬	湖廣總督（署湖北巡撫兼署	漢人	1763.06.10
25	05-0210-072	A	愛必達	閩浙總督	滿人	1763.09.26
26	05-0210-073	A	普福	淮倉監督	蒙古人	1763.09.26
27	04-01-12-0117-084	A	和其衷	山西巡撫	滿人	1763.09.27
28	03-0346-008	A	李星恆	陝西興漢鎮總兵	漢人	1763.09.27
29	05-0206-022	A	韓錫玉	同知	滿人	1763.1.25
30	05-0206-012	A	韓錫玉	同知	滿人	1763.1.25
31	03-1402-009	A	達色	河東鹽政	滿人	1765.10.24
32	04-01-01-0266-031	A	吳元澄	通判	漢人	1766.12.26
33	電子化	D	齊召南	天臺縣	漢人	1768
34	04-01-08-0819-026	A	高樸	葉爾羌辦事大臣，兵部侍郎	滿人	1768.09.21
35	03-1403-061	A	呈瑞	甘肅道	漢人	1768.7.21
36	03-1302-080	A	普福家眷	家眷	蒙古人	1768.7.21
37	03-1300-015	A	顧蓼懷	高恆僕人，辦貢人	漢人	1768.7.8
38	03-1301-008	A	舒善	九江關監督	滿人	1768.8.12
39	04-01-01-0281	A	楊家駒	雲南貢縣	漢人	1769.08.26
40	10930	B	蔡琛貲	福建興泉永道	漢人	1769.10.17
41	05-0269-047-048	A	良卿	貴州巡撫	滿人	1769.11.12

42	05-0280-016	A	良卿	貴州巡撫	滿人	1769.11.12
43	04-01-01-0281-037	A	良卿	貴州巡撫	滿人	1769.11.14
44	04-01-030-0428-016	A	高積	貴州布政使	漢人	1769.11.4
45	04-01-35-0732-010	A	高積	貴州布政使	漢人	1769.12.15
46	p143	C	方世儁	貴州巡撫	漢人	1769.12.16
47	11446	B	永泰	封參革糧道	滿人	1769.12.19
48	04-01-01-0281-020	A	明達	潮州鎮總兵	滿人	1769.4.18
49	10193	B	馬生龍	通判	漢人	1769.7.14
50	04-01-01-0281	A	楊家駒	雲南貢縣	漢人	1769.9.3
51	0401-12-0131-115	A	楊家駒	雲南貢縣	漢人	1769.9.17
52	10503	B	黃輔	黑里提舉	漢人	1770.12.13
53	p196	C	劉熼	民人	漢人	1770.2.02
54	03-1409-025	A	劉組曾	同知	漢人	1770.5.19
55	14196	B	馬銘動	湖廣提督	漢人	1771.5.16
56	04-01-35-0736-026	A	傅爾瑚訥	開封府知府	蒙古人	1772
57	04-01-35-0736-026	A	額魯禮	開封府知府	蒙古人	1772
58	p107	C	劉標	知州	漢人	1772.10.07
59	10505	B	朱一深	雲南知縣	漢人	1772.3.28
60	04-01-08-0107-013	A	葉士元	幕僚錢度	漢人	1772.5.1
61	04-01-08-0107-013	A	葉士俊	幕僚錢度	漢人	1772.5.4
62	03-0651-055	A	宋元俊	已革總兵	漢人	1772.7.14
63	p330-360	C	錢度	雲南布政使	漢人	1772.8.03
64	p368	C	葉士元	幕僚錢度	漢人	1772.9.29
65	03-0651-019	A	劉益	四川布政使	漢人	1773.01.03
66	03-1458-034	A	劉益	四川布政使	漢人	1773.02.01

67	03-349-021	A	桂前院	同知	漢人	1773.3.10
68	03-1413-033	A	王承曦家屬	民人	漢人	1774.08.18
69	03-1306-015	A	張瓏	署理東川知府	漢人	1775.04.04
70	03-1418-006	A	冀國勛	四川松崗站員通判	漢人	1775.06.07
71	03-0186-2633-033	A	吳讓	莊頭	滿人	1775.06.07
72	03-1418-008	A	冀國勛之弟	民人	漢人	1775.06.10
73	03-1304-008	A	義寧	員外郎	滿人	1775.07.01
74	03-1304-026	A	薶蘇橋	民人	漢人	1775.07.02
75	電子化	D	高棚	民人	漢人	1775.10.15
76	電子化	D	高臬	民人	漢人	1775.10.15
77	電子化	D	高說	民人	漢人	1775.10.16
78	電子化	D	陳建	民人	漢人	1775.10.18
79	電子化	D	翟氏	高紮妻屬	漢人	1775.11.3
80	03-0657-050	A	熊學鵬	巡台禦史	漢人	1776.04.22
81	03-0188-2741-021	A	多鼐	原熱河副都統	滿人	1778.6
82	21239	B	任孝哉	民人	漢人	1778.10.15
83	04-01-08-008-2072	A	張鸞	民人	漢人	1778.10.15
84	p898-904	C	衡全義	商人	漢人	1778.10.28
85	04-01-08-0190-012	A	馮致安	民人	漢人	1778.10.28
86	04-01-08-0191-023	A	張鸞	民人	漢人	1778.11.07
87	26982	B	丁孔惟	民人	漢人	1778.11.08
88	p621	C	熊瀨	民人	滿人	1778.11.10
89	p681	C	李福	高樸同好	滿人	1778.11.10

90	04-01-08-0819-026	A	高樸	葉爾羌辦事大臣，兵部侍郎	滿人	1778.11.11
91	p789	C	徐懋儒	商人	漢人	1778.12.02
92	p789	C	袁炳堂	商人	漢人	1778.12.02
93	p789	C	趙君瑞	商人	漢人	1778.12.02
94	p789	C	阿布拉	商人	回回	1778.12.02
95	p789	C	托克托橐皮	商人	回回	1778.12.02
96	p789	C	郭普爾	商人	回回	1778.12.02
97	p787	C	達三泰	高樸家人	滿人	1778.12.02
98	p899	C	雇伊什罕伯堯，阿布都舒庫爾霍卓	商人	回回	1778.12.02
99	p851	C	趙君瑞	商人	漢人	1778.12.20
100	03-0188-2773-002	A	鄂對	國公	回回	1778.12.20
101	p928-929	C	高樸	葉爾羌辦事大臣，兵部侍郎	滿人	1779.05.20
102	電子化	D	祝廷諍	民人	漢人	1779.11.19
103	05-0343-069	A	張鷺 2	商人	漢人	1779.2.29
104	05-0343-069	A	衡全義	商人	漢人	1779.2.29
105	05-0343-069	A	魏良弼	商人	漢人	1779.2.29
106	05-0343-069	A	朱錦瑜	商人	漢人	1779.2.29
107	05-0343-069	A	毛益崴	商人	漢人	1779.2.29
108	05-0343-069	A	魏佳士	商人	漢人	1779.2.29
109	28607	B	楊炤	直隸總督	滿人	1780.10.14
110	27005	B	周嗣業	昆明典史	漢人	1780.11.08
111	p996	C	李侍堯	雲貴總督	漢人	1780.3.21
112	p1017	C	李侍堯	雲貴總督	漢人	1780.4.4
113	p1127	C	李侍堯	雲貴總督	漢人	1780.9.6
114	p1129	C	李侍堯	雲貴總督	漢人	1780.9.28

115	p1130	C	李侍堯	雲貴總督	漢人	1780.9.28
116	p1131	C	李侍堯	雲貴總督	漢人	1780.9.28
117	p1005-1011	C	莊肇奎	吏	漢人	1780.3.28
118	p1032-1039	C	楊奫	吏	漢人	1780.4.15
119	p1032-1039	C	方洛	吏	漢人	1780.4.15
120	04-01-01-0380-041	A	汪圻	安徽按察使	漢人	1780.4.15
121	04-01-01-0380-041	A	汪圻	安徽按察使	漢人	1780.4.15
122	04-01-01-0380-041	A	汪圻	安徽按察使	漢人	1780.4.15
123	p1151	C	汪圻家屬	民人	漢人	1780.4.19
124	p1046-1048	C	裴宗錫	雲南巡撫	漢人	1780.4.19
125	p1128	C	永受	李侍堯家奴	漢人	1780.9.06
126	p1133-1150	C	汪師曾	汪圻之子	漢人	1780.9.28
127	p1163	C	張瓏	吏	漢人	1780.9.30
128	04-01-01-0375-014	A	德起	吏	漢人	1780.9.30
129	03-1307-010	A	楊奫	吏	漢人	1780.9.30
130	p1033	C	方洛	吏	漢人	1780.9.30
131	p1417	C	楊士璣	吏	漢人	1780.9.30
132	p1166	C	素兒方阿	吏	滿人	1780.9.30
133	03-1307-010	A	莊肇奎	吏	漢人	1780.9.30
134	03-1308-019	A	興德	知縣	滿人	1781.9.26
135	05-13-002-001844-0097	A	興德	知縣	滿人	1781.11
136	03-1310-050	A	蔣全迪	參革寧紹台道	漢人	1781.2
137	p1352	C	蔣全迪	參革寧紹台道	漢人	1781.8.1
138	p1377	C	蔣全迪	參革寧紹台道	漢人	1781.8.7
139	03-0662-006	A	呂應祽	知府	漢人	1781.09.28
140	03-0662-005	A	申寧吉	知府	漢人	1781.09.28
141	03-1307-033	A	張履升	知府	漢人	1781.10.15
142	p1678	C	楊瀛仙	知府	漢人	1781.10.15

143	p1678	C	王鳳儀	知府	漢人	1781.10.15
144	p1650	C	陳金宣	玉門縣知縣	漢人	1781.10.22
145	p1651	C	葉觀海	安化縣知縣	漢人	1781.10.22
146	p1651	C	鄭科捷	知府	漢人	1781.10.22
147	p1650	C	陳起撝	知府	漢人	1781.10.22
148	p1651	C	何朝炳	知府	漢人	1781.10.22
149	03-1308-035	A	閔焜	知府	漢人	1781.10.28
150	p1785	C	王前院	知府	漢人	1781.10.29
151	03-1317-012	A	程國表	知府	漢人	1781.12.07
152	p1452	C	程國表	知府	漢人	1781.8.21
153	p1494	C	程國表	知府	漢人	1781.8.27
154	04-01-12-0197-084	A	陳虞盛	原任嘉興府知府	漢人	1781.2.15
155	29840	B	陳虞盛家屬	民人	漢人	1781.2.15
156	p2124-2132	C	王燧	浙江杭嘉湖道員	漢人	1781.2.17
157	p1423	C	程棟	知府	漢人	1781.8.17
158	p1415	C	秦雄飛	知府	漢人	1781.8.16
159	p1442	C	秦雄飛	知府	漢人	1781.8.19
160	p1447	C	侯作吳	民人	漢人	1781.8.21
161	31827	B	侯作吳胞弟侯承澤	民人	漢人	1781.8.21
162	p1332	C	王亶望長隨	知府	漢人	1781.8.21
163	p1458	C	熊啓謨	知府	漢人	1781.8.24
164	p1489	C	王臣	知府	滿人	1781.8.26
165	電子化	D	海富潤	民人	回回	1782
166	05-0359-094	A	尹嘉銓	大理寺正卿	漢人	1782
167	03-1310-044	A	陶易	原任江寧布政	漢人	1782
168	p1846	C	福寧	知府	滿人	1782.1.15
169	03-1304-044	A	萬邦英	知府	漢人	1782.1.25

170	03-1304-044	A	萬邦英	知府	漢人	1782.1.25
171	p1578	C	楊廣颺	知府	漢人	1782.1.25
172	p1874	C	福寧弟弟	民人	滿人	1782.1.26
173	04-01-12-0212-051	A	王士澍	知府	漢人	1782.10.14
174	p2647	C	國棟	藩司	滿人	1782.10.21
175	p2638	C	楊科捷	民人	漢人	1782.10.21
176	p2638	C	楊仁基	民人	漢人	1782.10.21
177	p2563-2593	C	陳輝祖	閩浙總督	漢人	1782.10.8
178	03-1315-021	A	楊仁譽	知府	漢人	1782.10.9
179	p2670-2678	C	陳輝祖	閩浙總督	漢人	1782.10.9
180	p2730	C	高模	知府	漢人	1782.11.05
181	p2781	C	路步青	陳淮家人	漢人	1782.11.11
182	03-1317-004	A	張翥	錢塘令	漢人	1782.11.15
183	p2782	C	宋模	陳淮家人	漢人	1782.12.10
184	p2829	C	泰張誠	陳輝祖常隨	漢人	1782.12.16
185	p2786	C	黃嘉猷	長汀縣縣丞	漢人	1782.12.16
186	04-01-01-052-0574	A	巴彥岱	道	滿人	1782.2.10
187	03-1311-024	A	伍彩雯	知府	滿人	1782.2.11
188	03-1311-024	A	德平	知府	滿人	1782.2.11
189	03-1311-024	A	於得昇	迪化各州	滿人	1782.2.12
190	03-1311-024	A	何琦	知府	滿人	1782.2.12
191	03-1311-024	A	劉建	知府	滿人	1782.2.12
192	03-1311-024	A	張建菴	知府	滿人	1782.2.12
193	03-1311-024	A	王喆	知府	滿人	1782.2.12
194	03-1311-024	A	瑚圖里	知府	滿人	1782.2.12
195	p2266	C	於得昇	迪化各州	滿人	1782.4.12
196	03-13-13-013	A	伍彩雯	甘肅承生	漢人	1782.4.12
197	p2244	C	何琦	知府	滿人	1782.4.12
198	p2244	C	張建菴	迪化各州	漢人	1782.4.12
199	p2242	C	德平	知府	滿人	1782.4.12

200	p2244	C	王喆	迪化各州知府	滿人	1782.4.12
201	04-01-01-0384-027	A	王亶望	陝甘總督	漢人	1782.4.13
202	03-1311-024	A	郭德平	安徽採納	漢人	1782.4.24
203	03-1311-024	A	索諾穆	知府	蒙古人	1782.5.15
204	p2394	C	郭子	民人	蒙古人	1782.5.16
205	03-1311-024	A	吳元	呼圖壁新疆馴檢	漢人	1782.5.17
206	p2301	C	豐紳省	採辦糧食	漢人	1782.5.20
207	03-13-13-013	A	伍鳳翥	民人	漢人	1782.5.20
208	03-1311-024	A	賀萬壽	知府	漢人	1782.5.21
209	03-1312-020	A	木和倫	任所	漢人	1782.5.22
210	03-1312-023	A	賈若淋	知府	漢人	1782.5.22
211	03-1314-029	A	伍彩雯	甘肅承生	漢人	1782.5.23
212	03-0416-016	A	徐維紱	甘肅承生	漢人	1782.5.24
213	p2425	C	馮埏	安徽採納	漢人	1782.5.25
214	03-1311-020	A	馮埏	安徽採納	漢人	1782.4.26
215	03-1311-024	A	吳元	呼圖壁新疆馴檢	漢人	1782.5.7
216	35242	B	倪奎	廣東運司	漢人	1783.12.27
217	35242	B	朱二	廣東運司	漢人	1783.12.27
218	35242	B	秦鐄	廣東運司	漢人	1783.12.27
219	03-1311-016	A	國泰同父文綏弟國霖	巡撫	滿人	1783.7.4
220	04-01-01-0384-027	A	王亶望	陝甘總督	漢人	1783.7.8
221	03-1310-036	A	王亶望	陝甘總督	漢人	1784.2.21
222	p1331	C	王亶望	陝甘總督	漢人	1783.7.27
223	p1935	C	王亶望	陝甘總督	漢人	1783.8.10
224	p1449	C	王亶望	陝甘總督	漢人	1783.8.21
225	p1589	C	王亶望	陝甘總督	漢人	1783.9.18
226	03-1325-025	A	吳七兒	特成額家人	蒙古人	1786.10.3
227	03-1326-007	A	特成額	成都將軍	蒙古人	1786.10.4
228	p3046	C	馮升	漢軍鑲黃旗	蒙古人	1786.2.7

229	p3039	C	李世榮	漢軍鑲黃旗	蒙古人	1786.2.7
230	03-1320-004	A	殷士俊	吏	漢人	1786.5.21
231	03-1320-004	A	殷士俊	吏	漢人	1786.5.21
232	03-1320-004	A	殷士俊	吏	漢人	1786.5.21
233	p3018	C	富勒渾家人	民人	蒙古人	1786.6.01
234	p3002	C	張朝龍	民人	蒙古人	1786.6.16
235	p3008	C	李世榮	民人	蒙古人	1786.6.16
236	p3006	C	海慶	民人	蒙古人	1786.6.16
237	p2961-2974	C	陳漢三	民人	蒙古人	1786.6.6
238	p3124	C	劉士芳	民人	漢人	1786.7.29
239	p3138	C	富勒渾	民人	蒙古人	1786.7.29
240	p3125	C	陳忠	民人	漢人	1786.7.29
241	04-01-35-0752-005	A	黃梅	浙江溫州府平陽縣知縣	漢人	1786.9.11
242	05-0408-068	A	牛繩祖	鹽商	漢人	1787.08.29
243	03-0673-050	A	紀聞歌	延慶州知州	漢人	1787.12.19
244	03-0674-041	A	董啟埏	已故甚防同知	漢人	1788.03.23
245	03-1065-021	A	肖姓	民人	漢人	1788.09.16
246	42848	B	江蘭	河南布政	漢人	1789.12.11
247	43397	B	陳士駿	江夏縣縣丞	漢人	1790.01.16
248	46479	B	陸費墀	禮部侍郎	漢人	1790.11.23
249	05-0428-019	A	承安	伊犁錫箔部領隊	滿人	1791.10.12
250	p3246	C	柏順	鹽道運使	漢人	1792.12.26
251	04-01-35-0478	A	柴楨	鹽道運使	漢人	1792.12.18
252	03-0767-038	A	柴楨	鹽道運使	漢人	1792.11.10
253	03-1329-026	A	福崧	浙江巡撫	滿人	1793.1.11
254	p3248	C	柏順	鹽道運使	漢人	1793.1.27
255	03-6679-089	A	柴楨 2	兩淮運使	漢人	1793.1.6

256	P3376	C	柴楨	鹽道運使	漢人	1793.3.07
257	P3402	C	蒲霖	福建巡撫	漢人	1795.06.27
258	P3448	C	伊轍布	福建布政使	蒙古人	1795.06.28
259	P3482	C	伍拉納	山西布政使	滿人	1795.06.28
260	P3402	C	蒲霖	福建巡撫	漢人	1795.09.19
261	P3402	C	蒲霖	福建巡撫	漢人	1795.09.19
262	P3542	C	懷裕	民人	滿人	1795.09.20
263	p3542-3549	C	長麟家人	民人	滿人	1795.09.20
264	p3565	C	錢受春家人	民人	漢人	1795.09.21
265	04-01-01-0568-036	A	錢受椿	廣西布政使	漢人	1795.09.22
266	03-0365-014	A	萊夢文	都司	漢人	1795.1.18
267	04-01-35-0759-006	A	玉德財	蘇州織造	滿人	1795.5.18
268	03-1470-020	A	張力行	山西知府	漢人	1796.12.27
269	03-2382-019	A	姚學瑛	山西按察使司	漢人	1797.2.23
270	03-2382-015	A	徐午	原南昌縣	漢人	1797.2.6
271	03-2382-016	A	陳淮 2	山西巡撫	漢人	1797.2.6
272	03-2382-009	A	歸景照	原浙江藩司	漢人	1797.3.4
273	04-01-08-005-2302	A	常丹葖	武昌府知府	漢人	1799.3.16
274	03-2384--081	A	常丹葖	武昌府知府	漢人	1799.4.3
275	03-2183-027	A	張繼辛	已故貴州臬司	漢人	1802
276	03-2396-003	A	孫文煥	糧儲道	漢人	1802.7.24
277	03-1813-019	A	孫文煥	糧儲道	漢人	1802.7.7
278	03-2387-016	A	常明	貴州巡撫	滿人	1802.10.24
279	03-1813-020	A	常明	貴州巡撫	滿人	1802.10.24

280	03-2434-056	A	催守興	佐領	滿人	1803.10.26
281	03-2434-050	A	包永稟	原任城守	滿人	1803.10.26
282	03-2434-051	A	孫義爵	原任城守	滿人	1803.10.26
283	03-2434-048	A	富倫	原任城守	滿人	1803.10.26
284	03-2434-052	A	富慶	原任城守	滿人	1803.10.26
285	03-2434-0075	A	尉札布山太	原任城守	滿人	1803.10.26
286	03-2434-053	A	尉賡寧	原任城守	滿人	1803.10.26
287	03-2433-078	A	慶祥	鑲紅旗宗室	滿人	1803.8.24
288	03-2434-054	A	慶祥	鑲紅旗宗室	滿人	1803.10.26
289	03-2434-049	A	舍秀彥	原任城守	滿人	1803.10.26
290	03-2433-027	A	陳孝升	知府	漢人	1803.3.05
291	03-2433-026	A	陳孝升	知府	漢人	1803.3.10
292	03-2389-030	A	童煥曾	知縣	漢人	1804.5.17
293	04-01-13-0148	A	孫廷標	武緣縣知縣	漢人	1804.8.11
294	04-01-08-007-1352	A	孫廷標	武緣縣知縣	漢人	1804.9.16
295	04-01-29-0007-006	A	張第	武緣縣知縣	漢人	1804.9.17
296	03-2438-064	A	福永	西寧道	滿人	1805.5.7
297	03-2391-039	A	李淳特	民人	滿人	1806.5.7
298	03-1646-012	A	李淳特	民人	滿人	1806.5.24
299	03-1644-046	A	雙福	民人	滿人	1808.02.13
300	03-1601-024	A	李如枚	長蘆鹽政	滿人	1808.06.27
301	03-2394-017	A	孫長庚	河南糧道	漢人	1808.04.15
302	05-08-030-00107-0020	A	孫長庚	河南糧道	漢人	1808.04.15
303	03-2394-013	A	孫長庚	河南糧道	漢人	1808.04.16

304	03-08-030-000109-0074	A	孫長庚	河南糧道	漢人	1808.02.12
305	03-1601-028	A	延豐	民人	滿人	1808.06.28
306	03-1601-025	A	達林	民人	滿人	1808.06.28
307	05-08-030-000107-0032	A	鶴齡	造辦處催長鑲黃包衣	滿人	1808.06.30
308	03-1516-037	A	雙保	民人	滿人	1808.07.10
309	03-1515-045	A	李如枚	長蘆鹽政	滿人	1808.07.9
310	03-2394-049	A	廣興	副都統、總管內務府大臣	滿人	1808.08.13
311	05-0540-081	A	廣興	副都統、總管內務府大臣	滿人	1808.12.24
312	03-1630-030	A	盛師曾	民人	滿人	1808.12.17
313	03-2396-051	A	單祿昌	揚州府揚糧下河通判	漢人	1809
314	03-2457-017	A	中英倫	吏科給事	滿人	1809.4.12
315	05-0542-095	A	張繼華	西倉甲鬥頭役	漢人	1809.6.5
316	05-0542-094	A	潘璋	西倉甲鬥頭役	漢人	1809.6.5
317	05-0542-082	A	高天鳳	西倉甲鬥頭役	漢人	1809.6.5
318	05-0542-082	A	高鳳鳴	西倉甲鬥頭役	漢人	1809.6.5
319	05-0542-093	A	魯五	西倉甲鬥頭役	漢人	1809.6.5
320	05-0542-096	A	張蓮芳	西倉甲鬥頭役	漢人	1809.6.6
321	03-2467-012	A	徐松	學政	漢人	1810
322	03-2397-004	A	奏大綸	民人	漢人	1810.1.28
323	04-01-01-0522-035	A	扎布扎那	協領	滿人	1810.7.30
324	03-1821-015	A	馮城	善化縣知縣	漢人	1810.8.6

325	03-2401-25	A	樊宗澄	商人	漢人	1812.09.25
326	03-1631-021	A	成林	廣西巡撫	滿人	1814.05.06
327	03-1636-035	A	成林	廣西巡撫	滿人	1814.06.05
328	03-1631-022	A	裴興	刑部右侍郎	滿人	1814.05.06
329	p397	C	孟屹瞻	滑縣知縣	漢人	1814.10.9
330	03-1563-036	A	張景灑	通州西倉漢監督	漢人	1814.11.24
331	03-2370-035	A	臧尺美	民人	滿人	1814.11.25
332	05-08-002-000017-0028	A	陳祁	已故甘肅藩司	漢人	1816.6.2
333	03-2170-035	A	姚桂	民人	漢人	1816.8.17
334	03-1370-033	A	福珠靈阿	額魯特總管	滿人	1818.2.23
335	05-0594-011	A	那斯琿	知縣	滿人	1818.2.9
336	03-1644-046	A	雙福 2	筆帖式	滿人	1819
337	03-1529-001	A	呂時雨	前任山陽縣典史	漢人	1819
338	03-1598-082	A	朱漢	布政司	漢人	1819
339	03-1598-050	A	胡齊侖	安襄鄖道	漢人	1819
340	03-2583-090	A	戴均元	大學士	漢人	1828.10.2
341	03-2581-036	A	戴均元	大學士	漢人	1828.10.5
342	03-2408-031	A	和珅	大學士	滿人	1830
343	03-3158-032	A	程徽家	民人	漢人	1830
344	03-3224-078	A	蔡繩祖	官衙辦事	漢人	1830
345	03-5050-002-385-1713	A	邢文富	車戶	漢人	1830
346	03-4039-047	A	賞淳	戶部捐房書吏	漢人	1830.5.29
347	03-2664-038	A	恆棨	淮關監督，熱河總管	滿人	1837.10.13
348	03-2164-093	A	榮桂	淮關監督，副熱河總管	滿人	1837.10.13
349	03-2770-017	A	陳怡	山西祁縣知縣	漢人	1848.7.6

350	03-2770-018	A	陳怡	山西祁縣知縣	漢人	1848.7.6
351	04-01-35-0816-013	A	王兆琛	山西巡撫	漢人	1849.7.2
352	05-0095-002-001	A	不明	民人	滿人	1850
353	05-0270-010-001	A	不明	民人	滿人	1850
354	05-0276-023	A	不明	民人	滿人	1850
355	03-0177-1714-008	A	不明	民人	滿人	1850
356	p151	F	丁得祿	太監	滿人	1855.12.07
357	03-4580-015	A	蘭森	民人	滿人	1857
358	03-4580-018	A	廉保	步軍統領衙門筆帖式	滿人	1857.10.29
359	03-4142-104	A	裕誠	四川東山縣知縣	滿人	1859.06.18
360	05-0848-093-001	A	錫疇	民人	漢人	1860
361	03-4606-019-331-0515	A	張景渠	道員	漢人	1860
362	03-4908-103	A	陳孚恩	尚書	漢人	1860
363	03-4575-065	A	劉大柱	民人	滿人	1860.10.23
364	00003-4153	B	台斐音	戶部員外郎	滿人	1860.6.25
365	03-3283-023	A	科普通武	山東聊城縣知縣	滿人	1862.10.17
366	03-3123-012	A	丁祥	民人	滿人	1862.12.13
367	03-4604-056	A	斌敏	教書	滿人	1862.12.13
368	03-4605-025	A	祥恩	民人	滿人	1862.12.13
369	03-4605-024	A	祥恩	民人	滿人	1862.12.13
370	03-4604-052	A	勝保之嫂	民人	滿人	1862.12.13
371	03-4604-053	A	恩保	民人	滿人	1862.12.13
372	03-4580-018	A	廉保	民人	滿人	1862.12.13

373	03-4605-026-331-0308	A	勝保	欽差大臣	滿人	1863
374	03-4606-021	A	勝寶	不明	滿人	1863
375	03-4604-038	A	張兆麟	商人	漢人	1863.02.01
376	03-4604-050-330-3057	A	馬錫碌	湖廣提督	漢人	1863.02.01
377	03-7388-018	A	劉璈	臺灣道	漢人	1885.7.11
378	03-5327-005	A	黃仕林	提督	漢人	1895.6.5
379	006-006-06396	G	姜老六	小偷	漢人	1895

APPENDIX III. Reasons of Confiscation.

Category	Crime Name	Description & Additional Punishment	Time
Counterfeit	Counterfeit Copper Coins	Beheaded	Shunzhi Year 18
	Counterfeit Tea License	Beheaded	Qianlong Year 15
Borderland Crime	Mongolian Aristocrat Disobey Qing Law	Steal Horses from others	Kangxi Year 1
	Outer Mongolian Aristocrat Disobey Qing Law	Steal from others, 100 whips	Kangxi Year 4
	Privately Sale Weapons	Hang to death	Kangxi Year 5
	Illegal Cross Border Trade	Conduct cross border trade without license, head of the crime, beheaded; others, 100 whips	Kangxi Year 13
	Robbery Hurt or Kill people	If kill people, one would be beheaded or hanged to death	Kangxi Year 13
	Dig Tomb of Aristocrats	Behead the head of the crime and confiscate assets and his wife	Kangxi Year 13
	Outer Mongolian Aristocrat Illegally Pick Ginseng	Behead the crime and confiscate his wife	Kangxi Year 17
	Marriage Between Mongolian Aristocrat and Others	Abolish the title. All his assets now belong to his brothers except for his son's assets	Kangxi Year 18
	Steal Along the Borders	Rubbery: Beheaded, confiscate all assets and his wife and given them to the victim	Kangxi Year 22

		Steal: Hang the head of the crime, confiscate assets but not his wife	
	Outer Mongolian Steal in the Qing Empire	Confiscate wife and assets	Kangxi Year 22
Deserter	Desert Bond Servants	Confiscate wife and assets to compensate the owner	Shunzhi Year 5
	Desert Civil Service Degree Holder	Send he and his wife to borderland as labor	Shunzhi Year 11
	Desert Office Holder Family Members	If not officially married but stay with a woman, the house of the woman would not be confiscated	Shunzhi Year 11
	Omit Names of Recruiting Monk and Mongolian Tribal Members	100 Whips, the half of confiscated assets belongs to the government and the half to the informant	Kangxi Year 6
Military	Private Raise Horse	Behead all but allow officials to raise horses and military students to raise one horse	Shunzhi Year 5
	Illegal Gun Making	Behead, confiscate wife and assets	Kangxi Year 19
	Procrastinate during military affairs	Disobey marching orders, slow in marching or attacking, confiscate assets or behead	Kangxi Year 19
Other	Borderland Labor disobey law	Sentence to death, confiscate wife and his assets	Shunzhi Year 18
	Kill people using animals	Sentence to death, confiscate wife and his assets	Kangxi Year 22
	Assault Aristocrats	Shooting the aristocrats during the hunting season, if the person died, beheading; if not, confiscate assets	Qianlong Year 14

	Steal cow, sheep, horse, camel from Mongolians	According to the Mongolian law, hang the head of the crime, confiscate assets of all	Qianlong Year 14

Table A. Reasons of Confiscation from 1644-1799. Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan, Gongzhong Dang Qianlong Chao Zouzhe 1752. Taipei: Gugong Bowuyuan, 1982; Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dangan Guan. *Qianlong Chao Chengban Tanwu Danzan Xuanbian*. Beijing: Zhong Hua Shu Ju, 1994, Vol. 1-4.

Appendix IV. Reasons of Confiscation with Inventory.

Category	Crime Name	Time
Counterfeit	Counterfeit trade license	Shunzhi Year 18
	Counterfeit Government Seal	Qianlong Year 15
Borderland Crime	illegally mine jade	Qianlong Year 15
	Allow Koreans to cut down trees inside the Qing territory	Qianlong
Military	Desert military services	Shunzhi Year 5
	Fail to deliver cows and horses	Qianlong
	Fail to deliver rice on time	Qianlong
	Omit Names of Recruiting Monk and Mongolian Tribal Members	Qianlong
Inefficient Governance and Corruption	Indifferent to people's needs	Qianlong
	Receiving gifts from others	Qianlong, Jiaqing, Daoguang
	Illegally move military funds	Qianlong, Jiaqing, Daoguang
	Use connivance in governance for trad	Qianlong
	Illegally sale rice quotas	Qianlong, Jiaqing,
	Debt to the government	Qianlong, Jiaqing, Daoguang
	Lie about famine	Qianlong
Other	Censorship campaign	Qianlong, Jiaqing, Daoguang
	illegally mine copper	Qianlong
	Infrastructure building failure	Daoguang
	Stealing	Jiaqing
	Cannibalisms	Jiaqing
	Smoking opium	xianfeng

Source: Appendix II.