

Analysis of the Eight Banners' Disposition on the Three Qing Dynasty Maps of Beijing

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1. Introduction

During the Qing 清 Dynasty, many maps of urban Beijing were drawn in China. For example, the *Qianlong jingcheng quantu* 乾隆京城全圖 (*Complete Map of Beijing in Emperor Qianlong's Reign*; 1750)—a very large official map (1402 x 1326 cm, scale of 1:2600) with very detailed information on the streets, facilities, temples, and place names—is well known. The *Jingshi chengnei hedao gouqu tu* 京師城內河道溝渠圖 (*Map of Rivers and Ditches in the Capital*; ca. 1875–1908) is a practical map that displays the water system in the Inner City of Beijing. The *Beijing chengqu tu* 北京城區圖 (*Plan de la Ville de Peking*; 1817) is a bilingual map written in Russian and French.

Among the maps made during the Qing Dynasty, very rare and interesting are the maps showing the spatial distribution of the Baqi 八旗 (eight banners) of the Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies. “Eight banners” was the military and administrative system, and a significant number of bannermen were engaged as defenders of Beijing. On the maps, the Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies are differentiated using circles, squares, and triangles. Marks are painted with four colors in eight ways to indicate the eight banners of the Qing Dynasty: Zhenghuang 正黃 (Plain Yellow), Zhengbai 正白 (Plain White), Zhenghong 正紅 (Plain Red), Zhenglan 正藍 (Plain Blue), Xianghuang 鑲黃 (Bordered Yellow), Xiangbai 鑲白 (Bordered White), Xianghong 鑲紅 (Bordered Red), and Xianglan 鑲藍 (Bordered Blue).

Until a few years ago, it was thought only four maps of this type remained in the world. They are the *Daoguang Beijing neiwaicheng quantu* 道光北京內外城全圖 (*Complete Map of Inner and Outer Cities of Beijing in Daoguang's Reign*), stored at the National Library of China in Beijing (hereafter referred to as the NLC map), the *Jinghui Beijing jiu ditu* 精繪北京舊地圖 (*Finely Painted Old Map of Beijing*), stored at the British Library in London (hereafter referred to as the BL map), the *Map of the Inner City of Peking*

stored at the Royal Geographical Society in London (hereafter referred to as the *RGS* map), and the *Jingshi neicheng tu* 京師內城圖 (*Urban Plan of the Inner City of Peking*), stored at the Asian Civilisations Museum in Singapore (hereafter referred to as the *ACM* map). In 2014, a fifth map was found. This is the *Beijing neicheng tu* 北京內城圖 (*Map of the Inner City of Beijing*), stored at Kyoto University in Kyoto (hereafter referred to as the *KU* map) (Tanaka Kazuko and Kizu Yūko, 2015). These five maps are color hand-painted on very large sheets. Although these maps are very valuable for the “eight-banner” system’s study in the Qing Dynasty, there have been few previous studies of them. One reason seems to have been that they have not been sufficiently recognized as possessing interesting information about the spatial distribution of the three armies of the Qing’s eight-banners.

By the end of 2015, high-resolution digital images were obtained for the *BL*, *RGS*, and *KU* maps. In this article, these three maps are compared to answer the following questions: Are any features of the spatial and numerical characteristics of the eight banners shown on the three maps? Are there any strong similarities or differences in the methods used to plot the eight-banner marks on these maps? Do the spatial distributions of the eight-banner marks shown on the maps have any significant inconsistencies with the explanations of the eight banners in Qing Beijing described in the historical literature? By comparing the three maps and the related historical materials, these interesting questions are discussed.

2. Literature review

Some preliminary research into the Beijing eight-banner map has already been performed by Li Xiaocong (1994), Sun Guoqing (2005), and Tanaka Kazuko and Kizu Yūko (2015). Li Xiaocong (1994) studied the *BL* and *ACM* maps (at that time, the *ACM* map was temporarily stored at SPINK & Sons Co. in London), and compared the number of eight-banner marks drawn on the maps to those described in the *Qinding Baqi tongzhi* 欽定八旗通志 (*Authorized Comprehensive Records Relating to Eight Banners*; Fulungga et al. eds., 1796). Sun Guoqing (2005) examined the *NLC* map to estimate when it was produced. He pointed out that the arrangement of eight-banner areas in the *NLC* map was different from the description in the historical materials. Tanaka Kazuko and Kizu Yūko (2015) made it clear that the *KU* and *NLC* maps were very similar in terms of map size, usage of the three marks (circles, squares, and triangles), their coloring

patterns, and the numbers of the eight banners of the three armies. One of the clear differences between these two maps is the usage of marks to indicate the two armies: squares and triangles indicate Mongol and Han respectively on the *KU* map, and, on the other hand, they indicate Han and Mongol respectively on the *NLC* map.

The eight banners in Manchu, which were created by Nurhaci in the early seventeenth century, were the basic units of administrative, military, and social organization in the Qing Dynasty. Along with the growth of the Qing Empire, Mongol and Han were incorporated into the same eight-banner system. The eight banners of the Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies were composed of the elite of Qing society. In the Inner City of Beijing, the eight banners of the three armies were positioned in different areas. The areal disposition was described in the historical materials published during the Qing Dynasty, for example, *Chen yuan shi lue* 宸垣識略 (*History of Beijing and Its Historic Sites*; Wu Changyuan ed., 1788), *Qinding Baqi tongzhi* 欽定八旗通志 (1796), and (Guangxu) *Qinding daqing huidian shili* (光緒) 欽定大清會典事例 (*Detailed Appendix of Official Historical Records of Qing Political Institutions Compiled in Guangxu's Reign*; 1899).

The eight banners of the three armies of the Manchu, Mongol, and Han were considered to be indispensable elements in the social and spatial structure of Qing Beijing (Liu Xiaomeng, 1998; Wu Jianyong, 2001, 2008). On the basis of historical literature, there have been several attempts to demarcate the eight-banner areas on maps. Akihara Masato (2008: 29–31) illustrated the boundaries of the eight-banner areas of the individual three armies by referring to the *Qianlong jingcheng quantu* 乾隆京城全圖 (1750) and the *Morokoshi meishō zue* 唐土名勝圖會 (*Illustrated Guide Book of the Geography and History of China*; Okada Tomonao, et al., 1805). Zhang Liyu (2013) delineated the eight-banner areas of the individual three armies using the *Jingshi quantu* 京師全圖 (*Complete Map of Beijing*; 1908) and the *Baqi tongzhi chujī* 八旗通志初集 (*The First Edition of Authorized Comprehensive Records Relating to Eight Banners*; Ortai, 1739, Vol. 2). Although these results are valuable, more detailed analyses using maps are awaited.

The spatial distribution of the eight banners of the individual three armies might have been fairly flexible rather than strictly fixed. Xiang Feng (1980) suggested that the residential areas of the eight banners were not necessarily congruent with the original urban plan in the Qing Dynasty. Liu Xiaomeng (1998) pointed out that the residential distribution of the eight banners had been changed during the Qing Dynasty, and that

the dwellings of bannermen and non-bannermen had often been intermingled. Shinkoku chūtongun shireibu 清國駐屯軍司令部 (The Japanese Military Headquarters stationed in Qing China) (1908: 22) reported that the bannermen had lived in places different from their original institutional rules, and that the bannermen's dwellings had often been sold to foreigners or Han people. Changes in the distribution of the eight banners in the Inner City of Beijing await further geographical or urban spatial studies for clarification.

After the work of Tanaka Kazuko and Kizu Yūko (2015), this article aims to clarify the geographical meanings of the spatial distribution of the eight banners of the individual three armies using the *BL*, *RGS*, and *KU* maps.

3. Characteristics of the *BL*, *RGS*, and *KU* maps of Beijing

3.1. Size of materials and the period of their publication

Qing Beijing was composed of an Inner City and an Outer City. The Imperial City was situated in the Inner City, and Zijin cheng 紫禁城 (the Forbidden City) was constructed within the Imperial City. The *BL*, *RGS*, and *KU* maps depict the Inner City of Beijing. The Outer City is not drawn. Table 1 shows the fundamental features of the three maps of Beijing. The *BL* map is the largest, and the horizontal direction is elongated compared with the vertical direction. The sizes of the *RGS* and *KU* maps are similar. The three maps use the same marks to indicate the three armies: circles, squares, and triangles are used to indicate Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies, respectively. The *RGS* map is very delicately drawn on silk cloth and many place names and explanatory notes are written in Chinese and English. The *KU* map is rather roughly drawn on paper sheets. The *BL* map is also drawn on paper sheets. The *KU* and *BL* maps are damaged, and some parts are missing. Accordingly, some of the painted marks and written characters are difficult to decipher on these maps.

The period of publication of the *BL* map is considered to be between 1797 and 1815 on the basis of the bibliographic information provided by the British Library's reference to Li Xiacong's investigation (1994). The year of publication of the *RGS* map is about 1865, according to the bibliographic information provided by the Royal Geographical Society. A label attached along the upper portion of the *RGS* map reads, "Pekin. presented to the Royal Geographical Society, by Henry Kopsch and Edward

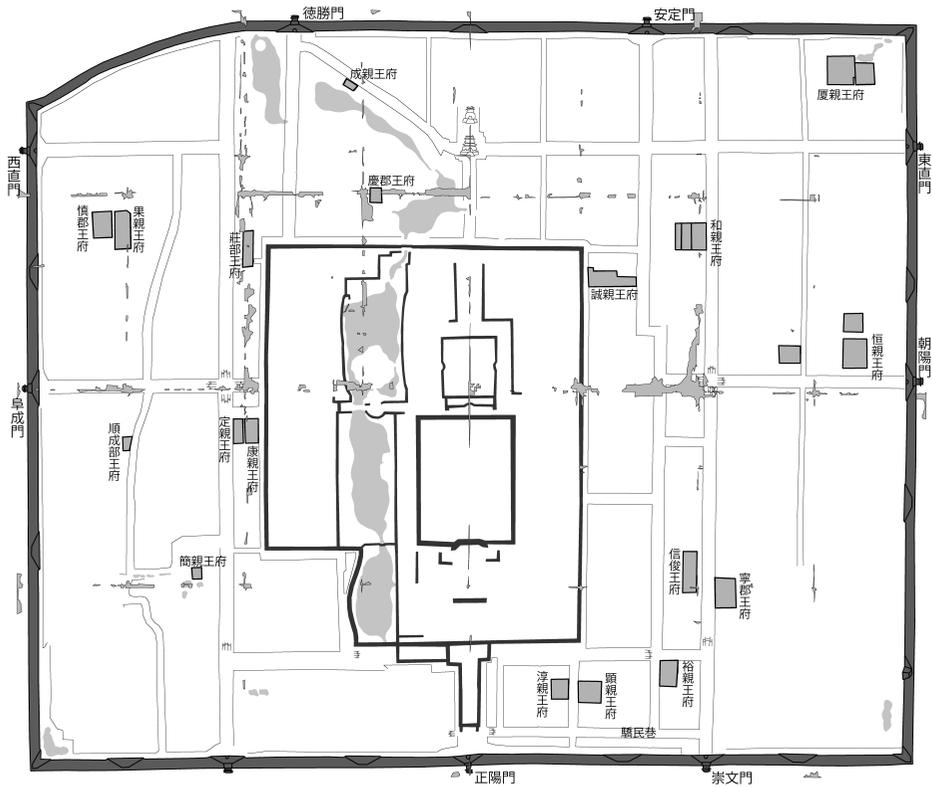
Table 1. Important features of the three Beijing maps stored at the British Library, the Royal Geographical Society, and Kyoto University

name of map	<i>Jinghui Beijing jiu ditu</i> 精繪北京舊地圖 (<i>Finely Painted Old Map of Beijing</i>)	Map of the Inner City of Peking	<i>Beijing neicheng tu</i> 北京內城圖 (<i>Map of the Inner City of Beijing</i>)
institution of storage (city)	British Library (London)	Royal Geographical Society (London)	Kyoto University (Kyoto)
period of publication	early stages of the reign of Jiaqing (1797–1815)	1865(?)	late nineteenth century
size: vertical x horizontal	184 x 221 cm	155 x 141.5 cm on sheet, (174 x 150.5 cm)	151 x 135 cm
material of map sheet	paper	silk	paper
painting	hand painting, color	hand painting, color	hand painting, color
languages on map	Chinese	Chinese, English	Chinese
range of map	Inner City of Beijing	Inner City of Beijing	Inner City of Beijing
map marks of three armies	○ Manchu □ Mongol △ Han	○ Manchu □ Mongol △ Han	○ Manchu □ Mongol △ Han
scale	not indicated	1 : 4000	not indicated

C. Taintor, Imperial Customs' Service, 1866.” The production period of *KU* map was estimated by Tanaka Kazuko and Kizu Yūko (2015), as being in the late nineteenth century. Although careful examination is necessary to determine the exact periods of production, the *BL* map could be regarded as the oldest of these three maps.

3.2 City walls, major streets, city blocks, and place names represented on the three maps

All the maps are too large to be presented as full-size images in this article. Instead of displaying reduced pictures, simple sketches of the *BL*, *RGS*, and *KU* maps are provided in Figures 1, 2, and 3, respectively. Each figure shows the walls of the Inner City, the Imperial City, and the Forbidden City, the nine gates, Pailou 牌樓 (decorated archways), major streets and city blocks, ponds and creeks, and official residences. As for the *BL* and *KU* maps, large missing or damaged parts are indicated.



- Official residence for imperial family member
- Water area
- Major street or city block
- Missing or damaged part
- Wall of Inner City
- Wall of Imperial and Forbidden Cities

Figure 1. Overview of the BL map (*Jinghui Beijing jiu ditu 精繪北京舊地圖 (Finely Painted Old Map of Beijing)*), stored at the British Library in London.

Place name: Jiao min xiang 驕民巷.

Names of gates: Desheng men 德勝門, Anding men 安定門, Dongzhi men 東直門, Chaoyang men 朝陽門, Chongwen men 崇文門, Zhengyang men 正陽門, Fucheng men 阜成門, and Xizhi men 西直門. * No name is given to the southwest gate.

Names of official residences for imperial family members: Chengqinwang fu 成親王府, Qingjunwang fu 慶郡王府, Shaqinwang fu 廈親王府, Heqinwang fu 和親王府, Chengqinwang fu 誠親王府, Hengqinwang fu 恆親王府, Ningjunwang fu 寧郡王府, Xinjunwang fu 信俊王府, Yuqinwang fu 裕親王府, Xianqinwang fu 顯親王府, Chunqinwang fu 淳親王府, Jianqinwang fu 簡親王府, Kangqinwang fu 康親王府, Dingqinwang fu 定親王府, Shunchengbuwang fu 順成部王府, Zhuangbuwang fu 莊部王府, Quoqinwang fu 親王府, and Shenjunwang fu 慎郡王府.

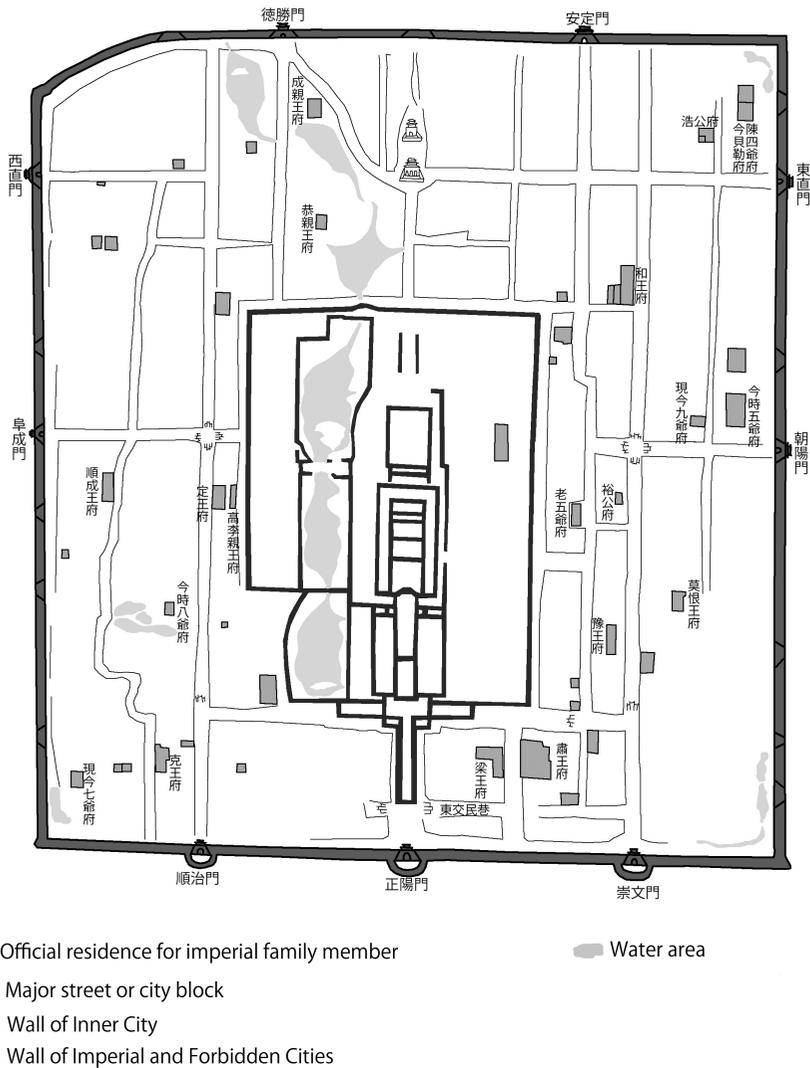
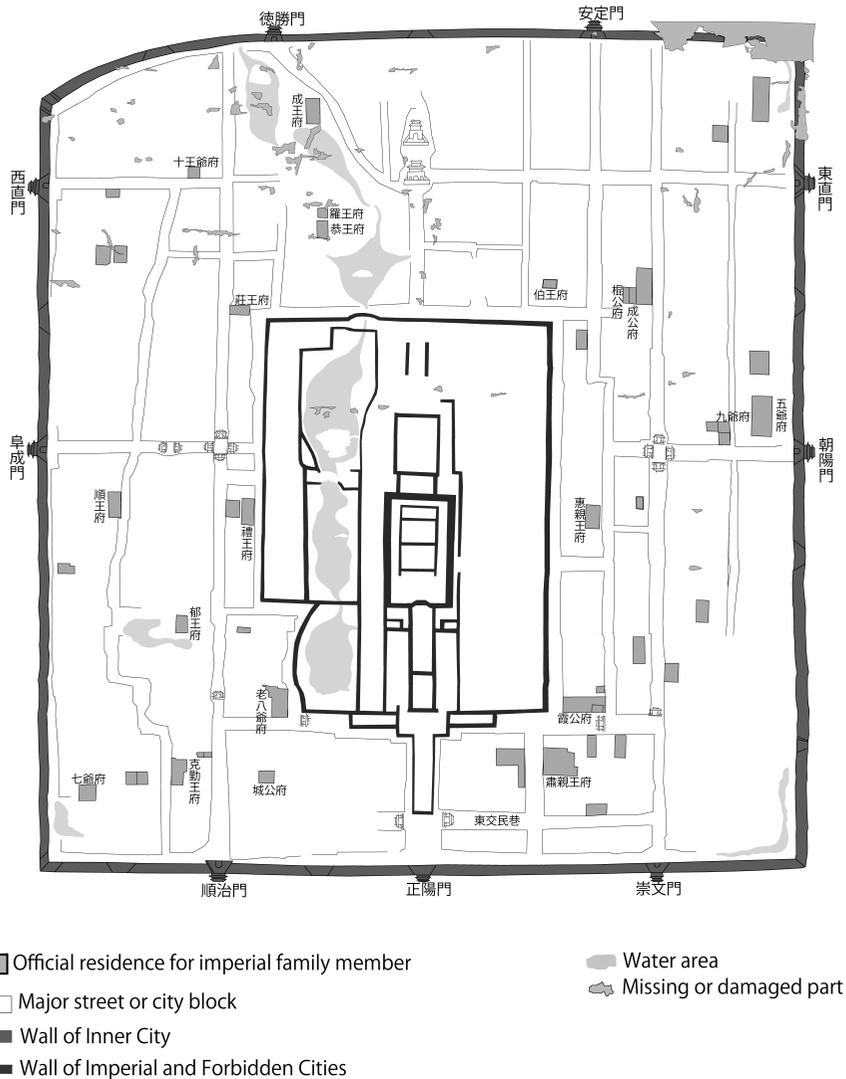


Figure 2. Overview of the RGS map (*Map of the Inner City of Peking*), stored at the Royal Geographical Society in London.

Place name: Dong jiao min xiang 東交民巷.

Names of gates: Desheng men 德勝門, Anding men 安定門, Dongzhi men 東直門, Chaoyang men 朝陽門, Chongwen men 崇文門, Zhengyang men 正陽門, Shunzhi men 順治門, Fucheng men 阜成門, and Xizhi men 西直門.

Names of official residences for imperial family members: Chengqinwang fu 成親王府, Gongqinwang fu 恭親王府, Haogong fu 浩公府, Chen si ye fu 陳四爺府, Jin bei le fu 今貝勒府, Hewang fu 和王府, Jinshi wu ye fu 今時五爺府, Xianjin jiuye fu 現今九爺府, Yugong fu 裕公府, Lao wu ye fu 老五爺府, Mohenwang fu 莫恨王府, Yuwang fu 豫王府, Suwang fu 肅王府, Liangwang fu 梁王府, Kewang fu 克王府, Xianjin qiye fu 現今七爺府, Jinshi baye fu 今時八爺府, Gaoli qinwang fu 高李親王府, Dingwang fu 定王府, and Shunchengwang fu 順成王府.



**Figure 3. Overview of the KU map (*Beijing neicheng tu* 北京內城圖
(*Map of the Inner City of Beijing*)), stored at Kyoto University in Kyoto.**

Place name: Dong jiao min xiang 東交民巷.

Names of gates: Desheng men 德勝門, Anding men 安定門, Dongzhi men 東直門, Chaoyang men 朝陽門, Chongwen men 崇文門, Zhengyang men 正陽門, Shunzhi men 順治門, Fucheng men 阜成門, and Xizhi men 西直門.

Names of official residences for imperial family members: Chengwang fu 成王府, Luowang fu 羅王府, Gongwang fu 恭王府, Bowang fu 伯王府, Gungong fu 棍公府, Chengwang fu 成王府, Wuyue fu 五爺府, Jiuye fu 九爺府, Huiqinwang fu 惠親王府, Xiangong fu 霞公府, Suqinwang fu 肅親王府, Chenggong fu 城公府, Keqinwang fu 克勤王府, Qiye fu 七爺府, Lao baye fu 老八爺府, Yuwang fu 郁王府, Liwang fu 禮王府, Shunwang fu 順王府, Zhuangwang fu 莊王府, and Shiwangye fu 十王爺府.

The *KU* and *RGS* maps offer a very similar pattern of major streets and city blocks, and the walls of the Imperial and Forbidden Cities are drawn in detail. In contrast, the city blocks of the *BL* map are not subdivided, as they are in the other two maps. The walls of the Imperial and Forbidden Cities are simply drawn, and almost nothing inside the Imperial City is described.

On the *RGS* and *KU* maps, the area name of Dong jiao min xiang 東交民巷 is written near the gate of Zhengyang men 正陽門 (Figures 2 and 3). Soon after the Second Opium War from 1856 to 1860, this area was open to many foreign legations. The original street name was Dong jiang mi xiang 東江米巷. Jiao min xiang 驕民巷, which appears on the *BL* map (Figure 1), is a variation of Dong jiang mi xiang, with relatively similar pronunciation. The southwest gate of the Inner City has the name of Shunzhi men 順治門 on the *RGS* and *KU* maps (Figures 2 and 3); its formal name is Xuanwu men 宣武門. On the *BL* map, no name is given to this gate.

Figures 1, 2, and 3 show the sites of Wangfu 王府 and Gongfu 公府 (official residences of imperial family members). The names of major residences are also provided. The number, locations, and shapes, as well as the names of official residences, are thought to reflect the characteristics of the residents who lived there at that time. The number of official residences on the *BL* map is smaller than those shown on the *RGS* and *KU* maps. With respect to the locations and names of official residences, the similarities between the *RGS* and *KU* maps seem to be stronger than those between the *KU* and *BL* maps or between the *RGS* and *BL* maps. Only four official residences on the *BL* map are recognized as having similar names on the *KU* and/or *RGS* maps: Chengqinwang fu 成親王府, Shunchengbuwang fu 順成部王府, Zhuangbuwang fu 莊部王府, and Heqinwang fu 和親王府. On the other hand, the following eight official residences on the *KU* map have residences with similar names to those on the *RGS* map: Wuye fu 五爺府, Jiuye fu 九爺府, Qiye fu 七爺府, Gongwang fu 恭王府, Keqinwang fu 克勤王府, Chengwang fu 成王府, Shunwang fu 順王府, and Suqinwang fu 肅親王府.

The distribution of official residences and the inclusion of their names on each map give us important information that can help us identify the period of publication. Although these aspects are not fully discussed, it is appropriate to consider that the *KU* and *RGS* maps might have been published in the middle or second half of the nineteenth century. In contrast to these maps, the *BL* map was likely published in an earlier period,

because some names of official residences on the *BL* map are found also in the *Qianlong jingcheng quantu* 乾隆京城全圖 (1750) (Tanaka Kazuko and Kizu Yūko, 2015). This discussion provides us with a basis for considering that the *BL* map is the oldest of these three maps. This consideration is consistent with bibliographic information (Table 1).

4. Examination of the numbers of eight-banner marks shown on the *BL*, *KU*, and *RGS* maps

4.1. Comparison of the numbers of eight-banner marks shown on the three maps

In the whole area of the Inner and Imperial Cities, with the exception of the Forbidden City, a total of 1952 marks on the *BL* map, 664 marks on the *RGS* map, and 550 marks on the *KU* map, are identified (Tables 2, 3, and 4). It should be noted that the original number of marks on the *KU* and *BL* maps might be a little larger than these numbers suggest, because damage to the maps means there are parts for which it is impossible to recognize drawn marks and their coloring pattern.

The number of marks indicating Manchu is about two or three times larger than the number of marks indicating Mongol and Han armies, respectively. This evidence is common to the three maps. However, it is worth noting that the ratios of the numbers of the eight banners are different not only on individual maps but also between the maps. For example,

Table 2. Numbers for the eight-banner marks of the three armies represented on the *BL* map (*Jinghui Beijing jiu ditu* 精繪北京舊地圖 (*Finely Painted Old Map of Beijing*)), stored at the British Library in London.

	Inner City of Beijing except Imperial City				Imperial City
	Manchu	Mongol	Han	Total	Manchu
Plain Yellow Banner	146	47	56	249	24
Plain White Banner	136	49	45	230	22
Plain Red Banner	109	49	18	176	23
Plain Blue Banner	126	64	28	218	25
Bordered Yellow Banner	145	50	45	240	29
Bordered White Banner	114	47	28	189	23
Bordered Red Banner	139	36	46	221	38
Bordered Blue Banner	142	44	42	228	17
Total	1057	386	308	1751	201

Table 3. Numbers for the eight-banner marks of the three armies represented on the *RGS* map (*Map of the Inner City of Peking*), stored at the Royal Geographical Society in London.

	Inner City of Beijing except Imperial City				Imperial City
	Manchu	Mongol	Han	Total	Manchu
Plain Yellow Banner	63	14	25	102	10
Plain White Banner	33	11	21	65	12
Plain Red Banner	35	12	10	57	11
Plain Blue Banner	45	13	19	77	9
Bordered Yellow Banner	59	29	25	113	10
Bordered White Banner	25	22	11	58	14
Bordered Red Banner	24	11	9	44	10
Bordered Blue Banner	36	9	19	64	8
Total	320	121	139	580	84

Table 4. Numbers for the eight-banner marks of the three armies represented on the *KU* map (*Beijing neicheng tu* 北京內城圖 (*Map of the Inner City of Beijing*)), stored at Kyoto University in Kyoto.

	Inner City of Beijing except Imperial City				Imperial City
	Manchu	Mongol	Han	Total	Manchu
Plain Yellow Banner	36	9	11	56	12
Plain White Banner	32	24	11	67	6
Plain Red Banner	28	14	11	53	9
Plain Blue Banner	40	14	19	73	9
Bordered Yellow Banner	42	20	23	85	14
Bordered White Banner	14	15	11	40	10
Bordered Red Banner	27	11	10	48	8
Bordered Blue Banner	36	9	15	60	0
Total	255	116	111	482	68

note: one mark is unclassified.

on the *KU* map, the largest group is the Bordered Yellow Banner and the smallest is the Bordered White Banner. On the *RGS* map, the smallest group is the Bordered Red Banner. On the *BL* map, the number of marks for the six Banners is almost the same, but numbers for the Plain White and Bordered White Banners are smaller than the others.

In every map, except for the Forbidden City area, the marks placed in the Imperial City are restricted to those of Manchu Banners, and ac-

count for about 10–12 % of the total marks. Although all of the Manchu eight-banners are shown in the Imperial City on both the *RGS* and *BL* maps, no Bordered Blue Banner marks are drawn in this area on the *KU* map. The evidence obtained and described in this section suggests three possibilities: the first is that different data sources might have been used for map production: the second is that these maps were made in different ages: the third is that different rules were employed to plot eight-banner marks on maps.

4.2. Rules for plotting eight-banner marks on the *BL* map

The number of marks on the *BL* map is about three times greater than the number of marks on the other two maps. This large numerical difference suggests that the rule of mark-plotting used for the *BL* map might be different from that used for the other two maps.

The number 1952 on the *BL* map is not significantly different from the total number counted by Li Xiaocong (1994). He used information on the defense system of infantry armies in *Qinding baqi tongzhi* 欽定八旗通志 (1796, Vol. 34) to examine the number of eight-banner marks, and indicated that the total number of Xun 汛 (areal units of jurisdiction) and Zhalan 柵欄 (street gates) was very close to the number of eight-banner marks drawn on the *BL* map. During the Qing period, the disposition of jurisdictional areas and the assignment of guards at street gates were important defense measures implemented in the Inner City of Beijing. Are there any rules for plotting eight-banner marks on the *BL* map? Are the rules different from those that were employed to plot eight-banner marks on the *KU* and *RGS* maps? Solutions to these questions would enable us to clarify the large numerical differences between the eight-banner marks drawn on the *BL*, *KU*, and *RGS* maps.

Here, the number of eight-banner marks on the *BL* map are compared to the numbers of Xun 汛 and Zhalan 柵欄 described in historical literature relating to the eight-banner system. The well-known works are as follows: *Qinding baqi tongzhi* 欽定八旗通志 (1796), (Jiaqing) *Qinding daqing huidian shili* (嘉慶) 欽定大清會典事例 (*Detailed Appendix of Official Historical Records of Qing Political Institutions Compiled in Jiaqing's Reign*; 1818), (Guangxu) *Qinding daqing huidian shili* (光緒) 欽定大清會典事例 (1899), and (Guangxu) *Shuntian fu zhi* (光緒) 順天府志 (*Geography and History of Beijing*; Zhang Zhidong et al. eds., 1884).

In the first three works the number of Xun 汛 are the same. The num-

ber of Zhalan 柵欄 are also the same. One exception is the number of Xun 汛 defended by the Mongol Bordered Red Banner: twelve in *Qinding baqi tongzhi* 欽定八旗通志 (1796), but thirteen in the two editions of *Qinding daqing huidian shili* 欽定大清會典事例 (1818, 1899). The numbers relating to three banners of the Han army written in (Guangxu) *Shuntian fu zhi* (光緒) 順天府志 (1884) are slightly different from those in the other works. Even with these small discrepancies, there are no significant differences in the number of Xun 汛 and Zhalan 柵欄 described in the four historical works. As it is the latest work, (Guangxu) *Qinding daqing huidian shili* (光緒) 欽定大清會典事例 (1899) is used to examine the number of eight-banner marks on the *BL* map.

The eight-banner marks drawn on the *BL* map are classified into three groups: the first is the group of marks plotted near small houses, which are considered as military bases for bannermen in every Xun 汛. The second group contains the eight-banner marks drawn near Zhalan 柵欄. Figure 4 shows examples of these marks drawn along the street of

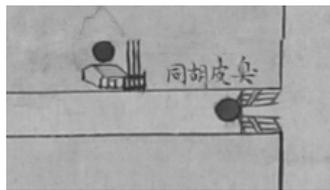


Figure 4. Manchu Plain Red marks around the street of Choupi hutong 臭皮胡同, located to the west of the Imperial City:

This is a part of the *BL* map (*Jinghui Beijing jiu ditu* 精繪北京舊地圖 (*Finely Painted Old Map of Beijing*)), stored at the British Library in London.

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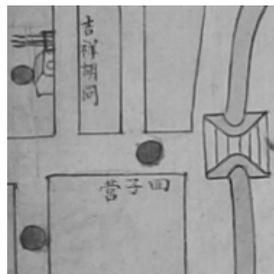


Figure 5. Manchu Plain Red Banner marks, close to the street of Jixiang hutong 吉祥胡同 between *Fucheng men* 阜成門 and a river:
This is a part of the *BL* map (*Jinghui Beijing jiu ditu* 精繪北京舊地圖 (*Finely Painted Old Map of Beijing*)), stored at the British Library in London.

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Table 5. Numbers for the eight-banners marks of the three armies represented on the *BL* map (*Jinghui Beijing jiu ditu* 精繪北京舊地圖 (*Finely Painted Old Map of Beijing*)) and numbers for the eight-banner marks described in (*Guangxu*) *Qinding daqing huidian shili* (光緒) 欽定大清會典事例 (*Detailed Appendix of Official Historical Records of Qing Political Institutions Compiled in Guangxu's Reign; 1899, vol. 1156*).

	Inner City of Beijing except Imperial City												Imperial City		
	Manchu			Mongol			Han			Total			Manchu		
	M ¹	G ²	O ³	M ¹	G ²	O ³	M ¹	G ²	O ³	M ¹	G ²	O ³	M ¹	G ²	O ³
Plain Yellow Banner	54	91	1	18	28	1	16	40	0	88	159	2	11	11	2
	55	91	-	18	30	-	18	41	-	91	162	-	12	16	-
Plain White Banner	45	88	3	19	30	0	16	29	0	80	147	3	13	7	2
	51	90	-	20	35	-	14	31	-	85	156	-	11	10	-
Plain Red Banner	35	72	2	13	36	0	9	9	0	57	117	2	10	13	0
	38	79	-	14	36	-	10	14	-	62	129	-	12	17	-
Plain Blue Banner	44	81	1	21	43	0	15	12	1	80	136	2	16	8	1
	45	87	-	19	45	-	15	15	-	79	147	-	11	9	-
Bordered Yellow Banner	51	94	0	21	29	0	18	27	0	90	150	0	12	12	5
	53	94	-	22	29	-	17	27	-	92	150	-	10	18	-
Bordered White Banner	41	73	0	14	32	1	12	16	0	67	121	1	10	12	1
	46	80	-	13	35	-	12	18	-	71	133	-	10	13	-
Bordered Red Banner	43	92	4	13	23	0	11	35	0	67	150	4	12	26	0
	48	96	-	13	23	-	10	39	-	71	158	-	12	24	-
Bordered Blue Banner	51	90	1	15	27	2	11	31	0	77	148	3	12	5	0
	50	97	-	15	24	-	10	34	-	75	155	-	12	9	-
Total	364	681	12	134	248	4	108	199	1	606	1128	17	96	94	11
	386	714	-	134	257	-	106	219	-	626	1190	-	90	116	-
	1057			386			308			1751			201		
1100			391			325			1816			206			

note 1. Numbers in rows on dotted line indicate the data from *BL* map (ca. 1815).

Numbers in rows under the dotted line indicate the data from the literature (1899).

note 2: Some banner-marks cannot be counted because they are painted in damaged parts of *BL* map.

1 M: row on dotted line: number of banner marks which are represented near the symbols depicting bases of areal units of jurisdiction.

row under the dotted line: number of unit areas of jurisdiction.

2 G: row on dotted line: number of banner marks which are represented near the symbols depicting street gate.

row under the dotted line: number of street gates.

3 O: row on dotted line: number of banner marks which are not represented near any symbols.

Choupi hutong 臭皮胡同, which is located west of the Imperial City. The third group is composed of the other marks. Figure 5 shows the examples drawn between the gate of Fucheng men 阜成門 and a creek.

Table 5 summarizes the number of eight-banner marks drawn on the *BL* map (in rows on dotted lines) according to this classification. In order to compare these numbers, the number of Xun 汛 and Zhalan 柵欄 described in (Guangxu) *Qinding daqing huidian shili* (光緒) 欽定大清會典事例 (1899, Vol. 1156) are indicated (in rows under the dotted lines). It is clear that numbers on the *BL* map and numbers in the literature generally correspond very well within each category. This supports the presumption that the eight-banner marks drawn on the *BL* map indicate Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies being allocated to Xun 汛 and Zhalan 柵欄 in the Inner and Imperial Cities of Beijing.

On the *RGS* and *KU* maps, most of the eight-banner marks are not plotted near any specific facilities. On the *BL* map, 1222 eight-banner marks are plotted near Zhalan 柵欄 and 702 marks are plotted near the bases of Xun 汛. The latter number is relatively close to the total number of eight-banner marks drawn on the *KU* and *RGS* maps, 550 and 664 respectively. It seems very unlikely that the marks on these two maps indicate armies guarding Zhalan 柵欄. Their ways of plotting are quite different from those used on the *BL* map. This is a possible factor that may explain the large differences between the number of eight-banner marks on the three maps.

5. Spatial analysis of the eight-banner distribution of the individual three armies on the *BL*, *RGS*, and *KU* maps

Here, the three maps are analyzed with respect to the spatial distribution of the eight-banner marks of the three armies. There are 24 types of marks on the maps, because each of the three armies has eight banners. Instead of painting the marks using eight different combinations of four colors corresponding to eight banners, the marks of the Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies are indicated with grey circles, white squares, and black triangles, respectively. The distribution of each banner shows a clear segregation from the others. Therefore, boundaries between eight-banner areas are delineated. In order to distinguish them clearly, eight different patterns are used to indicate these areas. Figures 6, 7, and 8 present the spatial distributions of the eight-banner marks of the three armies in the *BL*, *RGS*, and *KU* maps, respectively. Reflecting their large number, the

eight-banner marks on the *BL* map are the most densely distributed. On the other hand, a relatively low-density domain is recognized at the south-east of the Imperial City where Jiao min xiang 驕民巷 is located.

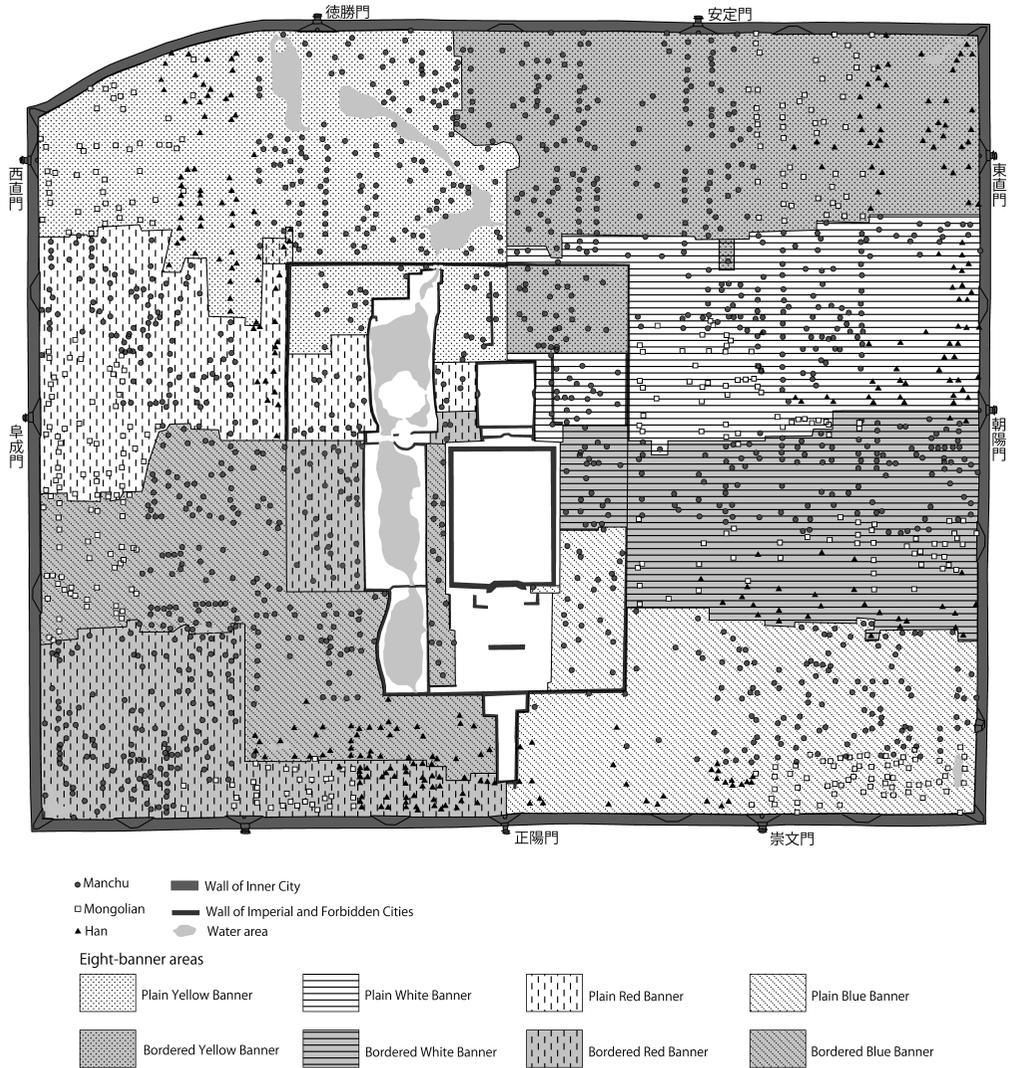


Figure 6. Distribution of the eight-banner marks of the Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies on the *BL* map (*Jinghui Beijing jiu ditu* 精繪北京舊地圖 (*Finely Painted Old Map of Beijing*)), stored at the British Library in London.

Names of gates: Desheng men 德勝門, Anding men 安定門, Dongzhi men 東直門, Chaoyang men 朝陽門, Chongwen men 崇文門, Zhengyang men 正陽門, Fucheng men 阜成門, and Xizhi men 西直門.

* No name is given to the southwest gate.

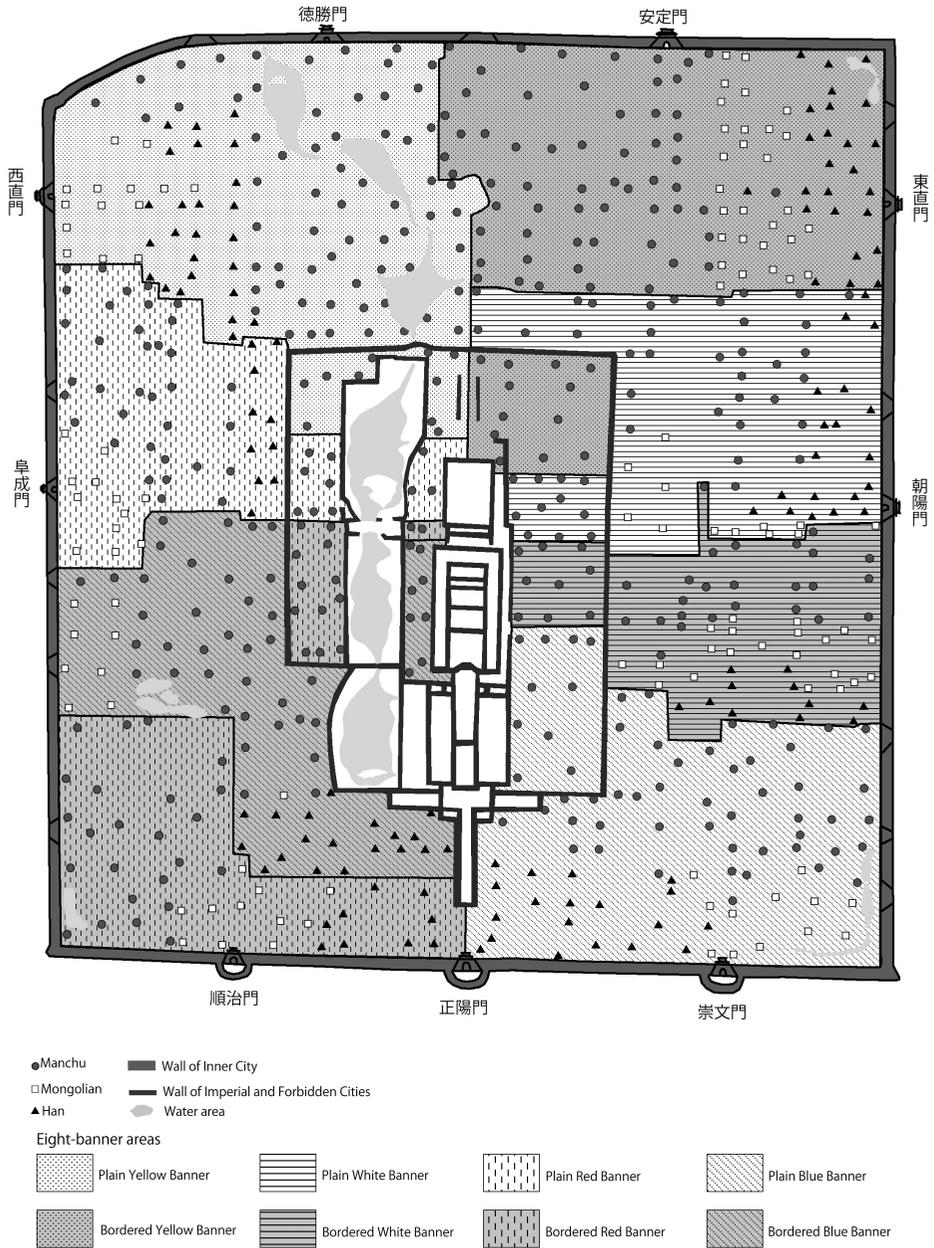


Figure 7. Distribution of the eight-banner marks by the Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies on the RGS map (*Map of the Inner City of Peking*), stored at the Royal Geographical Society in London.

Names of gates: Desheng men 德勝門, Anding men 安定門, Dongzhi men 東直門, Chaoyang men 朝陽門, Chongwen men 崇文門, Zhengyang men 正陽門, Shunzhi men 順治門, Fucheng men 阜成門, and Xizhi men 西直門.

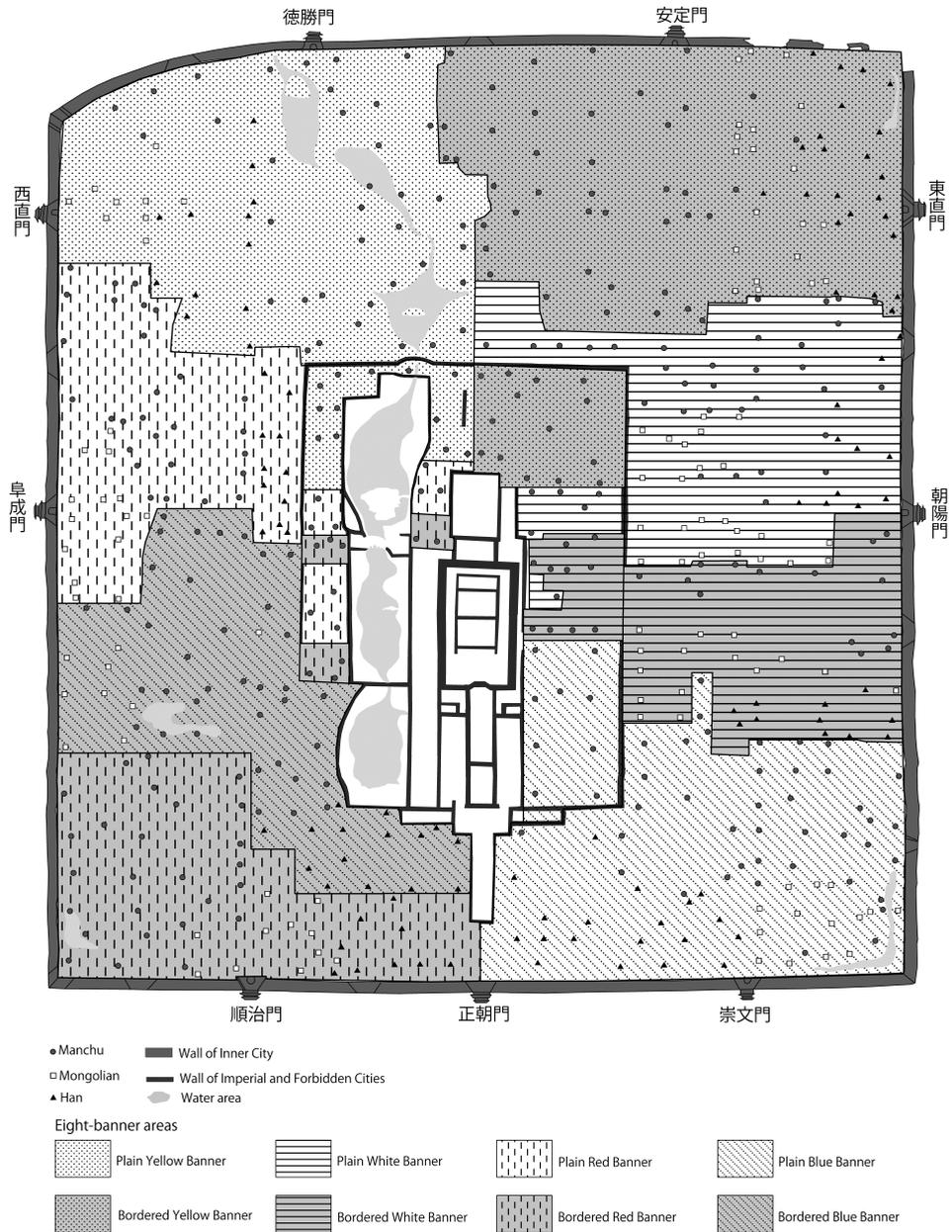


Figure 8. Distribution of the eight-banner marks by the Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies on the *KU* map (*Beijing neicheng tu* 北京內城圖 (*Map of the Inner City of Beijing*)), stored at Kyoto University in Kyoto.

Names of gates: Desheng men 德勝門, Anding men 安定門, Dongzhi men 東直門, Chaoyang men 朝陽門, Chongwen men 崇文門, Zhengyang men 正陽門, Shunzhi men 順治門, Fucheng men 阜成門, and Xizhi men 西直門.

The arrangements of eight-banner areas in the Inner City are virtually the same on the three maps. Clockwise from the northeast corner of the Inner City are Bordered Yellow Banner, Plain White Banner, Bordered White Banner, Plain Blue Banner, Bordered Red Banner, Bordered Blue Banner, Plain Red Banner, and Plain Yellow Banner. The shape of the boundaries of the eight-banner areas are not exactly the same, but are on the whole similar across the three maps. On the individual banner areas of the three maps, the distribution of the banner-marks indicating Manchu, Mongol, and Han have common characteristics. Manchu group occupies the largest part in every banner area. It should be emphasized that Manchu, Mongol, and Han groups are distributed separately from each other within each banner area.

The arrangement of the eight-banner areas of the Manchu army in the Imperial City corresponds fairly well to that in the Inner City. Although this is a common characteristic of the three maps, the prominent difference is that a Bordered Blue Banner area does not appear in the Imperial City on the *KU* map.

The most important thing to note is that the spatial arrangements of the eight-banner areas differ from the ideal arrangement designed by Wuxing 五行 (the concept of five elements in Chinese philosophy). The ideal arrangement is as follows: from the north to the south, on the left wing of the Inner City, Bordered Yellow Banner, Plain White Banner, Bordered White Banner, and Plain Blue Banner should be allocated. On the right wing of the Inner City, Plain Yellow Banner, Plain Red Banner, Bordered Red Banner, and Bordered Blue Banner should be allocated from the north to the south. Wuxing 五行 does not mention any eight-banner arrangement in the Imperial City. This ideal arrangement is explained in many historical works relating to Qing Beijing, for example, *Chen yuan shi lue* 宸垣識畧 (1788), and *Morokoshi meishō zue* 唐土名勝圖會 (1805).

On the three maps, the positions of the Bordered Red Banner area and the Bordered Blue Banner area are interchangeable. Why is the arrangement of eight-banner areas not in accordance with the well-known ideal arrangement? To solve this problem, the descriptions of eight banners in major historical literature published in the Qing Dynasty are examined.

6. Examination of the areal disposition of the eight banners in reference to the descriptions provided in historical materials

6.1. Two types of eight banners' areal disposition

Here, six historical works are referred to, to examine the areal disposition of the eight banners in the Qing Dynasty: *Baqi tongzhi chujì* 八旗通志初集 (1739), *Qinding baqi tongzhi* 欽定八旗通志 (1796), (Jiaqing) *Qinding daqing huidian shili* (嘉慶) 欽定大清會典事例 (1818), (Guangxu) *Qinding daqing huidian shili* (光緒) 欽定大清會典事例 (1899), *Chen yuan shi lue* 宸垣識畧 (1788), and (Guangxu) *Shuntian fu zhi* (光緒) 順天府志 (1884). The first two are the most basic historical records of eight-banner system compiled in the Qing Dynasty. The third and fourth are the detailed appendices of *Daqing huidian* 大清會典.

These historical works describe at least two types of areal disposition in the Inner City of Qing Beijing. One is the disposition of Canling (Jarani Janggin) 參領 (soldier team chiefs) and Zuoling (Nirui Janggin) 佐領 (chiefs of the smallest soldier teams) in the Inner City. There is no residential area for bannermen in the Imperial City. There is the allocation of residential areas to Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies in every banner area. The arrangement of the eight banner areas is well known from brief maps published in *Baqi tongzhi chujì* 八旗通志初集 (1739), *Qinding baqi tongzhi* 欽定八旗通志 (1796), and *Chen yuan shi lue* 宸垣識畧 (1788). The simplified sketch of the areal disposition of the eight banners and the references are shown in Figure 9.

Another is the disposition with respect to Xun 汛 and Zhalan 柵欄 in the Inner and Imperial Cities. This is the allocation of defensive positions for the three armies in every banner area. It is very strange that the disposition of defense areas to the eight banners has not been illustrated in brief maps in the historical literature. Therefore, based on descriptions, the boundaries between the eight banner areas are delineated. The simplified sketch of eight-banner areas and the references are shown in Figure 10.

Evidently, the disposition of the residential areas of the eight banners follows the ideal arrangement pattern proposed by Wuxing 五行, in which symmetry between the east and west wings of the Inner City are considered to be best. Akihara Masato (2008: 29–31) and Zhang Liyu (2013) illustrated in detail this disposition of residential areas to the three eight-banner armies in the Inner City.

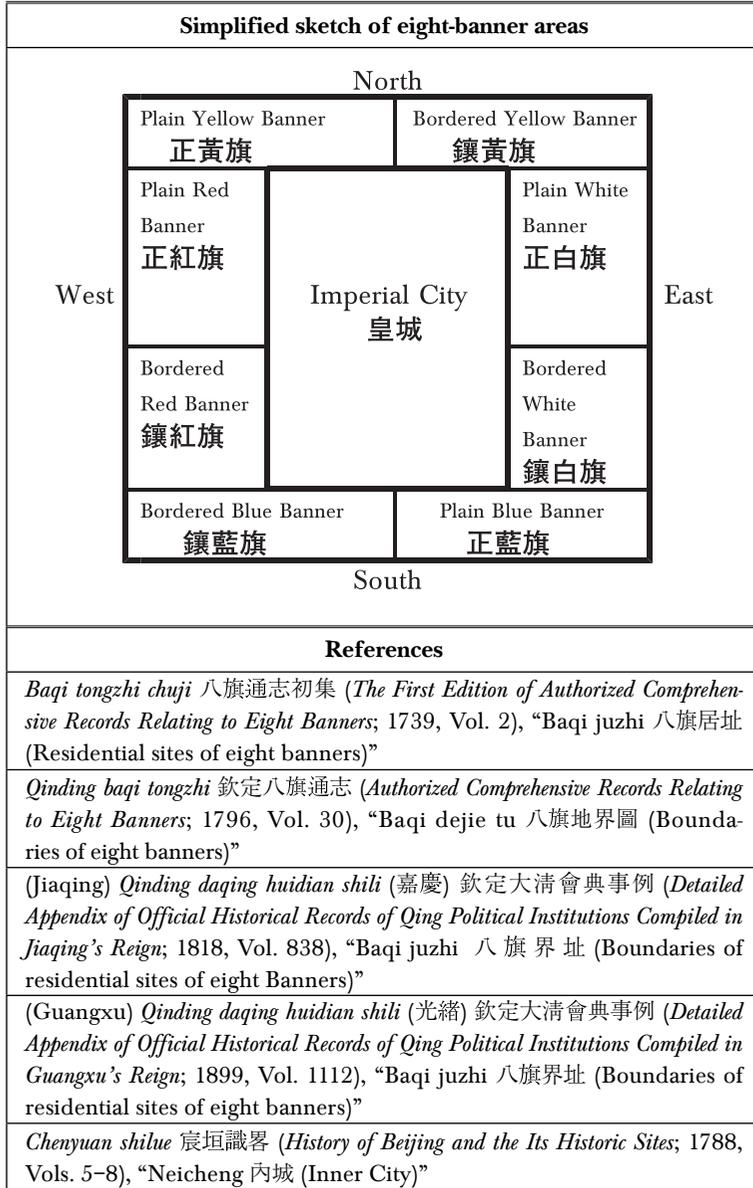


Figure 9. Disposition of the eight-banner areas with respect to Canling (Jarani Janggin) 參領 (soldier team chiefs) and Zuoling (Nirui Janggin) 佐領 (chiefs of the smallest soldier teams).

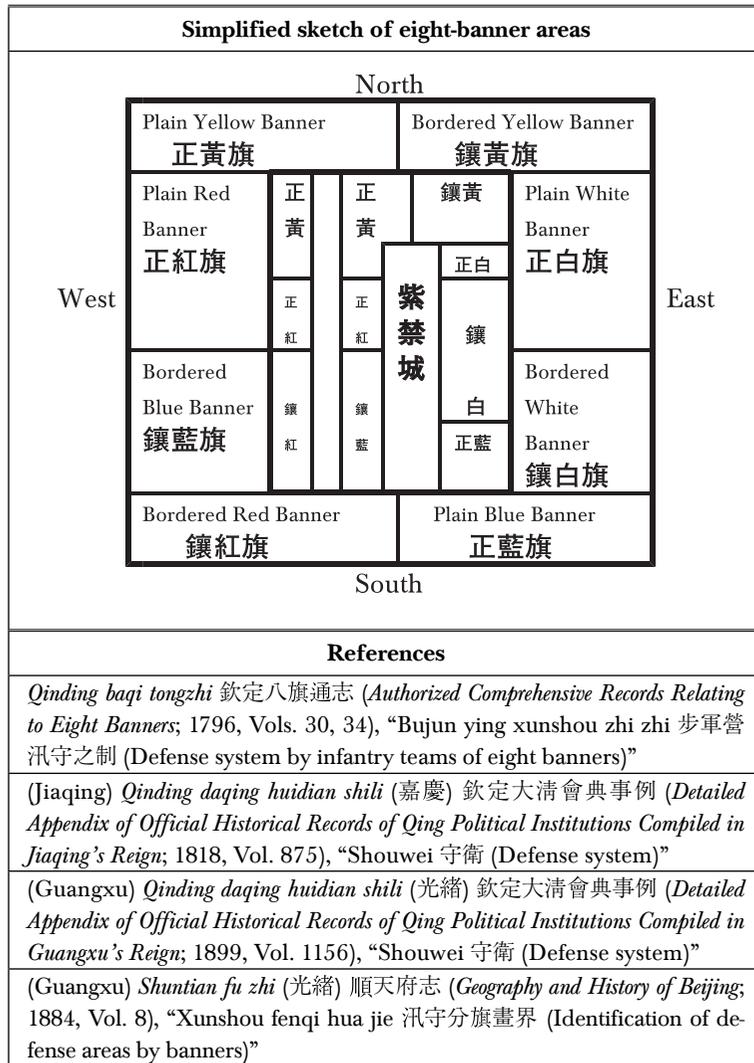


Figure 10. Disposition of the eight-banner areas with respect to Xun 汛 (areal units of jurisdiction) and Zhalan 柵欄 (street gates).

The defense areas of the eight banners are allocated to the Inner City and Imperial City. In the Inner City, the disposition of defense areas is different from that in residential areas. The placement of Bordered Red and Bordered Blue Banner defense areas is opposite to that in the arrangement of residential areas. The Imperial City is defended by Manchu's eight banners. The allocation of defense areas to the eight banners in the Imperial City is essentially similar to that in the Inner City. However, the Bordered Red Banner area is located at the southwest corner of the Imperial City and the Bordered Blue Banner area is along the southwest wall of the Forbidden City.

There are two types of areal disposition to the eight banners. The residential areas for eight banners are in the Inner City, with the exception of the Imperial City. On the other hand, the eight-banner defense areas cover the Inner and Imperial Cities. The former follows the ideal arrangement proposed by Wuxing 五行. The significance of the different positions of the Bordered Red Banner and Bordered Blue Banner areas is not clear. This issue remains to be solved in the future.

6.2. Comparison of the two patterns of defense area dispositions drawn on the maps and those described in historical materials

The above references provide the important information about Xun 汛 and Zhalan 柵欄 allocated to the eight banners of the three armies. Are they consistent with the spatial distribution of the eight-banner marks of the three armies drawn in the *BL*, *RGS*, and *KU* maps? This is the last question to be investigated in this article.

Explanations about defense areas of the eight banners of the individual three armies generally do not differ between the following two historical works: (Jiaqing) *Qinding daqing huidian shili* (嘉慶) 欽定大清會典事例 (1818), and (Guangxu) *Qinding daqing huidian shili* (光緒) 欽定大清會典事例 (1899). The explanations in these two sources are somewhat more detailed than the description in *Qinding baqi tongzhi* 欽定八旗通志 (1796). In (Guangxu) *Shuntian fu zhi* (光緒) 順天府志 (1884), the explanations of the defense areas of the Han army's Plain Blue, Bordered Yellow, and Bordered Red Banners in the Inner City are slightly different from the explanations given in other sources.

Here, (Guangxu) *Qinding daqing huidian shili* (光緒) 欽定大清會典事例 (1899, Vol. 1156) is taken as the latest of the above four sources. The part referred to is the explanation about the Bujun tongling 步軍統領 (infantry

command) of the eight banners. The literature describes the disposition of the eight banners in the Inner and Imperial Cities. The defense areas of the Manchu's eight banners existed inside the Imperial City. In the Inner City, each of the eight-banner areas was subdivided between the Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies. These defense areas and sub-areas are described as follows: the eastern, western, northern, and southern ends, and the neighboring banners or armies are noted in detail by indicating the names of streets and facilities. Additionally, the allocated numbers of Xun 汛 and Zhalan 柵欄 are mentioned. This study focuses on the disposition of defense areas to the eight banners. A detailed analysis of the smaller sub-areas allocated to the three armies in each banner area remains for future research.

In order to identify the positions of streets and facilities, the *BL*, *RGS*, and *KU* maps are used as well as the following: Digital images of *Qianlong jingcheng quantu* 乾隆京城全圖 (provided by Kokuritsu Jōhōgaku Kenkyūjo), *Qing Qianlong Beijing chengtū* 清乾隆北京城圖 (*Complete Map of Beijing in Emperor Qianlong's Reign, in Qing Dynasty*) compiled in *Ming Qing Beijing chengtū* 明清北京城圖 (*Maps of Beijing in Ming and Qing Dynasties*; 1986), and the maps of eight-banner areas in *Chen yuan shi lue* 宸垣識畧 (1788, Vols. 5–8). Based on their descriptions, boundaries between the eight-banner areas are delineated on a map (Figure 11).

Figure 11 shows the disposition of defense areas by the eight banners. This areal disposition is very similar to the dispositions represented by the three maps in Figures 6, 7, and 8. Evidently, of the three maps, the *BL* map is the most similar. The *RGS* and *KU* maps show fairly clear differences with respect to the boundaries of defense areas of Plain Yellow and Bordered Yellow Banners in the Inner City. The positions of Bordered Red and Bordered Blue Banners in the Imperial City are also somewhat different from those shown in Figure 11. The *BL* map is thought to depict the most detail, because the marks used in the map are in relation to individual Xun 汛 and Zhalan 柵欄.

The *BL*, *RGS*, and *KU* maps were drawn to represent the defense areas of the eight banners of the Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies. The defense areas are different from the residential areas in terms of shapes of boundaries, arrangement, and coverage. This areal disposition is not illustrated in the Qing historical literature. These three maps are therefore very valuable materials for clarifying the actual situation of the eight banners in Qing Beijing.

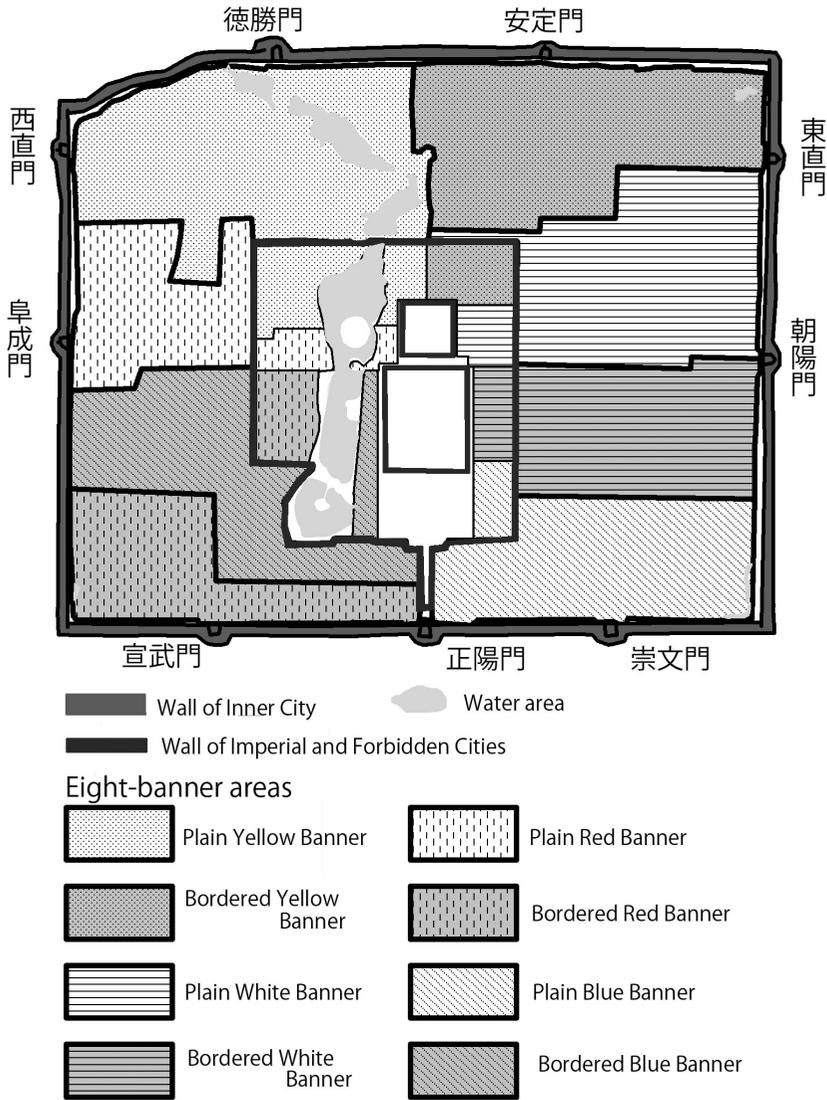


Figure 11. Disposition of the eight-banner areas with respect to Xun 汛 (areal units of jurisdiction) and Zhalan 柵欄 (street gates), in the Inner and Imperial Cities described in (Guangxu) *Qinding daqing huidian shili* (光緒) 欽定大清會典事例 (*Detailed Appendix of Official Historical Records of Qing Political Institutions Compiled in Guangxu's Reign*, 1899, vol. 1156).

Names of gates: Desheng men 德勝門, Anding men 安定門, Dongzhi men 東直門, Chaoyang men 朝陽門, Chongwen men 崇文門, Zhengyang men 正陽門, Xuanwu men 宣武門, Fucheng men 阜成門, and Xizhi men 西直門.

7. Conclusions

This article examined the areal disposition of the eight banners of the Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies, using the *BL*, *KU*, and *RGS* maps and related historical materials. The following conclusions were reached.

The number of eight-banner marks on the *BL* map is about three times greater than those on the other two maps. The eight-banner marks represented on the *BL* map indicate the Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies, that were allocated to Xun 汛 and Zhalan 柵欄 in the Inner and Imperial Cities of Beijing. The number of the former is 702, and of the latter, 1222. These numbers are very close to those described in (Guangxu) *Qinding daqing huidian shili* (光緒) 欽定大清會典事例 (1899, Vol. 1156). In contrast, on the *RGS* and *KU* maps, most of the eight-banner marks are not plotted near any specific facilities. The *RGS* and *KU* maps are relatively similar in terms of spatial distribution and number of eight-banner marks. The ratios of the eight-banner marks of the three armies are different among the three maps. The *BL* map is older and larger than the other two maps.

The arrangement of the eight-banner areas in the Inner City is essentially the same on each of the three maps. Within each banner area, the Manchu, Mongol, and Han groups are distributed separately from each other. Clockwise from the northeast corner of the Inner City, they are Bordered Yellow, Plain White, Bordered White, Plain Blue, Bordered Red, Bordered Blue, Plain Red, and Plain Yellow. These distributions are common to the three maps. On the other hand, in the southwest part of the Imperial City, some differences are clear among the three maps. The *KU* map shows no Bordered Blue Banner area in the Imperial City.

The historical literature from the Qing Dynasty describes two types of areal disposition in the Inner City of Beijing. One is the disposition with respect to the Canling (Jarani Janggin) 參領 and Zuoling (Nirui Janggin) 佐領 in the Inner City. The other is the disposition with respect to Xun 汛 and Zhalan 柵欄 in the Inner and Imperial Cities. The former is the allocation of residential areas to the Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies in every eight-banner area. This disposition follows the ideal format expressed by Wuxing 五行. The other type is the allocation of defense positions to the three armies in every eight-banner area. The brief maps of the arrangement of the eight-banner residential areas appear in the historical materials. However, the dispositions of the defense areas are described, but not presented as brief maps.

The geographical information about the boundaries of eight-banner

defense areas is written in (Guangxu) *Qinding daqing huidian shili* (光緒) 欽定大清會典事例 (1899, Vol. 1156). Using this information, the boundaries between the eight-banner areas are delineated on a map in order to compare them with those drawn in the *BL*, *RGS*, and *KU* maps. The shapes of delineated boundaries are on the whole congruent with those on the three maps. The most similar is the *BL* map. The *BL* map depicts the most detailed information, because the map marks are individually related to Xun 汛 and Zhalan 柵欄. The three maps were drawn to represent the defense areas of the eight banners of the Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies. They are very valuable materials for clarifying the actual situation of the eight banners in the Qing Dynasty, because the Qing historical literature does not show sketches and maps of the eight-banner defense areas.

The observations made during this study suggest much further research is necessary to solve outstanding questions: What information sources were used to draw these maps? Were field surveys carried out for purposes of map production? Did the disposition of defense areas remain unchanged for the duration of the Qing Dynasty? What were the purpose of producing these maps? Who needed these maps? Who were the cartographers? Why did the Royal Geographical Society in London require the map?

The eight banners of the Manchu, Mongol, and Han armies are considered to be indispensable elements in the social and spatial structure of Qing Beijing. Detailed analysis using maps enables researchers to contribute to clarifying urban spatial characteristics and changes in the eight-banner system in Beijing. One area of future investigation should be a more detailed comparative study of all the five maps indicating the eight-banner distribution of the three armies: the *BL*, *RGS*, *KU*, *ACM*, and *NLC* maps. It should clarify the situation and background pertinent to the period in which the maps were produced. This study could provide some views for future research in geography, history, and the various other disciplines that use historical maps of Beijing as research materials.

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