



Tackling Urban Monotony

Fabienne Wallenwein Cultural Heritage Conservation
in China's Historically and
Culturally Famous Cities



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Cultural Heritage Conservation in China's
Historically and Culturally Famous Cities

Fabienne Wallenwein

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To my family

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Note to the Reader

The translation of Chinese conservation terms used in this study such as the “Historically and Culturally Famous City” (*lishi wenhua mingcheng* 历史文化名城) is based on the English-language translation of the China Principles and its annexed glossary. The translation has been edited by Neville Agnew and Martha Demas, who participated in the formulation of the guidelines together with the Australian Commission and the Getty Conservation Institute.

One exception is the term *lishi wenhua jiequ* 历史文化街区, which has been translated as “historic and cultural block” and deviates from the translation “historic precinct” used in the China Principles.¹ As the China Principles mostly concentrate on individual heritage sites, the “historic precinct” in the China Principles is used as an alternative term for towns and villages in distinction to the city.² While the concept *lishi wenhua jiequ* indeed emerged from “Historically and Culturally Famous Towns and Villages” (see chapter 2.2), it now refers to historic areas in a morphological sense which may differ from the urban district in an administrative sense. Two of the historic areas that are part of this study, the Pingjiang Historic Block in Suzhou and Tianzifang in Shanghai, cover such areas in a morphological sense and are therefore translated as “blocks”.

All Chinese terms are written in simplified characters and have been transliterated according to the current, internationally accepted Hanyu-Pinyin system. English translations of Chinese sources which have not been otherwise marked are translations by the author.

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- 1 For dictionaries which translate the term *jiequ* 街区 as “block” see for example: Kleeman, Julie; Yu, Harry (ed., 2010): *The Oxford Chinese Dictionary*, p. 371. Hui, Yu 惠宇 (ed., 2002): *Xin shiji han ying da cidian* 新世纪汉英大词典, p. 803.
 - 2 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 102.

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Abbreviations

AHD	Authorized Heritage Discourse
art.	article
BC	before Christ
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
chap.	chapter
Comm CP	Commentary on China Principles (China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): <i>Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze</i> 中国文物古迹保护准则, <i>Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China</i>)
Comm PBCP	Commentary on Pingjiang Block Conservation Plan (Tongji University National Famous Historical and Cultural Cities Research Center 同济大学国家历史文化名城研究中心 (ed., 2004): <i>Suzhou gucheng Pingjiang lishi wenhua jiequ baohu yu zhengzhi guihua — guihua shuoming</i> 苏州古城平江历史文化街区保护与整治规划 — 规划说明 [Planning for the Preservation and Renovation of the Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block in the Historic City of Suzhou — Commentary])
Comm TLCP	Commentary on Tongli Conservation Plan (Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning and Design Institute 上海同济城市规划设计研究院 (ed., 2011): <i>Wujiang Shi Tongli lishi wenhua mingzhen baohu guihua — shuomingshu</i> 吴江市同里历史文化名镇保护规划 — 说明书 [Conservation Plan for Tongli Historically and Culturally Famous Town in Wujiang City — Commentary])
comp.	compiled
ed.	edited
e.g.	exempli gratia
et al.	et alia
fig.	figure
ha	hectar
HCF City	Historically and Culturally Famous City (<i>lishi wenhua mingcheng</i>) 历史文化名城

HCF Town	Historically and Culturally Famous Town (<i>lishi wenhua mingzhen</i>) 历史文化名镇
HUL	Historic Urban Landscape
Ibid.	ibīdem
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICCROM	International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
min.	minute
n. pag.	no page
n.d.	no date
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
para.	paragraph
PRC	People's Republic of China
PBCP	Pingjiang Block Conservation Plan (Tongji University National Famous Historical and Cultural Cities Research Center 同济大学国家历史文化名城研究中心 (ed., 2004): <i>Suzhou gucheng Pingjiang lishi wenhua jiequ baohu yu zhengzhi guihua</i> 苏州古城平江历史文化街区保护与整治规划 [Planning for the Preservation and Renovation of the Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block in the Historic City of Suzhou])
SACH	State Administration of Cultural Heritage
SASS	Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences
sic	sic erat scriptum
s.l.	sine loco
subchap.	subchapter
TLCP	Tongli Conservation Plan (Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning and Design Institute 上海同济城市规划设计研究院 (ed., 2011): <i>Wujiang Shi Tongli lishi wenhua mingzhen baohu guihua</i> 吴江市同里历史文化名镇保护规划 [Conservation Plan for Tongli Historically and Culturally Famous Town in Wujiang City])
transl.	translated
TZF Concept Plan	Tianzifang Concept Plan (Shanghai Luwan District People's Government 上海市卢湾区人民政府, Tongji University National Famous Historical and

TZF Comprehensive Planning	<p>Cultural Cities Research Center 同济大学国家历史文化名城研究中心, Shanghai Chuangji Vision Heritage Creation Center 上海创集视觉遗产创作中心 (2007): <i>Luwan Qu Tianzifang gongneng tuozhan gainian zong cehua</i> 卢湾区田子坊功能拓展概念总策划 [General Concept Plan on the functional expansion of Tianzifang in Luwan District]</p>
UCCN UNESCO	<p>Tianzifang Comprehensive Planning (Shanghai Luwan District People's Government 上海市卢湾区人民政府, Tongji University National Famous Historical and Cultural Cities Research Center 同济大学国家历史文化名城研究中心, Shanghai Chuangji Cultural Communications Co., Ltd. 上海创集文化传播有限公司 (2008): <i>Shanghai Shi Luwan Qu Tianzifang zonghe gui Hua</i> 上海市卢湾区田子坊综合规划 [Comprehensive Planning for Tianzifang in Luwan District, Shanghai])</p> <p>UNESCO Creative Cities Network United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</p>
WHITRAP	<p>World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for the Asia and the Pacific Region</p>

I Introduction

“I think that harmony with history and tradition is important for people’s lives. I want to give an example. On television, we often see a scene in which someone lost his memory. As a result, circumstances are getting more and more terrible. His entire life is turned upside down.

If we look at Chinese cities, we see that almost all our cities equally lost their memories. This is a terrible phenomenon. And this is why we talk about history and tradition; they are absolutely essential for our daily lives.”¹

- Wang Shu 王澍

This impression on the situation of contemporary urban centers in China was formulated by renowned Chinese architect Wang Shu 王澍 in an interview in the documentary *China’s exploding cities* from August 2015. The increasing disappearance of traditional built heritage in Chinese cities as described by Wang is a result of the rapid urbanization processes China has been undergoing since the Reform and Opening-Up (*gaige kaifang* 改革开放) in 1978. On the one hand, state restructuring and fiscal decentralization transferred the responsibility to raise funding for urban development from the Central Government to local governments. Thereby, local governments were empowered to regulate and promote urban development by mobilizing resources and attracting investment.² On the other hand, the introduction of market-oriented reforms, particularly land and housing reform, fostered the development of a real estate market and provided local governments with a new source for income generation.³

The reforms were initiated as a reaction to economic stagnation and widespread dilapidation of built structures in urban areas, making regeneration a major task of municipal governments. Under designations such as “transformation of unsafe buildings” (*weifang gaizao* 危房改造) in Beijing or “clearance of shanties”

1 Author’s translation. Source: Trabitusch, Michael (producer); Floquet, Claire; Hissen, Jörg-Daniel (directors, 2015): *Chinas explodierende Städte*, min. 34.

2 He, Shenjing; Wu, Fulong (2009): “China’s Emerging Neoliberal Urbanism: Perspectives from Urban Redevelopment”, p. 286.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 288–290.

(*penghu qingli* 棚户清理) in Shanghai, municipal governments launched redevelopment projects to improve living conditions in the 1970s and 1980s, but these initiatives remained at a low level due to financial deficiencies.⁴

From the 1990s, governments in great Chinese cities, striving for economic growth, started to involve the private sector and foreign investment into large-scale redevelopment of urban areas. As a result, traditional residential areas have often become targets for such redevelopment projects as they are greatly affected by overcrowding and deterioration. The demolition of traditional housing structures and their replacement with high-rise apartment blocks, as well as iconic buildings, generates new challenges for Chinese cities such as how to overcome the detachedness of new-built structures from each other and their environment.⁵ The loss of historic urban fabric has further led to the emergence of a monotonous appearance of Chinese cities, as described above, which seriously threatens the disappearance of local traditions and related customs.

Simultaneously, rapid urbanization processes and increasing pressures for economic growth have raised a growing awareness of cultural heritage and set a stronger focus on preservation.⁶ The first Chinese conservation movement started in the 1930s but ended due to the Second Sino-Japanese (1937–1945) and Civil Wars (1945–1949). At the beginning of the 1960s, the State Council primarily promulgated a list of significant cultural heritage, so-called “cultural relics” (*wenwu* 文物), and issued regulations for their protection and management. Although a decisive step, the establishment of a national conservation system in China was then, again, interrupted by the Cultural Revolution (*wenhua da geming* 文化大革命, 1966–1976), which caused the destruction of a great amount of historic built heritage.

In the last 30 years, China has greatly developed its heritage conservation system as reflected in the number of regulations and documents drafted at national and regional levels. At the beginning of the 1980s, the State Council further began promulgating selected cities with great historical and cultural values for protection, known as “Historically and Culturally Famous Cities” (*lishi wenhua mingcheng* 历史文化名城). Since then, this inventory has steadily been expanded to currently 132 cities.⁷ Initiated as a branding designation with a single requirement for muni-

4 He, Shenjing; Wu, Fulong (2005): “Property-led Redevelopment in Post-Reform China: A Case Study of Xintiandi Redevelopment Project in Shanghai”, pp. 3–4.

5 Van Oers, Ron; Pereira Roders, Ana (2013): “Road map for application of the HUL approach in China”, p. 6.

6 Berliner, Nancy (2005): “Sheltering the Past: The Preservation of China’s Old Dwellings”, p. 205.

7 Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 国家文物局 (October 9, 2017): *Zhufang chengxiang*

cipal governments to draft conservation plans for the respective cities,⁸ this study argues that the concept of Historically and Culturally Famous Cities has gradually been developed into an established conservation system for urban heritage.

By ratification of the World Heritage Convention in 1985, China became part of the international conservation community. At the time, advisory bodies of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) such as the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) prepared the adoption of a “global strategy” for a balanced and representative World Heritage List. The need for such a strategy resulted from a high overrepresentation of European heritage in terms of historic towns and religious monuments as well as “elitist” architecture in contrast to the underrepresentation of “living cultures” found by ICOMOS.⁹ Australian Heritage and Museum Studies scholar Laurajane Smith sees the causes for this development in the dominance of what she has termed the “Authorized Heritage Discourse” (AHD), which excludes oppositional understandings of heritage.¹⁰ In this discourse, which is rooted in 19th century Western European conservation debates, the value of material culture is regarded as inherent rather than associative.¹¹ Consequently, heritage is advocated to be passed on unaltered to future generations.

In 1994, the World Heritage Committee adopted its Global Strategy, which aimed to expand the definition of World Heritage and include States Parties as well as currently underrepresented heritage categories. With the objective to counteract the existing imbalance of inscriptions on the World Heritage List, inscription criteria such as the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) were adapted, with Mem-

jianshebu, Guojia wenwu ju guanyu kaizhan Guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng he Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingzhen mingcun baohu gongzuo pinggu jiancha de tongzhi 住房和城乡建设部国家文物局关于开展国家历史文化名城和中国历史文化名镇名村保护工作评估检查的通知 [Circular of the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage on Carrying out Evaluation and Inspections of the Conservation Work in National Historically and Culturally Famous Cities and National Historically and Culturally Famous Towns and Villages], Online.

8 Abramson, Daniel Benjamin (2014): “Conservation on the Edge: Periurban Settlement Heritage in China”, p. 119.

9 Albert, Marie-Theres; Ringbeck, Birgitta (2015): *40 Jahre Welterbekonvention: Zur Popularisierung eines Schutzkonzepts für Kultur- und Naturgüter*, p. 86.

10 Smith, Laurajane (2012): *All Heritage is Intangible: Critical Heritage Studies and Museums*, p. 12.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

ber States obliged to prepare tentative lists and new heritage categories introduced.¹² One of these categories was cultural landscape, which is neither a mere cultural nor natural heritage category, but a harmonious composition of natural landscape formation and man-made elements. This introduction of new categories also provided new opportunities for China to nominate sites such as the West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou 杭州西湖 (inscribed in 2011) or the Hani Rice Terraces 哈尼梯田 (inscribed in 2013).

National and international documents such as the *Burra Charter for Places of Cultural Significance* from 1999 (first adopted in 1979) and the *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994), which stressed the importance of social and cultural values, further triggered a paradigm shift from tangible to intangible heritage. Thereby, the concept of cultural heritage was expanded from monumental and “elitist” to include non-exceptional heritage such as vernacular architecture.¹³ In China, traditional heritage concepts as found by Guo are *guwu* 古物 (ancient objects, translation of the English-language term “antiquities” and borrowed from Japanese usage¹⁴), *shiji* 史迹 (historic sites), *guji* 古迹 (ancient sites), *mingsheng* 名胜 (famous sights), *wenwu* 文物 (cultural relics) and *guobao* 国宝 (national treasures).¹⁵ The focus on individual objects and sites as reflected in these concepts underwent a similar shift towards a broader understanding of heritage which Bi et al. regard as “cross-cultural negotiation” towards a stronger intangible dimension.¹⁶

China’s participation in international conservation requires an engagement with international conservation principles and standards of good practice. The Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China (Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze 中国文物古迹保护准则, hereafter China Principles), which were adopted in 2000, represent the first Chinese contribution to international conservation theory and a set of professional heritage guidelines for Chinese heritage conservation approved by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage. While they emphasize the significance and preservation of material fabric,¹⁷ the China Principles also

12 Albert, Marie-Theres; Ringbeck, Birgitta (2015): *40 Jahre Welterbekonvention: Zur Popularisierung eines Schutzkonzepts für Kultur- und Naturgüter*, p. 75.

13 Falser, Michael (2011): “Von der Venice Charter 1964 zum Nara Document on Authenticity 1994 — 30 Jahre Authentizität im Namen des kulturellen Erbes der Welt”, p. 6.

14 Carroll, Peter J. (2006): *Between Heaven and Modernity: Reconstructing Suzhou, 1895–1937*, p. 206.

15 Lai, Guolong (2016): “The emergence of ‘cultural heritage’ in modern China: a historical and legal perspective”, p. 50.

16 Bi, Lingling; Vanneste, Dominique; van der Borg, Jan (2016): “Cultural Heritage Development in China: A Contextualized Trajectory or a Global-Local Nexus”, p. 193.

17 Agnew, Neville et. al. (2004): “The begetting of charters: genesis of the China Principles”, p. 44.

reveal points of friction with earlier international charters. These “Chinese characteristics” become most apparent in the strict requirement of conformity with heritage legislation and the dominance of economic interests reflected in more flexibility concerning interventions such as relocation and reconstruction.¹⁸

Although the preservation of material culture is prioritized in Chinese heritage legislation and guidelines with the above-mentioned restrictions, in China, as in Asian countries in general, “universal” heritage values with a focus on inherent values as assumed by the AHD have led to conflicts with local interests and local conservation practices. Primarily, such conflicts are related to differences in architecture and construction materials. In contrast to architectural sites in Western countries, which are mainly built of stone, traditional buildings in China have a timber framework. Aggravated by natural and climatic conditions, timber structures decay more easily and require treatment, which, as a consequence, fostered practices of replacing old materials with new ones.¹⁹

Moreover, reconstruction and restoration are widespread measures adopted in Chinese conservation practice. Ruan explains the prevalence of such measures with, among others, traditional aesthetics (see chapter 3.2.3).²⁰ Historically, these interventions were carried out for temples and public buildings, which Shepherd relates to Buddhism, and rulers prioritizing renovation, expansion or even replacement over material preservation.²¹ A third aspect as argued in this study is the high amount of intangible heritage associated with Chinese tangible sites. Their associated values derive from attributes other than material substance and the preservation of their cultural significance is not restricted to unaltered material heritage.

The role of cultural heritage is becoming more and more important for Chinese politics as well as economic development. On the one hand, China has employed the promotion of cultural heritage as a strategy for cultural soft power.²² On the other hand, municipal governments increasingly turn to culture and heritage as drivers for urban regeneration projects. Given the above-illustrated modernization and urbanization pressures as well as contradictions in international conservation principles and practice versus local interests, integrating both conservation with

18 Qian, Fengqi (2007): “China’s Burra Charter: The Formation and Implementation of the China Principles”, p. 263.

19 Ibid., p. 257.

20 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Yan, Daning 晏大宁 (1998): “Jiaqiang baohu yishi, jinkuai yu guoji jiegui” 加强保护意识, 尽快与国际接轨 [Strengthen the awareness for conservation, quickly catch up with the world], p. 26.

21 Shepherd, Robert (2014): “China: Cultural Heritage Preservation and World Heritage”, p. 1410.

22 Blumenfield, Tami; Silverman, Helaine (2013): “Cultural Heritage Politics in China: An Introduction”, p. 6.

development and international principles with local practice is a major challenge China is presently facing.

This study intends to trace three fundamental issues related to this challenge. As mentioned above, vernacular architecture especially, which has not been officially listed, often fell victim to past development in Chinese urban areas. Following the attempt to maintain the “memories” of Chinese cities as expressed in the introductory remark, one important question is: how far can the HCF City concept contribute to the preservation of traditional architecture and its cultural significance in developing Chinese cities or, in a broader sense, enable an integration of conservation and development?

Given the strong spiritual dimension in China’s traditional understanding of heritage and the predominantly “Western” conservation philosophy that served as a basis for the development of “universal” heritage values, another question is how such “universal” values as defined by the international conservation community are negotiated with interests and conservation practices at the local level. Therefore, three case studies were conducted on the Pingjiang Historic Block in Suzhou, Tongli Ancient Water Town and Shanghai Tianzifang between 2015 and 2018.

On an international level, UNESCO developed the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) management approach for an integrated conservation and sustainable development of cities. This approach regards urban centers from the landscape perspective and as part of an historical continuum. Such an approach is particularly interesting for countries with rapid development where urban heritage can easily be seen as an obstacle rather than a benefit. A final and framing question to this study therefore is, what implications can the investigated case studies provide for the applicability of UNESCO’s HUL management approach in China?

The distinctive character of this study lies in three main aspects. Firstly, it develops a China-centered approach and draws on Chinese professional conservation guidelines and policy documents to determine cultural significance and evaluation criteria, instead of taking “Western” conservation standards as a basis. Secondly, the study provides a comparative analysis of cultural heritage conservation in Chinese areas with different scales of urbanity (mega-city, metropolis, town). Finally, it does not remain limited to representative sites, but draws on a comprehensive survey of all registered and plan-protected built structures, including vernacular architecture, small monuments and their environment.

1.1 Literature Review

The establishment of architectural history in China, as well as the formation of the related 1930 **Chinese conservation movement**, have been the subject of a considerable number of studies. Before professional Chinese research on traditional architecture was established, a few foreign architectural and art historians conducted systematic research in China, among them the Japanese Sekino Tadashi 関野貞 (1868–1935) and Itō Chūta 伊東忠太 (1867–1954), the Finnish-born Swede Osvald Sirén (1879–1966) and the German Ernst Boerschmann (1873–1949), whose complete work has recently been revealed by Kögel²³. Yang and Ming²⁴, Rowe and Kuan²⁵ as well as Steinhardt²⁶ highlighted the important role of first-generation Chinese architects such as Liang Sicheng 梁思成 (1901–1972), Liu Dunzhen 刘敦桢 (1896–1968) and Yang Tingbao 杨廷宝 (1901–1982) and their training in Western countries and Japan for a stronger focus on architecture and its preservation.

Zhu²⁷ marks the rediscovery of the Song dynasty building manual *yingzao fashi* 营造法式 by Zhu Qiqian 朱启钤 (1872–1964) and the foundation of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture (Zhongguo yingzao xueshe 中国营造学社) in 1929 as the beginning of intensive research into the history of building methods. Following Li²⁸ and Steinhardt²⁹, the investigation of this building manual and traditional architecture in the 1930s was strongly motivated by nationalist interests, which gave built heritage a political dimension.

Returning from their studies abroad, first-generation Chinese architects primarily introduced theoretical conservation principles to China. Lai et al.³⁰ have shown that conservation practice as advocated by Liang Sicheng at the time laid the basis for the establishment of a national conservation system. The development

23 Kögel, Eduard (2015): *The Grand Documentation: Ernst Boerschmann and Chinese Religious Architecture (1906–1931)*.

24 Yang, Yongsheng 杨永生; Ming, Liansheng 明连生 (1998): *Jianzhu sijie 建筑四杰 [Four Outstanding Figures in Architecture]*.

25 Rowe, Peter; Kuan, Seng (2002): *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China*.

26 Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman (2014): “Chinese Architectural History in the Twenty-First Century”, pp. 38–60.

27 Zhu, Guangya (2012): “China’s architectural heritage conservation movement”, p. II.

28 Li, Shiqiao (2003): “Reconstituting Chinese Building Tradition: The Yingzao fashi in the Early Twentieth Century”, pp. 470–489.

29 Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman (2004): “The Tang Architectural Icon and the Politics of Chinese Architectural History”, pp. 228–254.

30 Lai, Guolong; Demas, Martha; Agnew, Neville (2004): “Valuing the Past in China: The Seminal Influence of Liang Sicheng on Heritage Conservation”, pp. 82–89.

of heritage conservation in China has been traced by Lü and Fu, who divide the historical process into different stages. Lü³¹ equally acknowledges that conservation theory began with the foundation of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture followed by influences from the Soviet Union in the 1950s, which triggered restoration practices. He further highlights the interruption of conservation development in China by the Cultural Revolution. Following his analysis, the period since the 1980s is characterized by, on the one hand, the protection of historic cities and on the other hand, the inclusion of China into the international conservation community.

Fu³² divides heritage conservation in China into three stages. In the first period from 1950–1980, conservation is focused on individual sites and restoration to a complete “original state”. In the second period, from 1980–2002, individual sites are expanded by historic areas and the relation of conservation and development becomes more important. In the final stage from 2002, conservation moves towards an integrated approach with the inclusion of a number of new categories, such as rural heritage, industrial heritage, cultural landscapes and cultural routes.

As mentioned above, the introduction of new heritage categories emerged as a reaction to unfulfilled objectives of the Global Strategy. Albert and Ringbeck³³ have portrayed the development of the World Heritage Convention since its ratification in 1972 and illustrated the **paradigm shift from tangible to intangible heritage**. The understanding of heritage, not in terms of material form but as an experience and a social and cultural performance, has been suggested by Smith, who sees heritage as “something vital and alive”.³⁴

A similar shift from tangible to intangible heritage has occurred in China, in relation to its participation in heritage conservation on an international level.³⁵ Bi et al.³⁶ have examined this development from an evolutionary perspective as reflected in the conceptual shift from “cultural relics” (*wenwu* 文物) to “cultural

31 Lü, Zhou 吕舟 (2008): “Zhongguo wenhua yichan baohu san shi nian” 中国文化遗产保护三十年 [30 years of cultural heritage conservation in China], pp. 1–5.

32 Fu, Wenjun 付文军 (2010): “Yichan leixing, baohu linian he guanli jizhi” 遗产类型, 保护理念和管理机制 [Heritage categories, conservation principles and management system], p. 27.

33 Albert, Marie-Theres; Ringbeck, Birgitta (2015): *40 Jahre Welterbekonvention: Zur Popularisierung eines Schutzkonzepts für Kultur- und Naturgüter*, chap. 6.

34 Smith, Laurajane (2012): *All Heritage is Intangible: Critical Heritage Studies and Museums*, p. 23.

35 Yan, Haiming (2018): *World Heritage Craze in China: Universal Discourse, National Culture and Local Memory*, chap. 1.

36 Bi, Lingling; Vanneste, Dominique; van der Borg, Jan (2016): “Cultural Heritage Development in China: A Contextualized Trajectory or a Global-Local Nexus”, pp. 191–207.

heritage” (*wenhua yichan* 文化遗产). Lai³⁷ further investigated the emergence of the “cultural heritage” concept from a historical and legal perspective. He found that during the early Republic, state legislation and administrative orders were used to transform cultural property from imperial and private collections into state-owned cultural heritage, and that this state monopoly is currently transformed into a multiple-channeled project at local, national and international levels.³⁸

Research on **urban conservation in China** is still relatively limited. The eponymous study by Whitehand and Gu³⁹ is one of the few that provides an historical overview of the development and current practice of Chinese urban conservation. Moreover, there are studies related to urban heritage conservation with a focus on urban regeneration and economic development in great Chinese cities. For example, Balderstone et al.⁴⁰ have found that built heritage in Shanghai is primarily regarded as having economic value, attracting investment and tourism as a symbol for an international and modern metropolis. Another approach may stem from a basic understanding of Chinese cities such as the elementary works of Hassenpflug⁴¹, Peisert⁴² as well as Kögel⁴³ on Chinese Urbanism and Cai’s dissertation⁴⁴ on urban renewal strategies. Changes and continuities in Chinese city development have further been investigated by Kaltenbrunner⁴⁵. The present study can contribute to a thorough understanding of Chinese urban development by setting the focus directly on urban conservation, tracing its establishment from the initiative to preserve the historic city of Beijing to the nomination of cities worth protecting on different administrative levels (see chapter 2).

37 Lai, Guolong (2016): “The emergence of ‘cultural heritage’ in modern China: a historical and legal perspective”.

38 Ibid., p. 79.

39 Whitehand, J.W.R.; Gu, Kai (2007): “Urban Conservation in China: Historical development, current practice and morphological approach”, pp. 643–670.

40 Balderstone, Susan; Qian, Fengqi; Zhang, Bing (2002): “Shanghai Reincarnated”, pp. 21–34.

41 Hassenpflug, Dieter (2010): *Der urbane Code Chinas*.

42 Peisert, Christoph (1996): *Peking und die “nationale Form”*: die repräsentative Stadtgestalt im neuen China als Zugang zu klassischen Raumkonzepten.

43 Kögel, Eduard (ed., 2000): *Die chinesische Stadt: zwischen Tradition und Moderne*.

44 Cai, Lin (2011): *Strategien der Stadterneuerung in China am Fallbeispiel Yangzhou*.

45 Kaltenbrunner, Robert (2008): “Die Köpfe des Drachen: Kontinuität und Wandel in der Stadt- und Raumentwicklung der VR China”, pp. 471–483.

Besides, Chinese conservation is often approached as part of greater studies on **conservation in Asia** or general practices in Chinese conservation.⁴⁶ In *The Chinese Attitude towards the Past*, Ryckmans⁴⁷ discussed the paradox of China's spiritual continuity in contrast to a material absence of the past, as in the form of ancient monuments. Another important aspect is the handling of "foreign" heritage on Chinese ground which has been intensively studied by Müller⁴⁸ from the perspective of dissonant heritage, especially in relation to foreigners' cemeteries and graves. Stubbs and Thomson⁴⁹ have highlighted China's tradition to record restoration activities and equally pointed to a focus on the continuation of meaning in Eastern countries in contrast to a "protection and codification of objective reality" in the West.

Cody and Fong⁵⁰ call for more holistic approaches in Asian conservation that on the one hand, recognize traditional craftsmanship and indigenous conservation practices but, on the other hand, also note the preservation and maintenance of material evidence. Other aspects discussed in the literature are increasing cultural heritage tourism and the branding of space for political and economic purposes. Many of these studies focus on minority areas, such as Su⁵¹ and Kendall⁵² who examined the notions of cultural identity and authenticity in Lijiang, Yunnan Province and Kaili, Guizhou Province. Zhou has shown how Tengchong, Yunnan Province has been rebranded by local authorities to connect China with Southeast Asia and India and promote future development.⁵³

46 See for example: Taylor, Ken (2012): "Heritage Challenges in Asian urban cultural landscape settings", pp. 266–277. Stubbs, John H.; Thomson, Robert G. (2017): *Architectural Conservation in Asia: National experiences and practice*.

47 Ryckmans, Pierre (1986): *The Chinese Attitude towards the Past: The 47th George Ernest Morrison Lecture in Ethnology*, p. 2.

48 Müller, Gotelind (2018): *Between History, Heritage, and Foreign Relations: Extant Westerners' Cemeteries in Guangzhou and Shanghai*. Müller, Gotelind (2018): *Challenging Dead: A Look into Foreigners' Cemeteries in Macau, Hong Kong, and Taiwan*. Müller, Gotelind (2019): *Ambivalent Remains: China and the Russian Cemeteries in Harbin, Dalian and Lüshun*.

49 Stubbs, John H.; Thomson, Robert G. (2017): *Architectural Conservation in Asia: National experiences and practice*, p. 71.

50 Cody, Jeffrey W.; Fong, Kecia L. (2012): "Beyond band-aids: the need for specialized materials conservation expertise in Asia", p. 108.

51 Su, Xiaobo (2013): "Tourism, Migration and the Politics of Built Heritage in Lijiang, China", pp. 101–114.

52 Kendall, Paul (2017): "The Location of Cultural Authenticity: Identifying the Real and the Fake in Urban Guizhou", pp. 93–109.

53 Zhou, Yongming (2013): "Branding Tengchong: Globalization, Road Building, and Spatial Reconfigurations in Yunnan, Southwest China", pp. 247–259.

Historically and Culturally Famous Cities have primarily been regarded as a form of designation for places exceeding the scope of individual building structures.⁵⁴ The emergence of Historically and Culturally Famous Cities and the development of their concept has been worked out in a number of Chinese-language articles.⁵⁵ Moreover, Qiu⁵⁶ primarily provided an overview of the formation of Historically and Culturally Famous Cities into a comprehensive mechanism that exceeds its administrative dimension. This process included the establishment of an assessment system, a legal framework, as well as a comprehensive set of planning and management regulations. The present study investigates the formation of China's HCF City conservation system in the context of international heritage conservation and how its implementation at the local level enables the integration of conservation and development.

Preceding research on the first case study comprises works on the city of Suzhou as well as the **Pingjiang Historic Block**. In his well-known essay "A Millennium of Chinese Urban History" based on a 1972 lecture, Mote⁵⁷ discussed the presence of Suzhou's past and found that its real past was "a past of the mind". Following his observations, physical structures of the city are of secondary importance and matter less than the idea related to these structures, which may be captured in a poem. Functioning as "impermanent superstructure", he argues, the replacement or restoration of historic monuments was not perceived as a violation of history.

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- 54 See for example: Whitehand, J.W.R.; Gu, Kai (2006): "Research on Chinese urban form: retrospect and prospect", p. 348. Abramson, Daniel Benjamin (2014): "Conservation on the Edge: Periurban Settlement Heritage in China", p. 119. Cody, Jeffrey W. (2005): "Historical and Cultural Cities", p. 251.
- 55 See for example: Wang, Jinghui 王景慧 (1994): "Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingcheng de baohu gainian" 中国历史文化名城的保护概念 [The Conservation Concept of Chinese Historically and Culturally Famous Cities], pp. 12–17. Dong, Jianhong 董鉴泓 (1991): "Cong mingcheng leixing tan Shanghai lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu" 从名城类型谈上海历史文化名城保护 [Discussion Proceeding from Famous City Categories to the Conservation of Shanghai Historically and Culturally Famous City], pp. 17–18. Luo, Zhewen 罗哲文 (2002): "Lishi wenhua mingcheng shi jianshe you Zhongguo tese shehui zhuyi de qiangda zhizhu" 历史文化名城是建设有中国特色社会主义的强大支柱 [The Historically and Culturally Famous Cities are a strong pillar to build up socialism with Chinese characteristics], pp. 67–81.
- 56 Qiu, Baoxing 仇保兴 (2014): *Feng yu ru pan — lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu 30 nian* 风雨如磐——历史文化名城保护 30 年 ["Tumultuous wind and heavy rain" — 30 Years of Conservation in Historically and Culturally Famous Cities].
- 57 Mote, F.W. (1973): "A Millennium of Chinese Urban History: Form, Time and Space Concepts in Soochow", p. 51.

Two greater studies on the urban development of Suzhou have been done by Xu and Carroll. Xu⁵⁸ has traced the formation of Chinese urban centers by example of pre-modern Suzhou with a focus on building characteristics and urban transformations. Key topics he has addressed are the spatial organization of the city with its Song-period canal network, city walls and gates with their symbolic meaning as well as the role of *fengshui*⁵⁹ principles.

Carroll⁶⁰ focused on the reconstruction of Suzhou in the late Qing dynasty and the Republican period. Thereby, he revealed how the city as such and single components including streets, historic monuments or temples gained new significance and were claimed by different actors in a greater pursuit of modernity. He found that, as a matter of contest between national, local and self-interests, the definition of historic sites (*guji* 古迹) and Chinese culture was employed to foster local economic growth and national integrity.

The conservation of the Pingjiang Historic Block and its central axis Pingjiang Road was documented by Ruan,⁶¹ who led a major conservation project there from 2002 to 2004 and drafted its conservation plan. He was interviewed for this study in May 2016 (see appendix A.2) and his conservation project was included in a monography on the protection of historical buildings and the environment in ancient towns of Jiangnan. Therein, his team presents an evaluation of the block and its greatest problems before conservation, as well as conservation planning and its implementation. In particular, they provide examples on different conservation schemes applied in the project, such as improvement, restoration and reconstruction.

58 Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*.

59 Fengshui 风水, literally “wind and water” and often translated as “geomancy”, is a theory based on the concept of “cosmic breath” (*qi* 气) which addresses the relationship of dwellings as well as graves to their environment and the entire universe. Thereby, proper siting of built structures is believed to enhance wealth and well-being of inhabitants and their descendants whereas ill siting can have evil effects. Source: Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*, pp. 200–201.

60 Carroll, Peter J. (2006): *Between Heaven and Modernity: Reconstructing Suzhou, 1895–1937*, p. 244.

61 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Li, Zhen 李滨; Lin, Lin 林林 (2010): *Jiangnan guzhen lishi jianzhu yu lishi huanjing de baohu, The Work of Protection for Historical Buildings and Environment of Ancient Towns in Jiangnan* 江南古镇历史建筑与历史环境的保护.

Xia and Ma⁶² discussed the importance of maintaining urban culture as part of Pingjiang Historic Block's conservation. They see local culture as the "soul of the block", which must be maintained in addition to the spatial pattern, architectural style and historic sites. Moreover, they highlight the importance of innovation rooted in traditional culture. Ruan and Liu⁶³ further stressed sustainable development and community participation as decisive factors for the block's conservation.

In a recent study on heritage-led urban regeneration in China, Xie and Heath⁶⁴ examined the conservation of the Pingjiang Historic Block as one of several cases. They see strengths of the conservation project in the different forms of adaptive reuse and the maintenance of the block's residential function but criticize that the physical fabric does not adequately reflect the block's underlying social values as sustained in daily practice. While their work has a strong focus on selected buildings, this study aims to provide a comprehensive investigation of the block's entire built heritage, including residential structures and environmental elements such as historic trees, which are equally considered for an HCF City.

The secondary literature on conservation and development in **Tongli** is still very limited. Local researcher Wang Jiadong 王稼冬 has discussed a number of topics related to cultural heritage in Tongli from the middle of the 1960s to the 1990s. These topics include the Jiuli Lake Neolithic Site in Tongli, an investigation of Tuisi Garden and the story of a claimed local legend called the Pearl Pagoda. His work was compiled and published in 2001.⁶⁵

In 1983, well-known Chinese sociologist Fei Xiaotong 费孝通 investigated the role and condition of small towns in Wujiang county together with a research team. In the course of this field study, he classified five types of towns to identify their specific characteristics and features in which Tongli was chosen as a representative example of a "consumer type town".⁶⁶ Zhu, who focused on Tongli and conducted a preliminary study on its development, found that major challenges for the town's

62 Xia, Xiaoming; Ma, Yan (2009): "Suzhou Pingjiang jiequ baohu zhong wenhua baohu de sikao" 苏州平江街区保护中文化保护的思考 [Reflections on cultural conservation regarding the conservation of Suzhou Pingjiang Block], pp. 22–25.

63 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Liu, Hao 刘浩 (1999): "Suzhou Pingjiang lishi jiequ baohu guihua de zhanlüe sixiang ji lilun tansuo" 苏州平江历史街区保护规划的战略思想及理论探索 [An Exploration of the Strategic Thinking and Theory of Preservation Planning for Suzhou Pingjiang Historic Block], pp. 47–53.

64 Xie, Jing; Heath, Tim (2018): *Heritage-led Urban Regeneration in China*, pp. 80–120.

65 Wang, Jiadong 王稼冬 (1966): "Tongli Jiulihu xinshiqi shidai yizhi de kaozheng" 同里九里湖新石器时代遗址的考证 [Research on Jiuli Lake Neolithic Site in Tongli], in: Yan, Pinhua 严品华 (ed., 2001): *Tongli gutu wenhua zashuo* 同里故土文化杂说 [Miscellaneous writings on the culture of my hometown, Tongli].

66 Fei, Xiaotong 费孝通 (1985): "Xiao chengzhen, da wenti" 小城镇·大问题 [Small Towns, Great Significance], p. 23.

economic development are the establishment of industry, business and service trades as well as the improvement of living conditions and transportation while simultaneously preserving its traditional architecture and overall appearance.⁶⁷

Bellocq⁶⁸ has traced the question of how memories are passed on in Tongli with the promotion of cultural heritage as part of tourism development. The study is based on interviews with different resident age groups as well as on-site investigation. How legends and customs are used to support the official version of local history is also analyzed. Bellocq found that the official version as promoted by the local government is exclusive and more easily accepted by younger generations. Older generations are more skeptical towards this official narrative according to which popular legends and customs originate from Tongli and instead relate their emergence to the development of tourism.

As part of a series on six water towns (*Jiangnan guzhen* 江南古镇), Ruan, who has conducted research on these towns since the 1980s, wrote a volume about Tongli.⁶⁹ Therein, he addresses the characteristics and conditions of gardens, residences and other components of Tongli's built environment such as bridges. Moreover, he discusses the conservation and "recreation" of the Pearl Pagoda Scenic Site as well as the general conservation of the town in the last chapter. In addition to these historical and architectural studies, the present research primarily provides a comprehensive investigation of all officially protected heritage structures and historical buildings in Tongli, with a focus on their conservation, management and usage.

The development of **Tianzifang** in Shanghai has primarily been researched from an urban regeneration and sociological perspective. In the course of a Fudan University project on value assessment of cultural heritage led by Du Xiaofan 杜晓帆, professor at the Department of Cultural Heritage and Museology, the cultural significance of Tianzifang was considered from the perspective of different disciplines.⁷⁰ Moreover, as part of the resulting publication, Shi⁷¹ provided an overview on Tianzifang's historical development.

67 Zhu, Tonghua (1986): "A Preliminary Study on the Development of Tongli — An Ancient Cultural Town", pp. 328–341.

68 Bellocq, Maylis; Hall, Jonathan (transl., 2006): "The Cultural Heritage Industry in the PRC: What Memories Are Being Passed On? A Case Study of Tongli, A Protected Township in Jiangsu Province".

69 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三 (2015): *Tongli* 同里 [Tongli].

70 Du, Xiaofan 杜晓帆 (ed., 2015): "Wenhua yichan jiazhi de panduan yu bianxi — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li" 文化遗产价值的判断与辨析——以上海田子坊为例 [Evaluating the Significance of Cultural Heritage — Shanghai's Tianzifang as Case Study], pp. 20–27.

71 Shi, Ding 石鼎 (2015): "Tianzifang de lishi yange" 田子坊的历史沿革 [Historical Development of Tianzifang], in: Du, Xiaofan 杜晓帆 (ed.): "Wenhua yichan jiazhi de

The case of Tianzifang has mostly been researched as an urban regeneration project such as by Yung et al. and Yao et al. who focus on the aspect of sustainable development. The study of Yung et al.⁷² is based on interviews as well as questionnaires and judges the case of Tianzifang as a successful community-initiated rehabilitation project. Yao et al.⁷³ equally stress Tianzifang's development as a "bottom-up" approach and focus on aspects such as the "revival" of local culture as well as the problem of commodification. Another problem for Tianzifang's regeneration as discussed by scholars is the complex situation of property rights.⁷⁴

Fudan University sociology professor Yu Hai has observed and studied the development of Tianzifang since its very beginning. He further conducted a wide range of interviews with the different stakeholders involved in Tianzifang's regeneration process. His studies include discussions of Tianzifang emerging as an alternative urban development model⁷⁵ as well as the significance of social naming

panduan yu bianxi — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li” 文化遗产价值的判断与辨析——以上海田子坊为例 [Evaluating the Significance of Cultural Heritage — Shanghai's Tianzifang as Case Study], p. 21.

- 72 Yung, Esther H.K.; Chan, Edwin H.W.; Xu, Ying (2014): “Sustainable Development and the Rehabilitation of a Historic Urban District — Social Sustainability in the Case of Tianzifang in Shanghai”, pp. 95–112.
- 73 Yao, Zigang 姚子刚; Pang, Yan 庞艳; Wang, Jieqiong 汪洁琼 (2012): ““Haipai wenhua” de fuxing yu lishi jiejū de zaisheng — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li” “海派文化”的复兴与历史街区的再生 —— 以上海田子坊为例 [The Revival of “Haipai culture” and regeneration of historic blocks — by example of Shanghai Tianzifang], pp. 139–144.
- 74 See for example: Huang, Ye 黄晔; Qi, Guangping 戚广平 (2015): “Tianzifang lishi jiejū baohu yu zai liyong shijian zhong shang ju hunhe maodun de caichanquan wenti” 田子坊历史街区保护与再利用实践中商居混合矛盾的财产权问题 [The Problem of Property Rights in the Conflict of Commercial and Residential Mixture in the Conservation and Reusing Practice of Tianzifang Historical District], pp. 66–72. Peng, Jianhang 彭健航; Hu, Xiaoming 胡晓鸣 (2014): “Jiyu chanquan shijiao dui zi xia er shang chengshi gengxin moshi de fansi — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li” 基于产权视角对自下而上城市更新模式的反思 —— 以上海田子坊为例 [Reflections on the Bottom-up City Renewal Model from the Perspective of Property Rights — By Example of Shanghai Tianzifang], pp. 117–119.
- 75 Yu, Hai 于海 (2009): “Tianzifang shiyan: Chaoyue quanqiu — difang er yuan duili de chengshi gengxin moshi” 田子坊实验：超越全球——地方二元对立的城市更新模式 [The Tianzifang experiment — A city renewal model going beyond the global-local duality], pp. 26–31.

for its promotion, both as a brand and legitimate development model.⁷⁶ Yu et al.⁷⁷ further traced its transformation from a collective illegal operation to a collective economic development based on “communal entrepreneurship” in contrast to the widespread approach of a coalition between the government and the private sector, a so-called “entrepreneurial governance”.

Recently, renowned American sociology professor Sharon Zukin, together with Philip Kasinitz and Chen Xiangming, undertook a research project on urban transformations in six global cities by example of local shopping streets of which Tianzifang was examined for the city of Shanghai. In the course of this project, it was found that globalization has been a decisive factor in establishing Tianzifang as a special shopping and tourist destination.⁷⁸ Zhong,⁷⁹ in her doctoral dissertation, further examined the formation of Tianzifang from the perspective of the actors who shaped its spatial development. Zhu⁸⁰ also published a volume on the development of Tianzifang and its role for urban renewal in China.

Another domain in how Tianzifang plays an important role is the field of creative industry development. Here, Tianzifang is often drawn on as an exemplary case for creative industries in Shanghai.⁸¹ O’connor and Gu⁸² further see the case as one of the few successful ‘organically’ developed clusters. Proceeding from creative districts as they originally emerged in the Western context, Chen⁸³ examines adaptations of creative industries in China, equally focusing on Tianzifang.

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- 76 Yu, Hai 于海; Zou, Huahua 邹华华 (2015): “San zhong shehui mingming yiyi xia de chengshi neicheng fuxing — yi Shanghai Tianzifang de chanye kongjian pinpai dan-sheng wei li” 三重社会命名意义下的城市内城复兴——以上海田子坊的产业空间品牌诞生为例 [Inner City Revival under the triple social significance of naming — by example of Shanghai Tianzifang’s emergence as brand for industrial space], pp. 61–66.
- 77 Yu, Hai 于海; Zhong, Xiaohua 钟晓华; Chen, Xiangming 陈向明: “Jiucheng gengxin zhong jiyu shequ mailuo de jiti chuangye — yi Shanghai Tianzifang shangjie wei li” 旧城更新中基于社区脉络的集体创业——以上海田子坊商街为例 [Communal Entrepreneurship in Old Neighborhood Renewal — Case Study of Shanghai Tianzifang Shopping District], pp. 60–82.
- 78 Yu, Hai; Chen, Xiangming; Zhong, Xiaohua (2016): “Commercial Development from Below: The Resilience of Local Shops in Shanghai”, in: Zukin, Sharon; Kasinitz, Philip; Chen, Xiangming (ed.): *Global Cities, Local Streets*, pp. 59–89.
- 79 Zhong, Xiaohua 钟晓华 (2016): Tianzifang shi ruhe keneng de — xingdongzhe de kongjian shijian shijiao 田子坊是如何可能的 —— 行动者的空间实践视角 [How Tianzifang became possible — a perspective of actors’ spatial practice].
- 80 Zhu, Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊 [A Reading of Tianzifang].
- 81 See for example: He, Jinliao (2013): *Creative Industry Districts in Shanghai: An analysis of dynamics, networks and implications*. Keane, Michael (2007): *Created in China: The Great New Leap Forward*, p. 107.
- 82 Gu, Xin; O’Connor, Justin (2014): “Creative industry clusters in Shanghai: a success story?”, p. 7.
- 83 Chen, Yu-Tsu (2015): *Tianzifang: A Case Study of a Creative District in Shanghai*.

Although its profound cultural meaning forms the basis for Tianzifang's success as a creative district, most studies concentrate on its (material) transformation. While in both aspects urban regeneration and creative industry development are considered, the present study adopts a conservation perspective and investigates the influence of cultural tradition on Tianzifang's conservation and development.

The Principles of the **HUL (Historic Urban Landscape) management approach** as adopted by UNESCO have been laid out in two groundbreaking works by Bandarin and van Oers: *The Historic Urban Landscape* and *Reconnecting the City*.⁸⁴ Further research has been conducted on the concept of the historic urban landscape⁸⁵ as well as the comparison of heritage policies and management practices of such landscapes on multiple levels of governance.⁸⁶ The first sample of case studies on the implementation of UNESCO's Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape was published in the 2016 HUL Guidebook.⁸⁷ Subsequently, a broad collection of experiences with the implementation of the approach was compiled in the very recent volume *Reshaping Urban Conservation*,⁸⁸ which draws on case studies in 28 cities around the world.

Furthermore, there are a number of pioneering studies on the application of HUL in China. Van Oers and Pereira Roders have developed a roadmap for this purpose, which highlights China's distinct context of rapid, large-scale urbanization and points to terminological obstacles.⁸⁹ As one of the pilot projects for the implementation of the 'Shanghai Agenda for HUL in China' (2015) the rural village of Shuang Wan Cun, Wujiang District, Suzhou, adopted an alternative development strategy and tested civic engagement tools under the guidance of the

84 Bandarin, Francesco; van Oers, Ron (2012): *The Historic Urban Landscape: Managing heritage in an urban century*. Bandarin, Francesco; van Oers, Ron (ed., 2015): *Reconnecting the City: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage*.

85 Sonkoly, Gábor (2018): *Historical Urban Landscape*.

86 Veldpaus, Loes (2015): *Historic urban landscapes: framing the integration of urban and heritage planning in multilevel governance*.

87 World Heritage Training and Research Institute for the Asia and the Pacific Region, City of Ballarat (Australia), Tongji University (China), Federation University Australia (2016): *The HUL Guidebook: Managing Heritage in Dynamic and Constantly Changing Urban Environments; a Practical Guide to UNESCO's Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*.

88 Pereira Roders, Ana; Bandarin, Francesco (eds., 2019): *Reshaping Urban Conservation: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach in Action*.

89 Van Oers, Ron; Pereira Roders, Ana (2013): "Road map for application of the HUL approach in China".

Research Institute of Urbanization at Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University.⁹⁰ Another pilot project in Shanghai's Hongkou District has been the subject of a summer fieldwork in cooperation with the University of Pennsylvania's Historic Preservation Program.⁹¹ The implementation of HUL in this project has been evaluated by González Martínez, who identified critical issues such as political reluctance and high economic expectations.⁹² The present study attempts to build on these results and reveal further China-specific aspects that need to be considered for the application of HUL.

1.2 Methodology

The study approaches the development of urban conservation in China and the formation of the HCF City conservation system from a theoretical and practical perspective. The theoretical part (chapter 2) provides an overview of Chinese urban conservation in general, traces the formation of the HCF City concept and analyzes the basic structure and development of the HCF City into an established conservation system. In accordance with the subsequent case studies (empirical part), major foci are set on assessment, conservation measures and management.

Therefore, the study draws on primary material from Chinese conservation and planning authorities, legal bodies as well as professional conservation guidelines. Following the requirement for listed HCF Cities to draft conservation plans, the initial HCF City concept was shaped by planning regulations such as the "Drafting Requirements for Conservation Plans of Historically and Culturally Famous Cities" (Lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua bianzhi yaoqiu 历史文化名城保护规划编制要求) from 1994 and the later more specified "Historically and Culturally Famous Cities Conservation Planning Regulations" (Lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua guifan 历史文化名城保护规划规范, hereafter Planning Regulations) from 2005.

90 Verdini, Giulio; Huang, Feiran (2019): "Enhancing Rural-Urban Linkages Through the Historic Urban Landscape Approach: The Case of Shuang Wan Cun in the Jiangsu Province".

91 "Lilong Study, Hongkou Creek: Shanghai, China" (June 2014), University of Pennsylvania, WHITRAP Shanghai, Online.

92 González Martínez, Plácido (2018): "The Social Value of Urban Heritage: The Limits to the Implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation in Shanghai".

Binding requirements concerning the above-mentioned investigated aspects of HCF Cities were primarily defined by the State Council in 2008. These “Conservation Regulations for Historically and Culturally Famous Cities, Towns and Villages” (Lishi wenhua mingcheng mingzhen mingcun baohu tiaoli 历史文化名城名镇名村保护条例) therefore are an important source to understanding HCF Cities, not only as a concept, but embedded in a legal framework. Another fundamental legal document is the “Law of the People’s Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics” (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法, hereafter Cultural Relics Protection Law), which was primarily issued in 1982 and revised several times. It regulates the handling of officially protected heritage sites (*wenwu baohu danwei* 文物保护单位), which constitute an important part of the HCF City.

With the adoption of the China Principles in 2000, China became the first Asian country to issue a set of professional conservation guidelines. In contrast to other supranational heritage charters such as the Burra Charter of Australia, which was drafted as the guiding standard, the China Principles needed to be authorized by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage and determine that all people who work in heritage conservation “are bound by the Principles in matters of professional practice and ethics”.⁹³ Equal to the Cultural Relics Protection Law, the China Principles mainly refer to the conservation of sites.

In order to contextualize the different assessment criteria, conservation and management measures applied in HCF Cities, these aspects are compared to relevant international documents. Among others, the comparison draws on the Venice Charter (1964) and the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (first adopted in 1978, hereafter Operational Guidelines), which emerged as a consensus on “universal” conservation principles held by the international community. The theoretical analysis both analyzes strengths and weaknesses of the HCF City concept for the conservation of traditional architecture and reveals areas of conflict between “universal” heritage values and local practice.

The empirical part then investigates three pioneering cases of conservation in urban residential areas and their inclusion into the HCF City conservation system. These cases are Suzhou Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block 苏州平江历史文化街区 (short: Pingjiang Historic Block), Tongli Ancient Water Town 同里水乡古镇 and Shanghai Tianzifang Protected Scenic Block 上海田子坊风貌保护街区. The study draws on these three cases because they are early examples of best practice and represent three different approaches.

93 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 70.

Suzhou Pingjiang Historic Block is located in a **major city** that has been laid out according to traditional planning principles and follows a **government-led approach**. Suzhou was selected for the first batch of HCF Cities promulgated by the State Council in 1982. Four years later, the Pingjiang Historic Block was designated as a protected area in the city's master plan. From 2002 to 2004, a conservation project was carried out, which was directed at its central axis: Pingjiang Road 平江路. This project gained international recognition and was awarded the UNESCO Asia-Pacific Award for Cultural Heritage Conservation in 2005.⁹⁴

In contrast, Shanghai Tianzifang is equally part of a **mega-city** but one of the few examples for a **bottom-up approach** in China. Initially destined for old city renewal, a group of conservation advocates envisioned the development of the block into a crafts street and prevented its demolition. They mobilized the local community to rent out their houses to artists for their studios as well as restaurant and shop owners, which ultimately led to the preservation and revitalization of the block. Moreover, Tianzifang is one of Shanghai's first creative industry parks and perceived as "genuine" due to the maintenance of its residential function.

Finally, Tongli is an ancient water **town** where the urban structure is much more flexible and conservation, again, is **government-led** but includes **international cooperation**. Tongli was officially listed as a protected heritage of Jiangsu 江苏 Province in 1982 and selected for the first batch of Historically and Culturally Famous Towns in 2003. In its exploration of a suitable conservation model, the town engages in international exchanges such as with the Research Observatory of Architecture in Contemporary China for a French-Chinese exchange or the bilateral Project with Priverno, Italy on the employment of HUL. Tongli equally was awarded with the UNESCO Asia-Pacific Award for Cultural Heritage Conservation (2003) as well as the Dubai International Award for Best Practices to Improve the Living Environment (2012).⁹⁵

All three cases are formerly residential areas with housing as their prominent feature. Moreover, the three cities represent three different sizes of Chinese urban centers. While Tongli has the administrative status of a town (*zhen* 镇), Suzhou is a metropolis (*shi* 市) and Shanghai a mega-city under direct administration of the Central Government (*zhixia shi* 直辖市). These differences in scale evoke different kinds of development pressures, which conservationists need to solve in order to be effective.

94 "Project Profile: 2005 Honourable Mention, Pingjiang Historic Block", UNESCO Office in Bangkok, Online.

95 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, pp. 35–36.

Due to their common location in the Jiangnan region and their shared characteristics in terms of housing, traditions and culture, all three cases have similar pre-conditions which makes them suitable for a comparative analysis. The term “Jiangnan” 江南 literally means “south of the river” whereby it refers to the Yangzi River (see fig. 1-1). As a natural border in the north, the Yangzi River became eponymous for this region with “flat land, a mild but humid climate, great diversity of [local products], convenient transportation and shared cultural origin”.⁹⁶

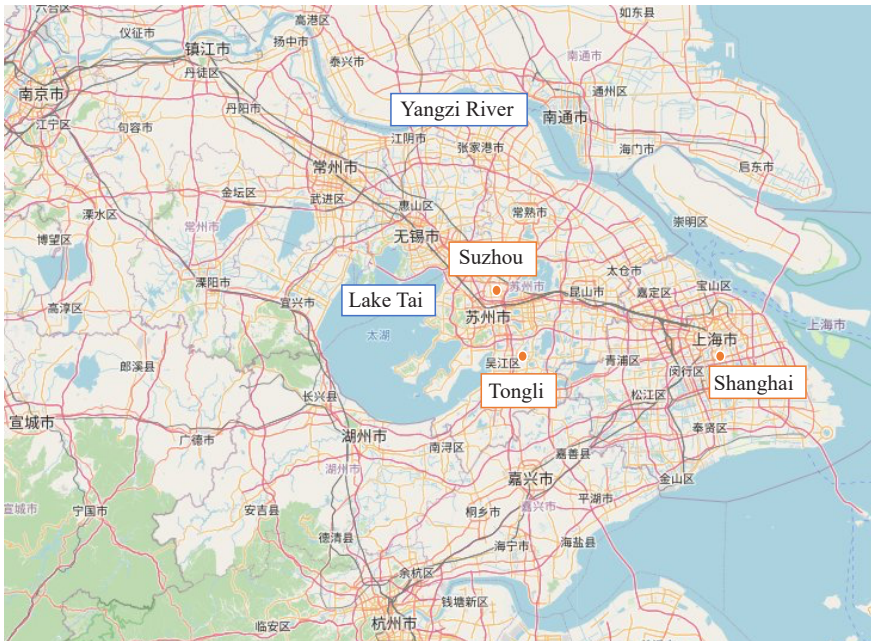


Figure 1-1. Location of Case Studies in the Jiangnan Region.

Source: map adapted from © OpenStreetMap contributors, 2020, available from <https://www.openstreetmap.org/>, licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0. Lettering supplemented by the author.

Following Ruan et al., the boundaries of this region designated as “Jiangnan” vary due to perspective and historical period. From a cultural perspective, “Jiangnan” refers to a kind of “water town culture” with the culture of Lake Tai region at its heart. Traditionally, the definition was limited to the “Six Jiangnan Prefectures”

96 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Li, Zhen 李滨; Lin, Lin 林林 (2010): *Jiangnan guzhen lishi jianzhu yu lishi huanjing de baohu*, *The Work of Protection for Historical Buildings and Environment of Ancient Towns in Jiangnan* 江南古镇历史建筑与历史环境的保护, pp. 5–6.

(Jiangnan liu fu 江南六府 = Suzhou, Changzhou, Huzhou, Hangzhou, Songjiang, Jiaxing). Today, the term usually covers the south of Jiangsu and the north of Zhejiang province.⁹⁷

The empirical analysis of each case study proceeds in two steps. At first, elements that constitute the **cultural significance** of heritage in each case are investigated. Hereby, instead of taking evaluation criteria from “Western” conservation standards as a basis to determine cultural significance, the analysis draws on criteria defined in Chinese professional conservation guidelines and policy documents. In the second step, this China-centered approach allows the study to countercheck how efficient China’s self-imposed guidelines are for the conservation of its cultural heritage. Therefore, the **conservation and management** of these significant elements, tangible as well as intangible, is analyzed with a focus on four aspects: the **local conservation system**, the **conservation plan**, **conservation and improvement measures** as well as **function and usage** (see fig. 1-2).

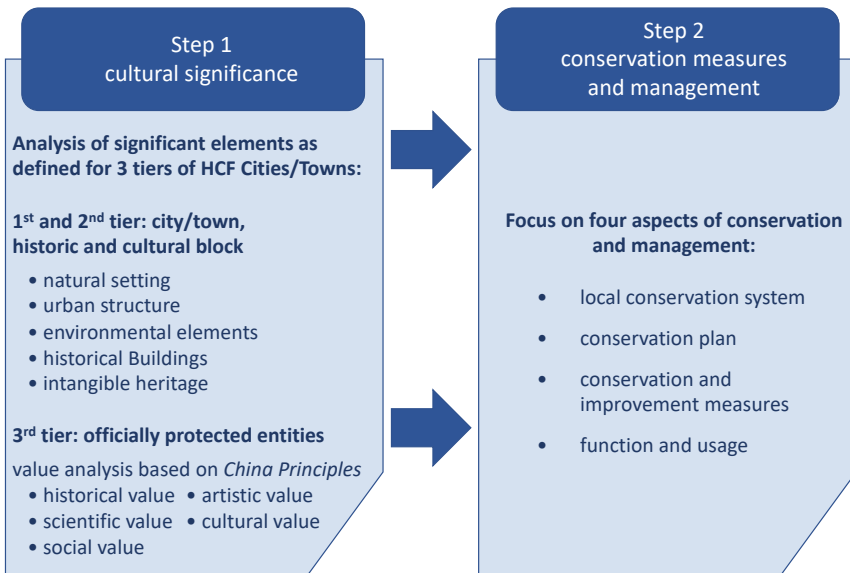


Figure 1-2. Theoretical Framework.

Source: author’s draft.

97 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Li, Zhen 李滨; Lin, Lin 林林 (2010): *Jiangnan guzhen lishi jianzhu yu lishi huanjing de baohu, The Work of Protection for Historical Buildings and Environment of Ancient Towns in Jiangnan* 江南古镇历史建筑与历史环境的保护, pp. 5–6.

As illustrated in figure 1-2, evaluation criteria for cultural significance are defined for the three conceptual tiers of the HCF City, the **city/town**, the **historic and cultural block** and **individual heritage sites** (see chapter 2.4). The Pingjiang Historic Block is an urban block inside the greater city of Suzhou, therefore the analysis of its cultural significance comprises only two tiers: the historic and cultural block and individual sites located inside the block. In contrast, Tongli encompasses all three tiers: the HCF Town, the historic and cultural block and individual sites. Tianzifang is an urban block but does not feature officially listed sites. Consequently, the analysis of its cultural significance covers only one tier, the historic and cultural block.

For the **first tier**, the relevant evaluation criteria comprise the city or town's *natural setting*, its *urban structure* and *traditional townscape* as well as its overall *tangible and intangible heritage*. Significant elements for the **second tier** of the historic and cultural block as found in relevant planning regulations are *structural elements* (streets, waterways), *environmental elements* and *historical buildings*. The **third tier** covers *individual heritage sites*. In contrast to its beginnings when conservation of cultural heritage was centered on aesthetic and historical considerations, present-day conservation theory follows a values-based approach.⁹⁸ The cultural significance of heritage derives from a diverse range of values society attributes to it at a certain period of time, such as historical and artistic but also other values.⁹⁹ These values may be in conflict with one another and change with time progression.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, they may differ in cultural context. While some cultures attribute great value to physical remains or tangible heritage, in others, intangible aspects such as spiritual or place value that are not related to physical fabric may form an integral part of a property's significance.¹⁰¹

Such a values-based approach has also been adopted in the Chinese conservation system. Until now, the Cultural Relics Protection Law solely includes the historical, artistic and scientific values of cultural heritage. Furthermore, these three values are decisive for the listing level of officially protected sites.¹⁰² While the three values are not defined in the Cultural Relics Protection Law, precise criteria are given in the commentary on the China Principles from 2004 (see appendix A.1).

98 Orbaşlı, Aylin (2008): *Architectural Conservation: Principles and Practice*, pp. 28, 38.

99 Ibid., p. 40.

100 Feilden, Bernard M.; Jokilehto, Jukka (1998): *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, p. 18.

101 Orbaşlı, Aylin (2008): *Architectural Conservation: Principles and Practice*, pp. 34–35.

102 Standing Committee of the Twelfth National People's Congress 第十二届全国人民代表大会常务委员会 (April 24, 2015): *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法, art. 3.

Simultaneously, it is stated that “the fundamental significance of a heritage site resides in its inherent values” and that these “inherent values are a site’s historical, artistic and scientific values”.¹⁰³

The **historical value** of a site is based on six criteria: important reasons for its construction, significant events or important figures active at the site, the illustration of the material production, lifestyle, traditions etc. of a historical period, the capability to prove or supplement recorded facts, rarity and representativeness of a site and the exposition of a site’s stages of transformation.¹⁰⁴

Artistic value derives from architectural arts, landscape arts, associated sculptural and decorative arts, immovable sculptural artistic works and the creative process.¹⁰⁵ While the former four criteria are related to tangible heritage, the creative process is aimed at the preservation of knowledge underlying the creation of built heritage as well as the use of traditional building techniques.

The **scientific value** of heritage sites concerns the history of scientific and technological development and includes plan and design, scientific/technological achievement in the form of construction, materials and techniques, and facilities or places where either scientific/technological projects were carried out or scientific/technological information is recorded.¹⁰⁶ The attribute “scientific” expresses that the respective heritage is significant for the augmentation of scientific insights. While not all criteria for each value have to be met, cultural significance is higher the more criteria a site fulfills.

The revised China Principles from 2015 further primarily recognize two additional values as equally decisive for the significance of heritage; these are social and cultural values. **Social value** is defined as deriving from memory, emotion and educational benefits, which may generate a “continuation of intangible associations” and social cohesion.¹⁰⁷ The **cultural value** of heritage encompasses diversity in terms of ethnic, regional or religious culture, the continuation of tradition as well as intangible heritage.¹⁰⁸

103 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 71.

104 Ibid.

105 Ibid., p. 72.

106 Ibid.

107 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2015): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* (2015 nian xiuding) 中国文物古迹保护准则 (2015年修订), *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* (Revised 2015), p. 61.

108 Ibid.

The framework for the analysis of cultural significance on the third tier therefore is based on the China Principles and has been expanded with two aspects by the author, which have been found to be relevant in the investigated cases. A criterion for the artistic value of sites that has been added is whether the site comprises a garden or garden-related elements. And for cultural value, it has been considered whether sites or single buildings that are part of a site have a hall name (*tanghao* 堂号). While the cultural significance of individual sites is analyzed exemplarily for representative sites in the respective case studies, comprehensive tables of all listed sites in the Pingjiang Historic Block and Tongli have been attached. These tables illustrate the overall framework for the analysis of the individual sites' cultural significance in visual form (see appendix A.9–A.11).

The three case studies investigated in this project draw on a wide range of sources. Primarily, information on historic mansions and individual sites, as well as environmental elements in the blocks such as historic wells and ceremonial gateways, has been recorded in local gazetteers. Important primary sources for this project further are the recent conservation plans of each case. As the framework of the HCF City is primarily rooted in conservation planning, the documents can inform on every project's general approach, main targets for protection and underlying conservation principles. Then, the author has conducted several on-site investigations in all three residential areas between 2015 and 2018. In the course of these on-site observations, further material such as tourism maps and photographic material was gathered.

Moreover, interviews were conducted to complement information on conservation measures, management practices, non-exceptional housing and different forms of adaptive reuse. These interviews include expert interviews with Chinese architecture and conservation researchers as well as local government officials involved in the respective projects. In order to show different perspectives, further interview partners also include homeowners and local residents. All in all, almost 20 interviews could be realized, of which 14 have been included in this study and are listed in the appendix under A.2. While arranged interviews with conservation experts and government officials had a length of between one and three hours, spontaneous interviews with homeowners and local residents were shorter, about 30 minutes. They were recorded in the cases where the interviewee agreed. The interviews were carried out face-to-face and solely involved the author and the interviewee. Generally, the interviews began with individually prepared qualitative questions and interviewees were given the possibility to add information on aspects they considered relevant for this research after these questions had been discussed.

For the evaluation of two World Heritage Sites in Suzhou (the Couple's Garden Retreat) and Tongli (the Retreat and Reflection Garden), the study includes information from the UNESCO-Archives in Paris. During the course of a research trip in March 2018, the author investigated the nomination documents for the inclusion of the Classical Gardens of Suzhou on the World Heritage List in 1996 and their extension in 1999. The nomination documents inform on the cultural significance of these sites as evaluated by the Ministry of Construction and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, which prepared the documents.¹⁰⁹

UNESCO's HUL management approach is equally built on an international document, the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, which was adopted by UNESCO in November 2011. Moreover, the World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for the Asia and the Pacific Region (WHITRAP, 亚太地区世界遗产培训与研究中心) in Shanghai launched a pilot program for implementing the *HUL Recommendation* in 2012. The author's participation in WHITRAP's third Asia-Pacific Region Training on HUL (Shanghai, 14–17 December 2015) enabled insight into the management approach itself as well as initiatives in China. The training provided a deeper understanding of the approach, which is a premise for the final evaluation of its applicability in China based on implications from the three case studies.

109 Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China; State Bureau of Cultural Relics of the People's Republic of China (1996): *The Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, UNESCO Archives, nomination file CLT/WHC/NOM/ 1997 422. Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China; State Bureau of Cultural Relics of the People's Republic of China (1999): *The Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, UNESCO Archives, nomination file CLT/WHC/NOM/ 1997 422.

2 Historically and Culturally Famous Cities (HCF Cities)

保护历史名城，创造美好人居¹

“Protect Historically Famous Cities, create beautiful houses”

- Wu Liangyong 吴良镛

2.1 Urban Heritage Conservation in China

The establishment of a system for the conservation of urban structures builds on a general awareness of the need to preserve cultural heritage. Traditionally, significant ancient objects in China such as artworks, calligraphy and bronzes were held in imperial or private collections while palaces, temples and architectural *ensembles*, which constitute important components of a city, belonged to the imperial court, religious orders or private owners.² First attempts to make heritage preservation a state undertaking were triggered by several factors at the beginning of the 20th century.

Primarily, increasing plundering of cultural relics by Western countries such as the sacking of the imperial palaces in Beijing after the defeat of the Boxer Uprising by the Allied Forces in 1900 and ancient tomb robberies by local warlords who sold their captured objects to non-Chinese, as well as Chinese collectors, alerted the public and Chinese authorities.³ As a consequence, the Qing government issued the *Measures for the Protection of Ancient Sites (Baocun guji tui-*

1 Wu, Liangyong 吴良镛 (Calligraphic work). In: Qiu, Baoxing 仇保兴 (2014): *Feng yu ru pan — lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu 30 nian* 风雨如磐——历史文化名城保护30年 [“Tumultuous wind and heavy rain” — 30 Years of Conservation in Historically and Culturally Famous Cities], p. [4].

2 Lai, Guolong; Demas, Martha; Agnew, Neville (2004): “Valuing the Past in China: The Seminal Influence of Liang Sicheng on Heritage Conservation”, p. 82.

3 Lai, Guolong (2016): “The emergence of ‘cultural heritage’ in modern China: a historical and legal perspective”, p. 56.

guang banfa zhangcheng 保存古迹推广办法章程) in 1909.⁴ Secondly, in the course of nation-building and modernization efforts, ancient objects and sites were declared “national cultural artifacts” under centralized state preservation.⁵

With the objective to expand its control of these objects and sites, the Beiyang Government ordered the survey and categorical registration of publicly and privately held cultural artifacts in 1916.⁶ Antiquities as defined by the regulations comprised: architecture, relics (graves, walls, ponds, springs, ancient scenic sites), stelae, stone and bronze inscriptions, porcelain, ancient plants, literary ephemera (copies of calligraphy in stone, maps, charts), weapons, clothing and ornaments, sculpture and ceremonial objects.⁷ In 1930, the Nanjing Government reinforced state control over ancient objects and sites and issued the “Preservation Regulations for Famous Sights, Ancient Sites, and Antiquities” (*Mingsheng guji guwu baocun tiaoli* 名胜古迹古物保存条例) as well as the “Antiquities Protection Law” (*Guwu baocunfa* 古物保存法), which have provided the basic framework for later legislation.⁸

At the same time a **conservation movement** focused on architectural heritage evolved, which was initiated by the former minister of internal affairs, Zhu Qiqian 朱启钤, and his foundation of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture (*Zhongguo yingzao xueshe* 中国营造学社) in 1929. Despite this major focus on Chinese architecture, the society deliberately chose the term *yingzao* 营造 [to construct] as the name, which was preferred to *jianzhu* 建筑 [architecture] so as to include related research fields such as arts and crafts as well as intangible culture.⁹ Chinese scholarship traditionally distanced itself from “forms of practice” such as construction,¹⁰ which was not considered a high art as compared with painting and calligraphy.¹¹ In contrast, the work of the society primarily exceeded the textual study of historical records and building treatises, which was the only scholarly approach to architecture known in China at the time.¹²

4 Lai, Guolong (2016): “The emergence of ‘cultural heritage’ in modern China: a historical and legal perspective”, p. 50.

5 Carroll, Peter J. (2006): *Between Heaven and Modernity: Reconstructing Suzhou, 1895–1937*, p. 206.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 206–207.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 286.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 206–207.

9 Zhu, Guangya (2012): “China’s architectural heritage conservation movement”, p. 12.

10 Li, Shiqiao (2003): “Reconstituting Chinese Building Tradition: The Yingzao fashi in the Early Twentieth Century”, p. 472.

11 Lai, Guolong; Demas, Martha; Agnew, Neville (2004): “Valuing the Past in China: The Seminal Influence of Liang Sicheng on Heritage Conservation”, p. 83.

12 Lin, Wei-cheng (2011): “Preserving China: Liang Sicheng’s Survey Photos from the 1930s and 1940s”, p. 130.

Zhu initially sought a collaboration with Japanese researchers on Chinese architecture such as Itō Chūta 伊東忠太 and Sekino Tadashi 関野貞, who became founding members of the society. Both had conducted research trips to China since the beginning of the 20th century to prove the central role of Chinese (and, consequently, Japanese) architecture as representative Asian styles in architectural history.¹³ He further engaged in a scholarly exchange with Western researchers, among others, on scientific methods.¹⁴ While collaborations with Japanese researchers abruptly ended due to Japan's occupation of Manchuria in 1931, the society owed the introduction of extended scientific methods to the first generation of scholars who had trained in Western countries and Japan.

Liang Sicheng 梁思成 and his wife Lin Huiyin 林徽因 (1904–1955) returned to China from the University of Pennsylvania in 1928 and Liu Dunzhen 刘敦桢 studied architecture in Tokyo until 1922.¹⁵ Liang equally proceeded from official building treatises, particularly the Song dynasty building manual *Yingzao fashi* 营造法式,¹⁶ which had been rediscovered by Zhu and sent to him to the United States by his father, one of China's central political reformers, Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873–1929). Then, in 1932, together with his wife and other members of the institute, he embarked on fieldwork trips to 137 counties in northern China and documented preserved buildings of various historical periods until the break-out of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937.¹⁷

Making use of their skills and experiences acquired during their study abroad (e.g. Liang was trained in the Beaux-Arts tradition),¹⁸ these pioneers of Chinese

13 Li, Shiqiao (2003): “Reconstituting Chinese Building Tradition: The *Yingzao fashi* in the Early Twentieth Century”, pp. 481–482.

14 Zhu, Guangya (2012): “China's architectural heritage conservation movement”, p. 12.

15 Li, Shiqiao (2003): “Reconstituting Chinese Building Tradition: The *Yingzao fashi* in the Early Twentieth Century”, p. 478.

16 The *Yingzao fashi* 营造法式 (Building Standards) is the oldest extant construction manual, which was compiled by Superintendent of State Buildings Li Jie 李诫 (1035–1110) in 1100 and published by the Song emperor three years later. The manual comprises units of measurement, design standards and construction principles as well as material data and information on decorative painting and coatings. See: Guo, Qinghua (1998): “*Yingzao fashi*: Twelfth-Century Chinese Building Manual”, p. 1.

17 Li, Shiqiao (2002): “Writing a Modern Chinese Architectural History: Liang Sicheng and Liang Qichao”, p. 35.

18 The Beaux-Arts education refers to methods of architectural composition originating from the French *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris. These methods were taught at many U.S. universities at the beginning of the 20th century when about 50 Chinese students received scholarships to study in U.S. architectural programs. They were trained by famous architects such as Paul Philippe Cret with whom Liang Sicheng studied at the University of Pennsylvania. They then transplanted these educational techniques to

architecture made great contributions to architectural history and introduced “modern” conservation concepts to China.¹⁹ Liang was further involved in the earliest initiative for the conservation of Chinese urban heritage in the city of Beijing. After the foundation of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, a controversial debate arose on the location of the new capital. At the Beijing City Planning Conference, two major proposals were discussed: an old center plan and the West suburb plan by Liang Sicheng and Chen Zhanxiang 陈占祥 (1916–2001). The old center plan advocated an expansion in the historic city due to its function as an historic capital and the founding ceremony of the People’s Republic, which had been held in Tiananmen Square.²⁰ In contrast, the **Liang-Chen Proposal** was based on the idea to construct a new administrative center in the Western suburbs of Beijing, following planning theory (see fig. 2-1).

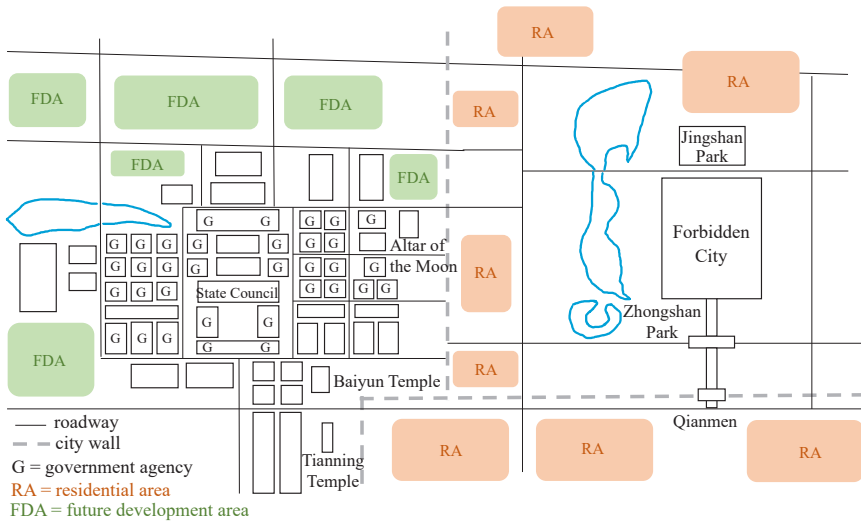


Figure 2-1. Liang-Chen Proposal.

Source: author’s draft. Information taken from: Wu, Liangyong (1999): *Rehabilitating the Old City of Beijing: A Project in the Ju’er Hutong Neighbourhood*, p. 21; originally in: *Liang Sicheng wenji* 梁思成文集 (Collected Papers of Liang Sicheng), 1986. Vol. 4. Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, n. pag.

China when they returned and established architectural schools in their home country. See: Cody, Jeffrey W. et al. (ed., 2011): *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts*.
19 Lai, Guolong; Demas, Martha; Agnew, Neville (2004): “Valuing the Past in China: The Seminal Influence of Liang Sicheng on Heritage Conservation”, p. 82.
20 Wu, Liangyong (1999): *Rehabilitating the Old City of Beijing: A Project in the Ju’er Hutong Neighbourhood*, p. 17.

Figure 2-1 shows the historic city with the Forbidden City in its center on the right and the new administrative center planned by Liang and Chen on the left. Their Suggestion for the Location of the Central People's Government Administrative Center (*Guanyu Zhongyang renmin zhengfu xingzheng zhongxin qu weizhi de jianyi* 关于中央人民政府行政中心区位置的建议) envisioned the arrangement of government buildings along a new central axis and the creation of closely related districts with varied functions. The main objectives to set up an administrative center to the west of the historic city were to prevent large-scale demolition and provide more spaces for future development.

The planning principles underlying the proposal derive from the *Theory of Organic Decentralization* advanced by Finnish city planning expert Eliel Saarinen (1873–1950). Liang had received a copy of *The City: Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future*, an elaboration on this theory from his friend, the sinologist John K. Fairbank, and had met Saarinen in the United States in 1947.²¹ Equally, Chen Zhanxiang had learned about this theory from his supervisor Patrick Abercrombie (1879–1957) who worked on organic decentralization for the Planning of Greater London.²²

According to Saarinen, the dispersion of a city's population and land-use into surrounding areas in the course of urban growth needs to proceed organically in order to achieve “healthy” results. This process of organic decentralization aims at an organization of everyday activities such as living and working into functional concentrations and the subsequent decentralization of these groupings around the nucleus, while establishing adequate interrelations.²³ Alerted to problems caused by industrialization in Western cities such as overpopulation, traffic congestion and slum areas, Liang considered the theory as a solution to avoid such problems through decentralization of urban functions.²⁴

There were several reasons why the theory and design-based Liang-Chen Proposal was rejected in favor of locating the new capital in the historic center as advocated by Soviet advisors and planning experts drawing on experiences from Moscow. Primarily, it seemed much more economically feasible to make use of the existing building stock since resources were scarce and China had been greatly

21 Wang, Jun (2011): *Beijing Record: A Physical and Political History of Planning Modern Beijing*, p. 61.

22 Ibid., p. 60.

23 Saarinen, Eliel (1945): *The City: Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future*, pp. 201, 204–205, 216–217.

24 Wang, Jun (2011): *Beijing Record: A Physical and Political History of Planning Modern Beijing*, pp. 60–61.

affected by war devastation.²⁵ Moreover, the Western suburb location was associated with negative historical events. During the occupation of Beijing in World War II, the Japanese had started to build a new urban center there and in the following Civil War, the General Command for the Suppression of Communists was set up at this site. Finally, the suggested peripheral location of the administrative center in the Western suburbs lacked the magnificence of the historic city.²⁶ Wu argues that this lack of “grandeur” in comparison to Tiananmen was a decisive weakness of the proposal and that the new city would have been more impressive with a longer north-south axis.²⁷

At the same time, the preoccupation of Liang and Chen with conservation matters becomes apparent in their argumentation to establish a new center. In their proposal, they state that an expansion of the historic city would require the demolition of more than 130,000 houses to accommodate the increasing population, and that the introduction of high-rise buildings would cause alterations to street patterns and damage to the townscape.²⁸ Moreover, their proposal included the preservation of Beijing’s city wall, which they justified with the historic and artistic value of the rebuilt Ming dynasty wall. They suggested digging openings in the wall when they would pose an obstacle for traffic and transform it into a park, enriching people’s lives with cultural heritage and natural sceneries to offer relief from work.²⁹

His advocacy for the preservation of the city wall shows Liang’s perception of the city as an entity. In an article from the magazine *Xin Guancha* 新观察 (New Observer) with the title “Beijing — An unmatched masterpiece of city planning” (Beijing — dushi jihua zhong de wubi jiezuo 北京 – 都市计划中的无比杰作), he expressed his view that the city’s value did not solely reside in individual structures (*gebie jianzhuwu* 个别建筑物) but also in the spatial order of its street network (*you zhixu de jiedao xitong* 有秩序的街道系统).³⁰ As a third aspect, he stressed the environment of cultural relic structures:

25 Wu, Liangyong (1999): *Rehabilitating the Old City of Beijing: A Project in the Ju'er Hutong Neighbourhood*, p. 18.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid., p. 19.

28 Ibid., p. 17.

29 Wang, Jun (2011): *Beijing Record: A Physical and Political History of Planning Modern Beijing*, pp. 134–136.

30 Liang, Sicheng; Lin, Zhu (ed., 2013): *Da zhuo zhi mei: Liang Sicheng zui mei de wenzi jianzhu* 大拙至美: 梁思成最美的文字建筑 [Outstanding beauty appears as great clumsiness: Liang Sicheng’s most beautiful “written architecture”], p. 159.

我们爱护文物建筑，不仅应该爱护个别的一殿，一堂，一楼，一塔，而且必须爱护它的周围整体和邻近的环境。³¹

“In taking care of cultural relic structures, we should not only be attentive to each individual palatial/temple structure, [single-story] hall, multi-story building or pagoda, but we have to take care of the entirety surrounding it and its adjacent environment.”

These ideas were far ahead of architectural and planning concepts in China and corresponded to conservation principles, as they were later codified in international documents such as the Venice Charter.³² Liang’s argument that the value of the ancient city of Beijing lies in three aspects, namely its old buildings, its spatial order and the environment of its cultural relics further laid the evaluation basis for the later concept of Historically and Culturally Famous Cities.³³

Liang’s opponents saw the city wall as an obstacle for urban development without practical utility and traffic hinderance, whereas its bricks could be used for new construction.³⁴ In the course of urban redevelopment, the historic city was adapted to growth needs and the city wall demolished by order of Mao Zedong who regarded the wall as a symbol of feudal order.³⁵ The debate on the establishment of the new capital and the preservation of the city wall show the tension between historic preservation and economic development, which characterizes the period until the 1980s.

Simultaneously with the formation of a Chinese architectural history, returning students who trained abroad introduced the research discipline of archaeology. While Liang’s approach to preserve a city in its entirety had been rejected, heritage conservation administrations were established on central and local levels in the period from the early 1950s to the mid-1960s and conservation was directed at archaeological sites and ancient architecture.³⁶ These individual sites and structures

31 Liang, Sicheng; Lin, Zhu (ed., 2013): *Da zhuo zhi mei: Liang Sicheng zui mei de wenzi jianzhu* 大拙至美：梁思成最美的文字建筑, p. 159.

32 Lai, Guolong; Demas, Martha; Agnew, Neville (2004): “Valuing the Past in China: The Seminal Influence of Liang Sicheng on Heritage Conservation”, p. 86.

33 Qiu, Baoxing 仇保兴 (2014): *Feng yu ru pan — lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu 30 nian* 风雨如磐——历史文化名城保护 30 年 [“Tumultuous wind and heavy rain” — 30 Years of Conservation in Historically and Culturally Famous Cities], p. 30.

34 Wang, Jun (2011): *Beijing Record: A Physical and Political History of Planning Modern Beijing*, pp. 137–141.

35 Bell, Daniel A.; de-Shalit, Avner (2011): *The Spirit of Cities: Why the Identity of a City Matters in a Global Age*, p. 145.

36 Whitehand, J.W.R.; Gu, Kai (2007): “Urban Conservation in China: Historical development, current practice and morphological approach”, pp. 645–646.

later became basic components of urban conservation and their protection shows a growing awareness for conservation of cultural heritage.

A decisive step for the establishment of a national conservation system in China was the compilation of an **inventory of significant heritage structures**. In 1961, the State Council promulgated the Interim Regulations on the Protection and Management of Cultural Relics (*Wenwu baohu guanli zanxing tiaoli* 文物保护单位暂行条例) and the first batch of so-called “national key protected cultural relic entities” (*quanguo zhongdian wenwu baohu danwei* 全国重点文物保护单位).³⁷ Thereby, “national key protected cultural relic entities” designate officially protected heritage sites that are inscribed on a national level and constitute the highest level of officially protected sites (hereafter “officially protected entities” = *wenwu baohu danwei* 文物保护单位). This inventory includes six general heritage categories that form the basic framework for later heritage listings on different administrative levels: Revolutionary sites and revolutionary commemorative architecture (*geming yizhi ji geming jinian jianzhuwu* 革命遗址及革命纪念建筑物), stone cave temples (*shiku si* 石窟寺), ancient architectural structures and historically commemorative architecture (*gu jianzhu ji lishi jinian jianzhuwu* 古建筑及历史纪念建筑物), stone carvings (*shike* 石刻), ancient sites (*gu yizhi* 古遗址) and ancient tombs (*gu muzang* 古墓葬).

This inventory of national key protected cultural relic entities developed from two indices by Liang Sicheng dating back to 1945 and 1949, at the time of World War II. The purpose of these indices was to protect cultural heritage from war destruction. During the war, the first movement which engaged in the protection of heritage in war areas was formed in the U.S. by two civilian groups, the American Defense-Harvard Group and the American Council of Learned Societies.³⁸ In 1943, they established the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas, or the Roberts Commission, after its chairman Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, and compiled a catalogue of historic monuments and artworks in public and private collections in Europe and the Far East.³⁹ One year later, in 1944, the Ministry of Education of the Chinese Nationalist Government established the Chinese Commission for the

37 Zheng, Jun (2014): “Comparison of Heritage Conservation Philosophies in China and Other Countries”, p. 51.

38 Roberts, Owen J.; American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas (1946): *Report of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas*, p. 2.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Preservation of Cultural Objects in War Areas 战区文物保存委员会⁴⁰ with Liang Sicheng as vice-chairman.

His mission in this position was to compile a “list of monuments” in the Japanese-occupied area (*Zhanqu wenwu baocun weiyuanhui wenwu mulu* 战区文物保存委员会文物目录 “Chinese Commission for the Preservation of Cultural Objects in War Areas — List of Monuments”), which should be safeguarded in case of bomb attacks by the Allied Forces and marked on a military map in Chinese and English languages.⁴¹ This list became the first index with significant cultural relic structures, compiled for the Chinese Nationalist Government. The eight volumes comprise three categories: wooden architecture (*mu jianzhu* 木建筑), brick and stone pagodas (*zhuan shi ta* 砖石塔) and other brick and stone structures (*zhuan shi jianzhu* 砖石建筑).⁴²

The above-mentioned first batch of national key protected cultural relic entities is based on a second index entitled “Brief Index of Important National Cultural Relic Structures” (*Quanguo zhongyao wenwu jianzhu jianmu* 全国重要文物建筑简目).⁴³ In 1948, shortly before the establishment of the People’s Republic of China, the People’s Liberation Army similarly commissioned Liang to prepare an index of important national cultural relic structures.⁴⁴ This second index is based on on-site investigations of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture as well as textual sources.⁴⁵ It comprises 465 structures listed under 22 provinces/cities divided into categories such as ancient architectural structures, stone cave temples, stone carvings and tombs.⁴⁶ The category of revolutionary sites and revolutionary commemorative architecture was later supplemented.⁴⁷

The 1945 list of monuments reveals Liang’s awareness of the value of modern architecture, namely the Church of the Saviour (Xishiku jiaotang 西什库教堂) in

40 Wang, Yunliang 王运良 (2012): “Liang Sicheng yu gu jianzhu baohu” 梁思成与古建筑保护 [Liang Sicheng and the protection of ancient architecture], pp. 11–12.

41 Lin, Zhu 林洙 (2000): “Liang Sicheng yu ‘Quanguo zhongyao jianzhu wenwu jianmu’” 梁思成与《全国重要建筑文物简目》 [Liang Sicheng and his “Brief Index of Important National Cultural Relic Structures”], p. 7.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

43 Wang, Jinghui 王景慧 (1994): “Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingcheng de baohu gainian” 中国历史文化名城的概念 [The Conservation Concept of Chinese Historically and Culturally Famous Cities], p. 12.

44 Lai, Guolong; Demas, Martha; Agnew, Neville (2004): “Valuing the Past in China: The Seminal Influence of Liang Sicheng on Heritage Conservation”, p. 86.

45 Lin, Zhu 林洙 (2000): “Liang Sicheng yu ‘Quanguo zhongyao jianzhu wenwu jianmu’” 梁思成与《全国重要建筑文物简目》, p. 10.

46 Wang, Yunliang 王运良 (2012): “Liang Sicheng yu gu jianzhu baohu” 梁思成与古建筑保护, p. 12.

47 Lin, Zhu 林洙 (2000): “Liang Sicheng yu ‘Quanguo zhongyao jianzhu wenwu jianmu’” 梁思成与《全国重要建筑文物简目》, p. 10.

Beijing, St. Ignatius Cathedral (Xujiahui tianzhutang 徐家汇天主堂) in Shanghai and the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanjing, which he had already included.⁴⁸ Another aspect found in both indices that has been maintained in the present conservation system is the division according to province and ranking. Liang ranked the structures in grade of importance, which he then marked with circles (0 to 4 circles) next to the name of a structure.⁴⁹ In the later-established national listing system, protected cultural relic structures are classified on different administrative levels (national, provincial and municipal).

Furthermore, the designation of structures as “**cultural relic entities**”⁵⁰ (*wenwu danwei* 文物单位) in the list shows his above-mentioned understanding of heritage not as limited to an individual, physical site but inclusive of its broader context. Liang understood these cultural relic structures as deriving value from their character as an entity (*quanti shang de jiazhi* 全体上的价值), which is expressed in the following remark:

就大多数的文物建筑而论，也都不仅是单座的建筑物，而往往是若干座合组而成的整体，为极可宝贵的艺术创造，故宫就是最显著的一个例子。⁵¹

“As for the majority of cultural relic structures, they are not solely individual structures, but usually are combined entities, [they] are extremely valuable artistic creations. The most remarkable example is the Forbidden City.”

The determination of “cultural relic entities” for protection and the primary creation of an inventory by Liang formed the basis for a gradual expansion of conservation efforts from individual structures to Historically and Culturally Famous Cities. But his integrated view of the city initially remained an exception and urban transformation after 1949 was primarily aimed at the construction of “new socialist cities” distinct from their historic form.⁵² Envisioning the conversion of “consumer cities” into “producer cities” in accordance with Soviet planning principles, industry was set up in urban centers⁵³ with a strong preference of economic development over historic preservation.

Concomitant with a socialist housing transformation policy aimed at the conversion of private into public housing and redistribution to multiple households

48 Lin, Zhu 林洙 (2000): “Liang Sicheng yu ‘Quanguo zhongyao jianzhu wenwu jianmu’” 梁思成与《全国重要建筑文物简目》，p. 12.

49 Ibid., pp. 8–9.

50 Translation after China Principles.

51 Liang, Sicheng; Lin, Zhu (ed., 2013): *Da zhuo zhi mei: Liang Sicheng zui mei de wenzi jianzhu* 大拙至美：梁思成最美的文字建筑, p. 159.

52 Whitehand, J.W.R.; Gu, Kai (2007): “Urban Conservation in China: Historical development, current practice and morphological approach”, p. 647.

53 Ibid.

launched by the government, the population in urban centers grew rapidly in the 1960s.⁵⁴ During the Cultural Revolution, historic preservation further reached a low point with large-scale destruction of cultural heritage by Red Guards as a result of the campaign to destroy the Four Olds (*po si jiu* 破四旧: *jiu fengsu* 旧风俗 “old customs”, *jiu wenhua* 旧文化 “old culture”, *jiu xiguan* 旧习惯 “old habits” and *jiu sixiang* 旧思想 “old thinking”). These political changes led to a period of stagnation for the development of China’s conservation system.

The Reform and Opening-Up in 1978 laid the basis for increasing real estate development, which brought conservation issues back to the forefront. Local governments of greater cities started to undertake urban regeneration in the form of large-scale redevelopment projects in order to reach planning goals.⁵⁵ These transformations of urban fabric, particularly the renewal of historic centers, strongly required a legal basis for the protection of cultural heritage.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the PRC therefore issued the Cultural Relics Protection Law (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法), and initiated the establishment of a national list for the protection of historic urban centers, the “Historically and Culturally Famous Cities” (*lishi wenhua mingcheng* 历史文化名城, hereafter HCF Cities). Shortly after, in 1985, China ratified the World Heritage Convention and joined the international conservation community. While the earliest inscribed sites from 1987 were the Great Wall, the Forbidden City, the Mausoleum of the First Qin Emperor, Peking Man Site at Zhoukoudian 周口店, Mount Taishan and the Mogao Caves, preserved urban centers were primarily inscribed in 1997 with the ancient towns of Pingyao 平遥 and Lijiang 丽江.⁵⁶

In the course of establishing an HCF City inventory, selected cities were obliged to prepare conservation plans and the government adopted a number of planning regulations such as the Drafting Requirements for Conservation Plans of Historically and Culturally Famous Cities from 1994. While conservation planning has already become an integral part of city management, Whitehand and Gu criticize that conservation methods are concentrated on conventional land-use planning as introduced by the Soviet Union, which proceeds from the assumption of a static city.⁵⁷

54 Whitehand, J.W.R.; Gu, Kai (2007): “Urban Conservation in China: Historical development, current practice and morphological approach”, p. 647.

55 Ye, Lin (2011): “Urban regeneration in China: Policy, development and issues”, p. 338.

56 “China: Properties inscribed on the World Heritage List”, UNESCO World Heritage Center, Online.

57 Whitehand, J.W.R.; Gu, Kai (2007): “Urban Conservation in China: Historical development, current practice and morphological approach”, pp. 649–650.

Moreover, when the Central Government carried out fiscal decentralization in the mid-1990s, local governments turned to the private sector and foreign investment to finance urban regeneration.⁵⁸ As a consequence, governments shifted their perspectives from alleviation of dilapidated housing as part of social welfare to fostering economic growth.⁵⁹ Therefore, they engaged in coalitions with private developers and foreign investors, which led to a commercialization of urban regeneration and the relocation of urban residents.⁶⁰ Due to economic considerations, real estate developers invested in large-scale redevelopment projects which caused the demolition of a great amount of historic built structures in Chinese cities.

More **dynamic and integrated approaches** to urban conservation have been pursued by Wu Liangyong 吴良镛, who carried out a development project according to ‘organic renewal’ in Beijing and WHITRAP (World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for the Asia and the Pacific Region 亚太地区世界遗产培训与研究中心) in Shanghai which tests, develops and promotes UNESCO’s Historic Urban Landscape approach (HUL). Wu Liangyong is an internationally renowned architect and professor of the Architecture Department at Qinghua University in Beijing, which he founded together with Liang Sicheng. He led the rehabilitation project of the Ju’er Hutong courtyard houses in the 1980s, which is regarded as an exemplary model for urban rehabilitation and was awarded the ARCASIA (Architects Regional Council Asia) Golden Prize in 1992 and the World Habitat Award in 1993.⁶¹

Wu argues for the concept of “integral architecture” and the “organic renewal” (*youji gengxin* 有机更新) of a city. These concepts show connections to the ideas and practical experiences of Yang Tingbao 杨廷宝, Liang Sicheng 梁思成 and Eliel Saarinen with whom he studied at the Cranbrook Academy of Art in Michigan.⁶² It proceeds from the assumption that the city is a living organism and that parts which continue to be useful to the city shall be maintained while those no longer suitable can be eliminated. Urban regeneration therefore is understood to be a process of gradual substitution.⁶³

58 Ye, Lin (2011): “Urban regeneration in China: Policy, development and issues”, p. 338.

59 He, Shenjing; Wu, Fulong (2009): “China’s Emerging Neoliberal Urbanism: Perspectives from Urban Redevelopment”, p. 290.

60 Ye, Lin (2011): “Urban regeneration in China: Policy, development and issues”, p. 338.

61 Xin, Ling (2012): “WU Liangyong: The Humanistic Architect of Our Time”, pp. 140–141.

62 Wu, Liangyong (2013): *Integrated Architecture*, p. 149.

63 Wu, Liangyong (1999): *Rehabilitating the Old City of Beijing: A Project in the Ju’er Hutong Neighbourhood*, p. 61.

The rehabilitation of the Ju'er Hutong neighborhood located northeast of the Forbidden City was based on a site survey on existing housing and community conditions. This survey revealed that courtyard houses were overcrowded, which had forced residents to build additional structures into the courtyards, and that environmental and sanitary conditions were very poor, with two-thirds of households having no direct sunlight and solely one water tap as well as one drain, which had to be shared by more than eighty residents.⁶⁴ While the project was aimed at the improvement of residents' living conditions, land-use intensity was a major concern in the debate on conservation and rehabilitation of the overall city. The architectural design therefore had to consider density issues and a new courtyard cluster was developed, based on a two- to three-story courtyard house prototype. In addition to achieving a higher floor-area ratio, advantages of traditional courtyard houses such as sunlight penetration, light construction techniques or private outdoor space could be maintained, and existing trees preserved.⁶⁵

Heilmann has shown how reform policies are carried out in the PRC through the particular methodology of policy experimentation. In a first step, pilot projects are set up at local test sites (*shidian* 试点). After experimentation, successful models are extended to further localities (*you dian dao mian* 由点到面, "from one point to an area") in order to examine their potential for nationwide implementation.⁶⁶ Despite the successful realization of the Ju'er Hutong project and its international recognition, the project has not been selected as an exemplary model. Follow-up rehabilitation projects in the neighborhood were halted at the beginning of the 1990s and the approach was not developed further due to "low economic returns".⁶⁷

WHITRAP was established in China as a category II center⁶⁸ under the auspices of UNESCO in 2007. With the objective to promote conservation and development of World Heritage in the Asia and the Pacific Region, WHITRAP was the

64 Wu, Liangyong (1999): *Rehabilitating the Old City of Beijing: A Project in the Ju'er Hutong Neighbourhood*, pp. 112–113.

65 *Ibid.*, pp. 124–129.

66 Heilmann, Sebastian (ed., 2016): *Das politische System der Volksrepublik China*, p. 301.

67 Xin, Ling (2012): "WU Liangyong: The Humanistic Architect of Our Time", p. 141.

68 Category II centers/institutes are hosted by UNESCO member states in order to contribute to the achievement of UNESCO's objectives. They are established and funded by these member states and are associated to UNESCO through formal agreements. Category II centers have been founded with the objective to integrate certain countries more strongly into education, training or nomination processes. See: UNESCO (2017): "Institutes and Centres (Category 2)", Online. Albert, Marie-Theres; Ringbeck, Birgitta (2015): *40 Jahre Welterbekonvention: Zur Popularisierung eines Schutzkonzepts für Kultur- und Naturgüter*, p. 132.

first international organization related to World Heritage to be founded in a developing country.⁶⁹ The center operates through three branches located in three Chinese cities. The Shanghai Centre was established at Tongji University and is in charge of the sustainable development of ancient towns/villages, architectural sites/complexes and cultural landscapes. The Beijing Centre at Peking University focuses on the protection of natural heritage, archaeological sites and the management of cultural landscapes. Suzhou Centre is hosted by Suzhou Municipal Government and conducts research on site management, as well as traditional architectural restoration, and provides technical training.⁷⁰

In 2012, WHITRAP launched a pilot program for the implementation of the UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, which is a pioneering initiative with HUL still undergoing discussion in many member states.⁷¹ The *HUL Recommendation*, adopted by UNESCO in November 2011, is aimed at the integration of heritage conservation strategies within the broader context of urban development. It recognizes the dynamic character of cities and reacts to socio-economic changes that have been triggered by urbanization and development pressure, rapidly transforming urban areas on a global level and greatly affecting cultural heritage.⁷² Considering urban heritage as “a social, cultural and economic asset”,⁷³ the approach highlights its role for sustainable development and the opportunity for its adaptation to present social needs.⁷⁴

The HUL approach is based on landscape theory, which is used as a framework to enable planning, conservation and intervention decision-making as well as their implementation from a landscape perspective.⁷⁵ The concept of the historic urban landscape has been explained by Ron van Oers, who developed the approach together with Francesco Bandarin, as follows:

“Historic Urban Landscape is a mindset, an understanding of the city, or parts of the city, as an outcome of natural, cultural and socio-economic processes that construct it spatially, temporally, and experientially. It is as much about buildings and spaces, as about rituals and values that people bring into the city. This concept

69 WHITRAP (2012): *Shanghai Centre* 上海中心, Information brochure, p. 1, Online.

70 Ibid.

71 Verdini, Giulio; Frassoldati, Francesca; Nolf, Christian (2017): “Reframing China’s heritage conservation discourse. Learning by testing civic engagement tools in a historic rural village”, p. 320.

72 UNESCO (adopted 2011): *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, preamble, p. 1.

73 Ibid.

74 Angrisano, Mariarosaria et al. (2016): “Towards operationalizing UNESCO Recommendations on “Historic Urban Landscape”: a position paper”, p. 166.

75 UNESCO (adopted 2011): *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, appendix, p. 6.

encompasses layers of symbolic significance, intangible heritage, perception of values, and interconnections between the composite elements of the historic urban landscape, as well as local knowledge including building practices and management of natural resources.”⁷⁶

This explanation compactly summarizes the central aspects that characterize the approach. Primarily, an urban area is perceived as the result of a historic layering process exceeding the scope of an historic center or *ensemble*.⁷⁷ Instead, historic cities represent physical forms in relation to social and economic dynamics as part of an historical continuum.⁷⁸ Thereby, changes and “adaptations of values and urban forms” are not seen as necessarily contradictory to conservation but factors which need to be managed.⁷⁹

The broader urban context in which an urban area is seen includes topographic and natural features, the historic and contemporary built environment, visual relationships, elements of the urban structure, but also social and cultural practices, economic processes and intangible heritage.⁸⁰ By recognizing cultural diversity and the intangible aspects of heritage, HUL considers a place’s association of meanings, which is central to a local community’s identity and sense of place.⁸¹ Moreover, the HUL approach is a “learning approach” which, on the one hand, adheres to the values of national and international communities while, on the other hand, integrates knowledge and traditions at the local level.⁸²

The management of the above-mentioned changes relies on the integration of urban heritage conservation in general policy planning and practice in consideration of historical layers, and a balancing of cultural and natural values.⁸³ Responsible stakeholders are international organizations, the Member States’ different levels of government, but also cooperations of public and private stakeholders as well as non-governmental organizations.⁸⁴ Moreover, the approach suggests the application of various tools ranging from traditional to innovative that have been adapted to the local context.

76 van Oers, Ron (2010): “Managing Cities and the Historic Urban Landscape Initiative — an Introduction”, in: van Oers, R. and Haraguchi, Sachiko (ed.): *Managing Historic Cities*, p. 14.

77 UNESCO (adopted 2011): *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, para. 8.

78 Bandarin, Francesco; Van Oers, Ron (2012): *The Historic Urban Landscape: Managing heritage in an urban century*, p. 72.

79 Ibid.

80 UNESCO (adopted 2011): *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, para. 9.

81 Taylor, Ken (2015): “Cities as Cultural Landscapes”, p. 183.

82 UNESCO (adopted 2011): *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, para. 13.

83 Ibid., para. 21–22.

84 Ibid., para. 22–23.

The four groups of tools defined in the *HUL Recommendation* are civic engagement tools, knowledge and planning tools, regulatory systems and financial tools. Civic engagement tools aim to involve local communities in the conservation processes. In order to understand the different layers of the city, not only in terms of visual morphology but also cultural practices, the local community can contribute to identify relationships between tangible and intangible heritage.⁸⁵ Through methods such as cultural mapping, the overlapping experiences of the city from different cultural perspectives can be revealed and inform decision-making.⁸⁶

Equally, knowledge and planning tools are employed to protect the authenticity and integrity of material heritage.⁸⁷ They enable an identification of the relationships between modern and historical elements as well as the processes that shaped the historic built environment.⁸⁸ Such tools include geospatial mapping, aerial surveys, measured drawings, panoramic photographs and the compilation of an inventory of cultural resources which serve as a basis for evaluating impacts of actions and interventions on the historic urban landscape.⁸⁹

Regulatory systems refer to special acts or degrees in legal and institutional frameworks for the management of tangible and intangible heritage, which further recognize and reinforce traditional or customary systems.⁹⁰ In China, one example of an integrated regulatory measure for the conservation and management of sites on the national level is the China Principles. Furthermore, administrative rules for cultural relics protection have been greatly expanded, with 23 promulgations of regulations between 2002 and 2007.⁹¹ Finally, financial tools guarantee the financial sustainability of the HUL approach through capacity-building as well as “innovative income generating development”. These tools include global and governmental funding but also flexible financing such as micro-credit to support local enterprises and public-private partnerships.⁹²

In October 2012, WHITRAP organized an international expert meeting to discuss the development of a “road map” for the application of HUL in China.⁹³ Issues and questions formulated to guide the program concerned the three-fold

85 Smith, Julian (2015): “Civic Engagement Tools for Urban Conservation”, pp. 221–222.

86 Ibid., pp. 225, 231.

87 van Oers, Ron; Pereira Roders, Ana (2013): “Road map for application of the HUL approach in China”, p. 12.

88 Hosagrahar, Jyoti (2015): “Knowledge and Planning Tools”, p. 249.

89 Ibid., pp. 251, 257.

90 Bandarin, Francesco; van Oers, Ron (2012): *The Historic Urban Landscape: Managing heritage in an urban century*, p. 144.

91 Ibid., p. 146.

92 UNESCO (adopted 2011): *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, para. 24.

93 van Oers, Ron; Pereira Roders, Ana (2013): “Road map for application of the HUL approach in China”, p. 9.

objectives of the HUL approach, which are the management of change, the improvement of the local population's living conditions and the creation of a "virtuous cycle"⁹⁴ in urban conservation, as well as the toolkit required for application at the local level.⁹⁵ So far, WHITRAP has selected four Chinese pilot cities for its HUL program: Shanghai, Suzhou and Tongli in the Jiangnan region, and Dujiangyan 都江堰 in Sichuan Province.⁹⁶

While China's national framework for the protection of urban heritage has greatly advanced since the beginning of the 1980s, the high complexity and dynamic development of metropolitan areas pose new challenges for conservation. As a specialized approach, HUL shall provide local authorities in dynamic urban areas with knowledge and skills to guide urban regeneration and management.⁹⁷ Moreover, HUL's international concept can justify the conservation of heritage aspects that are not covered by the national conservation framework. In order to identify starting points for such an approach, it is necessary to understand the evolution and character of the Chinese national conservation system for urban heritage protection.

2.2 HCF City Concept

While the fundamental ideas underlying the HCF City concept can be traced back to Liang Sicheng, such an approach only gained acceptance with China's participation in the international conservation community and when the consequences of urbanization and economic development pressures became more visible. Resulting destructions of urban fabric through large-scale construction (*jianshe xing pohuai* 建设性破坏) fostered an awareness that it was insufficient to protect individual sites. As explained by Wang, many ancient Chinese cities have a planned structure or local characteristics deriving from their specific layout and road network.

94 The "virtuous cycle" refers to an effect where one policy and related actions trigger following community-driven conservation and regeneration initiatives which, again, reinforce the earlier. See: van Oers, Ron; Pereira Roders, Ana (2013): "Road map for application of the HUL approach in China", p. 11.

95 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

96 "The Historic Urban Landscape: Pilot Cities in China", Tongji University, Online.

97 van Oers, Ron; Pereira Roders, Ana (2013): "Road map for application of the HUL approach in China", p. 7.

Therefore, such interrelations of individual buildings with the city in its entirety need to be preserved as well.⁹⁸

In 1981, historical geographer Hou Renzhi 侯仁之⁹⁹ (1911–2013) from Beijing University, urban planner Zheng Xiaoxie 郑孝燮 (1916–2017) from the Ministry of Construction and cultural relic expert Shan Shiyuan 单士元 (1907–1998) from the Palace Museum successfully proposed the promulgation of National HCF Cities to the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference.¹⁰⁰ According to Luo Zhewen 罗哲文 (1924–2012), then working for the Cultural Relics Bureau and a former student of Liang Sicheng who participated in drafting the first listing document for officially protected entities, the designation “Historically and Culturally Famous Cities” was inspired by the “historical cities” promulgated in the Soviet Union. It was expanded by the term “cultural” as most of the selected Chinese cities were regarded as not only having a long history but additionally being related to culture.¹⁰¹

The State Council promulgated a first batch of 24 National HCF Cities (*guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng* 国家历史文化名城)¹⁰² in February 1982. There are several indicators as to why this first batch of cities was selected due to their generally acknowledged significance and need for conservation rather than according to established nomination criteria.¹⁰³ Primarily, the designation of these cities reflects the concept that relates to urban areas **renowned** as historical and cultural centers. The adjective “famous” in “Historically and Culturally Famous Cities” derives from the term *youming* 有名, literally: “to have a name”, indicating that a city is well-known for or holds the reputation of being historically and culturally significant. This characteristic further distinguishes the concept from other designations, such as the above-mentioned urban centers in the former Soviet Union and present-day Russia or the European context usually termed “historical cities”.

98 Wang, Jinghui 王景慧 (1994): “Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingcheng de baohu gainian” 中国历史文化名城的保护概念, p. 13.

99 Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 further was the main promoter of China’s participation in World Heritage conservation and the ratification of the World Heritage Convention. See: Yan, Haiming (2018): *World Heritage Craze in China: Universal Discourse, National Culture and Local Memory*, p. 49.

100 Qiu, Baoxing 仇保兴 (2014): *Feng yu ru pan — lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu 30 nian* 风雨如磐——历史文化名城保护 30 年, p. 15.

101 Ibid.

102 The first batch of National HCF Cities comprised: Chengde, Beijing, Datong, Nanjing, Quanzhou, Jingdezhen, Qufu, Luoyang, Kaifeng, Yangzhou, Hangzhou, Shaoxing, Jiangling, Changsha, Guangzhou, Guilin, Chengdu, Zunyi, Kunming, Dali, Lhasa, Xi’an, Yan’an and Suzhou.

103 Wang, Jinghui 王景慧 (1994): “Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingcheng de baohu gainian” 中国历史文化名城的保护概念, p. 13.

Furthermore, there is no definition of HCF Cities given in the promulgation document from 1982. Therein, they are solely characterized as:

...我国古代政治、经济、文化的中心，或者是近代革命运动和发生重大历史事件的重要城市。在这些历史文化名城的地面和地下，保存了大量历史文物与革命文物，体现了中华民族的悠久历史、光荣的革命传统与光辉灿烂的文化。¹⁰⁴

“... a political, economic or cultural center of ancient China or an important city for modern revolutionary movements and of great historical events. Above- and under-ground of these Historically and Culturally Famous Cities are preserved great amounts of historical relics and revolutionary relics which reflect the long history of the Chinese people, a glorious revolutionary tradition and a magnificent and splendid culture.”

In this characterization, the attribute “cultural” in the concept of HCF Cities is primarily derived from a high concentration of cultural relics in these cities, hence tangible cultural heritage. Consequently, the significance of HCF Cities is connected to their function as historical and cultural centers, a quality considered quantifiable through their amount of preserved historical and cultural relics.

A first and short definition of HCF Cities is given in the Cultural Relics Protection Law which was only adopted seven months after their promulgation. In the Cultural Relics Protection Law, they are defined as:

保存文物特别丰富并且具有重大历史价值或者革命纪念意义的城市...¹⁰⁵

“Cities which are particularly rich in preserved cultural relics and have great historical value or high revolutionary memorial significance, ...”

This definition equally specifies the significance of HCF Cities as dependent on two major characteristics: great historical value and a high number of cultural relics. The above-given indicators therefore suggest that cities in the first batch have been selected according to this general understanding of an HCF City. A

104 State Council 国务院 (February 8, 1982): *Guowuyuan pizhuan Guojia jianwei deng bumen guanyu baohu wo guo lishi wenhua mingcheng de qingshi de tongzhi* 国务院批转国家建委等部门关于保护我国历史文化名城的请示的通知 [Circular by the State Council Regarding the Request of the National Construction Committee and other Departments for Instructions on the Conservation of Historically and Culturally Famous Cities in China], Online.

105 Standing Committee of the Fifth National People’s Congress 第五届全国人民代表大会常务委员会 (November 19, 1982): *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the People’s Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics], art. 8.

nomination system gradually developed thereafter, with nomination criteria defined on the basis of cities promulgated in this first batch. Apart from their historical value and preserved cultural relics, these 24 cities show great differences in character resulting from their natural setting, original function and development.

Before standardized nomination criteria and suitable conservation strategies could be defined, the cities' significant characteristics needed to be identified. Urban planning specialist and renowned Tongji University professor Dong Jianhong 董鉴泓 (1926–) provided one of the earliest categorizations of HCF Cities. In 1989, Dong defined seven city categories including a second batch of cities promulgated at the national level: ancient capital cities (*gudu xing* 古都型), cities with a traditional townscape (*chuantong chengshi fengmao xing* 传统城市风貌型), scenic cities with famous scenic sites (*fengjing mingsheng xing* 风景名胜型), cities with sites of modern and contemporary history (*jinxindai shiji xing* 近现代史迹型), cities with local characteristics and folk culture (*difang tese ji minzu wenhua xing* 地方特色及民族文化型), cities with special functions (*teshu zhineng xing* 特殊职能型) and common cities with historical sites (*yiban shiji xing* 一般史迹型).¹⁰⁶

The cities classified under these seven major categories can be further differentiated. For example, in the category of ancient capital cities, Beijing 北京 and Xi'an 西安 are seen as cities with a characteristic appearance of ancient capitals (*gudu fengmao* 古都风貌) while Luoyang 洛阳 and Kaifeng 开封 feature a great number of underground sites. In the category "cities with sites of modern and contemporary history", cities such as Yan'an 延安 and Zunyi 遵义 are considered significant for their revolutionary sites and other cities such as Shanghai and Tianjin for their characteristic colonial buildings and modern architecture.¹⁰⁷ Dong concludes that the two main aspects that form the specific character of a city are its historic urban structure and its characteristic appearance. In order to preserve this character, HCF Cities need to be protected as entities or by designation of protected areas instead of conserving individual sites.¹⁰⁸

In 1996, Li and Bao investigated the character of HCF Cities from a geographical perspective. Their categorization is based on the first three batches of promulgated National HCF Cities and stays close to the characterization in the promulgation document from 1982. Following their most distinct characteristics, they

106 Dong, Jianhong 董鉴泓 (1991): "Cong mingcheng leixing tan Shanghai lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu" 从名城类型谈上海历史文化名城保护 [Discussion Proceeding from Famous City Categories to the Conservation of Shanghai Historically and Culturally Famous City], p. 17.

107 Ibid.

108 Ibid.

divide the cities into six categories.¹⁰⁹ While cities with historical sites and scenic spots (*mingsheng guji lei* 名胜古迹类) are considered significant for their richness in individual sites, “ancient historical cities” (*lishi gucheng lei* 历史古城类) comprise ancient capital cities as well as former political, economic and cultural centers. The third category (*jiaotong junshi zhongzhen lei* 交通军事重镇类) refers to strategic places such as ports, for example, or places located on the Silk Road. Then, there are cities categorized according to their natural and scenic sites (*fengguang yuanlin lei* 风光园林类) as well as their revolutionary heritage (*geming jinian di lei* 革命纪念地类). The last category (*zonghe wenhua zhongxin lei* 综合文化中心类) is comparatively broad and covers cities which cannot be reduced to one distinct characteristic.

These two categorizations show that the HCF City is understood as an entity, but that its character differs from protected heritage sites which are individual sites and can be conserved as single units (*wenwu baohu danwei* 文物保护单位). Furthermore, as dynamic places, they underlie constant development. This situation becomes apparent in a statement by Luo Zhewen:

在我国现有的历史文化名城中，完全是原状保存的恐怕已是不多了，尤其是一些历史悠久、文化内容丰富的城市，历代都在改变着，今天已经没有条件全面原状保护了。¹¹⁰

“I am afraid, of the existing Historically and Culturally Famous Cities in China there are not many left which are fully preserved in their original state. Especially those cities with a long history and rich cultural content which underwent changes in every historical period nowadays do not fulfill the necessary conditions for a comprehensive preservation in their original state anymore.”

Although there are some cities such as Pingyao in Shanxi which chose a zoning approach relating to the Liang-Chen Proposal for Beijing and set up a “new city” 新城 next to the ancient city in order to preserve it as an entity, the majority of Chinese cities face a situation illustrated in the above statement which does not allow for this ideal measure. For these cities, Luo recommends a conservation approach based on the division in tiers (*cengci* 层次), levels (*dengji* 等级) and con-

109 Li, Muhan 李慕寒; Bao, Hongming 鲍洪明 (1996): “Shilun wo guo lishi wenhua mingcheng de leixing ji qi tezhen” 试论我国历史文化名城的类型及其特征 [Tentative Discussion on Categories and Characteristics of Chinas Historically and Culturally Famous Cities], pp. 98–104.

110 Luo, Zhewen 罗哲文 (2002): “Lishi wenhua mingcheng shi jianshe you Zhongguo tese shehui zhuyi de qianda zhizhu” 历史文化名城是建设有中国特色社会主义的强大支柱 [The Historically and Culturally Famous Cities are a strong pillar to build up socialism with Chinese characteristics], p. 72.

ditions (*qingkuang* 情况) for which different conservation measures shall be applied.¹¹¹ Therefore, areas with a characteristic appearance (*fengmao fenqu* 风貌分区) shall be preserved in the form of single spots (*dian* 点), routes (*xian* 线) and areas (*mian* 面).¹¹²

This approach can be observed in the subsequent differentiation and expansion of the HCF Cities conservation system to smaller units. In its initial form as a single-tier concept, the HCF City failed to successfully protect urban heritage. Major reasons for this as analyzed by renowned Chinese conservator and director of the National Famous Historical and Cultural Cities Research Center 国家历史文化名城研究中心, Ruan Yisan 阮仪三, were that the concept and its content remained unclear, the focus continued to be set on individual sites rather than the city as an entity and protection boundaries had not been clarified.¹¹³ As a consequence, the State Council determined the promulgation of a smaller protection unit, the historic and cultural protected areas (*lishi wenhua baohu qu* 历史文化保护区) on regional and local levels in 1986.

In the European context, the designation of entire historic urban areas to be protected primarily emerged in the 1960s in the course of “regeneration” projects and commercial development in the historic centers of European cities.¹¹⁴ In the HCF City conservation system, historic and cultural protected areas constitute a third tier in supplementation of the overall city and individual sites (for a schematic illustration see chapter 2.4). Historic and cultural protected areas received legal character with a definition in the Cultural Relics Protection Law in 2002. Following this definition, historic and cultural protected areas are:

保存文物特别丰富并且具有重大历史价值或者革命纪念意义的城镇、街道、村庄，由省、自治区、直辖市人民政府核定公布为历史文化街区、村镇，并报国务院备案。¹¹⁵

111 Luo, Zhewen 罗哲文 (2002): “Lishi wenhua mingcheng shi jianshe you Zhongguo tese shehui zhuyi de qianga zhizhu” 历史文化名城是建设有中国特色社会主义的强大支柱, p. 72.

112 Ibid.

113 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Sun, Meng 孙萌 (2001): “Wo guo lishi jiequ baohu yu guihua de ruogan wenti yanjiu” 我国历史街区保护与规划的若干问题研究 [Study on Problems Related to the Planning and Protection of Historical Blocks in China], p. 25.

114 Orbaşlı, Aylin (2008): *Architectural Conservation: Principles and Practice*, p. 25.

115 Standing Committee of the Ninth National People’s Congress 第九届全国人民代表大会常务委员会 (October 28, 2002): *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the People’s Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics], art. 14.

“Towns, neighborhoods or villages which are particularly rich in preserved cultural relics and have great historical value or high revolutionary memorial significance shall be verified and announced by the people’s governments of provinces, autonomous regions, or municipalities directly under the Central Government as Historic and Cultural Blocks, Villages or Towns and reported to the State Council for the records.”

As the paragraph shows, this third tier of protected areas not only covers urban areas in cities but has further been extended to towns and villages. While the concept of HCF Towns and Villages originated from regional and local historic and cultural protected areas, they soon became protected entities managed on a national level.¹¹⁶

Since 2003, the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development together with the State Administration of Cultural Heritage assess and designate “Historically and Culturally Famous Towns” (*lishi wenhua mingzhen* 历史文化名镇) and “Historically and Culturally Famous Villages” (*lishi wenhua mingcun* 历史文化名村). The Planning Regulations for HCF Cities from 2005 regulate that a protected area must have a size of at least 1 ha with a coverage of cultural relics and historical buildings exceeding 60 percent.¹¹⁷ So far, 252 Historically and Culturally Famous Towns and 276 Historically and Culturally Famous Villages have been announced.¹¹⁸

The evolution of the HCF Cities concept shows a continuous expansion of heritage conservation in Chinese urban areas and a development from spots (*dian* 点 = individual sites) to areas (*mian* 面 = protected areas), as suggested by Luo Zhewen, and in parallel to international conservation developments. As a first step, the preservation of “immovable cultural relics” (*bu ke yidong wenwu* 不可移动文物, the term for immovable sites protected by law) and thereby individual sites in a single spot was expanded to the protection of entire cities, the HCF Cities, in

116 Qiu, Baoxing 仇保兴 (2014): *Feng yu ru pan — lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu 30 nian* 风雨如磐——历史文化名城保护 30 年, p. 20.

117 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

118 Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 国家文物局 (October 9, 2017): *Zhufang chengxiang jianshebu, Guojia wenwu ju guanyu kaizhan Guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng he Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingzhen mingcun baohu gongzuo pinggu jiancha de tongzhi* 住房和城乡建设部 国家文物局关于开展国家历史文化名城和中国历史文化名镇名村保护工作评估检查的通知 [Circular of the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage on Carrying out Evaluation and Inspections of the Conservation Work in National Historically and Culturally Famous Cities and National Historically and Culturally Famous Towns and Villages], Online.

order to preserve not only significant sites but also the structure of the city, its historic townscape and relations of heritage sites with their environment.

When it became clear that the unit of the city was too large to ensure effective protection in a period of large-scale urban development projects and housing construction, the concept was narrowed down to smaller units, the historic and cultural protected areas. In later development and with the formulation of conservation regulations for HCF Cities, the designation of these units in urban areas was then changed to historic and cultural blocks (*lishi wenhua jiequ* 历史文化街区).

Moreover, there are indications for a further downsizing of protection units in Chinese urban conservation to routes (*xian* 线), or more precisely, historic streets. Since 2009 so-called National Historically and Culturally Famous Streets (*Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingjie* 中国历史文化名街) have been selected. Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block, which is a case study of this project, was among this first batch of 10 selected streets. But while HCF Cities and Towns/Villages as well as historic and cultural blocks are assessed and promulgated by national and regional government bodies, the historic and cultural streets are not (yet) part of the official national conservation system.¹¹⁹

On the contrary, the concept of historic and cultural streets emerged due to the initiative of academics and conservation experts in cooperation with the periodicals *Chinese Journal of Culture* (*Zhongguo wenhua bao* 中国文化报) and *China Cultural Relic News* (*Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中国文物报).¹²⁰ However, the Ministry of Culture and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, which are in charge of the respective periodicals, supported the initiative and approved the selected streets.¹²¹ Figure 2-2 shows the official plaque at the entrance of Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block, confirming that the street has been approved by both government bodies.

119 Lü, Chunsheng 吕春生 (2017): “Huiwang Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingjie pingxuan tuijie huodong” 回望中国历史文化名街评选推介活动 [Review of the selection and promotion of National Historically and Culturally Famous Streets], p. 11.

120 “‘Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingjie baohu tongmeng’ chengli” “中国历史文化名街保护同盟”成立 [“National Historically and Culturally Famous Streets Conservation Union” established], (January 7, 2013), Online.

121 Ibid.



Figure 2-2. Pingjiang Road Official Plaque.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

In the five designation rounds held since 2009, 50 National Historically and Culturally Famous Streets have been designated and a professional committee has been set up by the China Cultural Heritage Society 中国文物学会 in Beijing.¹²² In contrast to officially protected heritage sites in which the application process is strongly hierarchical and national-level sites need to be proposed by provincial governments, the selection of National HCF Streets proceeds from city level and is carried out more democratically. Thereby, the selection process is based on a mechanism of direct application (*zizhu shenbao* 自主申报), decision-making through expert assessment and public vote (*gongzhong toupiao* 公众投票).¹²³

The representatives of National HCF Streets further organized themselves in the “National HCF Streets Conservation Union” 中国历史文化名街保护同盟 which strives to safeguard traditional streets as well as to conserve and develop them.¹²⁴ One example is Hefang Street 河坊街, a part of the Qing Hefang Historically and Culturally Characteristic Block 清河坊历史文化特色街区 in Hangzhou, where great-scale demolition and reconstruction was called to a halt and changed to an integrated development approach. Here, the organizing committee for the selection of National HCF Streets provided support for the “adjustment” of

122 Lü, Chunsheng 吕春生 (2017): “Huiwang Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingjie pingxuan tuijie huodong” 回望中国历史文化名街评选推介活动, pp. 9–10.

123 Ibid., p. 9.

124 (January 7, 2013) “Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingjie baohu tongmeng’ chengli” “中国历史文化名街保护同盟”成立, in: Zhongguo wenwu xinxi wang 中国文物信息网, Online.

development and the adoption of conservation measures, which enabled its inclusion as a National HCF Street in 2012.¹²⁵

The process of establishing a suitable conservation system by first listing significant entities and then determining general assessment standards, as well as the continuous development and adaptation of the concept to material realities, reflects a race against rapid new construction and renewal in urban areas. Hereby, the different listing mechanisms are aimed at creating new incentives for local governments to turn to alternative development models, as in the case of Hefang Street 河坊街.

2.3 City Assessment

Since 1982, the Central Government as well as regional governments in the PRC have established basic inventories of HCF Cities. These cities are selected on different administrative levels in designation rounds in which they need to undergo a process of nomination, examination, assessment and promulgation. As in the case of officially protected entities (*wenwu baohu danwei* 文物保护单位), this mechanism shows great similarities to the inscription of sites on the World Heritage List on an international level.

As mentioned above, the initial administrative level to promulgate HCF Cities was at the national level. Three greater batches of cities were designated in 1982, 1986 and 1994. On the basis of these 99 cities primarily established across the PRC, the State Council has continued to supplement this inventory since 2001.¹²⁶ While the first batch of National HCF Cities was selected due to general acknowledgement and the cities' reputation for their great historical significance and rich cultural relics (see chapter 2.2), the second designation round required the definition of basic evaluation principles.¹²⁷

For the second batch, a nomination mechanism was established in which provinces, autonomous regions and directly-governed cities can propose cities for inclusion. Thereby, examination and approval principles became necessary in order to prevent the HCF City becoming an empty label. In the second designation

125 Lü, Chunsheng 吕春生 (2017): "Huiwang Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingjie pingxuan tuijie huodong" 回望中国历史文化名街评选推介活动, p. 10.

126 Qiu, Baoxing 仇保兴 (2014): *Feng yu ru pan — lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu 30 nian* 风雨如磐——历史文化名城保护 30 年, p. 31.

127 Ibid., p. 30. Wang, Jinghui 王景慧 (1994): "Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingcheng de baohu gainian" 中国历史文化名城的保护概念, p. 13.

round, 38 of the 80 cities nominated for inclusion were approved.¹²⁸ Furthermore, regional governments were enabled to designate significant HCF Cities on a provincial level.¹²⁹

In addition to the definition of an HCF City in the Cultural Relics Protection Law, National HCF Cities from the second batch were identified on the basis of three evaluation criteria. The first of these criteria exceeds the notion of historical significance and determines that there actually needs to be a considerable number of preserved historical relics and sites **in good condition**.¹³⁰ The second criterion highlights the difference between an HCF City and officially protected entities by requiring a characteristic historical structure and appearance in certain districts that are representative for the city.¹³¹ The final criterion addresses the distribution and scope of urban heritage and clarifies that it cannot be conserved as an individual site but that urban heritage has an impact on aspects such as the character and layout of the city.¹³² In short, these three evaluation criteria consider the state of preserved heritage, the spatial structure and historic townscape of a city as well as the scope and distribution of urban heritage.

With the adoption of the Conservation Regulations for Historically and Culturally Famous Cities, Towns and Villages (hereafter Conservation Regulations) in 2008, the State Council primarily defined binding requirements for the nomination of HCF Cities, Towns and Villages. According to Article seven, these requirements are:

- (1) 保存文物特别丰富
“a great amount of preserved cultural relics”
- (2) 历史建筑集中成片
“accumulations of historical buildings to clusters”
- (3) 保留着传统格局和历史风貌
“a maintained traditional structure and historic townscape”

128 Qiu, Baoxing 仇保兴 (2014): *Feng yu ru pan — lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu 30 nian* 风雨如磐——历史文化名城保护 30 年, p. 31.

129 Ibid., p. 32.

130 Zhao, Yong 赵勇; Li, Huadong 李华东 (2013): “Wo guo lishi wenhua mingcheng mingzhen mingcun baohu de huigu he zhanwang” 我国历史文化名城名镇名村保护的回顾和展望 [Review and Prospect of China’s Historically and Culturally Famous Cities, Towns and Villages Conservation]. In: Jin, Lei 金磊; Duan, Xichen 段喜臣 (ed.): *Zhongguo jianzhu wenhua yichan niandu baogao* 中国建筑文化遗产年度报告: 2002–2012, *China Architectural Heritage Annual Review (2002–2012)*, p. 188.

131 Ibid.

132 Ibid.

- (4) 历史上曾经作为政治、经济、文化、交通中心或者军事要地，或者发生过重要历史事件，或者其传统产业、历史上建设的重大工程对本地区的发展产生过重要影响，或者能够集中反映本地区建筑的文化特色、民族特色。¹³³

“[that the city, town or village] has been a historic political, economic, cultural or transportation center or militarily strategic point; or the site of important historic events; or its traditional industries or major historic construction projects had great impact on local development; or [it] is a representation of cultural and folk characteristics of local buildings.”

While earlier criteria such as the spatial structure and historic townscape have been kept unaltered, the notion of historical significance is more accurately defined as well as the distribution and scope of urban heritage, which is formulated as clusters of historical buildings. Moreover, a first quantitative requirement is given. The article determines that cities nominated as an HCF City must have more than two historic and cultural blocks.¹³⁴

Two years later, in the course of a circular on the inspection of conservation work in HCF Cities, Towns and Villages, the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development together with the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) released a precise conservation assessment standard for National HCF Cities. In contrast to former unquantifiable formulations of evaluation criteria, the “Conservation Assessment Standard for National Historically and Culturally Famous Cities” 国家历史文化名城保护评估标准 is based on a scoring system. In this standard the significance of a city is partly assessed by means of measurable criteria. In the following, it will be analyzed how meaningful this measurement of significant characteristics is and how different criteria are weighed in the Chinese context.

The standard is structured in a quantitative (*dingliang pinggu* 定量评估) and a qualitative assessment (*dingxing pinggu* 定性评估).¹³⁵ Three quantitative factors are measured in a total of 100 points each; these are the first two requirements

133 State Council 国务院 (2008): *Lishi wenhua mingcheng mingzhen mingcun baohu tiaoli* 历史文化名城名镇名村保护条例 [Conservation Regulations for Historically and Culturally Famous Cities, Towns and Villages], order no. 524, art. 7.

134 Ibid.

135 Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房城乡建设部; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 国家文物局 (February 20, 2010): *Guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu pinggu biaoqun* 国家历史文化名城保护评估标准 [Conservation Assessment Standard for National Historically and Culturally Famous Cities], in: *Guanyu kaizhan guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng, Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingzhen mingcun baohu gongzuo jiancha de tongzhi* 关于开展国家历史文化名城、中国历史文化名镇名村保护工作检查的通知 [Circular on Carrying out Inspections of

defined in the Conservation Regulations from 2008 (the amount of preserved cultural relics and the accumulation of historical buildings to clusters) plus a newly added factor: conservation and management measures. The composition of these factors is illustrated in the following figures:

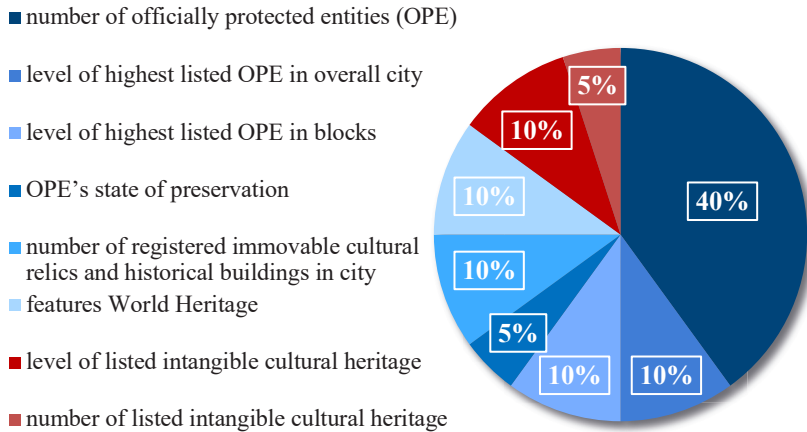


Figure 2-3. Amount of Preserved Cultural Relics (in percent).

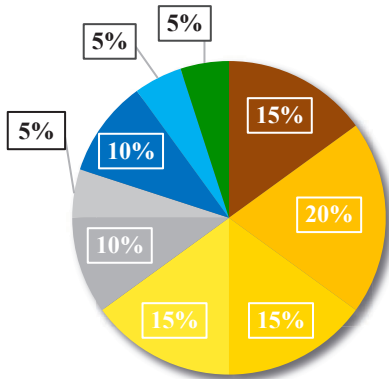
Source: author's draft. Based on data from: Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 国家文物局 (February 20, 2010): *Guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu pinggu biao zhun* 国家历史文化名城保护评估标准 [Conservation Assessment Standard for National Historically and Culturally Famous Cities].

Figure 2-3 shows the eight criteria which compose the factor “amount of preserved cultural relics” in the quantitative assessment. This factor gives an account of heritage sites officially listed at different administrative levels in the city. It consists of six criteria related to tangible heritage (illustrated in blue) that amount to 85 percent and two criteria of intangible heritage (red, 15 percent). In addition, it can be noted that the state of preservation of officially protected entities only constitutes 5 percent of the factor, while 50 percent relate to the number of tangible sites (number of OPE + number of registered immovable cultural relics and historical buildings in city). Moreover, listing levels make up 25 percent of the overall factor

the Conservation Work in National Historically and Culturally Famous Cities and National Historically and Culturally Famous Towns and Villages], Jian gui 建规 (2010), no. 220.

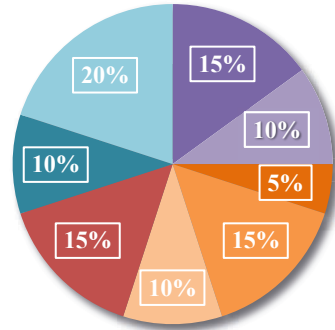
(level of highest listed OPE in overall city + level of highest listed OPE in blocks + level of listed intangible cultural heritage).

The other two quantitative factors “accumulation of historical buildings to clusters” and “conservation and management measures” are illustrated in fig. 2-4 and 2-5:



- number of historic and cultural blocks
- land coverage of core protection area in historic and cultural blocks
- land coverage of core protection area in greatest historic and cultural block
- land coverage ratio of buildings which may not be demolished to core protection area
- number of historic streets > 50 meters
- historic streets' state of preservation
- number of historical buildings in the blocks
- historical buildings' state of preservation
- number of historical environmental elements in the blocks

Figure 2-4. Accumulation of Historical Buildings to Clusters (in percent).



- formulation of conservation planning
- implementation of conservation planning
- conservation management mechanism and personnel established
- proportion of historical buildings recorded and designated
- establishment of public supervision mechanism
- formulation of conservation regulations
- funding of daily management
- inclusion of funding for conservation measures in financial budget

Figure 2-5. Conservation and Management Measures (in percent).

Source: author's draft. Based on data from: Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 国家文物局 (February 20, 2010): *Guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu pinggu biao zhun* 国家历史文化名城保护评估标准 [Conservation Assessment Standard for National Historically and Culturally Famous Cities].

The second factor refers to the scope of historical and cultural heritage in the city and to the integrity of its structure and townscape, measured as **historical buildings**, **historic streets** and **environmental elements**. The standard defines **historical buildings** as neither having been promulgated as officially protected entities nor registered as immovable cultural relics but representing the historic townscape and local characteristics.¹³⁶ **Environmental elements** refer to components other than buildings that constitute the historic townscape of a block, such as pagodas, wells, memorial archways, docks, trees and others.¹³⁷ The traditional structure and historic townscape derive from topographical features and water systems, a traditional central axis, streets and lanes, public built structures and the layout of public space.¹³⁸

The second factor increases with the number of historic and cultural blocks as such, as well as the number of their different components that make up their structure and townscape. Moreover, land coverage of the core protection areas designated in the city's conservation plans and the share of protected buildings therein can reach a maximum of 50 percent (three criteria marked in different shades of yellow, fig. 2-4). Again, the proportion of historical buildings' and historic streets' state of preservation is comparatively small, amounting to 5 percent each.

The third factor informs on conservation measures and the management system established in the city. This factor has been newly added in comparison to earlier definitions of evaluation criteria and ensures that a city not only has historical and cultural value but also engages in the protection of its heritage. The factor comprises criteria related to planning (violet), general management (orange), regulations (bordeaux red) and funding (turquoise) with regulations accounting for a slightly smaller proportion in comparison to the other three criteria. With regard to planning, both its formulation and implementation are considered, and a violation of the plan is also reflected in the score. The national assessment standard

136 Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 国家文物局 (February 20, 2010): "Guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu pinggu biaozhun" 国家历史文化名城保护评估标准, in: *Guanyu kaizhan guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng, Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingzhen mingcun baohu gongzuo jiancha de tongzhi* 关于开展国家历史文化名城、中国历史文化名镇名村保护工作检查的通知, Jian gui 建规 (2010), no. 220.

137 Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 国家文物局 (November 16, 2012): *Lishi wenhua mingcheng mingzhen mingcun baohu guihua bianzhi yaoqiu* 历史文化名城名镇名村保护规划编制要求 [Drafting Requirements for Conservation Plans of Historically and Culturally Famous Cities, Towns and Villages], Jian gui 建规 (2012) no. 195, art. 12.

138 Ibid.

states that 10 points are gained for implementation in accordance with the plan, while, in case of violation, 15 points are deducted.¹³⁹

The qualitative assessment similarly evaluates whether the city has maintained a **traditional structure and historic townscape** as well as its **historical and cultural values and characteristics**. Concerning its **traditional structure and historic townscape**, the historical significance of the natural scenery and environment of the city are considered as well as the location of the historic city and its impact on urban planning and construction. In addition, applicants will elaborate on the state of preservation of historic and cultural blocks and structural elements such as historic streets.¹⁴⁰

The evaluation of **historical and cultural values and characteristics** includes the fourth criterion of the Conservation Regulations from 2008 on the historical significance of a city (“[The city, town or village] has been a historic political, economic, cultural or transportation center or militarily strategic point; or the site of important historic events; or its traditional industries or major historic construction projects had great impact on local development; or [it] is a representation of cultural and folk characteristics of local buildings.”, see p. 54). Furthermore, cities are valued for great richness and antiqueness of historical and cultural remains as well as representative and outstanding intangible aspects including expressions of art, techniques and crafts.¹⁴¹ Such intangible aspects can refer to local forms of art such as opera, dances and folk songs, paper-cutting, woodblock printing and stone carving as well as traditional techniques and crafts, e.g. pottery and ceramic-making skills, embroidery and brocade, weaving, lacquering or construction techniques.

The stages and development of assessment criteria for **National HCF Towns and Villages** correspond to those of National HCF Cities, whereby an assessment standard (*Quanguo lishi wenhua mingzhen (mingcun) pingjia biao zhun* 全国历史文化名镇（名村）评价标准) was already introduced in 2002¹⁴² and laid the basis for the formulation of the later standard for National HCF Cities. When the Ministry of Construction and SACH promulgated the first batch of National HCF

139 Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 国家文物局 (February 20, 2010): “Guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu pinggu biao zhun” 国家历史文化名城保护评估标准, in: *Guanyu kaizhan guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng, Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingzhen mingcun baohu gongzuo jiancha de tongzhi* 关于开展国家历史文化名城、中国历史文化名镇名村保护工作检查的通知, Jian gui 建规 (2010), no. 220.

140 Ibid.

141 Ibid.

142 Qiu, Baoxing 仇保兴 (2014): *Feng yu ru pan — lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu 30 nian* 风雨如磐——历史文化名城保护 30 年, p. 34.

Towns/Villages one year later, its basic structure included four aspects: historical value and characteristics of its appearance, preservation of its original state, scope of preserved built heritage and establishment of a conservation and management mechanism.¹⁴³

Hereby, the scope of preserved built heritage is measured by floor area of historical buildings. According to the standard, the total floor area of preserved historical buildings in towns must be more than 5,000 m² and that of villages must exceed 2,500 m².¹⁴⁴ Historical buildings therefore gain value in the standard as part of the greater block as they increase its total land coverage.

In 2004, a tentative indicator system for assessment was promulgated and refined in the following years.¹⁴⁵ Figure 2-6 shows the “Indicator System for the Assessment of National HCF Towns/Villages” 中国历史文化名镇名村评价指标体系 as applied in 2010, the same year as the above standard for cities (see next page).

As illustrated in this figure, National HCF Towns/Villages are assessed on the basis of four categories: **tangible heritage** (blue, green, grey, yellow), **continuity** (purple), **intangible heritage** (red) and **management** (violet/orange). **Tangible heritage** clearly constitutes the greatest share with 59 percent (number and level of OPE + number of historical buildings + state of preservation of historical buildings with important functions/local features + scope of OPE and historical buildings + number of historical environmental elements + number and length of historic streets + integrity and authenticity of core protection areas). It includes individual and listed sites as well as historical buildings, streets and environmental elements and covers all three manifestations: spots, areas and routes (see chapter 2.2). The categories intangible heritage and continuity, which become increasingly important on an international level, are integrated, although only amount to 11 percent (number and level of intangible cultural heritage + share of original residents in core protection areas).

143 Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China 中华人民共和国建设部; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 国家文物局 (October 8, 2003): “Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingzhen (cun) pingxuan banfa” 中国历史文化名镇(村)评选办法 [Assessment measures for National Historically and Culturally Famous Towns (Villages)], in: *Guanyu gongbu Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingzhen (cun) (di yi pi) de tongzhi* 关于公布中国历史文化名镇(村)(第一批)的通知 [Circular on the Promulgation of National Historically and Culturally Famous Towns (Villages) (First Batch)], Jian cun 建村 (2003) no. 199.

144 Ibid., para. 2.3.

145 Qiu, Baoxing 仇保兴 (2014): *Feng yu ru pan — lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu 30 nian* 风雨如磐——历史文化名城保护 30 年, p. 34.

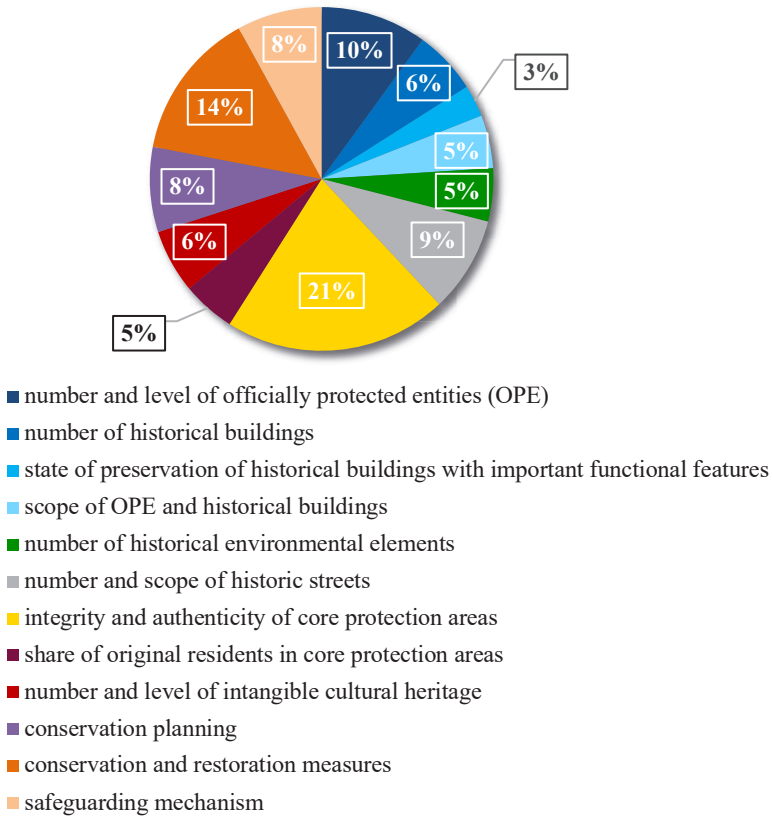


Figure 2-6. Indicators for Assessment of National HCF Towns/Villages (in percent).

Source: author’s draft. Based on data from: Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 国家文物局 (February 20, 2010); *Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingzhen mingcun pingjia zhibiao tixi* 中国历史文化名镇名村评价指标体系 [Circular on Carrying out Inspections of the Conservation Work in National Historically and Culturally Famous Cities and National Historically and Culturally Famous Towns and Villages].

In the standard, the preservation of the original state of historical buildings (third criterion in fig. 2-6) is evaluated according to three categories. The first category requires that the original appearance (*yuanmao* 原貌) of historical buildings and *ensembles* as well as architectural details and their surrounding environment have been well-preserved.¹⁴⁶ The second category covers a state where built heritage

¹⁴⁶ Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 国家文物局 (February 20, 2010); *Zhongguo lishi wen-*

has already been damaged and partly collapsed but its framework and some architectural details still exist and where it is:

... 依据保存实物的结构、构造和样式可以整体修复原貌 ... 。¹⁴⁷

“... possible to restore the original appearance as a whole on the basis of the structure, construction and style of material remains ...”.

A state where built heritage and its environment have already been damaged but have been restored to their original appearance is classified as category three. However, the scores of the categories only differ by one point (category 1 = 3 points, category 2 = 2 points, category 3 = 1 point) and have little impact on the total score of the town/village (3 percent).¹⁴⁸ This quantification shows that it is permissible to restore built heritage to its original state. Furthermore, the restored built heritage is considered “authentic” as long as it is based on material remains with only little difference in evaluation to well-preserved heritage.

The category of **continuity** derives from a “living heritage” approach which considers the situation of original residents in an urban area and the continuity of their lifestyle and traditions. **Intangible heritage** is also assessed quantitatively and includes traditional festivals, crafts and customs as well as widespread local poetry and lyrics, legends, opera and songs.¹⁴⁹ The final category of **management** has a considerable share of 30 percent and includes planning and its implementation, conservation and management measures as well as the overall safeguarding mechanism.

According to the China Principles, “assessment is the foundation of all conservation work” and shall comprise three elements: the heritage values of a site, its present state of preservation as well as its management context.¹⁵⁰ Having started from general examination and approval principles for the promulgation of the first batch of National HCF Cities in 1982, China successively developed a comprehensive assessment system for its HCF Cities, Towns and Villages. This system covers the above-mentioned three elements, which are assessed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

hua mingzhen mingcun pingjia zhibiao tixi 中国历史文化名镇名村评价指标体系 [Circular on Carrying out Inspections of the Conservation Work in National Historically and Culturally Famous Cities and National Historically and Culturally Famous Towns and Villages], Jian gui 建规 (2010) no. 220.

147 Ibid.

148 Ibid.

149 Ibid.

150 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 61.

The selection of cities is carried out in a top-down process and the assessment standard is built on three tiers: the city or town itself, historic and cultural blocks and officially protected entities. Significant tangible components of historic and cultural blocks that constitute its spatial structure and traditional townscape as revealed in figures 2-4 and 2-6 are **historical buildings**, **historic streets** and **environmental elements**. The analysis of cultural significance in the three examined projects of this study will therefore concentrate on these aspects.

In general, the assessment standards show that urban heritage is, for a great part, assessed in terms of numbers, levels and scope. Following the commentary on the China Principles, the number and quality of protected sites are “important criteria for determining the standard of conservation work” in HCF Cities.¹⁵¹ On the one hand, this creates incentives for local governments to designate protected areas, list protected heritage sites and to strive to achieve high listing levels but, on the other hand, also to potentially “improve” sites by choice of conservation measure. For example, the level of the highest listed site in a city amounts to 10 percent while the state of preservation of officially protected entities can achieve a maximum of 5 percent.

Finally, the system sets incentives to avoid large-scale demolition with subsequent reconstruction and preserve historical buildings and environmental elements, which were formerly not included in the national conservation system of officially protected entities. While vernacular architecture and historical buildings are now valued as basic components of historic clusters, there remains a risk that preservation concentrates on their outward appearance while an improvement of living conditions of residents is neglected.

Two fundamental conditions for the assessment of heritage resources included in the assessment standards are **authenticity** and **integrity**. The term “**authenticity**” originates from the Venice Charter¹⁵² and in its initial sense meant “materially original or genuine”.¹⁵³ It is a comprehensive concept and includes different aspects, such as the use of authentic materials or a property’s original design as well as authenticity in its creative process if it was conceived as a work of art.¹⁵⁴ The degree of authenticity therefore can be understood as “credibility” of a property. In terms of treatment, there is a consensus by conservation professionals that

151 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 74.

152 Albert, Marie-Theres; Ringbeck, Birgitta (2015): *40 Jahre Welterbekonvention: Zur Popularisierung eines Schutzkonzepts für Kultur- und Naturgüter*, p. 27.

153 Feilden, Bernard M.; Jokilehto, Jukka (1998): *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, pp. 16–17.

154 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

it does not mean “identical” such as taking measures to return the property to its original form.¹⁵⁵

Following the UNESCO Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, the conditions of authenticity are met if the cultural values of properties “are truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes”.¹⁵⁶ One of these attributes, ‘materials and substance’, directly relates to the physical fabric of heritage. The other attributes include intrinsic factors and have been defined as ‘form and design’, ‘use and function’, ‘traditions, techniques and management systems’, ‘location and setting’, ‘language and other forms of intangible heritage’ as well as ‘spirit and feeling’.¹⁵⁷

The applicability of the notion of authenticity in non-European cultures was a major subject of discussion at the Nara Conference on Authenticity. The resulting *Nara Document on Authenticity* marked a turning point concerning the recognition of heritage values and their relativity due to cultural diversity.¹⁵⁸ Therein, an understanding of heritage values is regarded as partly depending on an understanding of information sources as “credible or truthful”.¹⁵⁹ Such information sources include material, written, oral and figurative sources that inform on the nature, specifications, meaning and history of cultural heritage.¹⁶⁰ Jokilehto notes that “the definition of authenticity is relative to the recognition of the heritage and its values”.¹⁶¹ While the *Nara Document on Authenticity* contributed to the recognition of heritage in its diversity, it has been criticized for exculpating practitioners from the need to justify their actions in the local cultural context.¹⁶²

In China, the adoption of the *Nara Document on Authenticity* triggered discussions on the content of authenticity in the Chinese context and how the concept should be applied to conservation practices.¹⁶³ The interpretations of the term

155 Orbaşlı, Aylin (2008): *Architectural Conservation: Principles and Practice*, pp. 51–52.
Feilden, Bernard M.; Jokilehto, Jukka (1998): *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, p. 17.

156 UNESCO (October 26, 2016): *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, para. 82.

157 Ibid.

158 Jokilehto, Jukka (2013): “After Nara: The Process of Transculturation in Global Heritage Doctrines”, p. 328.

159 Ibid., p. 329.

160 International Council on Monuments and Sites (1994): *The Nara Document on Authenticity*, appendix 2.

161 Jokilehto, Jukka (2013): “After Nara: The Process of Transculturation in Global Heritage Doctrines”, p. 329.

162 Stovel, Herb (2008): “Origins and Influence of the Nara Document on Authenticity”, p. II.

163 Lü, Zhou (2014): “Evolution of Cultural Heritage Conservation Philosophy Through the Lens of the Revised China Principles”, p. 5.

which originates from a “Western” context (usually translated as *yuanzhenxing* 原真性, literally “original and true/real character” or *zhenshixing* 真实性, literally “true/real and substantial character”) differ greatly and a consensus has not yet been found. Lü notes that the translation *yuanzhenxing* is used by some to justify the restoration of heritage sites to their “original state”, claiming that scientific restoration carried out with original materials (applied from comparable structures of the same historical period) and traditional building techniques maintain their historical, artistic and scientific values and does not downgrade them to “fake antiques”.¹⁶⁴

This approach is related to the principle *xiu jiu ru jiu* (修旧如旧, literally “restore the old as old”; and later *zheng jiu ru jiu* 整旧如旧, literally “repair the old as old”) of Chinese architectural conservation pioneer Liang Sicheng. When he introduced concepts such as authenticity, minimal intervention and setting to China at the beginning of the 1960s, about the same time as the Venice Charter was adopted, he used this principle to advocate treatment in compliance with these concepts. Although he did not name the concepts directly, he gave explicit comparisons. For example, he compared the restoration of heritage sites to “giving blood transfusions and injections” (*shuxue* 输血, *dazhen* 打针) while one should not “put on make-up” (*tuzhi mofen* 涂脂抹粉).¹⁶⁵ He further stressed the necessity of maintaining the setting of a site just as “a red flower needs green leaves as a contrast” (*hong hua hai yao lü ye tuo* 红花还要绿叶托).¹⁶⁶

Although his writings show that Liang Sicheng attempted to advocate conservation measures that adhere to the principles of authenticity and minimal intervention, confusion arose as he initially explored two different approaches, “keeping the present condition” (*baocun xianzhuang* 保存现状) and “preserving or restoring to the original condition” (*baocun/huifu yuanzhuang* 保存/恢复原状).¹⁶⁷ Thereby, the latter meant removal of later added elements as well as replacement of missing parts to reveal the “original” condition of a site.

Consequently, as former ICOMOS Vice President Guo Zhan explains, the term *xiu jiu ru jiu* can easily be misinterpreted in case of lacking theoretical knowledge and due to the ambiguity of the Chinese-language expression.¹⁶⁸ Because some interpret the character *ru* 如 in the sense of “identical to”, this understanding is

164 Lü, Zhou (2014): “Evolution of Cultural Heritage Conservation Philosophy Through the Lens of the Revised China Principles”, p. 5.

165 Liang, Sicheng 梁思成 (1963): “Xianhua wenwu jianzhu de chongxiu yu wei hu” 闲话文物建筑的重修与维护 [Some thoughts about the reconstruction and maintenance of cultural relic structures], p. 8.

166 Ibid.

167 Lai, Guolong; Demas, Martha; Agnew, Neville (2004): “Valuing the Past in China: The Seminal Influence of Liang Sicheng on Heritage Conservation”, p. 86.

168 Guo, Zhan (2014): “Viewing the *China Principles* in the International Context”, p. 37.

used to justify the replacement of missing or damaged building components.¹⁶⁹ More far-reaching, when discussing the content of authenticity in the Chinese context, this misinterpretation of Liang Sicheng's principle has been used to argue for a site's "restoration to its original state".

While the first version of the China Principles did not include the concept, authenticity has been adopted in relation to both tangible and intangible heritage in the revised version. In terms of attributes, the concept conforms to the Operational Guidelines and covers "original materials, workmanship and design of a site and its setting, as well as [...] historical, cultural, and social characteristics and qualities".¹⁷⁰ Precise premises under which authenticity is met that restrict reconstruction of no longer extant sites are given, and determine that restored components must be distinguishable and conservation carried out *in situ*. How much "authentic" treatment is disputed among Chinese professionals was revealed by the debate on the reconstruction of the "Old Summer Palace" (Yuanming yuan 圆明园) in Beijing, which was burned and plundered by British and French Forces in retaliation for the death of hostages in 1860. Here, the suggestions for adequate treatment range from leaving the ruins of the remaining Western-style palaces as they are to a complete rebuilding of the Chinese-style architectural structures.¹⁷¹ It is important to consider that such debates are closely interwoven with political interests to foster nationalist sentiments. Concerning the first tier of HCF Cities and Towns/Villages, authenticity is further recommended as a criterion for maintaining a city's original function.¹⁷²

The condition of **integrity** evaluates the "wholeness" and "intactness" of heritage and its attributes.¹⁷³ Integrity as a concept primarily appeared in the United States National Park Service Administrative Manual from 1953 as a composite quality in terms of workmanship, location and the "intangible elements of feeling and association".¹⁷⁴ While the Venice Charter, which was based on Italian norms, understands integrity as "material wholeness, completeness or entirety", it covers a variety of aspects in the United States, seven aspects in all: location, design,

169 Guo, Zhan (2014): "Viewing the *China Principles* in the International Context", p. 37.

170 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2015): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 67.

171 Kutcher, Norman (2003): "China's Palace of Memory", pp. 30–39.

172 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2015): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 67.

173 UNESCO (October 26, 2016): *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, para. 88.

174 Stovel, Herb (2008): "Origins and Influence of the Nara Document on Authenticity", p. 12.

setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association.¹⁷⁵ On an international level, it was primarily introduced as a condition for heritage resources in the first version of the Operational Guidelines in 1978.¹⁷⁶

According to the Operational Guidelines, the “intactness” of heritage relates to the “elements necessary to express its Outstanding Universal Value” as well as a property’s “adequate size” in order to give “complete representation”.¹⁷⁷ As a third factor, it should be evaluated in how far a property “suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect”.¹⁷⁸ In the case of individual sites, the Operational Guidelines highlight the condition of physical fabric whereby living properties such as cultural landscapes or historic towns additionally require the preservation of their significant relationships and dynamic functions.¹⁷⁹

In Chinese, integrity is translated as *wanzhengxing* 完整性 (“completeness”). There is no indication in the translation of the term whether it refers to the “completeness” of physical fabric or which other attributes are concerned. Although there are not as many controversies related to integrity in the Chinese context as for the concept of authenticity, its application may differ from the European and American context, as will be examined in the case studies.

The revised China Principles include the condition of integrity and stress the need to conserve all significant components that reveal values associated with the site. These include physical remains but also spatial layout, the setting, roads and lanes as well as intangible heritage.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, the conservation of the temporal dimension of heritage manifested in different layers is highlighted. The condition of integrity requires the conservation of a site’s changes over time if their vestiges are relevant to its value.¹⁸¹

Jokilehto notes that the condition of integrity is problematic insofar as that it refers to “material wholeness” and “may stress the trend to reintegration, stylistic restoration or reconstruction”.¹⁸² On the other hand, he sees it as useful to identify elements that are part of an “organic whole” and their relationships such as in the case of historic settlements. In this context, the condition of integrity could justify

175 Jokilehto, Jukka (1999): *A History of Architectural Conservation*, pp. 298–299.

176 Albert, Marie-Theres; Ringbeck, Birgitta (2015): *40 Jahre Welterbekonvention: Zur Popularisierung eines Schutzkonzepts für Kultur- und Naturgüter*, p. 27.

177 UNESCO (October 26, 2016): *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, para. 88 a), b).

178 Ibid., para. 88 c).

179 Ibid., para. 89.

180 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 68.

181 Ibid.

182 Jokilehto, Jukka (1999): *A History of Architectural Conservation*, p. 299.

the preservation of minor elements, which gain meaning as parts of an overall context.¹⁸³

The two conditions of authenticity and integrity have been included in the HCF City Conservation Regulations and shall equally be considered for the maintenance and conservation of historical and cultural heritage in HCF Cities and Towns/Villages.¹⁸⁴ In particular, they must not be harmed by construction projects inside the boundaries of protected areas.¹⁸⁵ Their integration with development becomes clear from Article 22 of these regulations, which determines that population size in the cities and towns/villages should be controlled and the infrastructure, as well as public facilities and the living environment, improved.¹⁸⁶

2.4 Conservation and Management

Parallel to the formation of an assessment system for National HCF Cities, Towns and Villages, the Chinese government established guidelines and regulations for the implementation of management systems for urban heritage on regional and local levels. These systems include **planning, conservation measures, function and usage** as well as other aspects. In the following, the theoretical foundation and determinations set by legally binding regulations shall be analyzed for topics addressed in this study. They shall further be related to professional guidelines, among them the China Principles as well as international conservation documents.

China's National HCF Cities/Towns and Villages conservation system pursues an integrated conservation approach. This is reflected in the Cultural Relics Protection Law, which regulates that local governments above county level have to formulate professional conservation plans for HCF Cities/Towns/Villages as well as historic and cultural blocks and include these into their master plans.¹⁸⁷ The Planning Regulations formulated in 2005 determine how conservation has to

183 Jokilehto, Jukka (1999): *A History of Architectural Conservation*, p. 299.

184 State Council 国务院 (2008): *Lishi wenhua mingcheng mingzhen mingcun baohu tiaoli* 历史文化名城名镇名村保护条例, order no. 524, art. 3.

185 *Ibid.*, art. 23.

186 *Ibid.*, art. 22.

187 Standing Committee of the Twelfth National People's Congress 第十二届全国人民代表大会常务委员会 (April 24, 2015): *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法 [Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics], art. 14.

be integrated into the planning of HCF Cities. Thereby, the structure of the regulations follows the **three tiers** that have already been identified in the assessment standard (Planning Regulations, para. 3.1.3). and are illustrated in fig. 2-7.

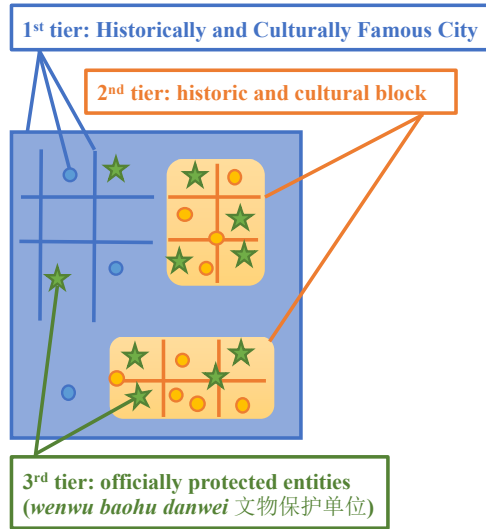


Figure 2-7. Three Tiers of the HCF City Conservation System.

Source: author's draft.

The **first tier**, the HCF City (blue), has the broadest scope and is centered on the urban structure and traditional townscape of the overall city, tangible heritage such as officially protected entities, historic *ensembles*, streets and environmental elements as well as intangible heritage such as folk customs, traditional crafts and culture.¹⁸⁸ Planning shall ensure that the structure and townscape of the city are maintained by conservation and improvement of historic areas and historic *ensembles* as well as the declaration of cultural relics and historic sites.¹⁸⁹ This tier therefore encompasses all heritage in the city in the form of “areas” (*mian* 面 = HCF City in blue, historic and cultural blocks in orange), “routes” (*xian* 线 = streets and waterways, blue and orange lines) and “spots” (*dian* 点 = individual sites).

188 Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部, General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine of the People's Republic of China 国家质量监督检验检疫总局 (2005): *Lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua guifan* 历史文化名城保护规划规范 [Historically and Culturally Famous Cities Conservation Planning Regulations], para. 3.1.1.

189 Ibid., para. 3.1.5.

Heritage protected as “spots” refers to tangible heritage in the form of structural and environmental elements, such as buildings, bridges, wells, docks or trees (blue and orange spots) as well as officially protected entities (green stars). Intangible heritage is protected on the administrative level of the HCF City but can also be related to an area, a route or a spot on all three tiers. This aspect will be illustrated in the sections on cultural significance of the selected case studies.

The **second tier** comprises the historic and cultural blocks (orange) in an HCF City that are characterized by a mostly intact traditional structure and an historic townscape. According to the “Drafting Requirements for Conservation Plans of Historically and Culturally Famous Cities, Towns and Villages” 历史文化名城名镇名村保护规划编制要求 (hereafter Drafting Requirements) from 2012, management shall follow principles such as the integrity of the historic townscape, the conservation of authentic carriers of historical information and the continuity of social life and cultural tradition (conservation) but also the improvement of infrastructure and the living environment (development).¹⁹⁰

Section four of the Drafting Requirements therefore determines that conservation plans shall formulate measures for the improvement of infrastructure, public facilities and the living environment in accordance with unchanged measurements of streets and a consistent townscape. Moreover, a core protection area (*hexin baohu qu* 核心保护区) must be defined for the block where historical buildings are concentrated and the surrounding area established as a construction control zone (*jianshe kongzhi didai* 建设控制地带),¹⁹¹ similar to a buffer zone.¹⁹² Inside these areas, precise requirements shall be set for aspects such as building height, measurements, outward appearance, construction materials, etc.¹⁹³

The **final tier** covers individual officially protected entities (green) inside the greater contexts of the historic and cultural blocks and the HCF City. Similar to the blocks, protection of tangible heritage is regulated through designation of site boundaries and buffer zones for every individual entity. Inside the boundaries of

190 Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 国家文物局 (November, 16 2012): *Lishi wenhua mingcheng mingzhen mingcun baohu guihua bianzhi yaoqiu* 历史文化名城名镇名村保护规划编制要求, art. 32.

191 Ibid., art. 19.

192 In consideration of the *genius loci* of a heritage resource, the buffer zone is a planning instrument to protect the context of historic towns from negative impacts which could reduce their cultural values. See: Feilden, Bernard M.; Jokilehto, Jukka (1998): *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, p. 74.

193 Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 国家文物局 (November 16, 2012): *Lishi wenhua mingcheng mingzhen mingcun baohu guihua bianzhi yaoqiu* 历史文化名城名镇名村保护规划编制要求, art. 35.

officially protected entities, it is forbidden to carry out construction projects as well as blasting, drilling and excavation activities.¹⁹⁴ However, such measures may be approved by the government under special circumstances (*teshu qingkuang* 特殊情况) and under the premise that the safety of the protected entity is guaranteed.¹⁹⁵ Depending on the need of the protected entity, there may further be defined buffer zones (“construction control zones”) wherein construction projects have to stay in line with the historic townscape.¹⁹⁶

In addition to the demarcation of site boundaries, Article 15 of the Cultural Relics Protection Law determines that governments have to erect an official plaque for protected entities, create an archival record and establish a professional organization or person in charge of management.¹⁹⁷ This step in the conservation process is designated as “implementation of the Four Legal Prerequisites” (*si you* 四有) in the China Principles.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, governments shall work out and implement conservation measures according to the needs of protected entities and protected buildings.¹⁹⁹

Conservation theory defines that the process of conservation is aimed at the preservation of a property’s cultural significance.²⁰⁰ Therefore, those values associated with heritage resources that are considered significant provide justification for its conservation.²⁰¹ In general, Feilden defines conservation as “keeping in safety or preserving the existing state of a heritage resource from destruction or change”, which implies maintenance, repair, consolidation and reinforcement as

194 Standing Committee of the Twelfth National People’s Congress 第十二届全国人民代表大会常务委员会 (April 24, 2015): *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法, art. 17.

195 Ibid.

196 Ibid., art. 18.

197 Ibid., art. 15.

198 The “Four Legal Prerequisites” (*si you* 四有, literally “four haves”) are a Chinese concept which can be traced back to mid-Qing dynasty and appears in earlier statutes, e.g. the *Provisional Regulations on Protection and Administration of Cultural Relics* 文物保护管理暂行条例 from 1961. It includes the demarcation of site boundaries, the erection of an official plaque, the creation of an archive for records and the designation of an organization/person dedicated to management. See: China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 101.

199 Standing Committee of the Twelfth National People’s Congress 第十二届全国人民代表大会常务委员会 (April 24, 2015): *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法, art. 15.

200 Orbaşlı, Aylin (2008): *Architectural Conservation: Principles and Practice*, p. 38.

201 Feilden, Bernard M.; Jokilehto, Jukka (1998): *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, p. 18.

justifiable treatments.²⁰² Concerning urban areas where conservation is integrated into management, Feilden and Jokilehto note that “a degree of gradual change” has to be accepted.²⁰³ Further treatment strategies that require justification include restoration, reconstruction and adaptive reuse.

In terms of **treatment and conservation measures** in HCF Cities and Towns/Villages, the Conservation Regulations determine that a “differentiated conservation” (*fenlei baohu* 分类保护) of built structures should be carried out in historic and cultural blocks as well as overall HCF Towns and Villages.²⁰⁴ Thereby, conservation measures shall be selected according to the type of building or structure. In the Planning Regulations, they are defined as five basic types of buildings and structures.²⁰⁵

The **first and second types** are officially protected entities (*wenwu baohu danwei* 文物保护单位) and “protected buildings” (*baohu jianzhu* 保护建筑). While officially protected entities have already been approved by governments on different administrative levels, protected buildings have not yet been promulgated as officially protected entities but are registered and approved by county-level governments.²⁰⁶ In subsequent designation rounds, these protected buildings are evaluated and may be upgraded to the status of officially protected entities. They can therefore be understood as buildings on a tentative list. Both have the legal status of immovable cultural relics and are protected by the Cultural Relics Protection Law.²⁰⁷ According to the law, their conservation measures are determined by respective construction and planning departments in consultation with cultural relics administrations.²⁰⁸

The **third type** determined in the Planning Regulations is historical buildings (*lishi jianzhu* 历史建筑). As defined in the above-analyzed assessment standard, these are buildings which neither have been promulgated as an officially protected

202 Feilden, Bernard M.; Jokilehto, Jukka (1998): *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, p. 61.

203 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

204 State Council 国务院 (2008): *Lishi wenhua mingcheng mingzhen mingcun baohu tiaoli* 历史文化名城名镇名村保护条例, art. 27.

205 Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部, General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine of the People’s Republic of China 国家质量监督检验检疫总局 (2005): *Lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua guifan* 历史文化名城保护规划规范, para. 4.3.3.

206 Standing Committee of the Twelfth National People’s Congress 第十二届全国人民代表大会常务委员会 (April 24, 2015): *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法, art. 13.

207 *Ibid.*

208 *Ibid.*, art. 16.

entity nor registered as an immovable cultural relic and represent the historic townscape and local characteristics.²⁰⁹ Historical buildings are not protected by the Cultural Relics Protection Law but are part of the construction control and core protection areas in a historic and cultural block and therefore are covered by conservation plans.

The **fourth** and **fifth types** are “non-exceptional buildings and structures” (*yibanjian (gou) zhuwu* 一般建（构）筑物), which are divided into “in accordance with the historic townscape” (*yu lishi fengmao wu chongtu* 与历史风貌无冲突) and “in conflict with the historic townscape” (*yu lishi fengmao you chongtu* 与历史风貌有冲突). The different conservation measures for these five types of buildings and structures are illustrated in table 2-1.

The scheme based on the Planning Regulations shows that there is no difference in conservation measures for the **first and second types** that are determined as *xiushan*. This term is translated as “treatment”²¹⁰ in the English-language China Principles and although its literal meaning refers to treatment in the sense of repair, it covers a variety of different interventions ranging from preservative measures to restoration. Following the definition in the Planning Regulations, *xiushan* includes “routine maintenance, protective reinforcement, reparation of the present state of a structure and major restoration”.²¹¹ The precise and appropriate measures taken are then decided in the course of every individual project and must be approved by the authorities in charge.

209 Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 国家文物局 (February 20, 2010): “Guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu pinggu biao zhun” 国家历史文化名城保护评估标准, in: *Guanyu kaizhan guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng, Zhongguo lishi wenhua mingzhen mingcun baohu gongzuo jiancha de tongzhi* 关于开展国家历史文化名城、中国历史文化名镇名村保护工作检查的通知, *Jian gui* 建规 (2010), no. 220.

210 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 107.

211 Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部, General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine of the People’s Republic of China 国家质量监督检验检疫总局 (2005): *Lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua guifan* 历史文化名城保护规划规范, para. 2.0.16.

Table 2-1. Conservation Scheme for Built Structures in Historic and Cultural Blocks.

type of building/structure		conservation measure
officially protected entities 文物保护单位		treatment (<i>xiushan</i> 修缮)
protected buildings 保护建筑		treatment (<i>xiushan</i> 修缮)
historical buildings 历史建筑		maintenance (<i>weixiu</i> 维修) and/or improvement (<i>gaishan</i> 改善)
non-exceptional buildings and structures 一般建（构）筑物	in accordance with the historic townscape 与历史风貌无冲突	preservation (<i>baoliu</i> 保留)
	in conflict with the historic townscape 与历史风貌有冲突	alteration (<i>zhengxiu</i> 整修) and/or transformation (<i>gaizao</i> 改造) and/or demolition (<i>chaichu</i> 拆除)

Source: Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部, General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine of the People's Republic of China 国家质量监督检验检疫总局 (2005): *Lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua guifan* 历史文化名城保护规划规范, para 4.3.3, translated by the author.

The **third type**, historical buildings, shall be maintained and improved. As reflected in the Conservation Regulations, maintenance thereby refers to the original appearance of the buildings. According to Article 27, historical buildings in the core protection areas shall retain their original height, dimension and outward appearance.²¹² Improvement is directed towards the interior of the buildings and the installation of facilities.²¹³ The objective behind this improvement is that historical buildings shall be adapted to a modern lifestyle, as will be shown in the case studies.

212 State Council 国务院 (2008): *Lishi wenhua mingcheng mingzhen mingcun baohu tiaoli* 历史文化名城名镇名村保护条例, art. 27.

213 Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部; State Administration of Cultural Heritage 国家文物局 (November 16, 2012): *Lishi wenhua mingcheng mingzhen mingcun baohu guihua bianzhi yaoqiu* 历史文化名城名镇名村保护规划编制要求, art. 43.

The conservation measures for the **fourth and fifth types** of non-exceptional structures depend on the outward appearance of these structures. If they are in accordance with the historic townscape, they have no negative impact on the integrity of the block or town/village and shall be preserved. If they are in conflict with the townscape, aspects with a negative impact shall be altered or transformed up to demolition.

While the China Principles proceed from the minimal intervention principle and state that “intervention should only be undertaken when absolutely necessary and then should be kept to a minimum”,²¹⁴ treatment strategies for immovable cultural relics in historic and cultural blocks not only comprise maintenance and reparation but also restoration. The term “**restoration**” has already been used in different cultural contexts and had several meanings before its definition by the international conservation community. While it was used as a general concept for the conservation of built heritage in Latin languages, it implied “period restoration” and thereby recreation of a building’s state in a given historic period in North America.²¹⁵ In England, “restoration” clearly carried a negative meaning and was considered destructive treatment following criticism by early conservationists such as John Ruskin (1819–1900) of the late 18th century restoration movement and stylistic restoration, as had been practiced by Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879).²¹⁶

In the Venice Charter, restoration is defined as a “highly specialized operation” which should aim at the preservation and revelation of a monument’s “aesthetic and historic value” and which must not be based on conjecture but follow “original material” and “authentic documents”.²¹⁷ According to Feilden and Jokilehto, modern restoration can be understood as revealing “the original state within the limits of still existing material”, in contrast to the earlier objective to “bring back” the original by means of rebuilding.²¹⁸

214 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 63.

215 Feilden, Bernard M.; Jokilehto, Jukka (1998): *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, p. 62.

216 For the historical development of restoration as conservation measure in a European context see: Jokilehto, Jukka (1999): *A History of Architectural Conservation*, chapters 6–8.

217 International Council on Monuments and Sites (adopted 1965): *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964)*, art. 9.

218 Feilden, Bernard M.; Jokilehto, Jukka (1998): *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, p. 62.

The China Principles distinguish between minor restoration (*xianzhuang xiuzheng* 现状修整, literally “reparation of the present state”) and major restoration (*zhongdian xiufu* 重点修复) as two of four accepted treatment strategies (the other two being regular maintenance as well as physical protection and strengthening).²¹⁹ Minor restoration is directed at cases where no fundamental changes have happened to an original structure and it is mostly intact. In such cases, interventions comprise small-scale reparations, the rectification of components and the removal of additions without significance.²²⁰ In contrast, major restoration involves a much greater impact on original material and includes interventions of reinforcement of an entire structure, replacement of missing or damaged components as well as complete disassembly of a structure and relocation, which is classified into this category as well.²²¹

Restoration is further defined as a method to reinstate the “historic condition” (*yuanzhuang* 原状, literally “original state”) of a site. As stated in the commentary, retaining the historic condition includes a site’s present state (prior to conservation interventions or the state of a site that is considered significant after earlier treatment) but also its reinstatement based on physical remains.²²² Thereby, reinstatement comprises elements that have been buried, damaged, deformed, braced, incorrectly placed or have partially collapsed. According to the *Principles*, reinstatement is permitted in cases such as collapse or damage, when the “historic condition of a small number of missing parts” can be determined by physical remains or comparable components of the same period and in cases where reinstatement contributes to reveal a site’s values.²²³

In addition, the Cultural Relics Protection Law regulates the **reconstruction/rebuilding and relocation** of sites confronted with construction projects. These interventions of architectural conservation are controversial and seen as problematic by conservationists. However, reconstruction projects are carried out and are often supported by politicians and the public.²²⁴

In their critique of **reconstruction**, conservationists draw on modern doctrinal texts, which they argue proceed from a presumption against reconstruction.²²⁵ One

219 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 64.

220 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

221 *Ibid.*

222 *Ibid.*, pp. 72–73.

223 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

224 Stovel, Herb (2001): “The Riga Charter on Authenticity and Historical Reconstruction in Relationship to Cultural Heritage: Riga, Latvia, October 2000”, p. 242.

225 *Ibid.*

passage concerned is Article 15 of the Venice Charter which states that “all reconstruction work should [...] be ruled out *a priori*”.²²⁶ Former President of the German National Committee of ICOMOS and ICOMOS international, Michael Petzet, contends that the Venice Charter does not explicitly forbid reconstruction and that this article exclusively relates to archaeological excavations.²²⁷

As a legitimate preservation measure, he defines reconstruction in general as the re-establishment of original structures that have been destroyed as a result of accident, natural catastrophes or war, based on pictorial, written or material evidence.²²⁸ Prerequisites for such an intervention are a sound scientific basis and a careful consideration of the pros and cons. Moreover, no existing historic fabric should be lost through measures such as stabilization.²²⁹ According to Petzet, cases where reconstruction may be justified are “in order to elucidate a fragmentary monument, to re-establish the setting for extant fittings and decorative features or significant building components” and within historic complexes and *ensembles* that would be reduced or impaired by a “gap”.²³⁰

The UNESCO Operational Guidelines refer to reconstruction in the context of authenticity:

“In relation to authenticity, the reconstruction of archaeological remains or historic buildings or districts is justifiable only in exceptional circumstances. Reconstruction is acceptable only on the basis of complete and detailed documentation and to no extent on conjecture.”²³¹

This concern for authenticity in connection with the mission formulated in the preamble to the Venice Charter to hand historic monuments on “in the full richness of their authenticity” underlines the critical attitude of conservationists toward reconstruction.²³²

While Petzet sees reconstruction as legitimate intervention in the cases of accidents, natural catastrophes or war, the Operational Guidelines generally limit

226 International Council on Monuments and Sites (adopted 1965): *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964)*, art. 15.

227 Petzet, Michael (2013): “Conservation of Monuments and Sites — International Principles in Theory and Practice”, “Denkmalpflege — Internationale Grundsätze in Theorie und Praxis”, p. 71.

228 Ibid., p. 70.

229 Ibid., p. 80.

230 Ibid.

231 UNESCO (October 26, 2016): *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, para. 86.

232 Stovel, Herb (2001): “The Riga Charter on Authenticity and Historical Reconstruction in Relationship to Cultural Heritage: Riga, Latvia, October 2000”, p. 242.

this measure to “exceptional circumstances”. The Chinese Cultural Relics Protection Law follows this example for immovable cultural relics which can be reconstructed *in situ*, “under special circumstances” and if the superordinate authority approves it.²³³

Simultaneously, the China Principles define reconstruction as an “exceptional measure” that must be approved, carried out *in situ* and must not be based on conjecture but evidence.²³⁴ More precise information is provided in the commentary where reconstruction is allowed in certain instances for “a building that preserves only its footings” and “based on textual verification of its historic condition”.²³⁵ This guideline may be applied for approved exhibition and service buildings on large-scale sites, recently destroyed structures in which the public has a strong connection, a small number of buildings in gardens or cultural landscapes which are intimately associated with the setting, a small number of minor buildings within a complex and heritage sites with a particular commemorative function.²³⁶ Moreover, reconstruction is stated as inappropriate if the ruined site has acquired significance for itself, no footings of the building exist and in the case of insufficient evidence or the existence of aboveground archaeological remains.²³⁷

While **rebuilding** can also be understood as a particular form of reconstruction, it exceeds the latter’s dimensions in terms of both intention and scope. On the one hand, rebuilding in order to “purify” a structure’s “original appearance”, similar to restoration back to an earlier state, is seen as problematic from a conservationist perspective; on the other hand, this measure can relate to overcoming a break in tradition caused by catastrophes or war.²³⁸ Petzet notes that despite their loss of original fabric, rebuilt structures can sometimes re-occupy the former position of a building in history as well as integrate historic remains.²³⁹ In this sense, reconstruction can contribute to fostering historical continuity and itself be regar-

233 Standing Committee of the Twelfth National People’s Congress 第十二届全国人民代表大会常务委员会 (April 24, 2015): *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法, art. 22.

234 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 65.

235 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

236 *Ibid.*

237 *Ibid.*

238 Petzet, Michael (2013): “Conservation of Monuments and Sites — International Principles in Theory and Practice”, “Denkmalpflege — Internationale Grundsätze in Theorie und Praxis”, pp. 80–81.

239 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

ded as construction of future historic “documents for the time of their reconstruction”.²⁴⁰ This argument for reconstruction has been discussed in the Chinese context (see the above-mentioned “Old Summer Palace” in Beijing) but also in the case of European architecture such as the Berlin City Palace (“Stadtschloss”) of the Prussian Monarchy in Germany, which was rebuilt as “Humboldt Forum” after two decades of debate since 2013.²⁴¹

The Chinese Cultural Relics Protection Law from 1982 determines that in cases where “immovable cultural relics have already been completely destroyed they must not be reconstructed but their historical remains shall be conserved”.²⁴² The law does not differentiate between reconstruction and rebuilding in terminology but employs *chongjian* 重建, which can have both meanings. *Chongjian* is also the term used in the China Principles, however, here it is annotated to mean “to reconstruct to a known historic condition based on existing remains and documentation”, because an intervention in the sense of “re-creation” (*zaijian* 再建, *fujian* 复建) was not an accepted treatment strategy.²⁴³

Similar to the intervention of reconstruction, conservationists have a critical standpoint towards **relocation** due to the loss of historical information. Modern conservation theory proceeds on the assumption that buildings have a critical relationship to their environment and surroundings that constitutes “part of the building’s historic message” and is lost if it is moved from its original location.²⁴⁴ This understanding of the relationship between built heritage and its setting is reflected in Article 7 of the Venice Charter:

“A monument is inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs. The moving of all or part of a monument cannot

240 Petzet, Michael (2013): “Conservation of Monuments and Sites — International Principles in Theory and Practice”, “Denkmalpflege — Internationale Grundsätze in Theorie und Praxis”, p. 81.

241 Kutcher, Norman (2003): “China’s Palace of Memory”, pp. 30–39. Parzinger, Hermann (2011): *Das Humboldt-Forum: „Soviel Welt mit sich verbinden als möglich“; Aufgabe und Bedeutung des wichtigsten Kulturprojekts in Deutschland zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Stiftung Berliner Schloss — Humboldtforum, p. 23.

242 Standing Committee of the Twelfth National People’s Congress 第十二届全国人民代表大会常务委员会 (April 24, 2015): *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法, art. 22.

243 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 105.

244 Petzet, Michael (2013): “Conservation of Monuments and Sites — International Principles in Theory and Practice”, “Denkmalpflege — Internationale Grundsätze in Theorie und Praxis”, p. 81.

be allowed except where the safeguarding of that monument demands it or where it is justified by national or international interest of paramount importance.”²⁴⁵

Resulting from this objective to strive for a minimal loss of historical information, the construction material of a building is decisive for whether relocation can be applied as a legitimate conservation measure. Petzet notes that wooden buildings are “particularly suited” for relocation other than massive buildings due to the nature of their construction and for technical reasons.²⁴⁶ If relocation is applied as a measure for genuine conservation, the building has to be moved to a comparable setting, preferably close to its original location, and carried out by means of authentic materials as well as techniques of craftsmanship and scientific documentation.²⁴⁷

The Chinese Cultural Relics Protection Law from 1982 states that in general, sites shall be conserved *in situ* but in cases where immovable cultural relics have to be relocated or demolished, this measure must be approved by the superordinate authority.²⁴⁸ Thereby, officially protected entities may not be demolished and have to be relocated.²⁴⁹ These regulations also apply to historical buildings. They shall be conserved *in situ* and work units that carry out construction work in their surroundings shall determine conservation measures for approval.²⁵⁰ Historical buildings may only be relocated or demolished in cases of public interest (*gonggong liyi* 公共利益) and if approved by respective authorities.²⁵¹

According to the China Principles, relocation may be applied as a final measure in cases of “uncontrollable natural threats” or “major development projects of national importance”.²⁵² In addition, this intervention is allowed when changes to

245 International Council on Monuments and Sites (adopted 1965): *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964)*, art. 7.

246 Petzet, Michael (2013): “Conservation of Monuments and Sites — International Principles in Theory and Practice”, “Denkmalpflege — Internationale Grundsätze in Theorie und Praxis”, p. 81.

247 Ibid.

248 Standing Committee of the Twelfth National People’s Congress 第十二届全国人民代表大会常务委员会 (April 24, 2015): *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法, art. 20.

249 Ibid.

250 State Council 国务院 (2008): *Lishi wenhua mingcheng mingzhen mingcun baohu tiaoli* 历史文化名城名镇名村保护条例, art. 34.

251 Ibid.

252 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 63.

the natural setting have made protection *in situ* difficult or “historic remains have become isolated and have lost their historic context”.²⁵³

In terms of **funding**, the responsibility for treatment and maintenance of officially protected entities lies with the party holding the property rights. In the case of publicly owned entities this applies to the party holding the right of use. Local governments shall provide subsidies if the property or use right holder is unable to fulfil this duty.²⁵⁴ According to the Conservation Regulations, regional governments above county-level can further provide subsidies from conservation funds for the maintenance and treatment of historical buildings.²⁵⁵ And the China Principles determine that if income is generated from the economic utilization of a heritage site, a fixed proportion of this income must be used for its conservation.²⁵⁶

Concerning the **function and usage** of urban heritage, there are clear regulations for immovable cultural relics. Primarily, publicly owned immovable cultural relics cannot be mortgaged, and their ownership cannot be transferred.²⁵⁷ This regulation emerged as a result of historical experience, more specifically, a practice of local governments to permit travel agencies to operate in immovable cultural relics in the late 1980s, which led to the damage of sites because these agencies lacked knowledge and skills for proper conservation.²⁵⁸ Under the premise that they are not operated as business assets, they can be opened as museums and for sight-seeing purposes or used as repositories.²⁵⁹ Other forms of usage have to be approved by the authorities of the respective administrative level.²⁶⁰ Moreover,

253 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 85.

254 Standing Committee of the Twelfth National People's Congress 第十二届全国人民代表大会常务委员会 (April 24, 2015): *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法, art. 21.

255 State Council 国务院 (2008): *Lishi wenhua mingcheng mingzhen mingcun baohu tiaoli* 历史文化名城名镇名村保护条例, art. 33.

256 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 74.

257 Standing Committee of the Twelfth National People's Congress 第十二届全国人民代表大会常务委员会 (April 24, 2015): *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法, art. 24.

258 Lü, Zhou (2014): “Evolution of Cultural Heritage Conservation Philosophy Through the Lens of the Revised China Principles”, p. 8.

259 Standing Committee of the Twelfth National People's Congress 第十二届全国人民代表大会常务委员会 (April 24, 2015): *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法, art. 24.

260 *Ibid.*, art. 23.

the original state of immovable cultural relics must not be altered for usage and they cannot be damaged, transformed, demolished or new structures added.²⁶¹

More general guidelines for the function and use of heritage sites have been formulated in the primary China Principles from 2000. Article four states that usage must be consistent with the values of a heritage site. Furthermore, “heritage sites should be used in a rational manner (*heli liyong* 合理利用) for the benefit of society”.²⁶² Accordingly, the commentary on the China Principles further specifies that public access to the site should be provided.²⁶³

The **social benefit** of a heritage site is seen as deriving from its scientific research function, its social function and its aesthetic function. Accordingly, a site’s major contributions to social life are the enhancement of scientific knowledge and aesthetic value, which have to be considered in its form of use. Acceptable usage as part of the social function of a site comprises commemorative places for historic events or figures, centers of education, tourist venues “where history and culture are the main themes”, recreational places or places related to traditional customs and continuing religious practices.²⁶⁴

Under certain prerequisites, the use of heritage sites for the creation of **economic benefit** is permitted. These prerequisites include that sites are not rented out as real estate or commercial premises, their historical values are not distorted in order to draw visitors and they are not otherwise exploited for purely commercial gain.²⁶⁵ The commentary also illustrates how the social benefits of a site may generate economic benefits. Accordingly, social benefits of sites increase the prominence of a locality, which attracts greater numbers of visitors.²⁶⁶ On the one hand, this is seen as fostering commercial, service as well as other industries while, on the other hand, also leading to rising land prices.²⁶⁷ Moreover, non-tangible assets may derive from the site, such as cultural markets or intellectual property rights.²⁶⁸ This effect can be very well observed in the third case of this study (see chapter 5).

While the primary China Principles set a strong focus on the social and economic benefits of heritage sites, this is relativized in the revised version. Article six,

261 Standing Committee of the Twelfth National People’s Congress 第十二届全国人民代表大会常务委员会 (April 24, 2015): *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo wenwu baohu fa* 中华人民共和国文物保护法, art. 26.

262 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p 60.

263 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

264 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

265 *Ibid.*

266 *Ibid.*

267 *Ibid.*

268 *Ibid.*

which addresses usage, states: “Use of a site for the benefit of society is important, but such use should not diminish the site’s values”.²⁶⁹ This aspect has also been included in the definition of a site’s “appropriate use” (in the primary version translated as “rational use”). Moreover, in the case that a site has lost its original function and under certain premises, such as significant components not being damaged or changes being reversible, it can be adapted for modern usage (adaptive reuse).²⁷⁰

One of the earliest **international charters** to address function and usage of historic towns and urban areas was the Washington Charter from 1987. It proceeds from the assumption that historic towns and traditional urban areas embody cultural value and seeks to adapt them to contemporary life through an integration of conservation and restoration with development.²⁷¹ Conservation shall be included into economic and social development policies as well as urban planning in order to protect such qualities as the urban street pattern, the formal appearance of buildings or the functions of the town/area and the relation to its surrounding setting.²⁷²

Simultaneously, the charter acknowledges that new functions and activities can enrich an area if they are compatible with its historic character as well as contemporary elements, which respect the existing spatial layout and are not in conflict with their surroundings.²⁷³ Thereby, adaptation to contemporary life is understood in terms of installation and improvement of public service facilities as well as improvement of housing.²⁷⁴

In 1999, ICOMOS further recognized the importance and need for protection of built vernacular heritage in reaction to an increasing “homogenization of culture” and global socio-economic transformations. In the Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage, vernacular is seen as an “integral part of the cultural landscape” that should be preserved as groups of buildings representative for a region including traditions and intangible heritage associated with it.²⁷⁵ Thereby, changes are seen as an important feature of this type of heritage and adaptive reuse of vernacular structures is accepted if they maintain their integrity, character and form through consistency of, for example, appearance and building materials.²⁷⁶

269 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 63.

270 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

271 International Council on Monuments and Sites (1987): *Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (Washington Charter 1987)*.

272 *Ibid.*, art. 1, 2.

273 *Ibid.*, art. 8, 10.

274 *Ibid.*, art. 8, 9.

275 International Council on Monuments and Sites (1999): *Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage (1999)*, *Principles of Conservation*, art. 3–5.

276 *Ibid.*, art. 4–6.

The revised China Principles primarily address the special conditions of living heritage as described in the two above-mentioned charters. Article 44 determines that sites whose historic function is an integral part of their value and have retained this historic function should be “encouraged to continue that function”.²⁷⁷ The commentary clarifies that this condition is found in HCF Cities and Towns/Villages as well as cultural landscapes that underwent development and have adapted to modern ways of life.²⁷⁸ In these cases, “special effort should be made to protect the original function” and “special attention should be given to avoid the transformation of a residential precinct into a commercial district, as this seriously diminishes its values and authenticity”.²⁷⁹

These latter notes of caution certainly reflect experiences of local conservation practices in China where conservation has been used as justification for the commercialization of urban districts or entire villages and incredible conservation practices designated by scholars as “Disneyfication”.²⁸⁰ In the following, the establishment of local conservation systems, their compliance to national and international principles and their effectiveness as part of the three-tiered HCF City conservation system shall be analyzed by example of three pioneering cases, Suzhou Pingjiang Historic Block, Tongli Ancient Water Town and Shanghai Tianzifang.

277 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2015): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 103.

278 Ibid.

279 Ibid.

280 See for example: Botz-Bornstein, Thorsten (2012): “Hyperreal Monuments of the Mind: Traditional Chinese Architecture and Disneyland”, p. 12.

3 Suzhou Pingjiang Historic Block 苏州平江历史街区

“A historic block should not be used to earn money, but mainly to pass on history and culture. It may become a venue for exhibitions but should not be approached as a commercial street. ... Since it [Pingjiang Road] is a Historically and Culturally Famous Street, it should be related to history and culture, and it should not entirely serve the tourists. It is supposed to serve the city and the transmission of urban culture.”¹

- Ruan Yisan 阮仪三

The first case study of this project, Pingjiang Historic Block, is located in the north-eastern part of Suzhou’s historic city and covers an area of 116.5 ha with about 28,000 inhabitants.² Suzhou is situated about 85 km west of Shanghai to the east of Lake Tai 太湖, China’s third biggest freshwater lake. The historic city of Suzhou is an ancient capital city and was built for the state of Wu 吴 during the Eastern Zhou period in 514 BC.³ The strategic location of the city offered protection through the Yangzi River in the north, Lake Tai in the southwest and the sea in the east.⁴ Moreover, the region has a fertile soil and rich sources of water as well as a humid climate which is suitable for rice cultivation and established Suzhou as a major supplier of agricultural products in imperial China.⁵ These natural conditions including its great network of waterways fostered the city’s development into an

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- 1 Interview with Ruan Yisan, Shanghai, May 5, 2016. Translated by this author.
 - 2 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Li, Zhen 李滨; Lin, Lin 林林 (2010): *Jiangnan guzhen lishi jianzhu yu lishi huanjing de baohu, The Work of Protection for Historical Buildings and Environment of Ancient Towns in Jiangnan 江南古镇历史建筑与历史环境的保护*, p. 97.
 - 3 Carroll, Peter J. (2006): *Between Heaven and Modernity: Reconstructing Suzhou, 1895–1937*, p. 3.
 - 4 Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*, p. 10.
 - 5 Carroll, Peter J. (2006): *Between Heaven and Modernity: Reconstructing Suzhou, 1895–1937*, p. 3.

interregional economic and transportation center during the Song dynasty (960–1279) due to surplus production and the realization of water conservation projects.⁶

The prominent reputation of Suzhou as an advanced urban center is illustrated by a well-known proverb originating from this period: “Above in Heaven there is the celestial palace, below on Earth there are Suzhou and Hangzhou” (Tian-shang tiantang, dixia Su-Hang 天上天堂，地下苏杭).⁷ While the transfer of the capital and thereby the political center to Northern China in the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368) led to stagnation in the Hangzhou region, Suzhou’s economy prospered as a result of supplying the North with agricultural products via the Grand Canal.⁸ The region experienced further growth with the development of its textile industry as well as luxury goods production. By the late Ming dynasty (1368–1644), Suzhou had become the leading economic and most urbanized center in the region and upheld its status as prominent metropolis until the 1860s when it suffered great losses from the Taiping Rebellion and was surpassed by Shanghai.⁹

Besides its economic prosperity, Suzhou further became a cultural center. With the migration of Northern Chinese to the southern economic center, Confucian values were introduced and gradually established in different realms of the city’s social life.¹⁰ One aspect where the strong impact of Confucian ideology on the area becomes apparent is the promotion of education and academic success as a means to reach higher social status.¹¹ During the Qing period (1644–1911), Jiangsu province of which Suzhou was a leading prefecture along with Zhejiang province in the Jiangnan region had the greatest share of successful imperial examination candidates in overall China.¹²

Together with Confucian values, culture was established in the form of literature and arts. Since the Yuan dynasty, painting and related handicrafts prospered in the city and in the Ming dynasty, Suzhou had become a center for book-collecting and quality printing which attracted well-known scholar-bibliophiles.¹³ Moreover, in addition to property, the local wealthy invested in cultural attainments which fostered the city’s status as “consumption center” by the late imperial

6 Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*, p. 15.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., p. 16.

9 Carroll, Peter J. (2006): *Between Heaven and Modernity: Reconstructing Suzhou, 1895–1937*, pp. 7–8.

10 Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*, pp. 20–21.

11 Ibid., p. 21.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid., p. 22.

period.¹⁴ The extravagant lifestyle of its residents is reflected in the great number of private gardens, which Clunas sees as a form of conspicuous consumption, as well as in an increasing production and distribution of luxury goods.¹⁵

The favorable conditions of Suzhou and its proximity to the capital after the same had been moved to Hangzhou in the Southern Song dynasty attracted members of the local gentry. By the end of the imperial period, this gentry not only comprised officials but also literati painters and poets as well as wealthy merchants which were engaged in commercial activities such as silk trade, shipping or agricultural landholding.¹⁶ The social composition of this gentry class can be well illustrated by example of the Pan family clans in the Pingjiang Historic Block. By the end of the Qing dynasty, two influential Pan family clans lived separately on both sides of the block, the “Fu Pan” 富潘 (Wealthy Pan) in the eastern and the “Gui Pan” 贵潘 (Noble Pan) in the western half.

Pan Linzhao 潘麟兆 started his career as a merchant during the reign of the Kangxi Emperor (1661–1722) and became wealthy through business, therefore later being honored as “Wealthy Pan”. Important businesses by the Wealthy Pan family comprise hotels, pastry shops and a bank in Shanghai.¹⁷ The other influential Pan family clan in the Pingjiang Historic Block succeeded by means of an official career. Pan Shi'en 潘世恩, also named “Noble Pan”, became “Number One Scholar” in the palace examinations (*zhuangyuan* 状元) in 1793 and thereafter served as official under four consecutive emperors.¹⁸ Later, his sons and grandson Pan Zuyin 潘祖荫 pursued official careers as well and achieved high ranks.¹⁹

Other examples for well-known figures who lived in the block are physicians such as Ai Buchan 艾步蟾 (1854–1933), who was honored for his skills in healing typhoid fevers,²⁰ or Fang Jiamo 方嘉谟 (n.d.), an established physician in Western medicine. Guo Shaoyu 郭绍虞 (1893–1984) was a linguist and literary scholar who

14 Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*, pp. 21–22.

15 Clunas, Craig (1996): *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China*, p. 101. Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*, p. 23.

16 Carroll, Peter J. (2006): *Between Heaven and Modernity: Reconstructing Suzhou, 1895–1937*, p. 3.

17 “Pingjiang Lu shang de ‘Gui Pan’ yu ‘Fu Pan’” (2012) 平江路上的“贵潘”与“富潘” [The “Noble Pan” and the “Wealthy Pan” on Pingjiang Road], pp. 54–55.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志 [Pingjiang District Gazetteer], p. 251.

became one of the founders of the Literary Research Association 文学研究会,²¹ China's largest literary society of the 1920s.²² But there were also local magnates such as Pang Laichen 庞莱臣 (1864–1949), who was known as “Number One Collector” of the Jiangnan region and famous for his collection of paintings. He possessed rice, sauce, and liquor businesses in Suzhou and a pharmacy for Chinese medicine as well as a pawnshop and other businesses.²³

3.1 Cultural Significance

3.1.1 Historic and Cultural Block

Chapter two of this study has shown that the basic characteristics of historic and cultural blocks are their traditional structure and historic townscape. The evaluation of the historical and cultural values of the Pingjiang Historic Block in its conservation plan confirms the importance of these criteria for the overall significance of the block and its integrity:

平江历史文化街区是苏州古城内迄今保存最为完整、最具规模的历史地段，集中体现了苏州古城的城市特色与价值，堪称苏州古城的缩影。街区至今保持着水陆结合、河街平行的双棋盘城市格局，是古代城市规划与建设的杰出典范。²⁴

“Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block is the historical area in the ancient city of Suzhou which has been preserved so far with the highest integrity and the greatest scale. [It] corporately reflects the urban characteristics and values of Suzhou ancient city and can be rated as an epitome of the same. Until today, the block maintained its “double chessboard-urban structure”, combining water and land, and with the streets and rivers running parallel to each other. [It] is an outstanding example of ancient city planning and construction.”

21 Shen, Qingnian 沈庆年 (ed., 2012): *Gucheng yizhu: Suzhou kongbao jianzhu tanyou* 古城遗珠：苏州控保建筑探幽 [Lost Pearls of the Ancient City: A Study of Controlled Protected Buildings in Suzhou], p. 13.

22 Hockx, Michel (1998): “The Literary Association (Wenxue yanjiu hui, 1920–1947) and the Literary Field of Early Republican China”, p. 49.

23 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 246.

24 PBCP (2004), p. 5.

Firstly, the evaluation highlights the representativeness of the Pingjiang Historic Block as “epitome” of the urban characteristics and values of the overall ancient city. This representativeness is not only manifested in tangible built heritage but is further reflected in naming. The toponym “Pingjiang” 平江, after which the historic and cultural block is named, has a long historical relation with Suzhou. It first emerged at the end of the Northern Song dynasty, when Suzhou region was raised to the status of prefecture and renamed “Pingjiang Fu” (平江府 “Pingjiang Prefecture”²⁵) in 1113.²⁶

This administrative division of the region was continuously maintained, throughout the Yuan dynasty, only with its name changed to “Pingjiang Lu”²⁷ (平江路 “Pingjiang Prefecture”). During this period from the Song to the Yuan dynasty, the present-day City of Suzhou functioned as political center of this administrative area and therefore also became known as “City of Pingjiang” (Pingjiang Cheng 平江城).²⁸ Only when the first emperor of the Ming dynasty Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 conquered the territory was the name reversed into Suzhou Prefecture 苏州府.²⁹

In 1955, “Pingjiang” was established as designation for an administrative district in the north-eastern part of Suzhou whose boundaries exceeded those of the present-day Pingjiang Historic Block.³⁰ At present, there is no administrative district named “Pingjiang” as the former Pingjiang District 平江区 was merged with two other districts to Gusu District 姑苏区 in 2012.³¹ Nevertheless, the main north-south thoroughfare of the Pingjiang Historic Block which traverses it in its center, Pingjiang Road 平江路, and the adjacent Pingjiang River 平江河 still reflect this historical period in their names.

25 “Pingjiang Prefecture” 平江府 in the Ming period comprised the southeastern part of Jiangsu province with present-day cities Taicang 太仓, Changshu 常熟, Kunshan 昆山, Wujiang 吴江 and others as well as Jiading 嘉定 district of present-day Shanghai. See: Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*, p. 17.

26 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路 [Pingjiang Road], p. 5.

27 “Pingjiang Lu” 平江路 here refers not to the street, but to its division into a *lu*-level administration area during the Yuan dynasty.

28 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 5.

29 Ibid.

30 Ministry of Civil Affairs of the People’s Republic of China 中华人民共和国民政部 (2012): *Jiangsu sheng er ling yi er nian xianji yi shang xingzheng quhua biangeng qingkuang* 江苏省二〇一二年县级以上行政区划变更情况 [Changes in administrative divisions above county level in Jiangsu province, 2012], Online.

31 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, Online.

Urban Structure and Environmental Elements

The earliest-known accurate map of Suzhou equally dates back to the period when it carried the name “Pingjiang”. Related to its function as a place name, “Pingjiang” was chosen as title of the often referred to “Map of Pingjiang [Prefecture]” (Pingjiang Tu 平江图). It was carved on a stele in 1229 under prefect Li Shoupeng 李寿朋³² and is preserved in the Museum of Engraved Stone Tablets in Suzhou 苏州碑刻博物馆. The stele provides material evidence and is a credible information source of the city layout at the time of the Southern Song dynasty. Among others, it depicts the characteristic structure of the Pingjiang Historic Block and Pingjiang Road as a major north-south thoroughfare in the eastern part of the city (see fig. 3-21). Because the major structural elements of the block as shown in the map have remained intact over the course of history (e.g. streets and lanes with their respective names, water canals or bridges), it is regarded as representative and very “authentic” part of the ancient city.

The evaluation further refers to the “double chessboard-urban structure” of the block with streets and water canals running parallel to each other. This structure is characteristic for settlements in the Jiangnan region and carries significance as it illustrates the way the city adapted to its physical environment as well as its technological achievement in canal construction. Moreover, Knapp found different water town settlement patterns, such as dwelling – road – canal – dwelling, dwelling – road – canal or dwelling – arcade – canal – arcade – dwelling.³³ These patterns have scientific value as they inform on settlement and construction habits in the Jiangnan region during imperial times.

Equally, the **streets and lanes** in the Pingjiang Historic Block are significant for their names which are related to intangible aspects of local cultural heritage. According to the *Pingjiang Gazetteer* (Pingjiang Qu zhi 平江区志), street and lane names mainly derive from renowned personalities (*mingren* 名人), important events (*mingshi* 名事) or carry literary allusions (*chudian* 出典).³⁴ They can also relate to their historical environment and environmental elements which have been defined as components of a historic and cultural block’s historic townscape.

From Pingjiang Road, the main north-south axis, smaller east-west branch lanes divert to both of its sides and lead into the block. One example in which the lane name derives from its historical environment is Dingxiang Lane 丁香巷. Here, the name refers to the lilac trees (*dingxiang shu* 丁香树) which were part of the historic

32 Xie, Jing; Heath, Tim (2018): *Heritage-led Urban Regeneration in China*, p. 85.

33 Knapp, Ronald G. (2000): *China’s Old Dwellings*, p. 254.

34 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 103.

“lanescape”.³⁵ Another example is the historic name of Pingjiang Road: “Neighborhood of the 10 wells” (Shiquan li 十泉里). This name derived from the number of wells located at the road.³⁶ While only some of the originally ten wells have been preserved, this historical information is passed on through the lane name.

Other environmental elements which were used for lane names are bridges and memorial archways. The branch lanes Da Xinqiao Lane 大新桥巷 (“Great New Bridge Lane”) and Xiao Xinqiao Lane 小新桥巷 (“Small New Bridge Lane”) have been named after a bridge and emerged from originally one lane (Xinqiao Lane 新桥巷, “New Bridge Lane”), which was divided into two sections by a north-south street.³⁷ The branch lanes north of these two lanes have simultaneously been divided into Da Liuzhi Lane 大柳枝巷 (“Great Liuzhi Lane”) and Xiao Liuzhi Lane 小柳枝巷 (“Small Liuzhi Lane”) with their names referring to a memorial archway which had been set up for a chaste widow with family name Liu 柳.³⁸

Moreover, there are branch lanes which are named after renowned personalities such as in the case of Daru Lane 大儒巷. According to the *Pingjiang Gazetteer*, renowned scholar Wang Jingchen 王敬臣 (1513–1595) lived in this lane during the Ming dynasty. He was recommended to study at the Imperial College but refused and opened a school which brought him a great number of followers.³⁹ Another lane was named Hu Xiangshi Lane 胡厢使巷 after an official named Hu whereby *xiangshi* refers to an official rank in the Song dynasty.⁴⁰ The lane further has a local name called Hu Xiangsi Lane 胡相思巷 which is related to a legend. According to this legend, a wealthy household with family name Gui 归 lived in this lane. Every day, a young man would deliver fresh food to their mansion and gradually become acquainted with the family’s young daughter. The daughter falls in love with the young man, but her father forbids her to meet him due to his low social status. She eventually becomes lovesick (*xiangsi* 相思病) and drowns herself in a well.⁴¹

Finally, streets and lanes may carry literary allusions. One example in the Pingjiang Historic Block which is assumed to have been selected in this manner is Lujia Lane 茭葭巷. Originally, this lane was named Lu Family Lane 陆家巷 after

35 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 109.

36 Ibid., p. 105.

37 Ibid., p. 110.

38 Ibid., pp. 109–110.

39 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 50.

40 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 116.

41 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, pp. 90–92.

an influential family of the Lu 陆 clan, which had its residence there.⁴² Later, the name was changed to its present designation, which is a homonym to the initial name. Supposedly, the name has been changed to appear more sophisticated in relation to a verse from the “Book of Songs” (*shijing* 诗经).⁴³ This passage reads “The reeds and rushes are deeply green, and the white dew is turned into hoarfrost”⁴⁴ (*jian jia cangcang, bai lu wei shuang* 蒹葭苍苍，白露为霜). The character *jian* 蒹 in this passage, meaning “reed”, has been replaced by the character *lu* 葭 which is homophone to the family name Lu and equally denotes a type of grass (*Arthraxon ciliare*).

During the Cultural Revolution the names of streets and lanes in the Pingjiang district have been changed but were gradually restored after 1980.⁴⁵ This restoration of street names shows their significance as intangible cultural heritage. Furthermore, the conservation plan includes these historic street names as intangible heritage and determines that they shall be preserved.⁴⁶

As major structural element of the block, the preserved street and canal network provides the block with authenticity in form and design. Most of the streets and canals were laid out in line with the city walls.⁴⁷ While there are accounts from the Eastern Han period that the Wu capital had water gates and an inner river, the basic structure of waterways had become fixed by the late Tang dynasty (618–907).⁴⁸ The water canals provided a number of functional benefits for the city which is not limited to daily use and transportation but also includes fire fighting and prevention of flooding as well as the beautification of the townscape.⁴⁹

The latter made the townscape of Suzhou a popular theme in many Tang poems such as the following by Bai Juyi 白居易 as prefect of Suzhou (825–826):⁵⁰

“The city walls of Helü are emerald-green spread with autumn plants,
The Raven Bridge is red bearing the glow of the setting sun.

42 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 119.

43 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 74.

44 Translated after: Legge, James (1972): *The She jing or the Book of poetry*, p. 195.

45 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 103.

46 PBCP (2004), p. 14.

47 Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*, p. 129.

48 *Ibid.*, pp. 129–130.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 129.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 130.

In front of storied buildings everywhere waft the melodies of flutes,
And by the door of every house are moored ships and boats.”⁵¹

The poem refers to the image of ships and boats tied to the docks and thereby the close relation between houses and canals. It further addresses other structural and environmental elements of the city, such as city walls, a bridge and buildings/houses. The description of these elements as characteristic components of the city and its beautiful townscape marks them as culturally significant.

In terms of its **historic townscape**, the conservation plan identifies the Pingjiang Historic Block as the part of the ancient city with the highest integrity. This judgement is not only based on streets and canals but also its great number of environmental elements:

平江历史文化街区整体历史风貌完整，具有一定规模。城河、城墙、河道、桥梁、街巷、民居、园林、会馆、寺观、古井、古树、牌坊等历史文化遗存类型丰富且为数众多，构成历史风貌的文化遗存和环境要素具有较高的历史原真性。⁵²

“The overall historic townscape of the Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block is intact and has a certain scale. There is a great variety and number of historical and cultural remains, such as the city moat, city wall, water canals, bridges, streets and lanes, dwelling houses, gardens, guild halls, Buddhist and Taoist temples, ancient wells, ancient trees, memorial archways, etc. The cultural remains and environmental elements which constitute the historic townscape have a comparatively high historical authenticity.”

Primarily, the **city moat and city wall** are named as environmental elements which provide cultural significance. The section of the wall which has been preserved in the Pingjiang Historic Block is located at its eastern periphery (see appendix A.3) and features one of Suzhou’s historic city gates, Xiang Gate (Xiangmen 相门). Following Xu, city walls in China not only had a protective function but also symbolic value. As governmental seat of a region, the walls of a city were symbolic for the presence of government and social order.⁵³ Furthermore, the Chinese character *cheng* 城 carries both meanings, “wall” as well as “walled city”, which expresses

51 Peng, Dingqiu 彭定求 (compiled, 1960): *Quan Tang shi* 全唐诗 [Complete Anthology of Tang Poems], p. 21; cited in: Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*, p. 130.

52 PBCP (2004), p. 5.

53 Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*, p. 97.

their conceptual relation.⁵⁴ The remains of Suzhou's city wall therefore symbolize its former status as a capital city.

Another type of built structure listed in the conservation plan are **ancient bridges**. They carry historical as well as artistic and scientific value related to their architectural style and building materials and constitute a characteristic feature of a city's townscape. Ancient bridges can further be significant for stone engravings as well as ornamentation. There have been documented about 140 bridges on the Map of Pingjiang [Prefecture] in the Pingjiang district.⁵⁵ While many arch bridges were transformed into girder bridges in the Republican period (1912–1949) and many demolished after 1949, they have been reconstructed or rebuilt as arch bridges from 1980 in the course of tourism development.⁵⁶

An important feature of bridges are their names which were usually engraved in a central position on a bridge's arch. The sources of bridge names are similar to those of streets and lanes, e.g. many were named after past events in order to commemorate them. A well-known example from the Pingjiang Historic Block is Xuegao Bridge 雪糕桥, which crosses the Pingjiang River and has already been marked on the Map of Pingjiang [Prefecture]. The origin of the bridge's name has been recorded as deriving from the filial act of a son named Zhang who showed respect to his parents by turning snow into cake.⁵⁷

According to this legend, this son had an ailing mother who wished to eat cake. Because the family had run out of grain, he was unable to fulfill her wish. However, when he saw the snow piling up on the railing of the bridge, he got the idea to form snow into the shape of a cake. After his mother had eaten the "snow cake", she recovered.⁵⁸ The honorable deeds of the son are exemplary for the Chinese notion of filial piety (*xiao* 孝) and the value system of society during the imperial period. The bridge as tangible heritage therefore carries intangible heritage in terms of cultural value.

Other environmental elements in the block are **historic wells and trees**. While they have a high historical value, wells can also carry cultural value related to the background of their construction. For example, in addition to official wells (*guan-jing* 官井) there were wells donated by Buddhists. The well can therefore be related to Buddhism as in the case of Qianfo Well (千佛井, "Thousand-Buddha Well")

54 Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*, p. 124.

55 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 150.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid., p. 159.

58 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, pp. 108–109.

in the Pingjiang district, which is recorded as having a great number of Buddhist images engraved and being ascribed the ability to cure diseases.⁵⁹

The names of the wells further can express common wishes such as Fushou Well (福寿泉, “Well of Good Fortune and Longevity”) or traditional virtues as in Rende Well (仁德泉, “Well of Benevolence and Virtue”). Another example in the block is Liuyun Public Well (Liuyun yijing 留韵义井, “Public Well of Lingering Charm”), which was constructed with funds donated by Shen Xingshu 沈惺叔 (n.d.), the owner of a private bank. In gratitude for a son born to him at old age, he donated 18 wells to the City of Suzhou.⁶⁰ On the well preserved in the Pingjiang Historic Block are his name and the year of construction engraved.⁶¹

Similarly, trees are significant for their old age. The preserved trees in public open spaces as well as the courtyards of private houses are often more than a hundred years old. For example, in the course of the Third National Cultural Relics Survey, a lacebark pine (*baipi song* 白皮松) of about 130 years was found in an inner courtyard of Ai Buchan’s 艾步蟾 former residence.⁶² Such trees have historical value as they are decisive elements which constitute the character of a residence or an urban district and they generate continuity in a changing environment.

The Map of Pingjiang [Prefecture] further shows a great number of **memorial archways** in the city as well as the Pingjiang Historic Block. According to Xu, these archways emerged from the gateways to residential wards and only developed into individual structures with the gradual relaxation of the ward system in the Southern Song dynasty.⁶³ In the Tang period, the city had been structured in sixty residential walled wards (*fang* 坊) under strict government control, each with a main gate, which featured a horizontal stone slab engraved with the name of the ward.⁶⁴ Originally, these names were bestowed by the government to honor individuals or families for commendable deeds.⁶⁵ With the replacement of residential

59 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 262.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 Suzhou Administration of Cultural Heritage 苏州市文物局 (ed., 2012): *Suiyue jiyi — mingcheng guibao: Suzhou Shi di san ci quanguo wenwu pucha xin faxian xuanbian* 岁月记忆·名城瑰宝: 苏州市第三次全国文物普查新发现选编 [Memories of years ago — Rarities of a famous city: Collection of selected new discoveries from Suzhou’s Third National Cultural Relics Survey], p. 44.

63 Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*, p. 134.

64 Ibid., p. 131.

65 Ibid., p. 134.

wards by streets and lanes, this tradition was carried on with gateways no longer bound to wards but transformed into individual memorial archways.⁶⁶

Until now, there have been found four preserved memorial archways in the Pingjiang Historic Block. One archway in Hu Xiangshi Lane was erected in commemoration of a filial wife named Gao 高 and another one in Xiao Liuzhi Lane for a chaste widow with family name Fang 方 (see fig. 3-1).⁶⁷ A third one with ornamental patterns was built into a dwelling house of Huntang Lane 混堂巷 and is only partly visible (see fig. 3-2).⁶⁸



Figure 3-1. Xiao Liuzhi Lane Memorial Archway.



Figure 3-2. Huntang Lane Memorial Archway.

Source: author's photos, 2018.

The last archway was originally built for the Wang 汪 family and has only been discovered during the Pingjiang Historic Block Conservation and Improvement Project in 2002 as it had later been completely built into a dwelling house as well.⁶⁹

66 Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*, p. 134.

67 Gu, Xiumei 顾秀梅; Hu, Jinhua 胡金华 (2015): *Suzhou Pingjiang lishi wenhua jie-qu guanli he fazhan yanjiu* 苏州平江历史文化街区管理和研究 [Research on Management and Development of Suzhou Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block], pp. 109–110.

68 Ibid., p. 109.

69 Ibid., p. 110.

Historical Buildings

Apart from the structural and environmental characteristics of the block, the conservation plan's evaluation lists local-style dwelling houses (*minju* 民居). In the conservation system of HCF cities, these dwelling houses are classified under "historical buildings" and defined as neither having been promulgated as officially protected entities nor registered as immovable cultural relics and which represent the historic townscape and local characteristics (see chapter 2.3). In the course of China's Third National Cultural Relics Survey, there have been newly discovered 71 historical buildings in the Pingjiang Historic Block. Of these 71 buildings, 61 are local-style buildings from the late imperial period and ten Republican buildings.⁷⁰

In terms of site designation, the buildings follow structurally identical patterns (listed in appendix A.14). Primarily, this designation informs about their function in the block. In addition to dwelling houses, which constitute the great majority, there are included formerly religious sites such as Buddhist convents (e.g. Fusheng an 福生庵, Miaoxiang an 妙香庵) and the former site of a welfare institution (Anjiju jiuzhi 安济局旧址). The dwelling houses usually follow the designation pattern: 'lane name + family name of owner' or 'lane name + house number + dwelling house/Republican building'. This designation pattern shows that the dwelling houses are mainly valued for the architectural qualities of the buildings themselves or that there is little information on their owners, in contrast to officially listed houses which may have been inhabited by historical figures and therefore have a higher historical value.

Local-style dwelling houses in Suzhou are a type of courtyard housing, an architectural form characterized by open and enclosed space. Chinese courtyard houses are composed of rectangular courtyard-building components (*jin yuanluo* 进院落, or short *jin* 进⁷¹), modular units which Wu has termed "house-yard"⁷² and which Knapp referred to as "hall-courtyard modules"⁷³. In the Jiangnan region, the buildings in these modular units are set up on three sides of the rectangular courtyard, enclosing it at the back and to both sides. Therefore, these units are called

70 Suzhou Academy of Planning and Design Co., Ltd. 苏州规划设计研究院股份有限公司 (drafted 2014): "Baohu guihua tu er" 保护规划图二 [Conservation Planning Map 2], in: *Suzhou Pingjiang lishi wenhua jiequ baohu guihua* 苏州平江历史文化街区保护规划 [Conservation Planning of Suzhou Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block], Online.

71 Yu, Shengfang 俞绳方 (2006): *Suzhou gucheng baohu ji qi lishi wenhua jiazhi* 苏州古城保护及其历史文化价值 [The conservation of Suzhou Ancient City and its historical and cultural value], p. 170.

72 Wu, Nelson I. (1963): *Chinese and Indian Architecture: The City of Man, the Mountain of Gold, and the Realm of the Immortals*, p. 32.

73 Knapp, Ronald G. (2005): "In Search of the Elusive Chinese House", p. 57.

sanheyuan 三合院 (“courtyard with surrounding structures on three sides”) in contrast to a *siheyuan* 四合院 (“courtyard with surrounding structures on all four sides”), the common modular unit in Northern China.⁷⁴ To become a house, these modular units are lined up successively to form a row which is called *luo* 落⁷⁵. Depending on the social status and affluence of its owner, large mansions can be composed of up to five rows and seven *jin*.⁷⁶

Moreover, Chinese houses follow the two fundamental principles of orientation to a cardinal direction and symmetry.⁷⁷ Ideally, traditional Chinese houses are facing south or southeast, which is beneficial for lighting and temperature regulation.⁷⁸ The central row of Suzhou-style mansions is named *zhengluo* 正落, comparable to the central axis of a planned Chinese capital city, whereas the rows to both sides of the central row are so-called “side rows” (*bianluo* 边落).⁷⁹ Major buildings are set up on a central axis in the back of each modular unit and are designated as halls (*ting* 厅 or *tang* 堂). In contrast, the minor buildings to the sides are designated as “wing rooms” (*xiangfang* 厢房) in relation to the central hall.

The central row of a great mansion consisted of an entrance hall (*menting* 门厅), a sedan-chair hall (*jiaoting* 轿厅) where affluent owners or guests would arrive in their sedan-chairs, a main hall (*dating* 大厅) and private chambers (*neiting* 内厅).⁸⁰ The side rows usually comprised parlors (*huating* 花厅), studies (*shufang* 书房), guest-rooms (*kefang* 客房) and often a private garden (see fig. 3-3).⁸¹

Other structural features of the houses are archways which connect the different courtyard-building components on the central row to one another. The courtyards of houses in Southern China are “enclosed vertical spaces”, similar to an atrium and are designated as “skywells” (*tianjing* 天井).⁸² While skywells in front of the main hall are usually broader and as wide as the adjacent hall, those in the components behind the main hall are narrower.⁸³ Moreover, the buildings from the entrance hall up to the main hall are single story buildings while the private chambers usually have two stories.

74 Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman (1984): “Kong Family Mansion”, p. 157.

75 Yu, Shengfang 俞绳方 (2006): *Suzhou gucheng baohu ji qi lishi wenhua jiazhi* 苏州古城保护及其历史文化价值, p. 170.

76 Ibid.

77 Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman (2005): “The House: An Introduction”, p. 14.

78 Knapp, Ronald G. (2005): “In Search of the Elusive Chinese House”, p. 60.

79 Yu, Shengfang 俞绳方 (2006): *Suzhou gucheng baohu ji qi lishi wenhua jiazhi* 苏州古城保护及其历史文化价值, p. 170.

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid.

82 Knapp, Ronald G. (2005): “In Search of the Elusive Chinese House”, p. 53.

83 Yu, Shengfang 俞绳方 (2006): *Suzhou gucheng baohu ji qi lishi wenhua jiazhi* 苏州古城保护及其历史文化价值, p. 171.

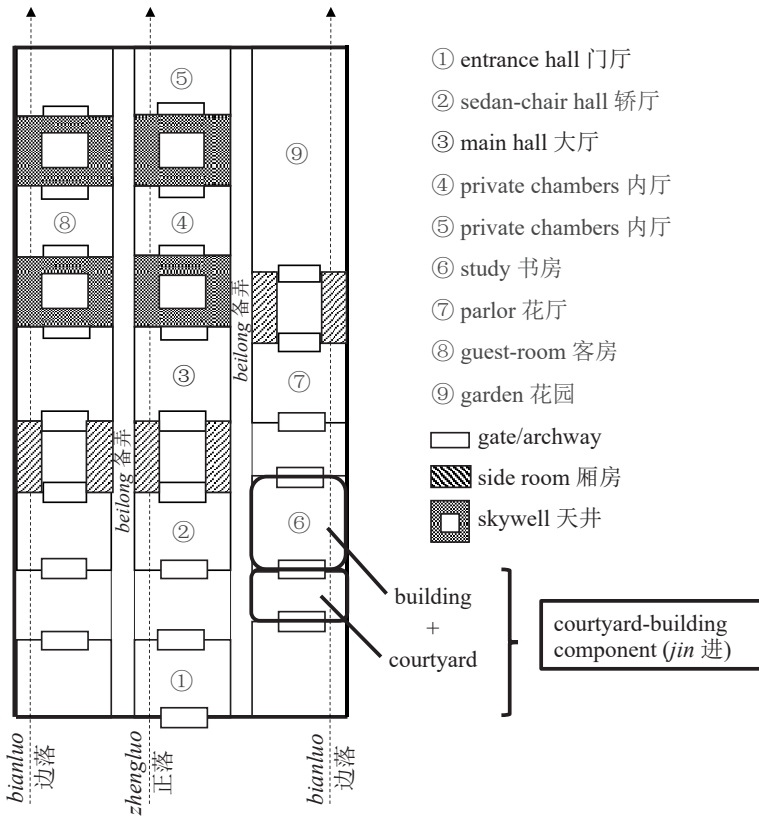


Figure 3-3. Exemplary Ground-Floor Plan of a Suzhou Mansion.

Source: author's draft.

In addition to these architectural features, the houses show social characteristics such as the hierarchical organization of space which reflects social relationships. This provides historical information on the lifestyle, traditions and social practices during the Ming and Qing dynasties (Comm CP, 2.3.1. iii), e.g. the entrance hall of a house was the only space accessible for common visitors whereas relatives and friends were invited into halls deeper inside.⁸⁴ As central hall of a house, the main hall was used as shared space of the family to celebrate festivities and worship ancestors, to hold wedding ceremonies and funerals, to meet guests, as school building or assembly hall to discuss important family affairs.⁸⁵ The subsequent chambers

84 Knapp, Ronald G. (2005): "In Search of the Elusive Chinese House", p. 57.

85 Wang, Quangen 王泉根 (1993): "Zhongguo minjian xingshi tanghao tanglian de wenhua toushi" 中国民间姓氏堂号堂联的文化透视 [A Cultural Perspective of Chinese Popular Family Name Hall Names and Hall Couplets], p. 2.

were private and exclusive spaces for women in the family. This increasing degree of privacy from the front to the rear of a Chinese house has been termed “graduated privacy” by Wu and is also manifested in the physical form of the house by the increasing elevation of successive courtyards from front to rear.⁸⁶

The relation between spatial hierarchy in the house and social hierarchy is further reflected by small corridors constructed between different rows (*beilong* 备弄). These corridors were constructed to connect the courtyards and integrate them into the greater whole of the residence.⁸⁷ They served as connections to the outside lanes and rivers and still fulfill this function. In imperial times, they were used by women and servants to bypass male guests and owners, respectively, which is the reason why they have also been called *bilong* (避弄 “circuitous corridor”).⁸⁸

Local-style dwelling houses have scientific value deriving from their structural design and architectural form (Comm CP, 2.3.3. i). Traditional Suzhou-style buildings are built in wood and brick structure. In adaptation to the topographic conditions as well as the hot and humid climate of Southern China, houses were constructed in consideration of proper ventilation and lighting. For example, ventilation, which reduces high temperatures and humidity, was facilitated by skywells, lattice windows or the placement of doors.⁸⁹ Reflective surfaces such as white-washed walls and broad eaves overhangs were used to shelter from intense sunlight.⁹⁰

While traditional residences were composed of a number of public and private spaces, important activities were held in the main hall. This hall usually is the most spacious and splendid room in a residence and traditionally carried its own hall name (*tanghao* 堂号) which could also be used to refer to the household as part of a family clan. Hall names are closely related to the family name and became increasingly diversified over time.

Firstly, prestigious family clans chose their hall names after their place of origin (*junwang tanghao* 郡望堂号)⁹¹. For example, households with the family name

86 Wu, Nelson I. (1963): *Chinese and Indian Architecture: The City of Man, the Mountain of Gold, and the Realm of the Immortals*, pp. 32–34.

87 Yu, Shengfang 俞绳方 (2006): *Suzhou gucheng baohu ji qi lishi wenhua jiazhi* 苏州古城保护及其历史文化价值, p. 191.

88 Ibid.

89 Knapp, Ronald G. (2005): “In Search of the Elusive Chinese House”, pp. 62–63.

90 Ibid.

91 *Jun* 郡 was the designation for a commandery ruled by a governor and was used until the Tang dynasty (618–907) when the administrative division was altered to *zhou* 州. From the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), the term has further been used as archaism for *fu* 府 (prefecture). See: Wilkinson, Endymion (2015): *Chinese History: A New Manual*, p. 261. The second character *wang* 望 refers to *wangzu* 望族, an influential family clan.

Wang 王 often used “Taiyuan tang” 太原堂⁹² whereby Taiyuan refers to the former administrative region “Taiyuan jun” 太原郡 in present-day Shanxi 山西 province. Secondly, family branches sharing the same general family name additionally chose self-established hall names (*zili tanghao* 自立堂号). While the former expresses the appreciation of one’s roots and ancestors, self-established hall names can further carry a cultural meaning and reveal traditional Chinese moral values.⁹³

In general, self-established hall names were chosen after important virtues and exemplary conduct of ancestors, their literary writings or official positions and titles as well as important events and anecdotes in the family history.⁹⁴ In his research on hall names of Suzhou local-style dwelling houses, Xu found 12 different forms of hall names. In addition to the above-mentioned types, these comprise the noble character and integrity of an ancestor, the names of mansions and halls of ancestors and notables, mottoes and ethical codes to admonish descendants, aspirations and interests of the owner, but also good wishes and descriptions of the surrounding natural environment.⁹⁵

In addition to hall names, cultural connotations can further be found on residential buildings in the form of carvings. By means of carvings, the material built heritage of a house was supplemented with an intangible dimension, reflecting an owner’s values and aspirations.⁹⁶ There are three basic types of carvings depending on their material. Brick carvings appear on archways and usually comprise written characters, which may derive from poetry, as well as ornamental patterns. Wooden carvings are engraved in windows and doors of traditional houses and may also have a literary background or refer to cultural traditions and beliefs in the form of plants and other symbols. Finally, there are stone carvings which can either be decorative or contain historical information, e.g. on stelae or ancient wells.

While brick carvings were plainer in the Ming dynasty, they greatly developed during the Qing dynasty, covering literary as well as cultural themes and reflecting local customs, tradition and aesthetics.⁹⁷ As significant building components, archways therefore not only have high artistic but also cultural value. On request of

92 Wang, Quangen 王泉根 (1993): “Zhongguo minjian xingshi tanghao tanglian de wenhua toushi” 中国民间姓氏堂号堂联的文化透视, p. 3.

93 Ibid., p. 4.

94 Ibid.

95 Xu, Sujun 徐苏君 (2010): “Suzhou gu minju tanghao kao” 苏州古民居堂号考 [Investigations on hall names of old Suzhou local-style dwelling houses], pp. 108–113.

96 Suzhou Municipal Housing Management Bureau 苏州市房产管理局 (ed., 2004): *Suzhou gu minju* 苏州古民居 [Suzhou old dwelling houses], p. 33.

97 Zhang, Xu 张旭; Zhou, Yue 周越 (2012): “Suzhou minju menlou zhuandiao zhuangshi yishu wenhua tanxi” 苏州民居门楼砖雕装饰艺术文化探析 [An analysis of brick carving as well as ornamentation art and culture on storied gateways of Suzhou local-style dwelling houses], p. 108.

more affluent house owners, these calligraphies were created by local high-ranking officials or relatives and friends to demonstrate the owner's moral character or to encourage himself to virtuous conduct and to instruct his descendants.⁹⁸ The decorative patterns surrounding the central calligraphy comprise auspicious motives popular among the local population at its time of construction, such as floral patterns, auspicious animals or stories related to historic, literary or mythical figures.⁹⁹

Finally, Knapp found that Chinese houses are related to the philosophical concepts of *yin* and *yang*¹⁰⁰ as well as the aesthetic concepts of “emptiness and substance” (*xushi* 虚实)¹⁰¹. The hierarchical dominance of *yang* over *yin* elements as well as their mutual dependence and dynamic interrelatedness are reflected in the spatial expressions of houses, such as open and enclosed structures, light and shade, active and passive or host and guest.¹⁰² Simultaneously, open spaces and enclosed structures can be related to empty or intangible elements being as significant as substantial or tangible elements, comparable to the white areas in a Chinese ink painting, which have as much meaning as the black brushstrokes.¹⁰³

Following Steinhardt, Chinese architectural structures share similarities concerning interrelatedness, orientation, symmetry, axiality, enclosure and hierarchy.¹⁰⁴ The basic characteristics analyzed above for Chinese houses can therefore also be applied to temples and other built structures. This includes the urban design principle of *ensembles* as basic architectural entities in contrast to individual structures. Regardless of their function as governmental, religious or private structures,

98 Suzhou Municipal Housing Management Bureau 苏州市房产管理局 (ed., 2004): *Suzhou gu minju* 苏州古民居 [Suzhou old dwelling houses], p. 35.

99 Zhang, Xu 张旭; Zhou, Yue 周越 (2012): “Suzhou minju menlou zhuandiao zhuangshi yishu wenhua tanxi” 苏州民居门楼砖雕装饰艺术文化探析, p. 108.

100 *Yin* 阴 and *yang* 阳 are two contrasting but complementary concepts in Chinese cosmological thinking. While *yin* symbolizes aspects such as femininity, passivity and darkness, *yang* is standing for masculinity, activity and brightness. According to *yin* and *yang* theory, all production and changes in the universe are caused by the interaction of these two concepts. See: Jiang, Xinyan (2013): “Chinese Dialectical Thinking — the Yin Yang Model”, pp. 438–439.

101 “Emptiness” (*xu* 虚) or “nothingness” (*xuwu* 虚无) originates from Daoist and Buddhist philosophy and can refer to the Dao itself as well as a “state of spiritually free existence”. Resulting from the influence of Daoist philosophy on Chinese aesthetics, this notion of nothingness can also refer to empty space in an artwork. Together with “substance” (*shi* 实), these mutually generating components form the basis of artworks and artistic creation. See: Fan, Minghua; Sullivan, Ian M. (transl., 2010): “The significance of *Xuwu* (Nothingness) in Chinese Aesthetics”, pp. 560–561, 566.

102 Knapp, Ronald G. (2005): “In Search of the Elusive Chinese House”, p. 58.

103 Knapp, Ronald G. (2000): *China's Old Dwellings*, p. 28.

104 Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman (2005): “The House: An Introduction”, pp. 14–16.

single buildings are no independent architectural entities but subordinate to the greater whole of the *ensemble*.¹⁰⁵

3.1.2 Officially Protected Entities

As mentioned above, the Pingjiang Historic Block comprises a great number of officially listed sites. The names of these sites can provide a first indication of the characteristics which have been decisive for their listing. Sites such as the Couple's Garden Retreat (Ouyuan 耦园) or Huiyin Garden (Huiyin yuan 惠荫园) where traditional characteristics of **private gardens** have been preserved, are named after their garden. With their initial inscription on the World Heritage List in 1996, the "Classical Gardens of Suzhou"¹⁰⁶ have been recognized on an international level as unique system of landscape gardening.

The nomination documents for their inscription and extension in 1999 prepared by the State Bureau of Cultural Relics 国家文物局 (State Administration of Cultural Heritage, since 2003) and the Ministry of Construction 建设部 (Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development 住房和城乡建设部, since 2008) inform on significant characteristics which constitute the historical, artistic, scientific and cultural values of these gardens. In these documents, the prominent role of Suzhou gardens in the field of landscape gardening is further related to scientific works written on them, among others, by experts known as pioneers in traditional Chinese architecture such as Tong Jun 童寯 (1900–1983) and Liu Dunzhen 刘敦桢 (1897–1968).¹⁰⁷ Their early investigations on Suzhou gardens and resulting evaluation serve as basis for the assessment of gardens in the Jiangnan region and the significance ascribed to them, not only as World Heritage Sites but also in the national conservation system. Liu Dunzhen rates the Classical Gardens of Suzhou (Suzhou gudian yuanlin 苏州古典园林) in the general introduction to his identically named

105 Wang, David (2017): *A Philosophy of Chinese Architecture: Past, Present, Future*, p. 159. Johnston, Stewart R. (1991): *Scholar gardens of China: a study and analysis of the spatial design of the Chinese private garden*, p. 23.

106 The Classical Gardens of Suzhou (Suzhou gudian yuanlin 苏州古典园林) comprise the Humble Administrator's Garden (Zhuozheng yuan 拙政园), Linger Garden (Liuyuan 留园), the Master of Nets Garden (Wang shi yuan 网师园), the Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty (Huanxiu shanzhuang 环秀山庄), the Couple's Garden Retreat (Ouyuan 耦园), the Garden of Cultivation (Yipu 艺圃), Canglang Pavilion (Canglang ting 沧浪亭), Lion Grove Garden (Shizi lin 狮子林) and the Retreat and Reflection Garden (Tuisi yuan 退思园).

107 Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China; State Bureau of Cultural Relics of the People's Republic of China (1996): *The Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, p. 115.

book as “representative for private gardens in Southern China” and the preserved gardens as “treasures of ancient cultural heritage”.¹⁰⁸

The **mansions of historically famous figures** are listed under their names and as their “former residence” (*guju* 故居). In contrast, mansions which are valued for the architectural qualities of the buildings themselves, or with little information on their owners, are mostly listed under the name of the lane where they are located and solely as “mansion of the X family”. This is also the case where great family clans had several mansions in the district or there were several clans with the same family name, e.g. Fang Mansion in Niujia Lane 钮家巷方宅 and Fang Mansion in Xuanqiao Lane 悬桥巷方宅.

Finally, building compounds can be named after the function they fulfilled in the district. These **functional buildings** can be related to commercial activities, as in the case of the Quan-Jin Guild Hall (Quan-Jin huiguan 全晋会馆) or spiritual practices in the form of ancestral halls such as Deng Family Ancestral Hall (Deng shi citang 邓氏祠堂) as well as former Taoist and Buddhist temples such as Weidao Temple (Weidao guan 卫道观) and Zhaoqing Temple (Zhaoqing si 昭庆寺). Another function which appears comparatively frequent are *yizhuang* 义庄, shared property of a family clan which could be used for educational purposes, housing, and others (e.g. Wang shi songfen yizhuang 汪氏诵芬义庄, Jiang shi yizhuang 蒋氏义庄).

Residential buildings constitute the majority of listed sites and follow structurally identical patterns in their designation. Most mansions listed on a municipal level follow the pattern: ‘lane name + family name of owner + building function’. One example for this group is Donghua Qiao Lane Wang Mansion (Donghua qiao xiang Wang zhai 东华桥巷汪宅).

The designation can also be shortened to two components of this pattern such as Deng Family Ancestral Hall (Deng shi citang 邓氏祠堂) or Qian Mansion (Qian zhai 钱宅). For controlled and protected buildings, this reduced pattern to ‘family name of owner + mansion’ is prevalent. In addition, a second pattern is used: ‘hall name + family name of owner + mansion’, e.g. Duyou Hall Yuan Mansion (Duyou tang Yuan zhai 笃佑堂袁宅). While these names can provide a first indication on significant values of the sites, their cultural significance is analyzed more closely in the following. The analysis thereby proceeds from criteria as defined in the China Principles and explained in chapter 1.3. (For a table with all officially listed sites and relevant assessment criteria see appendix A.9 and A.10).

108 Liu, Dunzhen 刘敦楨 (1979): *Suzhou gudian yuanlin* 苏州古典园林 [The Classical Gardens of Suzhou], p. 3.

Historical and Social Value

While the Pingjiang Historic Block comprises several listed former guild halls and temples, the majority of its built heritage sites are mansions and local-style dwelling houses. A characteristic feature of formerly splendid mansions in Suzhou are “private gardens” (*sijia yuanlin* 私家园林). The origin of Chinese garden tradition lies in the hunting grounds of the Zhou dynasty (1046–256 BC) aristocracy and was practiced by individual emperors who set trends in gardening throughout Chinese history.¹⁰⁹ In contrast to the Chinese imperial gardens mostly located outside of the cities, private gardens were built in urban areas¹¹⁰ and formed an integral part of a residence¹¹¹. When the imperial capital was moved to Hangzhou 杭州 in the Southern Song dynasty, the cities in the Jiangnan region prospered and Suzhou became a center of Chinese garden development.¹¹² In response to the high population density and scarcity of natural scenery in urban areas, this type of residence evolved as a retreat for scholar-officials as well as aspirant merchants from the highly hierarchical space in the rest of the city.¹¹³

As mentioned above, the Pingjiang Historic Block features two sites which have been listed as former private gardens: The Couple’s Garden Retreat (Ouyuan 耦园, the origin of this name will be traced in section 3.1.2.3 on cultural value) and Huiyin Garden 惠荫园. Their high listing ranks (the Couple’s Garden Retreat is listed on national and Huiyin Garden on provincial level) reflect their high significance and representativeness of Suzhou private gardens. The Couple’s Garden Retreat has further been included on the World Heritage List in the course of an extension of the Classical Gardens of Suzhou in 1999.

Private gardens as well as other mansions and individual buildings primarily have historical value, because they illustrate the material production, lifestyle, traditions and social practices of their historical periods (Comm CP, 2.3.1. iii). The historical value of heritage sites further can derive from important figures whose activities are reflected by the site (Comm CP, 2.3.1 ii). The Pingjiang Historic Block has a considerable number of residences which are related to their historically famous owners on different administrative levels.

109 Johnston, Stewart R. (1991): *Scholar gardens of China: a study and analysis of the spatial design of the Chinese private garden*, pp. 2, 4.

110 Liu, Dunzhen 刘敦楨 (1979): *Suzhou gudian yuanlin* 苏州古典园林, p. 3.

111 Wang, Joseph C. (2005): “House and Garden: Sanctuary for the Body and the Mind”, p. 75.

112 Johnston, Stewart R. (1991): *Scholar gardens of China: a study and analysis of the spatial design of the Chinese private garden*, p. 3.

113 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

The two listed gardens are both historic gardens and date from the Ming and Qing dynasties, the period when Chinese garden art reached its height.¹¹⁴ The origin of the Couple's Garden Retreat can be traced back to the reign of the Yongzheng Emperor (1722–1735) when a prefect named Lu Jin 陆锦 built “She Garden” 涉园 on its present site.¹¹⁵ After the mansion had been destroyed at the time of the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864) due to war-related events, the circuit intendant¹¹⁶ Shen Bingcheng 沈秉成 (1823–1895) bought the site. Having retired from his official post to recuperate, he moved into the rebuilt and expanded mansion together with his more than 10-year-younger wife Yan Yonghua 严永华 (1836–1890) in 1876 which was then named “The Couple's Garden Retreat”.¹¹⁷

Huiyin Garden originates from the Jiajing 嘉靖 reign (1521–1567) in the Ming dynasty which, at the time, was the residence of another retired official, Gui Zhan-chu 归湛初.¹¹⁸ The present site named Huiyin Garden was a part of his large-scale residence named Gui Family Garden 归氏园. When the garden changed owners, it was divided into an eastern and a western part.

The eastern part was bought by Gu Qiwen 顾其蕴 (1607–1682), a member of the “Revival Society”¹¹⁹, by the end of the Ming dynasty and restored as well as

114 Wang, Joseph C. (2005): “House and Garden: Sanctuary for the Body and the Mind”, p. 86.

115 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 186.

116 A circuit intendant (daotai 道台) was a supervisory official from a branch office of the provincial administration commission during the imperial period. Supervisory officials were dispatched from the capital as the circuit was not a fixed administration but an investigatory area. See: Wilkinson, Endymion (2015): *Chinese History: A New Manual*, pp. 260–261.

117 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 123.

118 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 200.

119 The Revival Society (Fushe 复社) was an influential literary society (*wenshe* 文社), which was founded during the last reign of the Ming dynasty. In contrast to earlier societies which relied on networks of friends, relatives or political allies, improvements in printing and communication fostered its development into an independent national organization of an unprecedented scale. Not only succeeded a remarkable number of Revival Society members in the civil service examinations, but they also dominated the cultural scene with prominent intellectuals and writers. Compared to the earlier and conservative Eastern Forest 东林 Society to which some members of the Revival Society were sympathetic, the Revival Society itself was more ideologically diverse. See: Lu, Tina (2010): “The literary culture of the late Ming (1573–1644)”, pp. 77–78.

expanded by his grandson.¹²⁰ Today, this part is officially recorded under Gu Family Garden 顾家花园 as historical building by Suzhou Planning Bureau.¹²¹

The western part of the garden was bought by another member of the Revival Society in 1649 and reconstructed into Qiayin Garden 洽隐园.¹²² Its name was changed again into Wanshan Villa 皖山别墅 after a great fire in 1707 by its new owner, prefect Ni Lianfang 倪莲舫.¹²³ In 1864, Li Hongzhang¹²⁴, provincial governor of Jiangsu province at the time, built a memorial shrine for army leader Cheng Xueqi¹²⁵ next to the garden.¹²⁶ He then bought adjacent dwelling houses to expand it into the Anhui Guild Hall and later also integrated Ni Family Wanshan Villa with the garden renamed as Huiyin Garden.¹²⁷ Under prefect Kuai Zifan 蒯子范 (1816–1877) of Suzhou, the garden was expanded and additional landscape

120 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 138.

121 Suzhou Academy of Planning and Design Co., Ltd. 苏州规划设计研究院股份有限公司 (drafted 2014): “Baohu guihua tu er” 保护规划图二, in: *Suzhou Pingjiang lishi wenhua jiequ baohu guihua* 苏州平江历史文化街区保护规划, Online.

122 The name “Qiayin” 洽隐 originated from the main hall of the residence in the garden. See: Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 200.

123 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 139.

124 Li Hongzhang 李鸿章 (1823–1901) was one of China’s foremost military leaders, a renowned diplomat, industrialist and reformer under the Qing dynasty. Following his early appointment to the prestigious Hanlin Academy, he achieved military victories with his “Huai Army” against the Taiping Rebellion in 1864 and the Nian Rebellion in 1868. In his position as governor-general of Zhili Province, he served as China’s chief negotiator with foreign powers. Moreover, he was an important leader of the self-strengthening movement (*yangwu yundong* 洋务运动) in the second half of the 19th century which aimed at institutional reforms as well as economic and military modernization. While Li contributed to self-strengthening in technology and defense, he was criticized for controversial negotiations such as the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) and the Russian railroad lease which resulted in the cession of Chinese territory to Japan and Russia. See: Meissner, Daniel J. (2009): “Li Hongzhang [(1823–1901) Qing diplomat and industrialist]”, pp. 1313–1315.

125 Cheng Xueqi 程学启 (1829–1864), former general of the Taiping Rebels, became a leader of the Huai Army fighting the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom after he surrendered to the Qing troops in 1861. He was a key figure in the defense of Shanghai and for the capture of many cities in the Jiangnan region until he died in the reconquest of Jiaxing 嘉兴. See: Huang, Jianghua 黄江华; Guo Yisheng 郭毅生 (2008): “Cheng Xueqi pan jiang shi mo — Jianlun Taiping Tianguo houqi pan jiang fengchao zhi chengyin” 程学启叛降始末——兼论太平天国后期叛降风潮之成因 [On Cheng Xueqi’s Rebellion — Concurrent Discussion on the causes for the trend of deserting to the enemy in the later period of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom], pp. 28–30.

126 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 200.

127 Ibid.

architecture constructed.¹²⁸ The present *ensemble* Huiyin Garden includes the garden, the guild hall and two memorial temples.

In contrast to historical buildings whose major historical value derives from criterion 2.3.1 iii (Comm CP), the two gardens fulfill several additional criteria which qualify them as listed sites. Primarily, both are related to important figures (Comm CP, 2.3.1 ii). The historic owners of the Couple's Garden Retreat were imperial officials and the history of Huiyin Garden is related to members of the Revival Society and Li Hongzhang. The connection to scholar-officials is a common feature of Chinese private gardens as many of those who had experienced setbacks in their official careers retired and built so-called "literati gardens".¹²⁹

Equally, the owners of formerly splendid mansions not named after a garden which are listed on national and provincial levels were influential historical figures, such as Number One Scholar Pan Shi'en, intendant Shen Bingcheng or the owner of Weidao Guan Qian Pan Mansion, Pan Linzhao 潘麟兆, a wealthy merchant from Anhui 安徽 province who renovated the mansion in 1787 and expanded it for 300,000 tael of fine silver over a period of 12 years.¹³⁰ As mentioned above, the Anhui Guild Hall as part of the *ensemble* Huiyin Garden is related to Li Hongzhang who set up the Cheng Xueqi Memorial Temple and therefore not only carries historical but also commemorative (social) value.

Furthermore, there are two former mansions of historical figures listed on a municipal level which carry the full name of their owners in their site designation (Former Residence of renowned historian Gu Jiegang 顾颉刚 (1893–1980), Former Residence of scholar and diplomat Hong Jun 洪钧 (1839–1893)). Another three sites are related to historically famous people, indicated by additional wooden plates hung up next to the building entrance but which are not listed under their owners' names. Two of these sites are the former residences of famous physicians trained in "Western" medicine 西学: Qian Boxuan's residence, listed as Qian Mansion and Fang Jiamo's residence, which is designated as Xuanqiao Lane Fang Mansion. The third site is said to have been built by Huang Jinrong 黄金荣¹³¹

128 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 232.

129 Wang, Joseph C. (2005): "House and Garden: Sanctuary for the Body and the Mind", p. 94.

130 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 131.

131 Huang Jinrong 黄金荣, chief of detectives in the former French Concession simultaneously controlled a great number of opium and gambling activities as well as brothels in Shanghai. He made use of his position to establish close relations to gangster organizations such as the Green Gang which held the monopoly for opium trade without becoming directly involved. Thereby he emerged to become one of the three most powerful local magnates, together with Du Yuesheng 杜月笙 and Zhang Xiaolin 张啸林. See:

(1868–1953), one of Shanghai’s great magnates at the beginning of the 20th century and superintendent in the former French Concession. The mansion is listed as “Heming Hall Kang Mansion” 鹤鸣堂康宅¹³² and was probably not inhabited by him but developed as real estate property.

Former residences of historical figures are further listed as controlled and protected buildings. Of the at-present 40 buildings in this category, five sites are listed as “former residences”. The residence of writer Han Chong 韩崇 (1783–1860) includes his study (Baotie zhai 宝铁斋) where he had worked on poems, literature and inscriptions.¹³³ Then, there are the former residences of famous scholars Pan Zuyin 潘祖荫 (1830–1890), who served as minister of the Board of Works, and linguist Guo Shaoyu 郭绍虞 (1893–1984). The last two residences belonged to Chinese physician Ai Buchan 艾步蟾 (1854–1933) and Tang Na 唐纳 (1914–1988), famous film critic and earlier husband of Mao Zedong’s fourth wife Jiang Qing 江青 (1914–1991). By carrying their names in the site designations, the association of the above-mentioned figures with their remaining former mansions provides them with social value and a commemorative function.

Moreover, as stated in the commentary on the China Principles (Comm CP, 2.3.1 iv), sites which “prove, correct or supplement facts documented in historical records” have historical value. Because the mansions and buildings listed on national, provincial and partly also municipal level are of a considerable size and often developed from historic sites, they are recorded in the *Pingjiang Gazetteer*. This criterion can be well illustrated by example of the two private gardens.

Huiyin Garden originally had a lotus pond, but it has been filled and converted into a sports ground when First Suzhou Middle School moved in after 1949.¹³⁴ At present, only a small part of the original pond can be found underneath a rockery called “Xiao Linwu Dong” (小林屋洞, “Little Linwu Cave”), the garden’s sole physical remains. Nevertheless, the garden obtains great significance from this artificial hill (*jiashan* 假山) made of lakeside rocks. Xiao Linwu Dong survived the above-mentioned disastrous fire and therefore has high historical value as a

Martin, Brian G. (1996): *The Shanghai Green Gang: Politics and Organized Crime, 1919–1937*, pp. 64–69, 76.

132 Suzhou Academy of Planning and Design Co., Ltd. 苏州规划设计研究院股份有限公司 (drafted 2014): “Baohu guihua tu yi” 保护规划图一 [Conservation Planning Map 1], in: *Suzhou Pingjiang lishi wenhua jiequ baohu guihua* 苏州平江历史文化街区保护规划 [Conservation Planning of Suzhou Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block], Online.

133 Shen, Qingnian 沈庆年 (ed., 2014): *Gucheng yizhu: Suzhou kongbao jianzhu tanyou: 3* 古城遗珠: 苏州控保建筑探幽: 3 [Lost Pearls of the Ancient City: A Study of Controlled Protected Buildings in Suzhou: vol. 3], p. 16.

134 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 200.

relic of the historical Qiayin Garden. It has been included into local records¹³⁵ and therefore fulfills criterion four of the China Principles as the preserved remains of Xiao Linwu Dong can verify these records.

Furthermore, it fulfills criterion five being a rare and outstanding example of rockeries. The *Pingjiang Gazetteer* records that it is rare in overall China and as excellent as the rockery in the “Mountain Villa with Embracing Beauty” 环秀山庄, another classical Suzhou garden listed as World Heritage.¹³⁶ With the final expansion of Huiyin Garden under prefect Kuai Zifan, a set of outstanding landscape scenes comprising eight views (*ba jing* 八景) has been defined, which is known from a wall-embedded stele.¹³⁷ The *ba jing* (“eight views”) set of landscape scenes, which contains eight sight names, traditionally originates from a set of paintings entitled “The Eight Views of Xiaoxiang” (*Xiaoxiang ba jing* 潇湘八景), generally ascribed to Song Di 宋迪 (ca. 1015–1080), who was a painter and civilian court official during the Northern Song dynasty.¹³⁸ *Xiaoxiang* presumably refers to the Xiao and Xiang rivers (whereby it is unclear whether *xiao* stands for the name of Xiang river’s tributary or functions as adjective to Xiang river, meaning “deep and clear”).¹³⁹ The term also refers to the region which Xiang river traverses and which corresponds to present-day Hunan province.

Another pioneering work for this tradition is “Ten Views of the West Lake” (*Xihu shi jing* 西湖十景) from the Southern Song dynasty. In 1127, the imperial family had to move its capital to Lin’an 临安 (present-day Hangzhou 杭州) due to an invasion by the Jurchen Jin 金 dynasty. The new capital attracted many painters, including landscape painting experts of the former imperial art academy, who had followed the court to restore their posts.¹⁴⁰ The landscape of the West Lake fascinated many painters of the succeeding Southern Song Imperial Art

135 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, pp. 200–201.

136 *Ibid.*, p. 201.

137 *Ibid.*, p. 200.

138 Zhao, Xia 赵夏 (2006): “Wo guo de ‘ba jing’ chuantong ji qi wenhua yiyi” 我国的“八景”传统及其文化意义 [China’s *ba jing* tradition and its cultural meaning], p. 89.

139 Yang, Xiaoshan (2003): *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang-Song Poetry*, p. 78.

140 Wang, Shuangyang 王双阳; Wu, Gan 吴敢 (2015): “Cong wenxue dao huihua — Xihu shi jing tu de xingcheng yu fazhan” 从文学到绘画——西湖十景图的形成与发展 [From literature to painting — The formation and development of the “Ten Views of the West Lake”], p. 68.

Academy and became a major subject of their paintings (*yin jing zuo hua* 因景作画,¹⁴¹ “taking the scenery as inspiration in the creation of one’s paintings”).

In the following, the great amount of paintings addressing the West Lake was condensed into the *shi jing* (“ten views”) set of landscape scenes, which gained great popularity among artists. The depicted sights were then provided with a name on the basis of the respective painting (*yin hua ming jing* 因画命景).¹⁴² Eventually, the sight names were taken up by poets who integrated the verses in their literary pieces or even named their poems after them and made the “ten views” a major literary theme.¹⁴³

While the “Eight Views of Xiaoxiang” is the earliest-known set of landscape scenes, the “Ten Views of the West Lake” had the greatest impact and is still widely known today.¹⁴⁴ Regarded as epitomes of landscape naming, the *ba jing* and the *shi jing* sets of landscape scenes provided the basic standards for this naming practice. One of the eight views defined for Huiyin Garden is called *Linwu tan qi* (林屋探奇, “Exploring the super-natural at Linwu [Cave]”) and refers to Xiao Linwu Dong. Its historical value is further increased as the rockery is the only scenic spot which has been preserved of these formerly eight landscape scenes.

The Couple’s Garden Retreat is designed as a mansion with two gardens, an eastern and a western garden. It features two rockeries as well, a yellow stone (*huang shi* 黄石) rockery in the center of the eastern garden and a limestone (*hu shi* 湖石) rockery in the western garden. The yellow stone rockery is the main landscape scene of the eastern garden. This rockery has a major hill in the east and a minor hill in the west.¹⁴⁵ The limestone rockery in the western garden is piled up of lakeside rocks from Lake Tai and planted with bushes and trees.¹⁴⁶

In terms of significance, the yellow stone rockery in the eastern garden has been judged as one of the most elaborate in the Classical Gardens of Suzhou. Relying on Liu Dunzhen’s research, this rockery has been piled up in a very natural

141 Zhang, Xianliang 张先亮; Wang, Min 王敏 (2014): “Shilun ‘Xihu shi jing’ de ming-ming yishu” 试论“西湖十景”的命名艺术 [Some viewpoints on the art of naming in the “Ten Views of the West Lake”], p. 191.

142 Ibid.

143 Wang, Shuangyang 王双阳; Wu, Gan 吴敢 (2015): “Cong wenxue dao huihua — Xihu shi jing tu de xingcheng yu fazhan” 从文学到绘画——西湖十景图的形成与发展, p. 69.

144 Zhang, Xianliang 张先亮; Wang, Min 王敏 (2014): “Shilun ‘Xihu shi jing’ de ming-ming yishu” 试论“西湖十景”的命名艺术, p. 191.

145 Suzhou Municipal Garden and Landscape Administration Bureau 苏州市园林和绿化管理局 (ed., 2013): *Ouyuan zhi* 耦园志 [Records of the Couple’s Garden Retreat], p. 38.

146 Ibid., p. 39.

manner.¹⁴⁷ He further states that it may be a relic of She Garden¹⁴⁸ and, in effect, following his judgement, it is regarded as such today. Therefore, it bestows the garden with high historical value. Although the limestone rockery has not been judged as elaborate as its counterpart in the eastern garden, it equally possesses historical value as it fulfills criterion six (Comm CP, 2.3.1 vi). When the garden was decomposed in the 1950s and transformed into housing, the residents built a wall in the shape of a cloud (*yunqiang* 云墙) on top of the rockery to avoid disturbing each other.¹⁴⁹ This wall has been preserved up to the present in order to reveal historical changes of the site.¹⁵⁰

A special form of historical records comprises inscribed stelae. Although not exclusively, they constitute significant material heritage of temples in the Pingjiang Historic Block. Inscribed stelae are usually set up after a temple has been restored and record important information on the time this work has been undertaken, the person or organization who provided the funding, and other relevant information.



Figure 3-4. Preserved Stelae at Weidao Temple.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

147 Liu, Dunzhen 刘敦桢 (1963): “Ouyuan” 耦园, in: Suzhou Municipal Garden and Landscape Administration Bureau 苏州市园林和绿化管理局 (ed., 2013): *Ouyuan zhi* 耦园志, p. 117.

148 Ibid.

149 Suzhou Municipal Garden and Landscape Administration Bureau 苏州市园林和绿化管理局 (ed., 2013): *Ouyuan zhi* 耦园志, p. 40.

150 Ibid.

In the central row of the Taoist Weidao Temple, a part of the inscribed stelae with records on the temple's former reconstructions and reparations has been preserved (see fig. 3-4).¹⁵¹ Another temple showing this kind of material evidence is the controlled and protected site Tiangong Temple 天宫寺 which features stele inscriptions informing on the development of the temple itself and its reparations.¹⁵²

Artistic and Scientific Value

A comparison among different listing levels shows that sites with gardens or physical remains of former gardens are listed on higher administrative levels which is related to their increase in artistic value (see appendix A.9). Liu Dunzhen further characterized the Chinese classical garden as “system of garden art” (*yuanlin yishu tixi* 园林艺术体系)¹⁵³. This evaluation is taken up in the justification for inclusion of the gardens in the 1996 World Heritage nomination document which states that “the Chinese classical gardens form a system of art that takes pride in its high artistic achievement and unique style”.¹⁵⁴

The high artistic value of private gardens derives from their interrelation with Chinese landscape painting (*shanshui hua* 山水画) in terms of design principles. While, by the middle of the Tang dynasty, Chinese scholar-painters (*wenren huajia* 文人画家) such as Wang Wei 王维 or Bai Juyi 白居易 still built gardens for themselves to lead a live in seclusion, the art of landscape gardening had developed into a profession after the Southern Song dynasty and scholar-painters increasingly engaged in garden design.¹⁵⁵ Thereby, they drew on techniques from Chinese landscape painting and approached the composition of gardens in the same way as they would approach a painting. Because the gardens were later constructed as a three-dimensional realization of these techniques, the Chinese art of landscape gardening is seen as having evolved from Chinese painting.¹⁵⁶

151 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 228.

152 Shen, Qingnian 沈庆年 (ed., 2013): *Gucheng yizhu: Suzhou kongbao jianzhu tanyou: xu* 古城遗珠: 苏州控保建筑探幽: 续 [Lost Pearls of the Ancient City: A Study of Controlled Protected Buildings in Suzhou: vol. 2], pp. 100–101.

153 Liu, Dunzhen 刘敦楨 (1979): *Suzhou gudian yuanlin* 苏州古典园林, p. 3.

154 Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China; State Bureau of Cultural Relics of the People's Republic of China (1996): *The Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, p. 113.

155 Liu, Dunzhen 刘敦楨 (1979): *Suzhou gudian yuanlin* 苏州古典园林, p. 5.

156 Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China; State Bureau of Cultural Relics of the People's Republic of China (1996): *The Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, p. 114.

Correspondingly, there have been consulted painters for the design of the two private gardens listed in the Pingjiang Historic District. In the case of the Couple's Garden Retreat, Shen Bingcheng engaged the painter Gu Yun 顾云 to design his garden after he had bought the former site of She Garden by expanding it to the central residence and western garden.¹⁵⁷ Respectively, it is speculated for at least a part of Huiyin Garden that it has been designed by Ming dynasty painter Zhou Bingzhong 周秉忠.¹⁵⁸

The first published work on composition principles of Chinese gardens is the "Craft of Gardens" (*Yuan ye* 园冶) by Ji Cheng 计成 (1582–n.d.) from 1634. Therein, he highlights the importance of creating different views in the process of garden design:

"The most important element in the layout of gardens is the siting of the principal buildings. The primary consideration is the view, and it is all the better if the buildings can also face south."¹⁵⁹

Comparable to unrolling a handscroll, visitors were later guided through the garden to view different scenes framed by windows or openings in garden walls:¹⁶⁰

"Wooden walls should have many window-openings so that one can secretly enjoy looking through them into different worlds [...] Pavilions and terraces should be visible through a crack, while towers and tall buildings should be surrounded by empty space."¹⁶¹

This technique to overcome the spatial limitation of the garden through "borrowing" sceneries (*jiejing* 借景) was invented by Ming scholar Li Yu 李渔 (1611–1680) who had a wide range of occupations, such as writer, historian, literary critic, publisher, inventor, architect and garden expert. He applied the technique to a "landscape window" which enabled the contemplation of a real landscape from the interior of a room.¹⁶² It was then extended to sceneries within the garden through the above-mentioned openings in different decorative shapes such as fans or flower petals as well as outside sceneries, contemplated from elevated spaces

157 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 186.

158 Ibid., p. 200.

159 Ji, Cheng (1988): *The Craft of Gardens*, p. 54.

160 Wang, Joseph C. (2005): "House and Garden: Sanctuary for the Body and the Mind", p. 87.

161 Ji, Cheng (1988): *The Craft of Gardens*, p. 76.

162 Johnston, Stewart R. (1991): *Scholar gardens of China: a study and analysis of the spatial design of the Chinese private garden*, p. 82.

such as observation towers.¹⁶³ Another technique of variation and segmentation divided the limited garden space into segments delimited by walls, buildings or rockeries and created varying impressions along a winding path through strategies of both walling in and opening up.¹⁶⁴ Since the Ming dynasty, garden construction had become a prevailing custom among influential officials and landlords in the Jiangnan region who began to compete with each other.¹⁶⁵ The reception of guests and their contemplation of landscape scenes was an important function considered in the construction of private gardens. Their builders strove to increase vistas and perspectives in order to enrich the space limited by its urban environment.¹⁶⁶

In the *Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, Liu Dunzhen examined the cases of 15 gardens and elaborated on five characteristic aspects of this built form. These are the garden layout (*buju* 布局), the regulation of water (*li shui* 理水), the piling of rockeries (*die shan* 叠山), architecture (*jianzhu* 建筑) and plants (*huamu* 花木). Hereby, architecture is included as a decisive factor for the significance of a private garden. Correspondingly, the Couple's Garden Retreat and Huiyin Garden are composed of four types of architectural and scenic elements: water, rockeries, plants and landscape architecture.

The Couple's Garden Retreat features a pond in the center of its eastern garden which is called "Reception of the Moon"-Pond (Shou yue chi 受月池). Similar to other elements of the garden, it carries artistic and scientific value in the way it has been designed and created. Following the *Ouyuan Gazetteer*, the pond is formed in a natural manner, which bestows it with a "natural appearance".¹⁶⁷ Equally, Xiao Linwu Dong has been designed by famous Ming dynasty painter and landscape architect Zhou Bingzhong and therefore has great artistic value. The artist's inspiration for this artificial hill precisely was "Linwu Cave"¹⁶⁸ on Xishan Island 西山岛 in Lake Tai 太湖, which it imitates and after which it was named.¹⁶⁹ The

163 Johnston, Stewart R. (1991): *Scholar gardens of China: a study and analysis of the spatial design of the Chinese private garden*, p. 82.

164 Morris, Edwin T. (1983): *The Gardens of China: History, Art and Meanings*, p. 77.

165 Liu, Dunzhen 刘敦楨 (1979): *Suzhou gudian yuanlin* 苏州古典园林, p. 4.

166 Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China; State Bureau of Cultural Relics of the People's Republic of China (1999): *The Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, p. 11.

167 Suzhou Municipal Garden and Landscape Administration Bureau 苏州市园林和绿化管理局 (ed., 2013): *Ouyuan zhi* 耦园志, p. 40.

168 "Linwu" 林屋 is a place name and refers to "Linwu Cave" 林屋洞 on Xishan Island 西山岛 in Lake Tai 太湖 located in the southeast of Suzhou. This cave is an ancient sacred Taoist site, the eighth of ten major *dongtian* (洞天, "grotto-heavens"), which is related to many legends. See: Hahn, Thomas (2000): "Daoist Sacred Sites", pp. 696–697.

169 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 200.

garden's original pond had additional scientific value as it was connected to a water canal outside of the mansion which is now cut off.¹⁷⁰

In the case of the Couple's Garden Retreat, its artistic value is further increased by the seasonal character of flowers and trees. Just as the four seasons are a famous theme in Chinese landscape painting, the garden landscape is composed of flowers and trees which create sceneries in every season. For example, the Couple's Garden Retreat features peony trees, which blossom in spring, pomegranate trees standing for summer, osmanthus trees flowering in autumn and wintersweet flowers creating a winter scenery.¹⁷¹

Moreover, private gardens contain various architectural elements in the form of landscape architecture. These structures possess artistic value due to the great variety of architectural types in which they are built. The type of architectural structure can usually be identified by its name. For example, gardens can comprise different types of buildings (*tang* 堂 = one-storied, *lou* 楼 = two-storied), pavilions (*ting* 亭 = one-storied, *ge* 阁 = two-storied, *xuan* 轩 = with windows, *xie* 榭 = on a terrace), winding corridors (*huilang* 回廊) or other architectural structures (e.g. *fang* 舫 = boat-shaped structure).

The landscape of the eastern garden in the Couple's Garden Retreat is characterized by landscape architecture surrounding the yellow stone rockery and the Reception of the Moon Pond, including pavilions, winding corridors as well as one- and two-storied buildings. The central buildings of the eastern garden are set up in an *ensemble* with a "moon terrace" (*yue tai* 月台), four skywells, the main building featuring "Thatched Cottage at the City Corner" (Chengqu caotang 城曲草堂) on the first and a study (Bu du jiushu lou 补读旧书楼) on the second floor.¹⁷² In this mansion, even different floors of the same building were named separately according to their characteristics. Another two-storied building in the east contains the "Sun and Moonlight Tower" (Shuang zhao lou 双照楼) on the upper as well as "Return of the Inkslab Studio"¹⁷³ (Huan yan zhai, 还砚斋) on the first floor. The

170 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 201.

171 Suzhou Municipal Garden and Landscape Administration Bureau 苏州市园林和绿化管理局 (ed., 2013): *Ouyuan zhi* 耦园志, p. 44.

172 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

173 The name "Return of the Inkslab Studio" 还砚斋 is probably related to a legend on the Song dynasty official Bao Zheng 包拯 (999–1062). His exemplary conduct as "upright official" (*qingguan* 清官) made the court cases of Judge Bao (Bao Gong 包公) a popular theme in Yuan and early Ming dynasty ballad-stories and his figure has since served as embodiment of justice in China. The legend refers to Bao Zheng's service as prefect of Duanzhou 端州 in Guangdong province, a place well-known for its production of inkslabs. While his predecessor ordered local craftsmen to produce more inkslabs than the yearly required number paid as tribute to the imperial court for his

smaller western garden is divided into three courtyards by a one-storied building in its center which is named “Old House with Woven Curtains” (Zhi lian lao wu 织帘老屋).¹⁷⁴ Moreover, there is the “Longevity Pavilion” (He shou ting 鹤寿亭) in the east of the Old House with Woven Curtains and a study named “Library Tower” (Cangshu lou 藏书楼) in its north (see appendix A.4).¹⁷⁵

Huiyin Garden originally also featured landscape architecture. Most well-known is Xiao Linwu (小林屋, “Little Linwu”), which was built on the identically named preserved rockery in 1751, when the site was restored after the fire and turned into Wanshan Villa.¹⁷⁶ Following the *Pingjiang Gazetteer*, the buildings in Huiyin Garden have partly been demolished when the middle school was constructed. While Xiao Linwu and a winding corridor are documented for 1969, they no longer existed by 1999.¹⁷⁷

According to the China Principles, the artistic value of built heritage further derives from architectural style, spatial composition and aesthetic form (Comm CP, 2.3.2 i). The Pingjiang Historic Block’s conservation plan identified characteristic architectural elements **of a first building type**, local-style buildings, which include the ridge, the gable, windows, doors, balustrades and column bases.¹⁷⁸

own profit, Bao Zheng ordered to solely produce tribute inkslabs. The official dynastic history of the Song dynasty records that Bao Zheng left Duanzhou at the end of his term of office without taking a single inkslab. According to the legend, he was offered an inkslab of excellent quality by the locals as a sign of gratitude for his great service. However, he refused and returned the inkslab. The name of the studio therefore alludes to a moral and incorruptible character as aspired to by the mansion owner. See: Idema, Wilt L. (2010): *Judge Bao and the Rule of Law: Eight Ballad-Stories from the Period 1250–1450*, pp. ix-xvi. Tuotuo 脱脱 et al. (comp., 1995): *Song shi* 宋史 [History of the Song Dynasty, 1345], new edition, vol. 30, p. 10315. Suzhou Municipal Garden and Landscape Administration Bureau 苏州市园林和绿化管理局 (ed., 2013): *Ouyuan zhi* 耦园志, p. 10.

174 Suzhou Municipal Garden and Landscape Administration Bureau 苏州市园林和绿化管理局 (ed., 2013): *Ouyuan zhi* 耦园志, p. 13.

175 Ibid.

176 “Dongshi linglong Suzhou Huiyin yuan, jijing xingfei shengji you cun” 洞石玲珑苏州惠荫园，几经兴废胜迹犹存 [Suzhou Huiyin Garden with exquisite travertine, the famous historical site still exists after several times of rise and fall], (July 19, 2017), Online.

177 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 200.

178 Tongji University National Famous Historical and Cultural Cities Research Center 同济大学国家历史文化名城研究中心 (2004): *Suzhou gucheng Pingjiang lishi wenhua jiequ baohu yu zhengzhi guihua — tuji* 苏州古城平江历史文化街区保护与整治规划 — 图集 [Planning for the Preservation and Renovation of the Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block in the Historic City of Suzhou — Collection of Images], pp. 45–46.

While all buildings gain architectural value from these basic elements, they show distinctions corresponding to their listing levels. Moreover, higher listed sites are not only greater in size but consequently also show additional architectural styles and aesthetic forms.

One example for a site with high artistic value is the national-level listed Quan-Jin Guild Hall. Set up by Shanxi merchants who travelled to Suzhou in 1879, it combines the architectural styles of Shanxi and Suzhou buildings with those on the central row showing characteristics of Shanxi architecture while the structures in the eastern and western row are built according to Suzhou building tradition (see fig. 3-5 and 3-6).¹⁷⁹

Characteristic features comprise the main hall, which was built in the style of a temple hall with Shanxi building characteristics, the eastern row parlor, built in *yuanyang*-style¹⁸⁰ and the characteristic ridge of the entrance gate.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, the entrance hall shows some distinctive architectural characteristics, such as so-called “bandstands” (*chui gu ting* 吹鼓亭) on both sides and *jiangjun* gates (*jiangjun men* 将军门) which have higher thresholds than common gates.¹⁸²

In addition, Quan-Jin Guild Hall is highly significant for its opera building (see fig. 3-5). It features a ceremonial gate on the lower story as well as a stage on the upper story. This stage is one of the most elegant preserved in Suzhou and has a caisson ceiling (*zaojing* 藻井) which, in addition to its decorative function, enables a unique sound.¹⁸³ Therefore, the building not only carries historical and artistic but also scientific value.

179 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 232.

180 The term *yuanyang* 鸳鸯 literally means “mandarin ducks” and is further used in expressions for pairs of things. As architectural style, it refers to a hall which is divided by a partition wall into a front and a rear part. Moreover, the inner roof construction of both parts has two different forms (round and pointed, see fig. 15). From the inside, it therefore resembles two halls which have been merged. The southern hall is exposed to sunlight and usually used during the colder seasons winter and spring while the northern hall is comparatively cold and more suitable to be used in summer and autumn. See: Liu, Tengyu 刘腾宇 (2018): “Liuyuan Linqianqishuo zhi guan yanbian de kongjian fenxi” 留园林泉耆硕之馆演变的空间分析, p. 213.

181 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, pp. 232–233.

182 *Ibid.*, p. 232.

183 *Ibid.*, p. 233.



Figure 3-5. Quan-Jin Guild Hall Opera Building in Shanxi Style.



Figure 3-6. Quan-Jin Guild Hall Western Row Architecture in Suzhou Style.

Source: author's photos, 2018.

High-listed mansions in the block comprise halls in their side rows which are built in a particular architectural form and include characteristic roof constructions, verandas or arcades (*xuan* 轩) and column bases. The Former Mansion of Pan Shi'en features two halls in the second and third *jin* of its western row which are built in characteristic architectural form. The hall in the second *jin* is built as *yuanyang* hall (see fig. 3-7) and the third *jin* features a *shamao* hall¹⁸⁴. Relating to its architectural style, this hall has a veranda at its central front and wing rooms on both sides at the back of the building, resembling the wings of a late imperial official's gauze cap (see fig. 3-8 and 3-9).¹⁸⁵

184 A *shamao* hall 纱帽厅 is named after the gauze cap worn by imperial officials. Imitating Ming dynasty buildings, the beam capitals of the hall are decorated with wooden elements in the shape of gauze caps, so-called “gauze cap wings” (*shamao chi* 纱帽翅). Moreover, the overall layout of the hall resembles a gauze cap. See: Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 240.

185 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 240.



Figure 3-7. Yuanyang Hall in the Former Mansion of Pan Shi'en (front and rear part divided by partition wall).

Source: author's photo, 2018.

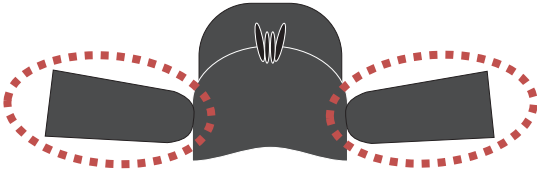


Figure 3-8. Gauze Cap of a Late Imperial Official (draft, gauze cap wings marked in red).

Source: author's draft.



Figure 3-9. Shamao Hall in the Former Mansion of Pan Shi'en.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Another important architectural characteristic of traditional mansions are archways connecting the different halls with adjacent courtyards. In addition to their function of providing a passageway from outer to inner space or one courtyard to another, gates were important elements of Chinese houses to display a household's social status.¹⁸⁶ Due to sumptuary regulations which restricted a dwelling's external appearance as well as the custom to conceal one's wealth from the outside, the outer gates of Suzhou-style mansions appear as modest and plain gateways made of wood or stone frames.¹⁸⁷ In contrast, the inner lined-up courtyard-building components are connected by impressive ornamented archways facing inside the courtyards both at the back of the entrance gate and the rear of precedent halls.

These archways were built in the form of "storied gateways" (*menlou* 门楼) and imitate wooden architectural elements, such as brackets (*dougong* 斗拱) and ornamental carvings while usually being made of brick.¹⁸⁸ Storied archways in Suzhou-style houses further contain writing. In its center, there are usually embedded four horizontally engraved characters, which are written in calligraphy.¹⁸⁹ The national-level listed Weidao Guan Qian Pan Mansion (or Ligeng tang 礼耕堂 after its hall name) originally featured eight archways of which three from the reign of the Qianlong Emperor have been engraved in 1787.¹⁹⁰

These preserved archways all feature embedded calligraphy and are decorated with ornamental patterns surrounding the central inscriptions. The archway facing its main hall, for example, has an elaborate roof construction with six sets of brackets and peony ornamentation (see fig. 3-10). Bracket sets were used for construction of official buildings, as laid out in official building manuals, as well as temples.¹⁹¹ The example of Weidao Guan Qian Pan Mansion therefore illustrates how not only wealth and aesthetic sophistication but also the status of a household were manifested in these storied archways of local-style mansions and dwelling houses.

Other characteristics which distinguish higher listed sites from historical buildings are related to decoration and ornamentation (Comm CP, 2.3.2 iii). In addition to archways, traditional Chinese houses gain artistic value through wooden carvings on beams, balustrades, doors and windows as well as other forms of ornamented elements, such as eaves tiles or pavement. They are usually found in spaces

186 Knapp, Ronald G. (2000): *China's Old Dwellings*, p. 63.

187 Ibid., p. 256.

188 Ibid., p. 66.

189 Zhang, Xu 张旭; Zhou, Yue 周越 (2012): "Suzhou minju menlou zhuandiao zhuangshi yishu wenhua tanxi" 苏州民居门楼砖雕装饰艺术文化探析, p. 108.

190 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 242.

191 Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman (1984): "Bracketing System of the Song Dynasty", pp. 122–125.



Figure 3-10. Decorated Archway in Ligeng Hall.

Source: author's photo, 2018.



Figure 3-11. Wooden Ornamentation in Former Residence of Pan Shi'en.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

visible to visitors where a household has a chance to display artistic taste and sophistication.¹⁹² Accordingly, wooden carvings and ornamentation are used to embellish windows and doors which separate the interior of rooms from the exterior living space of courtyards. Thereby, the upper parts of window and door panels in local style are perforated with lattice patterns ranging from geometric forms to traditional images.¹⁹³ On the lower parts, there are engraved decorative patterns or motifs in bas-relief (see fig. 3-II).¹⁹⁴

Similarly, verandas facing inner courtyards are spaces with high visibility, which feature rich wooden carvings, for example on timber beams supporting the eaves.¹⁹⁵ Finally, wooden carvings are used to decorate beams inside different halls. For example, the beams of the main hall, *yuanyang* and *shamao* hall of the Former Mansion of Pan Shi'en are decorated with richly engraved *zhaomu* 棹木 (decorative wooden boards in the shape of gauze-cap wings at the column capital). While the wooden carvings of the *yuanyang* hall show scenes with historical or literary figures, the *shamao* hall possesses carved *zhaomu* in the form of Ming dynasty gauze caps and ornamental carvings (see figure 3-12).¹⁹⁶



Figure 3-12. Engraved Zhaomu in Former Residence of Pan Shi'en (from below).

Source: author's photo, 2018.

192 Knapp, Ronald G. (2000): *China's Old Dwellings*, p. 59.

193 Ibid., p. 60.

194 Ibid., p. 234.

195 Ibid., p. 59.

196 Gong, Xi 弓玺; Jiang, Feng 姜锋 (April 25, 2017): "Liyu Tang: Xiri zhuangyuan fu jin wei bowuguan" 留余堂：昔日状元府今为博物馆 [Liyu Hall: In former days Number One Scholar residence and today a museum], Online.

A **second building type**, which has only recently been recognized as cultural heritage, are “Republican buildings” (*minguo jianzhu* 民国建筑). As these buildings have at least two stories, they were often set up in the rear of former Qing dynasty mansions in place of the former private chambers and therefore may not be visible from the outside. In the course of China’s Third National Cultural Relics Survey, many of these buildings from the Republican period have been “discovered” and included in the local inventory. Two of these residences, the Former Residence of Fang Jiamo and Da Liuzhi Lane Yang Mansion, were promulgated as officially listed municipal-level sites in 2009.¹⁹⁷

In contrast to the traditional white-washed walls of Suzhou local-style dwelling houses, Republican period houses emerged as eclectic forms of Chinese and “Western” architecture and either have characteristic grey brick walls, sometimes incorporating red brick patterns or show other “Western” characteristics. In the case of the Former Residence of Fang Jiamo, a hospital in its western row was built as a “Spanish-style” two-story building (*Xibanya shi loufang* 西班牙式楼房).¹⁹⁸ It was erected in 1935 and has a characteristic concrete façade which invokes an impression of a third story as well as a balcony and private bathrooms.¹⁹⁹ Its plain roof tiles have been imported and the floor is paved with tiles in refined patterns.²⁰⁰

Da Liuzhi Lane Yang Mansion has two preserved rows with traditional local-style buildings as well as Republican two-story buildings in the northern part of every row. Its Republican buildings show characteristic grey brickwork and have two-storied brick arcades.²⁰¹ Moreover, the buildings are significant for their well-preserved windows and doors with colored glass and floor tiles.²⁰²

The remaining 10 Republican buildings found in the Third National Cultural Relics Survey have not (yet) been promulgated as officially listed sites but included in the city’s inventory. They share common characteristics of Republican period buildings with the above-mentioned sites, such as grey brick walls, “Western”-style roof tiles and balustrades, windows and doors with colored glass and colored floor tiles in different patterns (see fig. 3-13 and 3-14).

197 Suzhou Administration of Cultural Heritage 苏州市文物局 (ed., 2012): *Suiyue jiyi — mingcheng guibao: Suzhou Shi di san ci quanguo wenwu pucha xin faxian xuanbian* 岁月记忆·名城瑰宝：苏州市第三次全国文物普查新发现选编, pp. 47–48.

198 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

199 Shen, Qingnian 沈庆年 (ed., 2013): *Gucheng yizhu: Suzhou kongbao jianzhu tanyou: xu* 古城遗珠：苏州控保建筑探幽：续, p. 44.

200 *Ibid.*

201 Suzhou Administration of Cultural Heritage 苏州市文物局 (ed., 2012): *Suiyue jiyi — mingcheng guibao: Suzhou Shi di san ci quanguo wenwu pucha xin faxian xuanbian* 岁月记忆·名城瑰宝：苏州市第三次全国文物普查新发现选编, p. 48.

202 *Ibid.*



Figure 3-13. Republican Period Building.

Source: author's photo, 2018.



Figure 3-14. Colored Floor Tiles of Republican Period Building.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Moreover, as eclectic forms of two architectural styles, they possess their own distinct characteristics. For example, a “Western”-style two-story building which has been preserved in Xiaojia Lane No. 29 features Roman-style columns and floral ornamentation on its façade.²⁰³ Another two-story building at Weidao Guan Qian No. 27 with a polished stone façade features a vase-shaped balustrade, colored mosaic floor tiles and a wisteria canopy.²⁰⁴

The **third building type** listed on higher administrative levels are temples. While they share basic construction components such as halls and side rooms, similar to residential buildings, they differ in architectural style. The Taoist Weidao Temple was primarily built between 1260 and 1265 in the Song dynasty but the site as it has been listed on the municipal level goes back to 1665 in the Qing dynasty.²⁰⁵ The three characteristic halls of its central row originate from three different historical periods. While the entrance hall (*shanmen* 山门) dates back to the Ming dynasty, the second *jin* has been reconstructed in the Qing dynasty and the main hall named “Sanqing Hall” 三清殿 originates from the Yuan dynasty.²⁰⁶ The main hall further shows prominent architectural features, such as its characteristic roof and stone column bases.²⁰⁷

Moreover, the temple derives artistic value from a colored mural painting on a horizontal partition wall (see fig. 3-15). According to painter Zhang Minglou 张明楼 who did the restoration, the mural painting is the greatest preserved in Suzhou and differs greatly from those he has seen in other Taoist temples. As he explains, this difference consists in the elements depicted in the image. While most mural paintings would show typical elements such as floating clouds or the Taoist “eight

203 Shen, Qingnian 沈庆年 (ed., 2014): *Gucheng yizhu: Suzhou kongbao jianzhu tanyou*: 3 古城遗珠: 苏州控保建筑探幽: 3, p. 31.

204 Suzhou Administration of Cultural Heritage 苏州市文物局 (ed., 2012): *Suiyue jiyi — mingcheng guibao: Suzhou Shi di san ci quanguo wenwu pucha xin faxian xuanbian* 岁月记忆·名城瑰宝: 苏州市第三次全国文物普查新发现选编, p. 188.

205 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 228.

206 Guan, Youming 管有明 (January 6, 2013): “Weidao Guan zhonglu san jin zhudian zhuti xiu hao zai” 卫道观中路三进主殿主体修好哉 [The main part of the three main halls in the central row of Weidao Temple are restored!], Online.

207 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 228.

treasures”,²⁰⁸ the image in Weidao Temple shows the Buddhist “eight treasures”²⁰⁹ instead.



Figure 3-15. Mural Painting in Weidao Temple.

Source: author’s photo, 2018.

Combined with a depiction of bats, then again, a typical Taoist motive, the painter sees this image as an expression of a “unification” of Buddhism and Taoism.²¹⁰ (Fig. 3-15 shows the depiction of bats next to the Buddhist auspicious symbol of fish). Other elements with artistic value are stone column bases decorated in traditional style and a couplet written in golden characters on tablets which are curved around the pair of principal columns called “golden columns” (*jin zhu* 金柱). This couplet has been preserved together with the painting and at the time of its restoration in 2013 it was still readable.²¹¹

208 The eight Taoist treasures show various emblems of the Eight Immortals and comprise the sword, fan, flower-basket, lotus, flute, gourd, castanets and musical tube. See: Williams, C.A.S. (1974): *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs*, p. 157.

209 The eight Buddhist auspicious symbols (*ba jixiang* 八吉祥) comprise the wheel of the law, conch-shell, umbrella, canopy, lotus, jar, fish and mystic knot. See: Williams, C.A.S. (1974): *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs*, p. 159.

210 Wang, Ying 王英 (September 28, 2013): “Weidao Guan xiufu daxing caise bihua” 卫道观修复大型彩色壁画 [Weidao Temple restores grand-scale colored mural painting], Online.

211 Ibid.

In terms of scientific value deriving from plan and design (Comm CP, 2.3.3 i), officially listed sites usually follow the traditional north-south orientation and show high degrees of axiality and symmetry. Supposedly due to practical reasons, smaller residences may consist of two rows whereas even numbers of rows have been avoided in great mansions. This was rooted in the belief that building units in odd numbers create balance and symmetry whereas even numbers were regarded as inauspicious.²¹² Large-scale mansions usually are built along a central axis and comprise an entrance hall, a sedan-chair hall, a main hall and inner chambers.

The Couple's Garden Retreat is arranged in a particularly unique layout, which greatly relies on *fengshui* principles.²¹³ Its central axis runs between two gardens whereby the residential buildings aligned on this axis are oriented southward. The elevation of buildings increases along the central axis from south to north, which is beneficial for lighting.²¹⁴ Weidao Guan Qian Pan Mansion, the residence with the largest scale in the Pingjiang Historic Block, originally consisted of five rows and six *jin* and had a considerable size of 7500 m².²¹⁵ The Former Mansion of Pan Shi'en covers an area of 2135 m² and originally consisted of three rows with six *jin* and a great garden.²¹⁶ Both mansions follow the traditional layout with an entrance hall, a sedan-chair hall, a main hall and inner chambers aligned on a central axis and oriented towards the south.

These characteristics equally pertain to complexes of non-residential function such as the Quan-Jin Guild Hall and Weidao Temple. They are both set up in traditional layout of three rows with an orientation towards the south. The central row of the guild hall comprises an entrance gate (*toumen* 头门), an entrance hall, an opera building (*xilou* 戏楼) and a main hall (*zhengdian* 正殿).²¹⁷ In the case of Weidao Temple, there have mainly been preserved its central row with an entrance gate (*shanmen* 山门), Xuandi Hall 玄帝殿 and the main building, Sanqing Hall 三清殿. Originally, the complex further had an eastern and a western row with structures following the basic principles of orientation, axiality and symmetry.²¹⁸

212 Knapp, Ronald G. (2000): *China's Old Dwellings*, p. 22.

213 Cao, Lindi 曹林娣 (July 24, 2014): "Ninggu de zhihui, aiqing de yuezhang – Ouyuan xieying" 凝固的智慧, 爱情的乐章——耦园撷英 [Solidified knowledge, a movement of love – The best of Ou Garden], p. 13.

214 Ibid.

215 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 241.

216 Ibid., p. 240.

217 Ibid., p. 232.

218 Ibid., p. 228.

The scientific value of officially listed entities further relates to construction techniques and materials. One example for preserved building elements with scientific value are wooden column bases. While most residences from the Qing dynasty were built with wooden columns set on stone column bases, many buildings originating from the Ming dynasty not only have wooden columns but also wooden column bases. Such wooden column bases have been preserved in the Former Residence of Fang Jiamo.²¹⁹ Due to the rarity of well-preserved Ming period buildings, they are a significant characteristic of this municipal-level site.

Another example is the municipal-level Republican building listed as Heming Hall, which borders on Pingjiang Road and is significant for its grey brick walls. As mentioned above, the building is said to be part of one of the private mansions of Huang Jinrong built in the 1930s.²²⁰ The bricks used for this building were imported with a great number of marked bricks still visible on its outer walls (see fig. 3-16 and 3-17).



Figure 3-16. Heming Hall Kang Mansion.

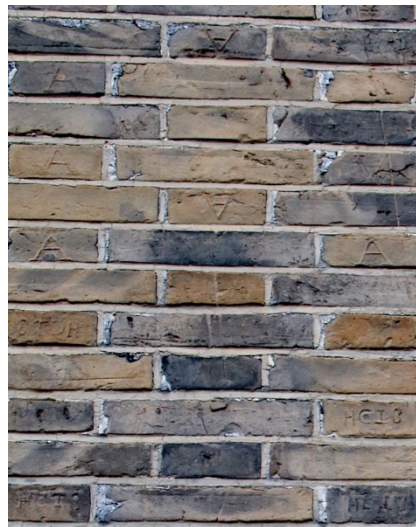


Figure 3-17. Marked Bricks of Heming Hall Kang Mansion.

Source: author's photos, 2018.

219 Suzhou Administration of Cultural Heritage 苏州市文物局 (ed., 2012): *Suiyue jiyi — mingcheng guibao: Suzhou Shi di san ci quanguo wenwu pucha xin faxian xuanbian* 岁月记忆·名城瑰宝: 苏州市第三次全国文物普查新发现选编, p. 47.

220 Information plaque on the building.

These signs are masons' marks which occur on European buildings of different historical periods. Masons' marks were either used to assemble sectional masonry without written instruction (assembly marks) or to identify the work of an individual mason and inform the paymaster of his output (banker marks).²²¹ These masons' marks therefore provide the mansion with scientific value and can inform on the origin of the bricks and their builders.

Cultural Value

Officially listed entities in the Pingjiang Historic Block have cultural value which derives from elements such as a garden, inscription tablets, carvings, ornamentation as well as building names. Classical gardens are rich in cultural connotations as argued in the justification of the World Heritage nomination document.²²² In terms of tangible heritage, the gardens gain cultural value from their basic elements as defined by Liu Dunzhen. Primarily, the **water ponds and rockeries** in both gardens carry deeper symbolic meanings. As complementary elements in *yin* and *yang* cosmological thinking, water and hills represent the totality of nature with hills symbolizing *yang* (upright, solid) and water standing for *yin* (plane, flexible).²²³ The implied meaning of water ponds and rockeries in the garden therefore relates to the Taoist ideal of withdrawing from society with all its pressures and demands to reside in the mountains.²²⁴ In imperial times, scholars and officials often returned to their hometown to follow this ideal due to different reasons, such as refusal to assume an official post, illness, resignation or retirement.

Originally, mountains symbolized by rockeries and monoliths in the garden had a spiritual and metaphysical meaning as living spaces of immortals.²²⁵ In the Tang dynasty, this spiritual devotion to rocks was supplemented by an additional aesthetic dimension and they became much sought-after collectibles.²²⁶ The view of a rockery or monolith in the garden conveyed a feeling of transcending city space and entering nature.²²⁷

221 Alexander, Jennifer S. (2007): "The Introduction and Use of Masons' Marks in Romanesque Buildings in England", pp. 63–81.

222 Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China; State Bureau of Cultural Relics of the People's Republic of China (1996): *The Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, p. 114.

223 Keswick, Maggie (1989): *Chinesische Gärten: Geschichte, Kunst und Architektur*, p. 165.

224 Liu, Dunzhen 刘敦楨 (1979): *Suzhou gudian yuanlin* 苏州古典园林, p. 5.

225 Keswick, Maggie (1989): *Chinesische Gärten: Geschichte, Kunst und Architektur*, p. 155.

226 Ibid.

227 Morris, Edwin T. (1983): *The Gardens of China: History, Art and Meanings*, p. 85.

Moreover, as stated in the World Heritage nomination document, the choice and arrangement of plants and rockeries in Suzhou classical gardens connote “the refined taste and the spiritual pursuit of the garden owners”.²²⁸ Thereby, **trees and flowers** symbolize different virtues and character traits, e.g. bamboo symbolizes a noble character and high integrity, while peony is standing for an imposing and dignified person.²²⁹ In addition, the selection of plants can be related to philosophical principles such as *yin* and *yang*. This is exemplified by a winding corridor in the eastern garden of the Couple’s Garden Retreat. Here, a kind of bamboo related to the principle of *yang* is planted on the eastern side of the corridor, while a sort of osmanthus tree corresponding to *yin* has been set on its western side.²³⁰ Consequently, flowers and trees in the Couple’s Garden Retreat have scientific as well as cultural value and increase the significance of the garden.

In the case of Huiyin Garden, only the rockery Xiao Linwu Dong has been preserved. However, the *Pingjiang Gazetteer* records that the garden originally featured ginkgo, Chinese hackberry and wisteria.²³¹ One can further speculate about flowers and plants of the former garden on the basis of the above-mentioned scenic names defined for its eight-view set of landscape scenes. These scenic names comprise willow (*liuyin xi fang* 柳荫系舫), pine tree (*songyin yan qin* 松荫眠琴), lotus (*he’an guan yu* 荷岸观鱼), wisteria (*tengya zhu yue* 藤崖伫月) and palm tree (*zongting ji xue* 棕亭霁雪). Similar to the plants in the Couple’s Garden Retreat, they can carry cultural connotations. The lotus, for example, is appreciated for its ability to grow out of the mud of a pond without becoming tainted with mud itself and therefore connotes a noble character.²³²

The above-mentioned landscape painting techniques, which have been applied to garden design, derive from “freehand brushwork” (*xieyi hua* 写意画) in contrast to “hard-work brush” painting (*gongbi hua* 工笔画). While the “hard-work brush” tradition was practiced by court painters and focuses on meticulous detail, “free-hand brushwork” is related to scholar-painters and can be understood as “writing out one’s ideas”.²³³ Similar to a poem or essay, a “freehand brushwork” painting expresses the emotions of the painter and sets a personal statement.²³⁴

228 Ministry of Construction of the People’s Republic of China; State Bureau of Cultural Relics of the People’s Republic of China (1996): *The Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, p. 115.

229 Ibid., p. 103.

230 Cao, Lindi 曹林娣 (July 24, 2014): “Ninggu de zhihui, aiqing de yuezhang – Ouyuan xieying” 凝固的智慧, 爱情的乐章——耦园撷英, p. 13.

231 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 200.

232 Liu, Dunzhen 刘敦楨 (1979): *Suzhou gudian yuanlin* 苏州古典园林, p. 5.

233 Morris, Edwin T. (1983): *The Gardens of China: History, Art and Meanings*, p. 55.

234 Ibid.

Corresponding to this painting tradition, scholar-painters incorporated “poetic sentiments and artistic conceptions”²³⁵ (*shiqing huayi* 诗情画意) in their garden design. The practice to draw on allusive landscapes and poetry originates from the Tang dynasty when many artists and poets retired from official posts to live in retreat.²³⁶ In order to express the ideals and aspirations of the garden owner, literary connotations were integrated into private gardens by means of **inscriptions**. They usually appear as names on horizontal wooden tablets (*bian’e* 匾额), in horizontal brick carvings (*zhuan’e* 砖额) or stone carvings (*shike* 石刻), as parallel couplets (*duilian* 对联) in vertical format or as poems inscribed on stelae.

The tradition of naming **gardens** as well as their architectural and scenic elements can be traced back to the Qin and Han dynasties.²³⁷ Two important functions of the garden name were to express the garden’s character as well as sentiments and ideals of his owner.²³⁸ One example is the historic name of the Couple’s Garden Retreat, “She Garden” 涉园. This name carries a literary connotation as it was inspired by a verse of the famous Chinese poet Tao Yuanming 陶渊明 (365 ?–427) and reflects the ideal of retiring from official duties and leading a life in retreat.²³⁹

The current name of the site under which it was listed (Ouyuan 耦园) has an equally profound meaning. The character *ou* 耦 is standing for two *si* 耜 (“spade-shaped farming tool”)²⁴⁰ and literally means “to plough side by side”. It originates from a passage of the *Analects of Confucius* (Lunyu 论语). In this passage, Confucius and his disciple pass by two recluses, who are ploughing in their field,

235 Wang, Joseph C. (2005): “House and Garden: Sanctuary for the Body and the Mind”, p. 89.

236 Johnston, Stewart R. (1991): *Scholar gardens of China: a study and analysis of the spatial design of the Chinese private garden*, p. 2.

237 Wang, Joseph C. (2005): “House and Garden: Sanctuary for the Body and the Mind”, p. 93.

238 Ibid.

239 The verse originates from Tao Yuanming’s poem “The Return” (Gui qu lai xi ci 归去来兮辞) and reads: “Every day I stroll in the garden for pleasure” (*yuan ri she yi cheng qu* 园日涉以成趣, transl. after James Robert Hightower). The poem is a piece of fields and garden poetry, describing the ending of one’s official career and the return to one’s fields and garden, respectively. It was written by Tao Yuanming shortly after he resigned from his government post to go back to his native place and live in seclusion. The poem reflects the author’s inner sentiments and informs about his ideals. See: Pike, David L. (ed., 2004): *The medieval era*. In: Damrosch, David (ed.): *The Longman Anthology of World Literature*, pp. 136–137.

240 The meaning of *ougeng* 耦耕 (“paired tillage”) remains unclear. Some scholars interpret it as a practice of two men digging in parallel with two spades while others translate it as tillage implement with two spades. See: Jun, Wenren: *Ancient Chinese Encyclopedia of Technology: Translation and Annotation of the Kaogong ji (the Artificer’s Record)*, chap. 21, footnote 27.

which reads: “Chang Ju, Jie Ni ou er geng” 长沮，桀溺耦而耕 (Chang Ju and Jie Ni were at work in the field together²⁴¹). Successively, the term became a symbol among men of letters to retreat in order to work their fields and gardens.²⁴²

In the name of the mansion, the practice therefore reflects an aspiration of the owner Shen Bingcheng and his wife to withdraw from society and live in seclusion. Both had written poems referring to the ideal of *xieyin* 偕隐 (“to live together in seclusion”) before the construction of the mansion. The title of Shen Bingcheng’s poem further includes the explicit term *ougeng*.²⁴³

As mentioned above, names were not only chosen for the garden itself but also the architectural and scenic elements inside the garden, corresponding to the vistas composed by the garden designer. The purpose of these names was to enhance the aesthetic effect of a scene²⁴⁴, and, in the case of literary connotations, “the refined literary ambiance of the garden”²⁴⁵. Therefore, names were chosen in relation to the setting of the respective architectural and scenic elements, drawing on scholarly images which connoted a certain characteristic or ideal.²⁴⁶

For example, inscriptions carrying tree and flower names connote the same virtues and character traits as associated with the physical plants such as a noble character and high integrity symbolized by bamboo and peony standing for an imposing and dignified person.²⁴⁷ In the Classical Gardens, they appear as “Bamboo Pavilion” in the Humble Administrator’s Garden (Zhuzheng yuan 拙政园) and “Peony Study” in the Master-of-Nets Garden (Wangshi yuan 网师园).²⁴⁸ According to Wang, literary inscriptions are integral parts of gardens which complement

241 Translated after James Legge. The transcription of names has been changed into Pinyin.

See: Legge, James (1960): *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean*, p. 333.

242 Cao, Lindi 曹林娣 (July 24, 2014): “Ninggu de zhihui, aiqing de yuezhang – Ouyuan xieying” 凝固的智慧，爱情的乐章——耦园撷英, p. 13.

243 “Ouyuan” 耦园 [The Couple’s Garden Retreat], (May 11, 2017), Suzhou Municipal Garden and Landscape Administration Bureau, Online. For an explanation of the term *ougeng*, see footnote 240.

244 Morris, Edwin T. (1983): *The Gardens of China: History, Art and Meanings*, p. 78.

245 Ministry of Construction of the People’s Republic of China; State Bureau of Cultural Relics of the People’s Republic of China (1999): *The Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, p. 12.

246 Ibid.

247 Ministry of Construction of the People’s Republic of China; State Bureau of Cultural Relics of the People’s Republic of China (1996): *The Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, p. 103.

248 Ibid.

its scenes to guide the visitor and provide a greater appreciation of the landscape.²⁴⁹ They further increase the interrelatedness of architectural and scenic elements with their setting and therefore are an important attribute for their integrity.

Moreover, poetry was employed to add meaning to the scenes.²⁵⁰ In literary gatherings, the naming of scenic elements was practiced by scholars as demonstrations of their literary and calligraphic skills.²⁵¹ This is reflected in the artistic character of inscriptions in private gardens, which are written in calligraphic form. The inscription tablets therefore enhance the authenticity of the elements twofold. Primarily, they bestow authenticity as tangible carriers of these intangible names which have cultural value. Secondly, the name giver enhances the authenticity of elements by inscribing the name in his own handwriting, which associates the element with the inscriber and thereby further increases its significance.

The Couple's Garden Retreat features a great number of horizontal wooden tablets, horizontal brick carvings and parallel couplets. Their inscriptions are related to works of poetry but also the setting and carry a great variety of cultural connotations. One example for an inscription deriving from poetry is "My Love"-Pavilion (Wu'ai ting 吾爱亭). This name derives from the first poem of the collection *Du Shanhai jing* 读山海经 (On Reading the "Seas and Mountains Classic") by Tao Yuanming.²⁵² The verse reads: "The birds rejoice to have a refuge there, and I too love my home" (众鸟欣所托, 吾亦爱吾庐)²⁵³. The name, again, expresses the in Tao Yuanming's poems often thematized ideal to lead a life in retreat and close to nature.

Another pavilion, the "Contemplating the Moon"-Pavilion, was named after its location next to the "Reception of the Moon"-Pond. The reflection of the moon in the water of the pond can be well contemplated from inside this pavilion.²⁵⁴ Thereby, the moon is the intermediate element connecting the pavilion to the pond. In contrast, the name of the "Sun and Moonlight Tower" (Shuang zhao lou 双照楼) derives from a work related to Buddhist worship (*Chanhui lifo wen* 忏悔礼佛文) by Wang Sengru 王僧孺 (ca. 463-ca. 521), a writer of the Liang period in the Southern

249 Wang, Joseph C. (2005): "House and Garden: Sanctuary for the Body and the Mind", pp. 92, 94.

250 Ibid.

251 Ibid., p. 94.

252 Suzhou Municipal Garden and Landscape Administration Bureau 苏州市园林和绿化管理局 (ed., 2013): *Ouyuan zhi* 耦园志, p. 75.

253 Translation after James Robert Hightower. See: Pike, David L. (ed., 2004): *The medieval era*. In: Damrosch, David (ed.): *The Longman Anthology of World Literature*, p. 139.

254 Suzhou Municipal Garden and Landscape Administration Bureau 苏州市园林和绿化管理局 (ed., 2013): *Ouyuan zhi* 耦园志, p. 74.

dynasties (420–581).²⁵⁵ In relation to the characteristics of the “tower” which has windows on three sides and is illuminated by both sun and moonlight, the expression “elucidate both truth and falsity” (*zhen jia shuang zhao* 真假双照) from the above-mentioned work was chosen as its name. Moreover, the character *shuang* 双 (“couple”) symbolizes the garden owner and his wife and connotes their aspiration for enlightenment.²⁵⁶

The inscriptions of scene names and parallel couplets which have been preserved in the Couple’s Garden Retreat and of which their origin is known were done by famous calligraphers. Of the whole range of wooden name tablets, four are original pieces. The oldest tablet of a cottage named “Amongst the Mountains and Waters” (*Shanshui jian* 山水间) dates from the Kangxi era and was inscribed by famous calligrapher Shen Quan 沈荃 (1624–1684).²⁵⁷ Another structure with the name “Thatched Cottage at the City Corner” (*Chengqu caotang* 城曲草堂) features an inscription written by Liang Tongshu 梁同书 (1723–1815), one of the Four Great Qing Calligraphers (*Qing sijia* 清四家).²⁵⁸ The inscription tablet of the Old House with Woven Curtains was done by He Shaoji 何绍基 (1799–1873), a successful candidate in the highest imperial examinations (*jinshi* 进士), poet, painter and calligrapher.²⁵⁹

The fourth inscription tablet of the Sun and Moonlight Tower has not been signed and its origin is therefore unknown. As the first two inscriptions have been written before the construction of the Couple’s Garden Retreat, it can be assumed that they were collected by the owner, similar to works of calligraphy written on paper. Similarly, the parallel couplets hung up on the pillars of the different built structures are works of well-known calligraphers. In addition to the name tablet by Liang Tongshu, there are couplets written by the other three “Qing Masters”, Wang Wenzhi 王文治 (1730–1802), Liu Yong 刘墉 (1719–1804) and Weng Fanggang 翁方纲 (1733–1818).²⁶⁰ The Couple’s Garden Retreat further features a stele with an inscription and painting by Wang Wenzhi. After the couple had acquired his poem and painting, they had it carved in stone and each added their own inscriptions and seal underneath.²⁶¹

255 Suzhou Municipal Garden and Landscape Administration Bureau 苏州市园林和绿化管理局 (ed., 2013): *Ouyuan zhi* 耦园志, p. 22.

256 Ibid.

257 Ibid., p. 72.

258 Ibid., p. 76.

259 Ibid., p. 71.

260 Ibid., pp. 82–87.

261 Ibid., pp. 90–91.

Private gardens may further have scientific and cultural value related to their layout as shall equally be illustrated by example of the Couple's Garden Retreat. The overall layout of this mansion is related to cultural concepts and, again, reflects the aspirations of its owner. The site of the Couple's Garden Retreat has an almost rectangular form, covering a total area of 7917 m² with 4496 m² of constructed area.²⁶² It is located at the eastern end of the Pingjiang Historic Block and is surrounded by canals on three sides. Only the western side of the mansion borders on a roadway. In the *Craft of Gardens*, Ji Cheng writes that if a garden is to be constructed within the city, it "must be in a place as secluded and out of the way as possible".²⁶³ Set up in a remote corner of the block with limited accessibility, this location symbolizes the intention of its owner who retired from his official post to live in seclusion.

Moreover, the notion of "couple" is reflected in numerous aspects of the residence. As the character *ou* 耦 in the garden name is a homonym of the character *ou* 偶, it can carry the meaning of a "pair" or a "couple". This meaning has also been manifested in the arrangement of architectural and scenic elements in the mansion. Firstly, it is designed as a mansion with two gardens, an eastern and a western garden. The smaller western garden is related to the philosophical concept of *yin* 阴 and its corresponding implications, such as feminine, dark or autumn.²⁶⁴ The eastern garden is twice the size of its western counterpart and symbolizes the characteristics of the concept of *yang* 阳, such as male, light or spring.²⁶⁵ Combined in one residence, the two gardens to the left and right form a complementary "couple" and transform the residence into a microcosm.

Secondly, the landscape architecture and environmental elements in the garden are arranged in correspondence to one another. While there is a yellow stone rockery in the center of the eastern garden, the western garden features a limestone rockery. Another example is the "Reception of the Moon"-Pond in the eastern garden which corresponds to a well in the western garden.²⁶⁶ Moreover, the mansion is accessible via two docks in the north and south, which further reflects the traditionally close relationship of Suzhou mansions with bordering water canals.²⁶⁷ Similar "couples" can be found in different forms of location and arrangement throughout the mansion and gardens, be it "high" and "low", "light" and "dark", the cardinal directions such as "east and west" or "north and south".²⁶⁸

262 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 138.

263 Ji, Cheng (1988): *The Craft of Gardens*, p. 46.

264 Cao, Lindi 曹林娣 (July 24, 2014): "Ninggu de zhihui, aiqing de yuezhang – Ouyuan xieying" 凝固的智慧, 爱情的乐章——耦园撷英, p. 13.

265 Ibid.

266 Ibid.

267 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 123.

268 Ibid., p. 124.

The gardens gain additional literary significance through garden records (*yuanji* 园记). In the case of the Couple’s Garden Retreat, a description of the landscape and architecture of former She Garden, which corresponds to the eastern garden of the present site, has been handed down in the “Records of She Garden” (*Sheyuan ji* 涉园记) by Cheng Yizeng 程亦增.²⁶⁹ Han Shisheng 韩是升 (1735–1816), father of Qing dynasty writer Han Chong 韩崇 (1783–1860), further wrote a record on the former site of Huiyin Garden which he named after its most elaborate scene “Records of Xiao Linwu” (*Xiao linwu ji* 小林屋记).²⁷⁰

Similar to private gardens, inscription tablets are an important element of **traditional mansions** in the Pingjiang Historic Block. Significant halls and built structures were bestowed with these horizontally inscribed wooden boards which were then hung up under the ceiling inside a building. Inscription tablets are material carriers of hall or building names. As the names on inscription tablets are written in calligraphy, they usually also show the year of inscription, the name of the calligrapher and his seal. One example for such an inscription from the Couple’s Garden Retreat is shown in figure 3-18. It reads the “Twin Mountain Retreat” (*Xieyin shuangshan* 偕隐双山) and again alludes to the notions of “couple” and “leading a life together in seclusion”.



Figure 3-18. Tablet in Sedan-Chair Hall of the Couple’s Garden Retreat.

Source: author’s photo, 2018.

269 Suzhou Municipal Garden and Landscape Administration Bureau 苏州市园林和绿化管理局 (ed., 2013): *Ouyuan zhi* 耦园志, p. 107.

270 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 200.

While hall names of smaller residences are often related to general moral principles or wishes and aspirations of their owners, the main halls of the highest listed mansions carry connotations to literary texts and Chinese classics. The horizontal tablet of the main hall in the residential part of the Couple's Garden Retreat reads "Carrying Wine"-Hall 载酒堂. The name of this hall was selected in relation to a piece of fields and garden poetry by Dai Fugu 戴复古 (1167–after 1248) from the Southern Song dynasty which refers to the unique layout of the mansion with an eastern and a western garden.²⁷¹

Another example is the name of the main hall in Weidao Guan Qian Pan Mansion. Its name "Ligeng Hall" (礼耕堂, "Hall of Etiquette and Ploughing") is an abbreviation of the Pan family motto: "poem and etiquette shall be succeeded by generations, ploughing and reading shall be inherited" (*shi li jishi, geng du chuanjia* 诗礼继世, 耕读传家).²⁷² Hereby, the character *li* 礼 ("ritual, etiquette") originates from an extract of the *Analects of Confucius*.²⁷³ This extract reads: "Fu er wu jiao, moruo fu er hao li" 富而无骄, 莫若富而好礼 ("the rich man who is not proud is not equal to him, who loves the rules of propriety")²⁷⁴ and highlights the significance of decency. The horizontal board with the hall name was inscribed by the contemporaneous and well-known calligrapher Liang Tongshu 梁同书 and has been preserved to the present day.²⁷⁵

Then, the cultural value of officially listed entities equally resides in **carvings and ornamentation**. Regarding brick carvings on storied gateways, the horizontally inscribed characters and surrounding ornamentation are depictions of cultural content and often have a focus on moral education.²⁷⁶ In its period of prosperity when the city underwent great social and economic development, decorative patterns

271 Cao, Lindi 曹林娣 (July 24, 2014): "Ninggu de zhihui, aiqing de yuezhang – Ouyuan xieying" 凝固的智慧, 爱情的乐章——耦园撷英, p. 13.

272 Xu, Jinliang 徐进亮; Ni, Jun 倪峻; Yu Guoxiang 俞国祥; Lu, Jianping 陆建平; Wu Bingsheng 吴炳生 (2011): *Ligeng Tang: Pingjiang Lishi Jiequ Pan zhai* 礼耕堂: 平江历史街区潘宅 [Pingjiang Historic Block Pan Mansion], pp. 39–42; cited in: Xie, Jing; Heath, Tim (2018): *Heritage-led Urban Regeneration in China*, p. 95.

273 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 131.

274 The entire passage derives from the First Book of the *Analects*: Zi Gong yue: "Pin er wu chan, fu er wu jiao, ruhe?" Zi yue: "Ke ye. Wei ruo pin er le, fu er hao li zhe ye" 子贡曰: "贫而无谄, 富而无骄, 如何?" 子曰: "可也。未若贫而乐, 富而好礼者也。" [Zi Gong said, "What do you pronounce concerning the poor man who yet does not flatter, and the rich man who is not proud?" The Master replied, "They will do; but they are not equal to him, who, though poor, is yet cheerful, and to him, who, though rich, loves the rules of propriety."] Translated after: Legge, James (1960): *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean*, p. 144.

275 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 131.

276 Zhang, Xu 张旭; Zhou, Yue 周越 (2012): "Suzhou minju menlou zhuandiao zhuangshi yishu wenhua tanxi" 苏州民居门楼砖雕装饰艺术文化探析, p. 108.

related to figures well-known for meritorious or exemplary deeds such as Number One Scholars were prevalent.²⁷⁷

One example for a popular motif of brick carvings in the Pingjiang Historic Block is “a carp leaping over the dragon’s gate” (*liyu tiao longmen* 鲤鱼跳龙门). Engraved on an archway in Donghua Qiao Lane Wang Mansion, this carving connotes success in the imperial civil service examinations.²⁷⁸ The carp as most outstanding of all fish symbolizes the Number One Scholar and the dragon’s gate is standing for the imperial palace where the highest civil service examinations were held. In a broader sense, it expresses the wish of the mansion owner that his male offspring would gain fame and fortune in their lives.²⁷⁹ Given the fact that the owner was a wealthy merchant, it may further express the wish that his descendants would pursue a scholarly career, one of the socially most respected career paths at the time.

Another example is the first engraved archway in front of the sedan-chair hall of Weidao Guan Qian Pan Mansion. Its inscription contains the two characters *ju de* 居德 (“to bear a sense of virtue”), which express the owner’s wish for the accumulation of “virtuous deeds”.²⁸⁰ The phrase appears in a commentary on the classical Chinese “Book of Changes” (*Zhou yi* 周易), the “Treatise on the Symbolism of the Hexagrams” (*Xiang zhuan* 象传), which has been ascribed to Confucius, and explains hexagram 43 (☱ *guai* 夬). The respective passage reads: “(The trigram representing) heaven and that for the waters of a marsh mounting above it form *guai*. The superior man, in accordance with this, bestows emolument on those below him, and dislikes allowing his gifts to accumulate (undispensed)”.²⁸¹ It further shows ornamentation with a deeper meaning. On the rim of the stone tablet are depicted bats and lotus leaves. While the Chinese characters for bat (*bianfu* 蝙蝠) are homophone to the characters *bian fu* 遍福 (“good fortune everywhere”), the lotus leaf symbolizes an aspiration for “husband and wife living together in harmony” (*fuqi hemu* 夫妻和睦) and a “prospering household” (*jiating xingwang* 家庭兴旺).²⁸²

277 Zhang, Xu 张旭; Zhou, Yue 周越 (2012): “Suzhou minju menlou zhuandiao zhuangshi yishu wenhua tanxi” 苏州民居门楼砖雕装饰艺术文化探析, p. 108.

278 Suzhou Municipal Housing Management Bureau 苏州市房产管理局 (ed., 2004): *Suzhou gu minju* 苏州古民居, p. 33.

279 Ibid.

280 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 132.

281 “Ze shang yu tian, guai; junzi yi shi lu ji xia, ju de ze ji” 澤上于天，夬；君子以施祿及下，居德則忌。Translated after: Legge, James (1882): *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism. Part II: The Yi King*, p. 320.

282 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 132.

The engraved archway in the fourth *jin* is also characterized by its floral depictions. Flowers and plants from all four seasons are engraved above and below the door lintel as well as to both sides, forming sets which usually appear in Chinese painting, such as the “Four Noble Ones” (*mei* 梅 “plum”, *lan* 兰 “orchid”, *zhu* 竹 “bamboo”, *ju* 菊 “chrysanthemum”). In addition to their decorative function, these depictions relate to the noble character of the mansion’s owner and his ambitions.²⁸³ On both sides of the archway are engravings of toads (*chan chu* 蟾蜍), which carry a traditional meaning of auspicious mascots. They are meant to “ward off evil spirits” and to protect the family.²⁸⁴

In addition to ornamental patterns and pictorial elements, decoration can occur in the form of single characters. The central entrance gate of the Anhui Guild Hall and the two gates to its left and right feature such ornamental characters. From east to west, the three characters *fu* 福, *lu* 禄 and *shou* 寿 are embossed onto their doors (see fig. 3-19 and 3-20). Furthermore, there are brick carvings above the door lintels.²⁸⁵



Figure 3-19. Fu-Character Ornamentation.



Figure 3-20. Shou-Character Ornamentation.

Source: author’s photos, 2018.

283 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 135.

284 Ibid.

285 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 232.

The Quan-Jin Guild Hall is equally significant for its typical Qing dynasty ornamentation in the form of wooden and brick carvings. These either refer to the building's function as theater, showing reliefs of drama lines on the wooden beams and enclosing walls or other popular ornamentation patterns.²⁸⁶ A central decorated structure of the site is the stage of the opera building. Its overhanging elements at the front of the stage are carved in the shape of floral baskets and the caisson ceiling is richly ornamented with wooden carvings and colored decorative patterns revolving around its center.²⁸⁷

Moreover, a particular form of record exists for the Former Residence of Pan Shi'en. In this case, evidence of the historical mansion has been preserved in a painting. When the family moved from their former residence in Daru Lane to Niuja Lane in 1809, a first painting named "Painting of Lindun New Mansion"²⁸⁸ (*Lindun xinju tu* 临顿新居图) was created.²⁸⁹ The *District Gazetteer* states that it was ordered by Pan Shi'en's elder brother, Pan Zengyi 潘曾沂.²⁹⁰

While nothing is known about the whereabouts of this first and a second painting, a third painting named "Third Painting of Lindun New Mansion" (*Lindun xinju di san tu* 临顿新居第三图) by painter Zhang Yin 张崑 (1761–1829) has been preserved and is now part of the Suzhou Museum collection.²⁹¹ In addition, a description of the mansion with its garden as shown in the paintings has then been composed by Qing dynasty poet and book collector Shi Yunyu 石韞玉 (1756–1837) under the name "Record of the Painting of Lindun New Mansion" (*Lindun xinju tu ji* 临顿新居图记).²⁹²

On one hand, the example of this Former Residence of Pan Shi'en illustrates how tangible heritage in the form of buildings and a garden can possess additional cultural value by becoming the theme of an artwork. On the other hand, it shows that thereby the significance of more splendid mansions with influential owners such as officials or local magnates increases, because they have been considered

286 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 232.

287 Ibid.

288 The mansion is located at the crossroads of Niuja Lane with present-day Lindun Road 临顿路.

289 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 240.

290 Ibid.

291 "Suzhou Bowuguan guancang wenwu xilie congshu" bianji weiyuanhui 《苏州博物馆馆藏文物系列丛书》编辑委员会 (ed., 2006): *Suzhou Bowuguan cang Ming Qing shuhua* 苏州博物馆藏明清书画 [Calligraphy and Paintings from the Ming and Qing Dynasties Collected by Suzhou Museum], pp. 178–179.

292 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 240.

significant enough to be recorded or their owners had the resources to document their mansions themselves, as in the above-mentioned case.

3.2 Conservation and Management

Suzhou owes the maintenance of its basic 2500-year-old layout of the historic city to its early beginning of conservation work. In particular, the Pingjiang Historic Block's traditional spatial structure and great amount of local-style built heritage was maintained through its early inclusion in Suzhou's development plans. While Suzhou Government had started treatment of individual sites in the block since the 1980s (first treatment of the Couple's Garden Retreat's eastern garden already in 1960), a comprehensive conservation project targeting the block's central road was only initiated in 2002. This chapter focuses on conservation initiatives from this early period of the 1980s to the present as well as the usage of treated and protected built structures.

3.2.1 Local Conservation System

Suzhou has abundant scenic, cultural and historic resources, which are concentrated in the historic city and further spread across the greater municipal area. By 2013, there were officially listed eight World Heritage Sites, 24 officially protected entities on a national level, 25 provincial-level entities, 100 municipal-level entities, 235 controlled and protected entities, and 1179 registered cultural relic spots (*wenwu denglu dian* 文物登录点) located in the historic city.²⁹³

Although Suzhou was one of the earliest Chinese cities to turn to conservation as part of its development strategy, two different positions emerged in the 1970s with regard to the scope of its conservation. While one approach focused on the conservation of "spots", single scenic and historic sites, whereby the remaining urban fabric should be opened up for development, the second approach aimed at the conservation of the historic city as an entity.²⁹⁴ The final policy decision on

293 Suzhou Academy of Planning and Design Co., Ltd. 苏州规划设计研究院股份有限公司 (drafted 2013): *Suzhou lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua (2013–2030)* 苏州历史文化名城保护规划 (2013–2030) [Conservation Plan for Suzhou Historically and Culturally Famous City (2013–2030)], Online.

294 Ruan, Yisan (1993): "The conservation of Chinese historic cities", p. 853.

which approach to pursue was made by the State Council. In 1981, Suzhou was designated as “Scenic Tourist City” (*fengjing liuyou cheng* 风景旅游城)²⁹⁵ and one of four national cities with a priority on environmental protection.²⁹⁶

Therewith, the city’s path of development was directed towards the second approach in accordance with the concept of HCF Cities and a stratified conservation of not only “spots” but the overall city layout. Accordingly, one year later, Suzhou was included in the first batch of National HCF Cities. A comprehensive **development plan** was drafted for Suzhou, which was approved by the State Council in 1986 and, apart from the protection of the historic city, provided for the establishment of new urban areas.²⁹⁷

Following the planning scheme, two new urban areas have been constructed to both sides of the historic city. Suzhou New Area Industrial Zone 苏州高新区 to the west was set up in 1990.²⁹⁸ Four years later, Suzhou Industrial Park 苏州工业园区 was developed as joint venture with Singapore Government to the east of the historic city.²⁹⁹ The State Council’s policy to protect the environment in residential and scenic tourist areas as well as such areas where water sources are preserved, determined that pollution caused by factories must be controlled or the factories closed down.³⁰⁰ In order to conserve the overall structure and historic townscape of Suzhou as historic and scenic city, factories were moved and residents relocated from the city center to these new urban areas.³⁰¹

Suzhou’s city planning for the years 1996–2010 covers three spatial tiers, the municipal area, the central city and the historic city. Three years after historic and cultural protected areas had primarily been included in the Master Plan of Beijing, Suzhou followed by designating three areas. The scope of protection in relation to its function as National HCF City is defined as “one city, two routes and three

295 Huang, Mingjie 黄铭杰 (1990): “Qiantan Suzhou gucheng de baohu yu gaizao” 浅谈苏州古城的保护与改造 [A brief discussion on the protection and transformation of Suzhou Historic City], p. 26.

296 The other three cities were Beijing and the “historical and scenic cities” Hangzhou and Guilin. See: Folsom, Ralph H.; Minan, John H. (ed., 1989): *Law in the People’s Republic of China: Commentary, Readings and Materials*, p. 499.

297 Huang, Mingjie 黄铭杰 (1990): “Qiantan Suzhou gucheng de baohu yu gaizao” 浅谈苏州古城的保护与改造, p. 26.

298 Carroll, Peter J. (2006): *Between Heaven and Modernity: Reconstructing Suzhou, 1895–1937*, p. 245.

299 Ibid.

300 Folsom, Ralph H.; Minan, John H. (ed., 1989): *Law in the People’s Republic of China: Commentary, Readings and Materials*, p. 499.

301 Ruan, Yisan (1993): “The conservation of Chinese historic cities”, p. 853.

areas” (*yi cheng, er xian, san pian* 一城、二线、三片).³⁰² Thereby, the “city” refers to the historic city inside the boundaries of the outer city moat. The two routes “Shantang Route” 山塘线 and “Shangtang Route” 上塘线 proceed from the north-western and western part of the historic city whereby Shantang Route leads to “Tiger Hill Mountain” 虎丘山 and Shangtang Route crosses “Lingering Garden” 留园, one of the Suzhou Classical Gardens, up to Hanshan Temple 寒山寺 (see fig. 3-21, ②).³⁰³

Accordingly, the three areas included in the general protection framework are Tiger Hill Area, Lingering Garden Area and Hanshan Temple Area. Suzhou’s city plan from 1996 shows that the municipality followed the approach to conserve the historic city as an entity and that protection was not limited to individual sites or single “spots” but expanded to routes and areas. In addition to the above-mentioned routes and areas forming the conservation framework around the historic city, the planning designated protected routes and areas within its boundaries. These comprise construction control zones along historic water canals and around officially protected entities³⁰⁴ as well as the Pingjiang Historic Block which has been marked as an area with a major focus on conservation.³⁰⁵

A further differentiation of protection categories in accordance with the conservation system of HCF Cities was realized in the following **master plan for the years 2013–2030**. While the three spatial tiers have been maintained, conservation targets and strategies defined for every tier are more precise. The first tier, the municipal area, covers the protection of Suzhou’s natural setting, which includes surrounding mountains and water systems, seven HCF Towns and 14 HCF Villages of different administrative levels, officially listed sites and environmental elements as well as intangible cultural heritage.³⁰⁶

The central city on the second tier further covers the conservation of the landscape directly surrounding the historic city, including intangible aspects such as its connectedness to several lakes or an unblocked view of Tiger Hill Mountain. Furthermore, structural elements including historic waterways such as the Grand

302 Suzhou Municipal People’s Government 苏州市人民政府 (ed., 1996): *Suzhou Shi chengshi zongti guihua (1996–2010)* 苏州市城市总体规划 (1996–2010) [Suzhou Comprehensive City Plan (1996–2010)], Online.

303 Ibid.

304 Ibid.

305 Xia, Xiaoming; Ma, Yan (2009): “Suzhou Pingjiang jiequ baohu zhong wenhua baohu de sikao” 苏州平江街区保护中文化保护的思考 [Reflections on cultural conservation regarding the conservation of Suzhou Pingjiang Block], p. 22.

306 Suzhou Academy of Planning and Design Co., Ltd. 苏州规划设计研究院股份有限公司 (drafted 2013): *Suzhou lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua (2013–2030)* 苏州历史文化名城保护规划 (2013–2030), Online.

Canal, historic streets and Mudu 木渎 National HCF Town are protected on this tier, as well as, again, officially listed sites and environmental elements.³⁰⁷

The third tier comprises the historic city with its overall spatial structure and historic townscape. The 1996 framework of “one city, two routes and three areas” has been differentiated to “two circular routes, three straight routes, nine areas and numerous spots” (*liang huan, san xian, jiu pian, duo dian* 二环、三线、九片、多点), now covering additional protection areas within the historic city, construction control zones and individual sites. The distribution of these heritage categories is illustrated in figure 3-21.

The two circular routes refer to one route along the city moat (blue) and another inner-city circular route along several roads (pink). The three straight routes comprise the Shantang Route and Shangtang Route to the northwest and west of the historic city (two routes of 1996 framework) as well as a central west-east route (yellow). Accordingly, the nine areas include the three areas located outside of the historic city (three areas of 1996 framework) and six inner-city areas, among them the Pingjiang Historic Block in the lower north-eastern part of the historic city. Finally, the single spots refer to preserved city gates, pagodas, classical gardens as well as contemporary architecture (orange).

Similar to the other two tiers, conservation further covers officially listed sites and environmental elements, which are located inside the historic city. Moreover, the plan includes traditional dwelling houses, which are part of the historic townscape, as conservation targets.³⁰⁸ Of the nine greater protected areas shown in fig. 3-21, five are listed historic and cultural blocks as defined in the HCF conservation system. In addition, there are a great number of “historic areas” (*lishi di-duan* 历史地段).³⁰⁹

A comparison of Suzhou’s subsequent comprehensive city plans shows a great increase of conservation targets over time as well as an expansion of content regarding the different tiers. The specification of the HCF City on a conceptual level is further reflected in the gradual differentiation of categories in Suzhou’s conservation process such as from protection areas to historic and cultural blocks. While the city plan from 1996 still proceeded from “one city”, the current master plan is based on the integration of its different components (spots, routes, areas).

307 Suzhou Academy of Planning and Design Co., Ltd. 苏州规划设计研究院股份有限公司 (drafted 2013): *Suzhou lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua (2013–2030)* 苏州历史文化名城保护规划 (2013–2030), Online.

308 Ibid.

309 Ibid.



Figure 3-21. Suzhou Conservation Planning (2013–2030).

Source: author's draft. Information from: Suzhou Academy of Planning and Design Co., Ltd. 苏州规划设计研究院股份有限公司 (drafted 2013): *Suzhou lishi wenhua mingcheng bao-hu gui-hua (2013–2030)* 苏州历史文化名城保护规划 (2013–2030), Online. Map data from © OpenStreetMap contributors, 2020, available from <https://www.openstreet-map.org/>, licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0.

Map Key

- ① Huqiu Area 虎丘片
- ② Hanshan Area 寒山片
- ③ Xiliu Area 西留片
- ④ Changtao Area 阊桃片
- ⑤ Zhuoyuan Area 拙园片

- ⑥ Yiguan Area 怡观片
- ⑦ Pingjiang Area 平江片
- ⑧ Tianci Area 天赐片
- ⑨ Panmen Area 盘门片

- protection area
- street
- waterway

The **Pingjiang Historic Block** was primarily defined as a protected area of the historic city in Suzhou's development plan from 1986.³¹⁰ With a basically unaltered spatial structure and great amount of formerly splendid mansions as well as traditional local-style dwelling houses, the area was then designated as historic and cultural block in Suzhou's current conservation plan (see above).³¹¹ As one of the earliest cities protected in the framework of National HCF Cities, Suzhou's local conservation system and strategies have to be continuously adapted to national guidelines and regulations. The local designation of building types therefore slightly differs from the general designations as employed in the nationwide Planning Regulations from 2005.

The built heritage in the Pingjiang Historic Block includes officially protected entities (*wenwu baohu danwei* 文物保护单位), controlled and protected buildings (*kongzhi baohu jianzhu* 控制保护建筑) as well as registered buildings found in the Third National Cultural Relics Survey (*wenwu pucha xin faxian wenwu dian* 文物普查新发现文物点). Furthermore, there are buildings which have not been registered but represent the historic townscape and show local characteristics.

In accordance with the national conservation system, **officially protected entities** are listed on three administrative levels: national, provincial and municipal level. These heritage sites have to be evaluated by conservation experts in designation rounds and subsequently promulgated as officially listed sites. Following the regulation of the "Four Prerequisites", the sites are then provided with an official plaque. As immovable cultural relics, they are further protected by the Cultural Relics Protection Law.

The Pingjiang Historic Block comprises officially listed sites of every administrative level in the conservation system. So far, there have been listed 18 officially protected entities in the block (see appendix A.3 and A.9). The Couple's Garden Retreat is one of three national-level and highest listed sites. Simultaneously, it is part of the Classical Gardens of Suzhou classified as World Heritage, which have been expanded from their original entry in 1997 and include the garden since 2000. The other site with a double status is the former guild hall of Shanxi 山西 merchants "Quan-Jin Guild Hall" 全晋会馆. It became a national-level protected entity in 2006 and was included as heritage site of the Grand Canal into the World

310 Gu, Xiumei 顾秀梅; Hu, Jinhua 胡金华 (2015): *Suzhou Pingjiang lishi wenhua jiequ guanli he fazhan yanjiu* 苏州平江历史文化街区管理和研究 [Research on Management and Development of Suzhou Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block], p. 14.

311 Suzhou Academy of Planning and Design Co., Ltd. 苏州规划设计研究院股份有限公司 (drafted 2013): *Suzhou lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua (2013-2030)* 苏州历史文化名城保护规划 (2013-2030), Online.

Heritage List in course of the 38th session of the World Heritage Committee, held in Doha, Qatar in June 2014.³¹²

At the time when the seventh batch of protected heritage sites was promulgated by Suzhou City in 2014, 13 sites located in the Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block were listed on a municipal level.³¹³ Four of these sites had formerly been tagged as controlled and protected buildings and upgraded to heritage sites in the same round (Zhong Zhangjia Lane Shen Mansion 中张家巷沈宅, Wang Family Songfen Yizhuang 汪氏诵芬义庄, Deng Family Ancestral Hall 邓氏祠堂 and Niujia Lane Fang Mansion 钮家巷方宅).³¹⁴

Controlled and protected buildings are also registered on a municipal level. This group refers to buildings which have passed a similar process of evaluation and verification by Suzhou Government, but have not (yet) been promulgated as officially protected entities. Therefore, they are primarily registered as controlled and protected buildings and equally tagged with an official plaque.³¹⁵ They correspond to “protected buildings”, the second type in the Planning Regulations (see chapter 2.4), and therefore have the legal status of immovable cultural relics.

While officially protected entities are a nationwide category, the controlled and protected buildings were introduced as early as 1983 into the heritage conservation system in Suzhou as a local concept.³¹⁶ At the time, these buildings were still promulgated under the authority of Suzhou Construction Committee 建设委员会 and the Cultural Relics Management Committee 文物管理委员会. Responsibility then shifted to Suzhou Government which promulgated a first batch of 200 controlled and protected buildings in 2003 and another 50 buildings in a second batch one year later.³¹⁷

With the coming rounds of assessment on municipal, provincial and national level, the controlled and protected buildings can be upgraded to officially protected entities on these different levels. Exemplarily, when the sixth batch of officially protected entities was assessed by Jiangsu Province in 2006, two controlled

312 “China Kunqu Opera Museum” (March 31, 2016), Bureau of Culture, Broadcast and Publication of Suzhou, Online.

313 Suzhou Municipal People’s Government 苏州市人民政府 (June 30, 2014): *Shi zheng-fu guanyu gongbu Suzhou Shi di qi pi wenwu baohu danwei he di si pi kongzhi baohu jianzhu de tongzhi* 市政府关于公布苏州市第七批文物保护单位和第四批控制保护建筑的通知 [Circular by the Municipal Government on the promulgation of Suzhou’s seventh batch of officially protected entities and fourth batch of controlled and protected buildings], Online.

314 Ibid.

315 PBCP (2004), p. 11.

316 Shen, Qingnian 沈庆年 (ed., 2012): *Gucheng yizhu: Suzhou kongbao jianzhu tanyou* 古城遗珠: 苏州控保建筑探幽, p. 212.

317 Ibid.

and protected buildings from Suzhou were upgraded to provincial-level listed sites. And another 11 buildings became officially protected entities when the City of Suzhou promulgated its sixth batch of municipal-level sites in 2009.³¹⁸ The controlled and protected buildings registered by Suzhou make up the largest group of officially registered sites and amounted to 40 buildings with the fourth promulgation in 2014.³¹⁹

Buildings found in the Third National Cultural Relics Survey have been registered by Suzhou Government and included in the block's conservation plan but have not been tagged with an official plaque. This category relates to historical buildings which constitute the historic townscape but are not covered by the Cultural Relics Protection Law. Consequently, these buildings are most vulnerable to demolition in the course of development projects or other interventions. In the current conservation planning by Suzhou Planning Bureau, 71 buildings have been marked³²⁰ as historical buildings which have been found in the Third National Cultural Relics Survey and are protected by the municipal government.

Since the beginning of the 1980s and its inclusion in the HCF City conservation system, Suzhou has considered the conservation of local cultural heritage in its development plans. These plans reflect the increasing specification of the HCF City concept and related heritage categories as well as its implementation on a local level. While earlier planning proceeded from the historic city as protected entity, comparable to an individual site, the current plan foresees a more diversified conservation while maintaining the overall structure and historic townscape of the historic city. The plan is further not limited to the historic city but aims at an integration of protection areas, routes and spots on all three spatial tiers.

318 Shen, Qingnian 沈庆年 (ed., 2012): *Gucheng yizhu: Suzhou kongbao jianzhu tanyou* 古城遗珠: 苏州控保建筑探幽, p. 212.

319 Suzhou Municipal People's Government 苏州市人民政府 (June 30, 2014): *Shi zheng-fu guanyu gongbu Suzhou Shi di qi pi wenwu baohu danwei he di si pi kongzhi baohu jianzhu de tongzhi* 市政府关于公布苏州市第七批文物保护单位和第四批控制保护建筑的通知, Online.

320 Suzhou Academy of Planning and Design Co., Ltd. 苏州规划设计研究院股份有限公司 (drafted 2014): "Baohu guihua tu er" 保护规划图二, in: *Suzhou Pingjiang lishi wenhua jiequ baohu guihua* 苏州平江历史文化街区保护规划, Online.

3.2.2 Conservation Plan

The current Conservation Plan for the Protection and Improvement of Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block (hereafter PBCP) was drafted by the National Famous Historical and Cultural Cities Research Center 国家历史文化名城研究中心 affiliated to Tongji University in Shanghai. The research center was established by the Ministry of Construction as a national research institution on heritage conservation in Chinese cities.³²¹ It is substantially involved in the development of the HCF City conservation system since 1980 and drafted conservation plans for more than half of the national-level HCF Cities and Towns/Villages and historic and cultural blocks in overall China.³²² In addition to Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning and Design Institute, the work of the center is supported by the Ruan Yisan Heritage Foundation.³²³

The conservation plan for the Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block is based on scientific research and proceeds from an investigation of the block's historical development as well as an examination of its current state.³²⁴ In addition to several national, provincial and municipal plans and regulations, the conservation plan names the World Heritage Convention and the China Principles as reference documents.³²⁵ It therefore exceeds the realms of national conservation regulations and additionally commits itself to the compliance with international standards. Moreover, the plan understands conservation as a long-term process and is based on the assumption that conservation and development are not in conflict with one another but mutually related and complementary.³²⁶ Therefore, it pursues a dual strategy of block **conservation** and **revitalization**. Conservation shall not be limited to individual and dispersed historic and cultural sites but focus on the entire historic landscape.³²⁷ This perspective reflects the paradigm shift from cultural relics protection to broader categories of cultural heritage similar to the concept of the Historic Urban Landscape (see chapter 2.1).

In terms of **conservation**, the plan primarily determines four conservation principles which correspond to internationally established principles and treatment

321 “Guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng yanjiu zhongxin” 国家历史文化名城研究中心 [National Famous Historical and Cultural Cities Research Center], (March 7, 2016), Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning & Design Institute Co., Ltd., Online.

322 Ibid.

323 Ibid.

324 Comm PBCP (2004), pp. 8–41.

325 PBCP (2004), p. 3; Comm PBCP (2004), p. 65.

326 PBCP (2004), p. 4.

327 Comm PBCP (2004), p. 52.

interventions: authenticity, integrity, readability (explanation below) and sustainability. In this context, **authenticity** (*yuanzhenxing* 原真性) is defined as:

保护体现街区历史文化价值的真实的历史原物，保护其所遗存的全部历史信息。³²⁸

“protection of historically original substance, which is genuine and reflects the historical and cultural values of the block, as well as the protection of all its remaining historical information”.

The first part of this definition is closely related to the Venice Charter and refers to authenticity in materials and substance. The second part determines the protection of all preserved historical information related to a property. This includes further attributes, such as authenticity in form and design or location and setting, which have first been introduced with the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994, see chapter 2.3) and later included into the UNESCO Operational Guidelines.

Integrity has been translated as “entirety” (*zhengtixing* 整体性) and is specified as:

保护历史街区整体格局和风貌，保护区内所有历史文化遗存及其所属的环境，保护全面的物质文化遗存和非物质文化遗产。³²⁹

“protection of the historic block’s overall structure and townscape, protection of all historical and cultural remains and their related environment inside the block, as well as protection of the entirety of tangible and intangible cultural remains”.

This definition of integrity reflects the three tiers of the HCF City concept with the spatial structure and townscape (historic and cultural block), all historical and cultural remains (e.g. officially protected entities, historical buildings, environmental elements) and the entirety of tangible and intangible cultural remains (HCF City). Moreover, the environment of these remains shall be protected, following the principle of the setting, which underlines the understanding of the block as an urban landscape.

The third principle, **readability** (*keduxing* 可读性), refers to the protection of cultural heritage from different historical periods which reflects the characteristic historical and cultural background of these periods. Finally, the **sustainability** principle (*kechixuxing* 可持续性) emphasizes that conservation is a long-term process, whereby an integrated development shall be realized which is beneficial for society, the environment, the economy and culture.³³⁰

328 PBCP (2004), p. 4.

329 Ibid.

330 Ibid., p. 5.

As discernible in the definition of the integrity principle, the conservation plan considers different tiers of cultural heritage as they can appear in an HCF City, including the historic and cultural block as well as officially protected entities. Concerning the tier of the **historic and cultural block**, conservation focuses on the spatial structure and historic townscape, as well as historical environmental elements (*lishi huanjing yaosu* 历史环境要素) and intangible cultural remains (*fei wuzhi wenhua yicun* 非物质文化遗产).

Thereby, historical environmental elements are defined as block components other than buildings which constitute the historic townscape, such as bridges, wells or docks,³³¹ complying to the category as it has later been included in the Drafting Requirements (2012). With regard to intangible cultural remains, the plan lists local culture and arts as well as oral and other forms of intangible heritage with local characteristics, such as traditional opera, crafts and industries. Moreover, historical names of sites, streets and bridges are seen as important intangible heritage which shall be recovered and maintained.³³²

In terms of non-listed heritage buildings, the plan differentiates controlled and protected buildings from historical buildings. Historical buildings are defined as such which were constructed at least 30 years ago and which carry historical, artistic and scientific values, thereby reflecting the historic townscape. The definition further clarifies that controlled and protected buildings can be understood as historical buildings whose values are more prominent.³³³ Vernacular buildings, which do not reflect the historic townscape and local characteristics, is referred to as “non-exceptional buildings” (*yiban jianzhu* 一般建筑).

For its conservation as an integral block, the Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block is divided into a core protection area (*hexin baohu qu* 核心保护区) and a construction control area (*jianshe kongzhi qu* 建设控制区, see appendix A.3). According to the conservation plan, the core protection area has a size of 47.4 ha and refers to the part of the district where cultural and historical sites are most concentrated.³³⁴ Conservation in this area aims to preserve the spatial structure (*kongjian geju* 空间格局) and the traditional townscape (*chuantong fengmao* 传统风貌) as well as the individual elements which constitute this townscape. It further includes cultural landscapes (*renwen jingguan* 人文景观) and folk customs with local characteristics.³³⁵

331 Comm PBCP (2004), p. 57.

332 PBCP (2004), p. 14.

333 Comm PBCP (2004), p. 57.

334 PBCP (2004), p. 6.

335 Ibid.

The conservation of the core protection area (red) is strictly regulated and has to abide by the Cultural Relics Protection Law. In addition, it has to be carried out according to relevant regulations of Suzhou City.³³⁶ Reparation and restoration need to be guided by an expert and follow the principles of “restore the old as old” (*xiu jiu ru gu* 修旧如故) and of showing a “distinction between the new and the old” (*xin jiu you bie* 新旧有别).³³⁷ While the latter relates to the readability principle, the former originates from Liang Sicheng’s principle *xiu jiu ru jiu* in the course of his introduction of authenticity and minimal intervention to China (see chapter 2.3). Although the plan does not define these terms, the principles underlying the conservation plan have been clearly defined and contradict an interpretation of “restoration to its original state”.

The purpose of the surrounding construction control area (green) with a size of 69.1 ha is described as ensuring the integrity of the core protection area’s appearance and characteristics by means of strict construction regulation.³³⁸ In this area, all kinds of new construction (*xinjian* 新建), transformation (*gaijian* 改建) or expansion (*kuojian* 扩建) need to harmonize with the traditional townscape. Central aspects in this regard are building height, density, structural measurements, materials used for building façades or paint colors.³³⁹ In the case of new construction, the planning department has to give its approval and thereby aims to ensure the maintenance of the area’s traditional townscape. On the basis of strict control of the above-mentioned aspects, this area functions as transitional space between the core protection area and the outer ancient city. Moreover, all factories, storehouses and Cang Street Prison No. 3 仓街第三监狱 must be moved out of the construction control area.³⁴⁰ Consequently, new space will become available where the authors of the conversation plan ascribe responsibility to the local government to primarily use these spaces to provide the block with public facilities, infrastructure and open spaces.³⁴¹

The second tier of cultural heritage in the Pingjiang Historic Block comprises **officially protected entities** of different protection levels. In addition to the core protection area and the construction control area, protection areas and buffer zones are delimited for listed heritage sites.³⁴² The conservation of officially protected entities is also regulated by the Cultural Relics Protection Law. The conservation plan emphasizes that in the conservation process, the historic condition of the site

336 PBCP (2004), p. 6.

337 Ibid.

338 PBCP (2004), p. 7.

339 Ibid.

340 Ibid.

341 Ibid.

342 PBCP (2004), p. 8.

must not be altered (*bu gaibian yuanzhuang* 不改变原状).³⁴³ If treatment is necessary, again, it shall follow the principle of “restore the old as old” (*xiu jiu ru gu* 修旧如故) but further specified as “in order to maintain its genuineness” (*yi cun qi zhen* 以存其真). Thereby, buildings and structures which affect the “original appearance” (*yuanyou fengmao* 原有风貌) of an entity have to be demolished.³⁴⁴

Based on the assessment of the block’s existing building stock, the plan proposes six different **conservation and improvement schemes** (*baohu yu zhengzhi moshi* 保护与整治模式) for the above-mentioned types of heritage buildings and “non-exceptional buildings”. These building types and related protection schemes are displayed in the following:

Table 3-1. Conservation and Improvement Scheme for the Pingjiang Historic Block.

conservation measure	building type	content
1) treatment (<i>xiushan</i> 修缮)	officially protected entities	- maintain the “original appearance” (<i>yuanyang</i> 原样) - give an accurate image of historical remains
	controlled and protected buildings	- maintain the “original appearance” (<i>yuanyang</i> 原样) - give an accurate image of historical remains
2) improvement (<i>gaishan</i> 改善)	historical buildings	- leave the original building structure unaltered - transform the interior of the building: add basic kitchen and sanitation facilities, improve the living conditions of inhabitants
3) preservation (<i>baoliu</i> 保留)	non-exceptional buildings in accordance with historic townscape (<i>yu lishi fengmao wu chongtu</i> 与历史风貌无冲突)	- preserve buildings of relatively good quality which are in accordance with the built environment

343 PBCP (2004), p. 8.

344 Ibid.

conservation measure	building type	content
4) transformation (<i>zhengchi</i> 整饬) 5) new construction (<i>xinjian</i> 新建) 6) demolition (<i>chaichu</i> 拆除)	non-exceptional buildings in conflict with historic townscape (<i>yu lishi fengmao xiang chongtu</i> 与历史风貌相冲突)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - if the building is of relatively good quality and hard to demolish, regulate building height and transform characteristic elements such as roof or façade - demolish and rebuild buildings of very bad quality - demolish buildings of bad quality which have been built in violation of regulations and transform the lots into open spaces or traditional courtyards

Source: based on PBCP (2004), p. 15, figure 3. Translated by this author and extended with information from pp. 14–15.

The building types and conservation schemes displayed in table 3-1 conform to the standard defined in the Planning Regulations for HCF Cities one year later. There is no difference in conservation measure for officially listed entities and controlled and protected buildings. Requirements for *xiushan* are generally defined as maintaining the “original appearance” of a site and providing an accurate image of its historical remains. In contrast, the interior of historical buildings shall be improved to meet contemporary standards and improve the living conditions of inhabitants while maintaining its characteristic outward appearance. Instructions for treatment of non-exceptional buildings are comparatively precise and include improvement, new construction as well as demolition in cases where structures are in conflict with the historic townscape.

The **funding** for conservation shall rely on a wide range of resources, including the market as permitted within the boundaries of legal regulations and in order to partly resolve the problem of rational use.³⁴⁵ However, the plan emphasizes that conservation is undertaken for communal benefit, not to open the block up for development and that the government shall have the main responsibility for conservation while simultaneously profiting from its social and economic benefits.³⁴⁶ The government shall further encourage homeowners to maintain their houses in accordance with the conservation plan by provision of specific loans and subsidies.

345 PBCP (2004), p. 36.

346 Ibid.

In cases where owners are incapable or unwilling to conserve their properties, the government shall carry out acquisition and replacement.³⁴⁷

The **revitalization** of the block includes suitable adaptive reuse of historical buildings, the improvement of the living environment as well as living conditions in the block.³⁴⁸ Moreover, the vitality of the block shall be preserved by maintenance of its function as a residential area.³⁴⁹ In contrast to urban renewal projects which are implemented through large-scale development, conservation and improvement measures in the PBCP are to be applied on a smaller scale (*yi xiao bu yi da* 宜小不宜大)³⁵⁰ and with the perspective of gradual improvement.

In terms of land use, the plan gives precise instructions. Historic sites such as temples or gardens which still maintain their original functions shall primarily continue their forms of usage. Those historic sites which have been transformed into housing shall be used in accordance with their historical and cultural content and in ways which do not harm their architectural characteristics, such as cultural exhibition spaces, touristic and recreation facilities or for community services.³⁵¹

Officially protected entities and controlled and protected buildings in the block with a residential function shall be strictly protected and historical buildings improved by means of reducing the number of inhabitants, the removal of additional structures and the improvement of infrastructure.³⁵² Commercial and service facilities of the city shall be located at the greater thoroughfares surrounding the Pingjiang Historic Block and those of the community shall be set up at both sides of one north-south street (Cang Street 仓街) and two east-west lanes (Daru Lane 大儒巷, Lujia Lane 葭葭巷).³⁵³ In the long term, the block strives to become a vivid area and characteristic cultural landscape (*wenhua jingguan* 文化景观) of the city. Therefore, forms of usage with cultural content as well as high quality tertiary industry shall be promoted.³⁵⁴

The conservation plan regards **tourism** as integral part of the block's development but emphasizes the importance to strictly control its scale. Tourism and related commercial facilities shall be limited to central Pingjiang Road, Xuanqiao Lane and two areas designated for renewal at Cang Street and Weidao Guan Qian.³⁵⁵ Moreover, the plan newly defines 12 places which are envisaged to

347 PBCP (2004), p. 37.

348 Comm PBCP (2004), p. 52.

349 Ibid., p. 53.

350 Ibid., p. 59.

351 PBCP (2004), p. 23.

352 Ibid.

353 Ibid., p. 24.

354 Ibid., p. 5.

355 Ibid.

become major sights of the block. The places included into these “Twelve Views of Pingjiang” (Pingjiang shi'er jing 平江十二景) are those perceived as carrying the highest historic and cultural significance. In order to become a scenic spot, each place is further provided with its own name:

- (1) 耦园佳偶 *Ouyuan jia ou*: “The happily married couple of the Couple’s Garden Retreat” (Couple’s Garden Retreat 耦园)
- (2) 吴韵晋风 *Wu yun Jin feng*: “The sound of Wu [Region] and the style of Shanxi [Province]” (Quan-Jin Guild Hall 全晋会馆)
- (3) 贵潘流泽 *Gui Pan liu ze*: “Widespread beneficence of the Noble Pan”³⁵⁶ (Weidao Guan Qian Pan Mansion 卫道观前潘宅)
- (4) 惠荫书声 *Huiyin shu sheng*: “The sound of studying at Huiyin [Garden]” (Huiyin Academy 惠荫书院)
- (5) 凤池留馀 *Fengchi liu yu*: “Liuyu [Hall] of Fengchi [Garden]” (Fengchi Garden 风池园, Former Residence of Pan Shi’en 潘世恩故居)
- (6) 卫道香霭 *Weidao xiang ai*: “Incense haze at Weidao [Temple]” (Weidao Guan Qian 卫道观前)
- (7) 桂荫花锦 *Guiyin hua jin*: “Guiyin [Hall] in ornamented brocade” (Former Residence of Hong Jun 洪钧故居)
- (8) 宝树传馨 *Bao shu chuan xin*: “Precious trees leaving a far-reaching fragrance” (Former Residence of Gu Jiegang 顾颉刚故居)
- (9) 诵芬春晖 *Songfen chun hui*: “Spring sunshine on Songfen [Yizhuang]” (Wang Family Songfen Yizhuang 汪氏诵芬义庄)
- (10) 天宫听泉 *Tiangong ting quan*: “Listening to the spring at Tiangong [Temple]” (Tiangong Temple 天宫寺, Yong’an Spring 永安泉)

356 Note that Weidao Guan Qian Pan Mansion actually was the former residence of the “Wealthy” Pan, not the “Noble” Pan.

- (11) 相思澄月 *Xiangsi cheng yue*: “The bright moon over [Hu] Xiangshi [Bridge]” (Hu Xiangshi Bridge 胡厢使桥)
- (12) 雪糕黄菊 *Xuegao huang ju*: “The yellow chrysanthemum of Xuegao [Bridge]” (Xuegao Bridge 雪糕桥)

Source: PBCP (2004), p. 31. Author’s translations.

Although these 12 sights are all built structures, either buildings or bridges and in some cases with adjacent gardens, they are not named after their official designation but are provided with these newly composed sight names. The designation of scenic spots follows a traditional Chinese cultural practice of naming representative sights, which has been designated by Zhao as “*ba jing* culture” (*ba jing wenhua* 八景文化).³⁵⁷ This practice aims at creating usually eight to ten four-character names (*si zi jingmu* 四字景目) in poetic style to highlight significant scenic places in a landscape, often carrying cultural connotations. They usually show a symmetrical structure, whereby they can be separated into two parts with the first two characters indicating the respective sight and the last two characters describing it.

The distinctive design of the above-given sight titles enables recognition by inclusion of eponymous elements (e.g. “Ou Garden” for the Couple’s Garden Retreat, “Tiangong” for Tiangong Temple, “Xuegao” for Xuegao Bridge). Other titles comprise eponymous elements of the main halls of residences, e.g. *gui yin* 桂荫, which refers to Guiyin Hall of the Former Residence of Hong Jun or *liu yu* 留馀, relating to Liuyu Hall in the Former Residence of Pan Shi’en. Simultaneously, these titles provide short information on the significance of sights. For example, *bao shu* (“precious trees”) alludes to the historical mansion “Precious Trees Garden” (Baoshu yuan 宝树园) which is listed in local records. The character *xin* 馨 in “Bao shu chuan xin” (宝树传馨, “Precious trees leaving a far-reaching fragrance”) carries a double meaning of “far-reaching fragrance” and “a long-lasting reputation” and refers to the ancestral home of renowned Chinese historian Gu Jiegang which was located in the southern part of the former Precious Trees Garden.³⁵⁸

357 Zhao, Xia 赵夏 (2006): “Wo guo de ‘ba jing’ chuantong ji qi wenhua yiyi” 我国的“八景”传统及其文化意义 [China’s *ba jing* tradition and its cultural meaning], p. 90.

358 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 248.

Some of the sight names indicate physical heritage which is significant for the respective sights. For example, the precious trees in the name for Gu Jiegang's former residence refer to the great number of camellia trees in its garden,³⁵⁹ and "Listening to the spring at Tiangong [Temple]" indicates that the temple features a historic well (永安泉, "Yong'an Spring"). Moreover, sight names can establish a connection between the physical site and intangible heritage related to it such as in the cases of the Quan-Jin Guild Hall whose name 'Wu yun Jin feng' (吴韵晋风, "The sound of Wu [Region] and the style of Shanxi [Province]") not only refers to its Shanxi architectural style but also its present function as museum for traditional Chinese *kunqu* opera. Other examples are the bridge names which allude to their related legends (see chapter 3.1.1). However, the plan solely defines these 12 sites as future tourist destinations without giving further information on how they shall be operated. In the following, the focus is set on the implementation of conservation and revitalization measures as foreseen in the plan.

3.2.3 Conservation and Improvement Measures

In chapter 2.4 it was found that relocation and reconstruction are controversial intervention measures which are regarded as problematic by conservationists due to a related loss of historical information. The conservation plan of the Pingjiang Historic Block, in accordance with the China Principles, does not rule out the measure of relocation in principle, but in cases where it is to be applied in order to serve touristic purposes.³⁶⁰ Furthermore, local gazetteers recorded several cases of **relocation** in 1960 and the 1980s before the formulation of the conservation plan where elements and sites were moved to later scenic spots which are now listed on different administrative levels.

One of the residences concerned is municipal-level protected heritage site Niu-jia Lane Fang Mansion 钮家巷方宅, which still retains a small private garden. This small garden originally included a parlor and a rockery.³⁶¹ According to the *Pingjiang Gazetteer*, its rockery was relocated to the Couple's Garden Retreat in 1959. Only later, in 1983, was Fang Mansion listed as controlled and protected building as well. While one of its most significant elements has been relocated,

359 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 209.

360 Comm PBCP (2004), p. 65.

361 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 242.

the remaining garden at Fang Mansion still features the parlor and scattered lakeside rocks.³⁶²

Another example from the Couple's Garden Retreat is the historic well in the western garden which has been moved there in the course of the garden's restoration during the 1980s.³⁶³ The original well dated back to the Song dynasty (960–1279) but has already been destroyed at the time when the Couple's Garden Retreat was restored. While the relocated well can be dated to the end of the Qing dynasty and the beginning of the Republican period, its place of origin is unknown.³⁶⁴

The well has not been relocated because it was difficult to conserve in its original setting but due to the “need” of the Couple's Garden Retreat for a well in its western garden. The relocated well has a close relation to the garden as an entity and should therefore not solely be regarded as individual tangible heritage. As has been mentioned earlier (see chapter 3.1.2), the two gardens and their environmental elements complement each other in relation to the principles of *yin* and *yang*. The “Reception of the Moon”-Pond in the eastern garden corresponds to the well in the western garden and an absent well therefore decreases the integrity of the garden as such.

The relocation further shows that the well derives its credibility and thereby its “authenticity” not primarily from its material or substantial attributes but its philosophical meaning as counterpart to the “Reception of the Moon”-Pond. This meaning can not only be transmitted by the original well, but also a substitute with the same characteristics which functions as carrier of this intangible heritage.

Another example is the Deng Family Ancestral Hall 邓氏宗祠 built in the late Qing period. In its eastern row, there had originally been a *Bianfu* Hall 蝙蝠厅³⁶⁵ which was relocated to the Twin Pagoda Site in 1981.³⁶⁶ Similar to Fang Mansion, the ancestral hall was primarily listed as a controlled and protected building and upgraded to the municipal level in 2014.³⁶⁷ While the Twin Pagoda Site was

362 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 242.

363 Suzhou Municipal Garden and Landscape Administration Bureau 苏州市园林和绿化管理局 (ed., 2013): *Ouyuan zhi* 耦园志, p. 40.

364 Ibid.

365 *Bianfu* Hall 蝙蝠厅 (“Bat hall”) is the designation for a hall built in a bat-shaped layout which has an auspicious meaning.

366 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 258.

367 Suzhou Municipal People's Government 苏州市人民政府 (June 30, 2014): *Shi zheng-fu guanyu gongbu Suzhou Shi di qi pi wenwu baohu danwei he di si pi kongzhi baohu jianzhu de tongzhi* 市政府关于公布苏州市第七批文物保护单位和第四批控制保护建筑的通知, Online.

opened up for tourism, the ancestral hall was turned into a spinning factory four years after the relocation of its *Bianfu* Hall.³⁶⁸

The Twin Pagoda Site further contains an archway relocated from another residence in the Pingjiang Historic Block. This archway from 1793 features a brick carving by Jiang Sheng 姜晟 (1730–1810), then governor of Hunan Province.³⁶⁹ As recorded in the *Pingjiang Gazetteer*, it was relocated in 1980 from Du You Hall Yuan Mansion 笃佑堂袁宅. While the mansion is now listed as controlled and protected building, local-style dwelling houses of smaller scope were not yet listed in the 1980s. The examples of the Couple's Garden Retreat and the Pearl Pagoda Site illustrate an early strategy to “assemble” significant material heritage in some places, which were then protected and transformed into tourist destinations. At the time these structures and material elements were removed from their original location, and this practice was not considered problematic.

Before the launch of the Pingjiang Historic Block Conservation and Improvement Project, two sites of the block had already been opened to the public: The Couple's Garden Retreat and the Quan-Jin Guild Hall. The conservation of the Couple's Garden Retreat started exceptionally early with the restoration of its eastern garden in 1960 and a first opening in 1965, but it was then closed during the Cultural Revolution and reopened in 1980.³⁷⁰ The gradual restoration of the western garden was started in 1986 and continued in 1993/94 together with its central residential part.³⁷¹ Around the same time in the middle of the 1980s, the Quan-Jin Guild Hall was restored.³⁷²

As recorded in the *Pingjiang Gazetteer* and the *Records of the Couple's Garden Retreat*, the restoration of the central residence in the Couple's Garden Retreat included the **reconstruction** of its main hall. In the 1950s, during the period when the buildings were used by the labour union for training courses as well as housing, the main hall burned down.³⁷³ Following the *Records of the Couple's Garden Retreat*, it was later reconstructed on the basis of historical sources.³⁷⁴

The earlier analysis on the significance of the Pingjiang Historic Block and its built heritage has shown that local-style dwelling houses were built as *ensembles* in

368 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 258.

369 Ibid., p. 248.

370 Ibid., p. 186.

371 Suzhou Municipal Garden and Landscape Administration Bureau 苏州市园林和绿化管理局 (ed., 2013): *Ouyuan zhi* 耦园志, p. 141.

372 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 233.

373 Ibid., p. 186.

374 Suzhou Municipal Garden and Landscape Administration Bureau 苏州市园林和绿化管理局 (ed., 2013): *Ouyuan zhi* 耦园志, p. 18.

which different buildings have a fixed position and function. The main hall of a building was the center of a residence and used for important ceremonial purposes. At the same time, it reflected the status of its owner through significant elements such as decorations and inscriptions. Moreover, the name of the main hall was often used for the entire residence and conveyed identity to its family members. The loss of this central part therefore reduces the integrity of the overall residence.

In addition, the main hall carries cultural value due to its literary connotation of the hall name “Carrying Wine”-Hall and its relation to the poem by Dai Fugu (see chapter 3.1.2). The function of the main hall as tangible space to receive guests is reflected in a verse which carries the meaning of “carrying wine and welcoming friends”.³⁷⁵ Secondly, the literary connotation relates to the unique layout of the mansion with its eastern and western garden which cannot be understood without the hall name. The decision to reconstruct the hall shows its credibility as carrier of this intangible heritage, while a reduction of authenticity in terms of material and substance is accepted.

The example of the Quan-Jin Guild Hall shows similarities to the Couple’s Garden Retreat. Due to its former use as a factory, school building and housing as well as a neglect of repairs, the guild hall had become dilapidated by the beginning of the 1980s and the main hall burned down.³⁷⁶ In 1982, the guild hall was upgraded to an officially protected entity on the provincial level and one year later the work units occupying the buildings were moved out, the central and western row restored and the main hall reconstructed.³⁷⁷ The former guild hall was then opened up as *kunqu* opera museum (see chapter 3.2.4).

In this case, the restoration and reconstruction of buildings was undertaken after the site had been upgraded and therefore not with the objective to achieve a higher listing rank. Conservation was undertaken in preparation to convert the guild hall into an opera museum due to its exceptional opera stage. While this stage has been restored from its original building substance, the overall site functions as tangible carrier for Chinese *kunqu* opera and thereby intangible heritage.

The Pingjiang Historic Block’s comprehensive conservation was started in 2002 with a first conservation project directed at the block’s north-south axis. The **Pingjiang Historic Block Conservation and Improvement Project** had two major underlying motives: Firstly, to launch a pilot project with the objective to explore new conservation strategies for the historic city in the course of the 28th

375 Cao, Lindi 曹林娣 (July 24, 2014): “Ninggu de zhihui, aiqing de yuezhang – Ouyuan xieying” 凝固的智慧，爱情的乐章——耦园撷英, p. 13.

376 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 233.

377 Ibid.

session of the World Heritage Committee which was to be held in Suzhou in 2004. Secondly, Suzhou strives to nominate its historic and cultural blocks as World Cultural Heritage in an extension of the already listed Classical Gardens.³⁷⁸ Therefore, as part of one of these blocks, Pingjiang Road needed to conform to the World Heritage Committee's listing criteria.

While preparing the conservation plan, a number of problems for conservation work and future development of the block were identified. Firstly, local-style dwelling houses were found to be deteriorating and overcrowded. Due to neglected repairs of the wooden structure of most buildings which date back to the end of the Qing dynasty and the beginning of the Republican period, as well as the humid climate, wooden components decomposed or were damaged by termites.³⁷⁹

The overcrowding of dwelling houses in the historic city has historical reasons. In accordance with land reform starting from the 1950s, private houses in urban areas were confiscated and redistributed. The formerly single-family houses thereby were rented out to multiple tenants which received public leasehold rights from the local government.³⁸⁰ As a result of rapid urbanization, residents built additional structures in the courtyards in order to increase the living area which damaged the structure and appearance of the residences and hindered efficient lighting and ventilation.³⁸¹

The conservation scheme, which was directed at both sides of the about one-kilometer long Pingjiang Road and an area of 32,000 m², included the relocation of 475 households and work units (*danwei* 单位), and the subsequent conservation of the local-style dwelling houses.³⁸² Due to the above-mentioned developments, the property rights situation in the Pingjiang Historic Block is complicated. Not only can buildings be publicly owned, privately-owned or the property rights held by work units, but single buildings in houses can also have different property rights states. While houses to the left and right of Pingjiang Road are either privately-owned or public rental housing, the buildings adjacent to Pingjiang Road are mostly publicly owned by a government company, Suzhou Pingjiang Historic

378 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Li, Zhen 李滨; Lin, Lin 林林 (2010): *Jiangnan guzhen lishi jianzhu yu lishi huanjing de baohu*, *The Work of Protection for Historical Buildings and Environment of Ancient Towns in Jiangnan* 江南古镇历史建筑与历史环境的保护, p. 106.

379 Comm PBCP (2004), p. 38.

380 Xie, Jing; Heath, Tim (2018): *Heritage-led Urban Regeneration in China*, pp. 100–101.

381 Comm PBCP (2004), p. 38.

382 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Li, Zhen 李滨; Lin, Lin 林林 (2010): *Jiangnan guzhen lishi jianzhu yu lishi huanjing de baohu*, *The Work of Protection for Historical Buildings and Environment of Ancient Towns in Jiangnan* 江南古镇历史建筑与历史环境的保护, p. 106.

Block Conservation and Improvement Co., Ltd. 苏州平江历史街区保护整治有限责任公司.³⁸³

According to Ruan, relocation of residents in houses at Pingjiang Road affected those households which did not hold the property rights of their dwellings but had only later moved into public housing.³⁸⁴ Moreover, the conservation and development of the adjacent streets to the left and right of Pingjiang Road will include further relocation of residents. As has been reported, in the course of a conservation and improvement project launched in 2017 of which the Pingjiang Historic Block was a pilot site, relocation of residents occupying local-style dwelling houses in the southern part of the block has already been started and affects 2,000 households.³⁸⁵

At the time of the Pingjiang Historic Block Conservation and Improvement Project, the historical appearance of the block was disrupted by multi-story residential buildings which had been constructed in the 1970s and 1980s as well as manufacturing structures of about 16 factories.³⁸⁶ These factories both occupied historical buildings and officially protected entities such as Weidao Temple, Jiang Family Yizhuang 蒋氏义庄 or Zhaoqing Temple 昭庆寺 and had a negative impact on the integrity of the block as well as the appearance of historic lanes such as Da Xinqiao Lane opposite of the Couple's Garden Retreat.³⁸⁷

With the beginning of the conservation project, these factories and businesses were moved out of the block as well as institutions such as Pingjiang Road Farm Produce Market 平江路农贸市场 and Cang Street Prison No. 3. In the course of prison reform in the early Republican period, so-called “model prisons” were set up in provincial capitals and treaty ports with the aim to adhere to international standards of judicial administration. Following Dikötter, the concentration of reformed prisons was higher in provinces along the coast with Jiangsu and Anhui provinces having three to five model prisons in contrast to the average one or two new prisons in inner provinces.³⁸⁸ Cang Street Prison No. 3, formerly one of the three great Republican prisons, was transferred in 2009 and it is planned to develop

383 Interview with Chief of Suzhou Planning Bureau Engineering Office, Suzhou, June 7, 2016.

384 Interview with Ruan Yisan, Shanghai, May 10, 2016.

385 Guan, Youming 管有明 (December 22, 2017): “Gusu Qu quanmian tuijin lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu he tisheng gongcheng” 姑苏区全面推进历史文化名城保护和提升工程 [Gusu District comprehensively carries forward the Historically and Culturally Famous City conservation and improvement project], Online.

386 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Li, Zhen 李滨; Lin, Lin 林林 (2010): *Jiangnan guzhen lishi jianzhu yu lishi huanjing de baohu*, *The Work of Protection for Historical Buildings and Environment of Ancient Towns in Jiangnan* 江南古镇历史建筑与历史环境的保护, p. 99.

387 *Ibid.*, pp. 99–100.

388 Dikötter, Frank (2002): *Crime, Punishment and the Prison in Modern China*, pp. 61, 94.

a commercial and residential district in the style of traditional Suzhou architecture in its place.³⁸⁹

After the relocation of businesses and tenants, the dwelling houses being part of the initial conservation project were treated according to the six schemes defined in the conservation plan (see table 3-1). Ruan further said that conservation measures precisely adhered to international conservation standards.³⁹⁰ Illegally erected structures and buildings disturbing the appearance were demolished while those in accordance were reinforced.³⁹¹ Deteriorated building components including parts of the wooden structure, but also windows and doors, were replaced and the changes documented. Primarily, substitutes were bought in the surrounding area or, if no suitable substitutes were available, newly manufactured components were used, taking the readability principle into account.³⁹²

In order to maintain the original appearance of Pingjiang Road in its present state and the buildings' patina of age, a transparent coating was applied to the outer walls to protect them.³⁹³ This measure is not widespread in China (yet), where a restoration approach and the painting of walls is often preferred to give buildings a "new look" (*huanran yixin* 焕然一新). In the interview with Ruan, he explained that this is related to a differing opinion on aesthetics. While he tried to convince policymakers that the patina of age should be retained in the conservation process, most people regarded the "old" appearance of the buildings as unaesthetic.³⁹⁴

A pilot site of the local government for the conservation of a controlled and protected building at the intersection of Niujia Lane and Pingjiang River is **Dong Family Yizhuang**. Before conservation, the *yizhuang* had been occupied by a school and a plastics factory, leaving its main hall and some buildings adjacent to the river in a dilapidated state. But while these buildings have maintained their

389 Zhou, Jianlin 周建琳 (April 15, 2009): "Minguo san da jianyu zhi yi Suzhou Shizi kou jianyu suozaidi jiang bian shangyequ" 民国三大监狱之一苏州狮子口监狱所在地将变商业区 [The site of one of the Republican period's three great prisons Suzhou Shizikou Prison will become a commercial district], Online.

390 Interview with Ruan Yisan, Shanghai, May 5, 2016.

391 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Li, Zhen 李滇; Lin, Lin 林林 (2010): *Jiangnan guzhen lishi jianzhu yu lishi huanjing de baohu*, *The Work of Protection for Historical Buildings and Environment of Ancient Towns in Jiangnan* 江南古镇历史建筑与历史环境的保护, p. 109.

392 Ibid.

393 Gong, Han (2010): "Saving a Piece of History", p. 19.

394 Interview with Ruan Yisan, Shanghai, May 5, 2016.

original appearance, those in the northern part of the site were demolished and replaced by a three-story factory building.³⁹⁵

After thorough research and in accordance with the six conservation schemes in the plan, it was decided to maintain the main hall and the southern buildings, which had retained their original appearance. The buildings were consolidated, deteriorated components including windows and doors replaced and wooden ornamental carvings in the main hall restored.³⁹⁶ Because the former factory building was not in accordance with the townscape, it was demolished, and a new building constructed in its place with modern materials.³⁹⁷



Figure 3-22. Dong Family Yizhuang Teahouse.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

This building named Dong Family Yizhuang Teahouse 董氏义庄茶室 was designed by Tongji University professor and chief architect of TM Studio Tong Ming 童明, the grandson of another first-generation Chinese Architect trained at the University of Pennsylvania, Tong Jun 童寯. The objective of the project was to conserve the traditional *yizhuang* while adapting it to needs of modern urban life. Therefore, the teahouse, which should also accommodate a restaurant, was

395 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三 (August 2, 2004): “Dongshi Yizhuang de baohu yu gengxin” 董氏义庄的保护与更新 [The Conservation and Renewal of Dong Family Yizhuang], Online.

396 Ibid.

397 Ibid.

planned to become a place for tourists to take a rest and contemplate the surrounding environment.³⁹⁸ While differences to traditional buildings are visible, the tea-house conforms to its historical environment in terms of layout, building height or colors and incorporates characteristics of traditional architecture. For example, the design of doors and windows in the building is based on traditional latticed windows.³⁹⁹ Moreover, it is enclosed by a reticulated grey brick wall enabling a penetrating view from inside⁴⁰⁰ which reminds of the creation of vistas in private garden landscapes (see fig. 3-22).

Another problem during the project was that the infrastructure of the block had become outdated and insufficient. Firstly, power, television and telecommunication cables as well as water supply pipes had been laid several decades earlier and disorderly in the narrow and winding lanes, posing safety hazards.⁴⁰¹ Secondly, they were of insufficient capacity and drainpipes were completely missing, the consequence being that residents disposed of waste water in the water canals.⁴⁰² Furthermore, local-style dwelling houses lacked basic amenities such as separate kitchens and bathrooms.⁴⁰³

As part of the conservation project, water supply, gas and drainpipes were installed and power, television and telecommunication cables laid underground.⁴⁰⁴ The renovation of public facilities included the pavement of Pingjiang Road by means of traditional building techniques, whereby original measurements and the traditional appearance were retained, as well as the reconstruction of bridges, bank revetments and the relocation of public toilets.⁴⁰⁵

Partly resulting from residents' disposal of waste water, water canals had become polluted. Another reason for the bad quality of canal water were industrial plants which discharged drain water into the canals and which was further aggravated by gates obstructing the water flow.⁴⁰⁶ Therefore, Pingjiang River and its

398 TM Studio: "Dongshi yizhuang chashi/Tong Ming" 董氏义庄茶室/童明 [Dong Family Teahouse/Tong Ming], Online.

399 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Li, Zhen 李滨; Lin, Lin 林林 (2010): *Jiangnan guzhen lishi jianzhu yu lishi huanjing de baohu, The Work of Protection for Historical Buildings and Environment of Ancient Towns in Jiangnan* 江南古镇历史建筑与历史环境的保护, p. 64.

400 TM Studio: "Dongshi yizhuang chashi/Tong Ming" 董氏义庄茶室/童明, Online.

401 Comm PBCP (2004), p. 38.

402 Ibid.

403 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Li, Zhen 李滨; Lin, Lin 林林 (2010): *Jiangnan guzhen lishi jianzhu yu lishi huanjing de baohu, The Work of Protection for Historical Buildings and Environment of Ancient Towns in Jiangnan* 江南古镇历史建筑与历史环境的保护, p. 99.

404 Ibid., p. 107.

405 Ibid., pp. 107, 109.

406 Comm PBCP (2004), p. 38.

branches were cleaned and the water quality improved.⁴⁰⁷ Water canal cleaning and improvement projects have been continued after completion of the conservation project up to the present. Figure 3-23 shows cleaning work carried out during field work for this project in May 2018.

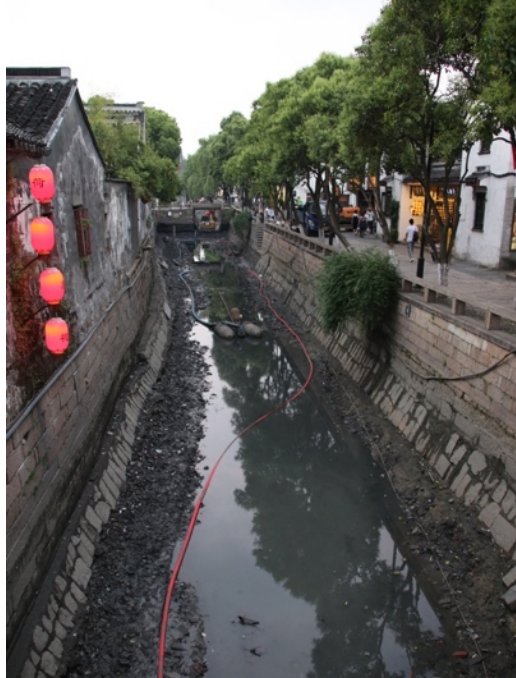


Figure 3-23. Pingjiang River Cleaning Work.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

This cleaning of water canals was part of a first historic city conservation and improvement project launched in 2017. The project aims at an integrated conservation and regeneration of the historic city including the improvement of living conditions, the environment and basic facilities in a period of three to five years.⁴⁰⁸

407 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Li, Zhen 李滨; Lin, Lin 林林 (2010): *Jiangnan guzhen lishi jianzhu yu lishi huanjing de baohu*, *The Work of Protection for Historical Buildings and Environment of Ancient Towns in Jiangnan* 江南古镇历史建筑与历史环境的保护, p. 107.

408 Guan, Youming 管有明 (December 22, 2017): "Gusu Qu quanmian tuijin lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu he tisheng gongcheng" 姑苏区全面推进历史文化名城保护和提升工程, Online.

In addition to bridges, ceremonial archways (*pailou* 牌楼) are built structures of the historical environment which were conserved in the project. One of the four archways in the block, **Wang Family Yizhuang Ceremonial Archway** 汪氏义庄牌楼 was discovered in the course of the demolition of an illegally erected building on Pingjiang Road. The remains of the deteriorating archway from 1842 in wooden structure had been built into this dwelling house.⁴⁰⁹

Due to the fact that only the lower part of the archway remained, there were different opinions on appropriate conservation of the relic, including reconstruction and restoration to its original state. With respect to the principle of authenticity, these conservation measures were discarded.⁴¹⁰ The final conservation scheme is shown in figure 3-24:



Figure 3-24. Wang Family Yizhuang Ceremonial Archway.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

After inquiry of the former size of the archway, the stone components were erected in their original place and additional iron pillars (yellow) set up for consolidation. Then, a wooden structure was built in the approximate shape of the former ceremonial archway and covered with glass to protect the historical remains from the rain. Newly added structures were all built by means of materials which contrast

409 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三 (August 18, 2004): "Gucheng baohu, xin yu jiu de bianzheng fa" 古城保护, 新与旧的辩证法 [Ancient city conservation, the dialectics of the new and the old], Online.

410 Ibid.

with the original historical remains and can be removed in order to adhere to the readability and reversibility principles.⁴¹¹

Since the termination of this comprehensive project in 2004, the local government has not yet undertaken further measures to conserve the block's built structures or to improve building interiors.⁴¹² As mentioned above, the focus then again shifted to **individual structures** and 12 pilot projects for the conservation of Suzhou-style dwelling houses. In the following, significant pilot projects which included relocation or reconstruction are illustrated.

The first and most interesting case in this context is Daru Lane 大儒巷 **Ding Mansion** 丁宅. The buildings of this site date back to the Qing dynasty, but their original owner is unknown.⁴¹³ This may also be the reason why this mansion is named after its prominent owner from the Republican period, Ding Chunzhi 丁春之 (1876–1938). Formerly a county magistrate in Shanxi 山西 province, he returned to Suzhou in 1920 and took part in the foundation of the Suzhou Electric Company 苏州电气公司 which would gradually become Suzhou's largest power plant.⁴¹⁴ Ding Mansion is now listed as controlled and protected building.

A comparison of the conservation map drafted for the Pingjiang Historic Block in 2004 by the Tongji University National Famous Historical and Cultural Cities Research Center with the map published by Suzhou Planning Bureau in 2014 shows Ding Mansion (B22) in different locations.

In the map from 2004, the mansion is marked in a peripheral position of the Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block on the western edge of Daru Lane close to Lindun Road, the major thoroughfare which delimits the block in the west (see fig. 3-25).⁴¹⁵ In contrast, Suzhou Planning Bureau's map ten years later displays the mansion next to Pingjiang Road in the center of the block (see fig. 3-26).⁴¹⁶ In the following, the circumstances for the mansion's relocation shall be clarified.

411 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三 (August 18, 2004): "Gucheng baohu, xin yu jiu de bianzheng fa" 古城保护，新与旧的辩证法 [Ancient city conservation, the dialectics of the new and the old], Online.

412 Xie, Jing; Heath, Tim (2018): *Heritage-led Urban Regeneration in China*, p. 109.

413 Tao, Guanqun 陶冠群 (November 29, 2011): "Ding zhai shishi zhengti baohuxing yijian 2012 nian 4 yue chu wancheng" 丁宅实施整体保护性移建 2012年4月初完成 [The protective Movement and Reconstruction of the complete Ding Mansion shall be completed by the beginning of April 2012], Online.

414 Ibid.

415 Tongji University National Famous Historical and Cultural Cities Research Center 同济大学国家历史文化名城研究中心 (2004): *Suzhou gucheng Pingjiang lishi wenhua jiequ baohu yu zhengzhi guihua — tuji* 苏州古城平江历史文化街区保护与整治规划 — 图集, p. 4.

416 Suzhou Academy of Planning and Design Co., Ltd. 苏州规划设计研究院股份有限公司 (drafted, 2014): "Baohu guihua tu yi" 保护规划图一, in: *Suzhou Pingjiang lishi wenhua jiequ baohu guihua* 苏州平江历史文化街区保护规划, Online.

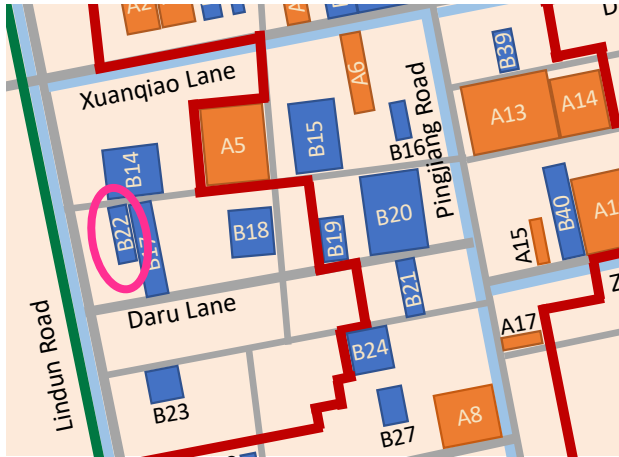


Figure 3-25. Ding Mansion in Conservation Map, 2004.

Source: author's draft. Information from: Tongji University National Famous Historical and Cultural Cities Research Center 同济大学国家历史文化名城研究中心 (ed., 2004): "Suzhou gucheng Pingjiang lishi wenhua jiequ baohu yu zhengzhi guihua — tuji" 苏州古城平江历史文化街区保护与整治规划 — 图集, p. 4. Map data from © OpenStreetMap contributors, 2020, available from <https://www.openstreetmap.org/>, licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0.



Figure 3-26. Ding Mansion in Map of Suzhou Planning Bureau, 2014.

Source: author's draft. Information from: Suzhou guihua sheji yanjiuyuan gufen youxian gongsi 苏州规划设计研究院股份有限公司 (drafted 2014): "Baohu guihua tu yi" 保护规划图一, in: *Suzhou Pingjiang lishi wenhua jiequ baohu guihua* 苏州平江历史文化街区保护规划 [Online]. Map data from © OpenStreetMap contributors, 2020, available from <https://www.openstreetmap.org/>, licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0.

Originally, Ding mansion in Daru Lane No. 6, which had been built in characteristic local-style layout with a considerable size of seven *jin*, comprised an entrance hall, a sedan-chair hall, the main hall and four *jin* of private chambers. Thereof, only the private chambers and some attached buildings have been preserved whereas the anterior three *jin* have already been demolished and transformed into a parking lot.⁴¹⁷ Before conservation started, the first *jin* of private chambers and its eastern wing room were used as warehouse and bicycle storage room while the remaining three *jin* were occupied by residents.⁴¹⁸ The outer row of low-story buildings which originally separated the mansion from Lindun Road was demolished as well and turned into six-story high-rise Changfa Mall 长发商厦. This development is standing exemplarily for the opening up of major roads in Suzhou, where lots at the roadside have been developed into multi-story buildings enclosing the lower local-style dwelling houses in the center of the units which have been retained.

The great difference in building height between Ding Mansion and the surrounding buildings of Changfa Mall led to great problems and the dilapidation of the remaining mansion. Having been exposed to a dark and damp environment with bad ventilation and lighting conditions for years, some beams of the buildings began to break apart and the roofing started to collapse.⁴¹⁹ In this urgent situation, conservation experts agreed on a conservation scheme which involved the complete relocation and reconstruction of Ding Mansion to Daru Lane No. 54, the former ground of Pingjiang Road Farm Produce Market.

According to Changshu Gujian Yuanlin Co., Ltd., which carried out the construction work, experts discussed two conservation schemes: conservation *in situ* and relocation. The loss of integrity and historical information of the buildings in the case of relocation was balanced against conservation *in situ*. In addition to the fact that the historical environment surrounding the former mansion had already changed, the latter scheme was further considered difficult due to its proximity to the mall and its negative effect on conservation and usage.⁴²⁰ The new location of Ding Mansion is adjacent to Pingjiang Road and part of the block's core protection

417 Zhou, Weiwei 周伟蔚 (November 7, 2012): "Gujian laozhai baohu xiushan de yangban gongcheng — xiu jiu ru jiu de Ding zhai" 古建筑老宅保护修缮的样板工程 — 修旧如旧的丁宅 [A pilot project for the protection and reparation of ancient buildings and old houses — Ding Mansion restored to its former state], Online.

418 Ibid.

419 Tao, Guanqun 陶冠群 (November 29, 2011): "Ding zhai shishi zhengti baohuxing yijian 2012 nian 4 yue chu wancheng" 丁宅实施整体保护性移建 2012 年 4 月初完成, Online.

420 Changshu Gujian Yuanlin Co., Ltd. 常熟古建园林股份有限公司 (ed., January 13, 2009): "Daru Xiang Ding zhai yidi chongsheng ji" 大儒巷丁宅易地重生记 [Records on "rebirth" of Daru Lane Ding Mansion after relocation], Online.

area (*jiequ hexin baohu qu* 街区核心保护区).⁴²¹ This setting was considered more suitable for conservation and additionally beneficial for its promotion, cultural tourism development and thereby the overall development of Pingjiang Road.⁴²²

The project was launched in September 2011 with the objective to maintain the “original appearance” (*yuanyang* 原样) of the mansion. Therefore, the buildings were mapped, and significant building components documented and numbered over a period of three months.⁴²³ Following Changshu Gujian Yuanlin Co., Ltd., the relocated mansion was constructed with about 30 percent of materials taken from the original buildings.⁴²⁴

As documented in the PBCP, the Qing dynasty mansion is significant for its roof construction in Ming dynasty style and wooden carvings of lotus leaves on *shanwuyun* 山雾云-boards (decorative wooden boards installed at the tympanum).⁴²⁵ In the process of relocation, the wooden components which were not rotten or had been heavily damaged by insect infestation were reused in their original position such as two well-preserved ornamented ridgepoles.⁴²⁶ Moreover, significant reused stone components comprise *shikumen*, stone treads and stone column bases.⁴²⁷

The example of Ding Mansion can offer some insights into a situation in which relocation is accepted as conservation measure and how it needs to be carried out in order to ensure the maintenance of its “original appearance”. Firstly, Ding Mansion is not listed as protected heritage site but classified as controlled and protected building and not subject to the Cultural Relics Protection Law. However, the PBCP determines the same conservation measure for controlled and protected buildings as for protected heritage sites: *xiushan* (see table 3-1).

The PBCP and the construction company itself named the maintenance of the “original appearance” as decisive criterion for this conservation measure. As the analysis has shown, the “original appearance” is not derived from an entirety of preserved material built heritage which only amounts to 30 percent. But the relocated mansion derives its “authenticity” from original building components such as

421 Suzhou Academy of Planning and Design Co., Ltd. 苏州规划设计研究院股份有限公司 (drafted, 2014): “Baohu guihua tu yi” 保护规划图一, in: *Suzhou Pingjiang lishi wenhua jiequ baohu guihua* 苏州平江历史文化街区保护规划, Online.

422 Jin, Yajun 金亚军 (April 6, 2016): “Daru Xiang Ding zhai” 大儒巷丁宅 [Ding Mansion in Daru Lane], Online.

423 Changshu Gujian Yuanlin Co., Ltd. 常熟古建园林股份有限公司 (ed., January 13, 2009): “Daru Xiang Ding zhai yidi chongsheng ji” 大儒巷丁宅易地重生记, Online.

424 Ibid.

425 Comm PBCP (2004), p. 137.

426 Changshu Gujian Yuanlin Co., Ltd. 常熟古建园林股份有限公司 (ed., January 13, 2009): “Daru Xiang Ding zhai yidi chongsheng ji” 大儒巷丁宅易地重生记, Online.

427 Ibid.

architectural and decorative elements as well as the overall spatial structure. These building elements correlate with significant elements found in the earlier section of this case study.

The conservation plan shows a clear position concerning the relocation of historical relics and sites. According to the plan, protected heritage sites in the block and controlled and protected buildings in the core protection area must not be relocated. Furthermore, it generally advises against (“yuanze shang buyi” 原则上不宜) the relocation of controlled and protected buildings in the construction control area.⁴²⁸ However, the plan accepts relocation as conservation measure for historical buildings outside of the block which cannot be preserved *in situ* and shall be relocated to a location where structures in conflict with the historic townscape have been demolished, provided that the new location conforms to the values and characteristics of the building and that it enhances the overall historical appearance of the block.⁴²⁹

The PBCP commentary further determines that the measure has to be carried out in line with requirements of the China Principles, such as not to exchange building components which carry value.⁴³⁰ In fact, Ding Mansion’s original location was part of the construction control area. However, its situation corresponded to art. 13.2.1 iii of the commentary on the China Principles which determines that a site may be relocated when “historic remains have become isolated and have lost their historic context and as such are very difficult to conserve *in situ*”.⁴³¹ Furthermore, the mansion was moved to the location of the former farm produce market, enhancing the historic townscape of the block. As required, conservation work considered the conditions of the China Principles.

According to the conservation plan, cultural relics and historic sites further can be reconstructed under certain circumstances in order to better express their values and characteristics.⁴³² The conditions which have to be met for such a conservation measure are that the building structure is severely damaged and there have been preserved historical remains. Moreover, the properties must be documented in reliable written or historical sources and there has to be sufficient restoration craftsmanship, materials and manpower available.⁴³³ The plan explicitly recommends the **reconstruction** of four sites: **Weidao Temple**, the **Former Residence**

428 PBCP (2004), p. 9.

429 Ibid.

430 Comm PBCP (2004), p. 65.

431 Comm CP (2002), p. 85.

432 PBCP (2004), p. 9.

433 Ibid.

of Pan Shi'en, the main hall of former **Changzhou District School** and **Tiangong Temple**.⁴³⁴

The **Former Residence of Pan Shi'en** was one of the earliest pilot projects restored. Its conservation scheme included different conservation measures depending on the buildings' state of preservation. In 2011, when conservation of the provincial-level protected heritage site was started, there were three rows and five of originally six *jin* preserved.⁴³⁵ In the fifth *jin* of the central row had originally been two-storied chambers which were destroyed by a fire at the beginning of the Republican period. After the fire, a parlor from another site was moved to the mansion and re-erected at the location of the former chambers.⁴³⁶ When the conservation project started, this parlor was relocated again and set up in the garden in the eastern row of the mansion where it was restored.⁴³⁷ After the parlor had been relocated from the central row, the chambers were reconstructed as well as a building in the fourth *jin* which had become dilapidated and was reconstructed on the basis of drawings.⁴³⁸

The other three sites are Taoist, Confucian and Buddhist temples. The reconstruction of temples has a long tradition in China and East Asia, although ritually rebuilding of replicas is an exception and limited to the often referred to example of the Shrine of Ise in Japan.⁴³⁹ The conservation of **Weidao Temple** began in 2012 and was the eighth greater restoration of the temple since the Ming dynasty.⁴⁴⁰ As mentioned above, the temple originally consisted of three rows and the central row comprised three characteristic halls with Sanqing Hall 三清殿 as main building. Thereof, the buildings of the central and western row had become dilapidated and there was only a small part of the eastern row preserved.⁴⁴¹ The conservation of the temple included a variety of different conservation measures. In general, a little more than 50% of the buildings were restored and the rest reconstructed.⁴⁴²

434 PBCP (2004), p. 9.

435 Gong, Xi 弓玺; Jiang, Feng 姜锋 (April 25, 2017): "Liyu Tang: Xiri zhuangyuan fu jin wei bowuguan" 留余堂：昔日状元府今为博物馆 [Liyu Hall: In former days Number One Scholar residence and today a museum], Online.

436 Ibid.

437 Ibid.

438 Ibid.

439 Stovel, Herb (2008): "Origins and Influence of the Nara Document on Authenticity", p. 9.

440 Guan, Youming 管有明 (January 6, 2013): "Weidao Guan zhonglu san jin zhudian zhuti xiu hao zai" 卫道观中路三进主殿主体修好哉 [The main part of the three main halls in the central row of Weidao Temple are restored!], Online.

441 Ibid.

442 Ibid.

Former **Changzhou District School** was occupied by Pingjiang Experimental School 平江实验学校 at the time fieldwork for this study was conducted. Its main hall is the former main hall of the identically named Confucian temple. While the hall has been relocated and reconstructed several times, the structure of the present hall originates from 1882.⁴⁴³ The *Pingjiang Gazetteer* records that the hall has been largely damaged in the course of the Cultural Revolution and only its framework remained.⁴⁴⁴ The building then was restored and treated several times in 1994, 2000 and 2014.⁴⁴⁵

Furthermore, an inscription tablet was hung up above the door lintel which was inscribed by the Vice-chair of Suzhou Calligraphers Association Fei Zhixiong 费之雄.⁴⁴⁶ The inscription reads: *de run wen guang* 德润文光 and originates from Confucian teaching. *De run* 德润 is an expression from the chapter *Daxue* 大学 “The Great Learning” in the “Book of Rites” (*Liji* 礼记). This passage deals with the transformative nature of *de* 德 (“virtue”) and reads: “Riches adorn a house, and virtue adorns the person”⁴⁴⁷ (*Fu run wu, de run shen* 富润屋, 德润身). Following Ing, *de* 德 is often related to water and its watery effects in early Confucian texts, a notion which is used as a metaphor for its refining nature.⁴⁴⁸ The above cited passage therefore can also be translated literally as “riches embellish a house and virtue moistens the body”. In this context, the accumulation of *de* 德 was perceived as having effects on the body such as becoming wet after practicing for a long time.⁴⁴⁹ *Wen guang*, in a broader sense, refers to culture (*wenhua* 文化) and, accordingly, its refining qualities. The inscription, literally “virtue moistens, and culture adds lustre”, therefore highlights the refining nature of both virtue and culture, and in a broader sense, Confucian practice. Consequently, the inscription tablet is a highly significant part of the hall because it establishes a connection from the building to Confucianism. The hall thereby becomes a genuine carrier of historical information and intangible heritage.

443 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 228.

444 Ibid., p. 229.

445 Yang, Xi 杨曦 (August 30, 2012): “Sushi xuetang” 苏式学堂 [Suzhou-style schools], Online. “Dachengdian” 大成殿 [Main hall of the Confucian temple], (September 29, 2014), Suzhou Pingjiang Experimental School, Online.

446 “Dachengdian” 大成殿, (September 29, 2014), Suzhou Pingjiang Experimental School, Online.

447 Translated after: Legge, James (1960): *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean*, p. 367.

448 Ing, Michael D. K. (2017): *The Vulnerability of Integrity in Early Confucian Thought*, pp. 221–222.

449 Ibid., p. 222.

As mentioned above, the site of the temple hall had formerly been occupied by Pingjiang Experimental School and is currently transformed as part of a project to display the historic townscape next to the southern entrance of Pingjiang Road.⁴⁵⁰ The demolition of buildings which are “in conflict with the historic townscape” has already begun at the time of a field trip to the Pingjiang Historic District by this author in May 2018. It is planned to reconstruct the temple gate, side rooms and a stela corridor in order to set off the main hall. While ancient trees such as ginkgo and Chinese cypress shall be preserved, local-style *ensembles* shall be constructed as junction between the temple hall and the residential district.⁴⁵¹

Tiangong Temple is still inhabited and there have not been undertaken reconstruction efforts (yet). The Buddhist temple was established as earliest of all formerly spiritual sites in the block and can be traced back to the end of the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420).⁴⁵² However, not much of its material heritage has been preserved. The analysis has shown that different conservation and reconstruction approaches are taken for the four sites which have been recommended for reconstruction. In the case of the main hall of Changzhou District School, reconstruction follows clear intentions of tourism development, while a reconstruction of Tiangong Temple would involve a further relocation of residents and has not been undertaken, yet, although it carries great historical value.

3.2.4 Function and Usage

As reflected in their designations, the buildings in the Pingjiang Historic Block, a formerly residential area, originally had various functions ranging from splendid private gardens to common residential buildings, but also guild halls, schools, temples, ancestral halls and “shared family property” (*yizhuang* 义庄). The last on-site investigation by this author in May 2018 has shown that residential use still is the major function of controlled and protected as well as historical buildings (see appendix A.13 and A.14). The majority of buildings which have changed their function are such which have been treated in order to transform them into buildings for commercial use.

The Chinese Cultural Relics Protection Law determines that immovable cultural relics may be opened as museums and for sight-seeing purposes or used as

450 Zhou, Weiwei 周伟蔚; Hang, Lei 杭雷 (January 2, 2013): “Pingjiang Lu, Shantang Jie: Baoliu lao Suzhou de man shenghuo” 平江路、山塘街：保留老苏州的慢生活 [Pingjiang Road, Shantang Street: Preserving the slow life of old Suzhou], Online.

451 Ibid.

452 Shen, Qingnian 沈庆年 (ed., 2013): *Gucheng yizhu: Suzhou kongbao jianzhu tanyou: xu* 古城遗珠：苏州控保建筑探幽：续，p. 100.

repositories (see chapter 2.3). In the case of the Pingjiang Historic Block, the majority of officially listed buildings which changed their functions were opened as exhibition spaces. Moreover, some converted buildings have become social, artistic and cultural spaces which are related to local intangible heritage.

The investigation has further shown that the buildings located at the central axis, Pingjiang Road, have almost exclusively been changed to commercial use. In addition to shops and restaurants, hotels and guesthouses are a common form of use in the vicinity of this road. While development still remains mostly concentrated on the central axis, some buildings located deeper inside the block have equally been converted into commercial or social spaces.

Tourist and Recreation Venue

Tourism has been considered as a part of the block's future development since the Pingjiang Historic Block Conservation and Improvement Project was launched. The conservation plan includes a short section on tourism planning which shows a clear position towards the opening up of the Pingjiang Historic Block as a tourist destination. It states:

历史街区保护的目的是为了开发旅游，旅游是街区文化遗产保护与合理利用的有效途径之一。⁴⁵³

“The objective of protecting the historical block is not to open [it] up for tourism, but tourism [development] is one effective way to protect and rationally use the cultural heritage of the block.”

The plan recognizes tourism development as form of usage and considers it to be effective. Furthermore, the block shall be integrated into the overall tourism planning of the historic city.⁴⁵⁴ However, tourism is not regarded as the ultimate goal and only one of several options for use. Rather, the planning envisions the historic block as an integrative space which combines living and habitation as well as business and services with leisure activities and tourism.⁴⁵⁵ As historic and cultural block with a high concentration of cultural heritage sites, the Pingjiang Historic Block has a great number of potential tourist venues. In the following, it is analyzed which sites are opened up for tourism and in which way they are operated.

453 Comm PBCP (2004), p. 109.

454 Ibid.

455 PBCP (2004), p. 5.

As mentioned in chapter 3.2.2, the plan defines 12 places to become future tourist destinations. In terms of administrative level, these 12 sites comprise all officially listed sites on a national and provincial level, as well as three municipal-level sites, one controlled and protected building (Tiangong Temple), and two bridges. Although the plan defines these 12 destinations as “sights” (*jing* 景), they are not operated as conventional tourist venues. Only the Couple’s Garden Retreat as one of the Classical Gardens of Suzhou requires an entry ticket. The Quan-Jin Guild Hall hosts the *Kunqu* Opera Museum and can be accessed free of charge. Similarly, the Zhuangyuan Museum (Zhuangyuan bowuguan 状元博物馆), which opened in the Former Residence of Pan Shi’en, can be visited without a ticket. Two sites (Weidao Guan Qian Pan Mansion, Wang Family Songfen Yizhuang) have regular opening hours while operating a business in the main part of the mansions.

In the cases of the former residences of Gu Jiegang and Hong Jun, some buildings are still used as housing and therefore only partly treated and opened to the public. After a partial restoration in 2007, the Former Residence of Hong Jun was temporarily opened as Hall of Notables from Pingjiang (Pingjiang mingren guan 平江名人馆) with an Exhibition on the Chinese Examination System (Zhongguo keju zhidu zhan 中国科举制度展).⁴⁵⁶

Two of the 12 sites are not accessible due to their current form of usage and can only be viewed from the outside. One is Huiyin Garden, which has been part of Suzhou’s First Junior Middle School (Di yi chuji zhongxue 第一初级中学) since the establishment of the PRC. The other one is Tiangong Temple, which is used as housing and therefore not open to the public. The two bridges are important interconnections with Pingjiang Road and retain their original function.

As mentioned above, one of the major functions of the Couple’s Garden Retreat is to serve as tourist venue wherefore an entrance ticket is required. Compared to ticket prices of other UNESCO-listed classical gardens in Suzhou, the price to enter the Couple’s Garden Retreat is one of the lowest with 25 Yuan in the peak season and 20 Yuan off-peak.⁴⁵⁷ The most well-known and therefore also most expensive classical garden in Suzhou is the Humble Administrator’s Garden (Zhuozheng yuan 拙政园) with 90 Yuan for a peak season ticket and 70 Yuan off-peak. Only two classical gardens have lower tickets than the Couple’s Garden Retreat. The ticket

456 “Yincang zai Suzhou chengli de zhuangyuan fu” 隐藏在苏州城里的状元府 [The Zhuangyuan mansion hidden in Suzhou City], (October 22, 2014), Suzhou Tourism Administration, Online.

457 “Suzhou Shi shixing zhengfu dingjia, zhengfu zhidaojia de jingqu menpiao jiage yilanbiao (2017 nian 12 yue 31 ri gengxin)” 苏州市实行政府定价、政府指导价的景区门票价格一览表 (2017年12月31日更新) [Table of scenic spot entrance ticket prices based on set and guided prices by Suzhou Government (upgraded December 31, 2017)], (February 11, 2018), Bureau of the People’s Government of Suzhou, Online.

of Canglang Pavilion (Canglang ting 沧浪亭) is slightly lower with 20 Yuan during peak and 15 Yuan during off-peak season. The comparatively small “Garden of Cultivation” (Yipu 艺圃) can be accessed all year for a price of 10 Yuan.⁴⁵⁸

Tourists visiting the Couple’s Garden Retreat enter the site from the entrance hall and are guided along the central part of the former residence as well as to the smaller garden in the west and to the greater eastern garden with the yellow stone rockery. While most of the central residential buildings and landscape architecture in the two gardens is used for sight-seeing, the upper floor of the two-storied main building in the eastern garden has been opened as a teahouse. This “Sun and Moonlight Tower” owes its name to the characteristic structure which allows both sun and moonlight to shine into the building (see chapter 3.1.2). According to the website of the Couple’s Garden Retreat’s Management Bureau, there has originally been a teahouse in this building which had to be closed due to a longtime lack of maintenance and it has now been repaired and reopened, again as a teahouse.⁴⁵⁹

Apart from tea and pastry tasting, there are cultural activities organized and held in the teahouse. Such activities comprise artistic performances, such as the art of tea making, drinking and serving (*chayi* 茶艺), *pingtan* 评弹⁴⁶⁰ or Chinese zither (*guqin* 古琴) play. This combined tea culture experience including the performance of intangible cultural heritage from the Jiangnan region is meant to promote traditional culture, local folk culture and art as well as handicraft. The place can further be used for distinguished assemblies, business conferences and similar events.⁴⁶¹

The back section of the residence, which had previously been unused, was transformed into an office area in 2007.⁴⁶² The purpose of this transformation was

458 “Suzhou Shi shixing zhengfu dingjia, zhengfu zhidaojia de jingqu menpiao jiage yilanbiao (2017 nian 12 yue 31 ri gengxin)” 苏州市实行政府定价、政府指导价的景区门票价格一览表 (2017年12月31日更新), (February 11, 2018), Bureau of the People’s Government of Suzhou, Online.

459 “Shuang zhao lou chashi” 双照楼茶室 [Sun and Moonlight Tower Teahouse], Suzhou Ouyuan Management Department, Online.

460 *Pingtán* 评弹 is a form of professional storytelling and ballad singing in Suzhou dialect. It comprises the two arts of Suzhou *pinghua* 评话 and Suzhou *tanci* 弹词. While *pinghua* is performed by a single storyteller and mostly nonmusical, *tanci* combine oral narration and singing with the music of stringed instruments. Moreover, there is a difference in the content of *tanci*, also called “small stories” which take place in more intimate settings such as the home. In contrast, the “big stories” (*pinghua*) are more action-oriented, dealing with battles or military contests. See: Bender, Mark (2003): *Plum and Bamboo: China’s Suzhou Chantefable Tradition*, pp. 3–5.

461 “Shuang zhao lou chashi” 双照楼茶室, Suzhou Ouyuan Management Department, Online.

462 Xu, Yunhai 徐蕴海 (October 10, 2007): “Yatai yichan zhongxin huopi zaiji — ‘Suzhou zhongxin’ Ouyuan bangongqu jin kai gong” 亚太遗产中心获批在即——“苏州中心”

to establish one of the three branch centers of WHITRAP in the Couple's Garden Retreat, following the decision of the World Heritage Committee on its 28th session in Suzhou, 2004. Suzhou Center 苏州中心 is managed by Suzhou Government and focuses on traditional architectural restoration training and research. The center comprises a training department, a finance department, a reception room and two conference rooms. In order to accommodate Suzhou Center, different reparation and improvement measures had to be taken to fit contemporary needs, such as the provision of rain gutters and sewage pipes.⁴⁶³

Even before it has become a tourist destination, the beautiful and traditional scenery of the Couple's Garden Retreat was used as set for movies and television series. One example where the garden served as one of the main sets is the series "The Dream of the Red Chamber" (*Honglou meng* 红楼梦) from 1987.⁴⁶⁴ In 1995, some scenes of the movie "Tempstress Moon" (*Feng yue* 风月) directed by Chen Kaige 陈凯歌 were equally shot in the garden.⁴⁶⁵ As will be shown in the following case study on Tongli, to set films in former private gardens is a popular film practice.

As mentioned above, the "Twelve Sights of Pingjiang" have not yet been fully opened up for tourism and are not signposted on-site. Consequently, some of the buildings cannot be accessed and only viewed from the outside while significant parts of the built heritage are located inside. On the contrary, Pingjiang Road is well known among visitors and in addition to the traditional appearance of adjacent buildings, it features a great number of significant environmental elements, such as bridges and historic wells. The majority of tourists would therefore walk down this central road passing directly through the middle of the historic block.

Because of its increasing popularity as a tourist destination, especially since it was promulgated as a 4A National Tourist Attraction⁴⁶⁶ (国家 AAAA 级旅游

耦园办公区今开工 [WHITRAP will soon gain approval — The construction of the office area for Suzhou Center in the Couple's Garden Retreat starts today], Online.

463 Ibid.

464 "Zai Suzhou jiejing paishe de zhe xie dianshiju" 在苏州借景拍摄的这些电视剧 [These TV dramas which borrowed Suzhou sceneries for their shooting], (November 23, 2015), Suzhou Tourism Administration, Online.

465 "Ouyuan yu yingshi" 耦园与影视 [To the Couple's Garden Retreat related films and television], Suzhou Ouyuan Management Department, Online.

466 Following the National Standard for the Quality Rating and Evaluation of Tourist Attractions (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guojia biao zhun luyou jingqu zhiliang dengji de huafen yu pingding* 中华人民共和国国家标准旅游景区质量等级的划分与评定) of the National Tourist Administration 国家旅游局, tourist destinations in China are divided into five categories with one A being the lowest and 5A the highest category. Therefore, the evaluation of tourist destinations is carried out according to a scoring system which includes three criteria: service and environmental quality, the

景区) in 2010,⁴⁶⁷ Pingjiang Road attracts a great number of businesses. Investment companies further enhance this trend by renting formerly residential buildings in favorable locations at Pingjiang Road and subletting them to shop owners. This practice has led to two severe problems concerning Pingjiang Road's development. Firstly, rental prices for buildings located at both sides of the road are rising and drive out smaller businesses which lack the financial capital to pay the high rents. Secondly, the renting out of the buildings by a third party undermines government regulation and obstructs attempts to promote culture-related businesses.

The latter problem has become so severe that Suzhou Pingjiang Historic Block Conservation and Improvement Co., Ltd. 苏州平江历史街区保护整治有限责任公司 (short: Pingjiang Historic Block Company) made public a case of illegal subletting which has been taken to court on its website in September 2017.⁴⁶⁸ The premises in question are located at Pingjiang Road No. 14 and had originally been rented out to Suzhou Qing'an Investment Co., Ltd. 苏州庆安投资有限公司. While there was still running a business in the leased-out premises, the company sublet the location to another party engaged in the sale of snacks, beverages and packaged food. This had then been reported to the Pingjiang Historic Block Company by the original tenant.⁴⁶⁹

Being concerned that the subletting will bring disorder to the management of Pingjiang Road, the Pingjiang Historic Block Company decided to sue Qing'an Investment Company and terminate their leasing contract. Although Gusu District People's Court 姑苏区人民法院 and Suzhou Intermediate People's Court 苏州市中级人民法院 both approved the complaint, Qing'an Investment Company refused to clear the buildings. Finally, vacation had to be carried out through forced eviction.⁴⁷⁰

quality of the scenic site and the visitors' rating, which is obtained through questionnaires. Source: General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine of the People's Republic of China 中华人民共和国国家质量监督检验检疫总局 (2003): *Lüyouqu (dian) zhiliang dengji de huafen yu pingding* 旅游区(点)质量等级的划分与评定 [The quality rating and evaluation of tourist areas and destinations], GB/T17775-2003.

467 "Pingjiang lishi wenhua jiequ gaikuang" 平江历史文化街区概况 [Brief account on the Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block], Pingjiang Road Historic Block Conservation and Improvement Co., Ltd., Online.

468 "Pingjiang Lu yan jie shangpu bu ke sui yi zhuan zu o, yi you weigui qiye bei chachu le" 平江路沿街商铺不可随意转租哦, 已有违规企业被查处了 [Shops adjacent to Pingjiang Road cannot be sublet at will, there has already been prosecuted a business which violated the regulations], (September 12, 2017), Pingjiang Road Historic Block Conservation and Improvement Co., Ltd., Online.

469 Ibid.

470 Ibid.

The reason for this intervention as argued in the judgement is given by the Pingjiang Historic Block Company as follows:

平江路作为历史文化保护街区，聚集了丰富的历史人文景观，平江历史街区公司作为其中部分房屋的所有权人，出于对历史街区的风貌保护和环境整治的需要，其应当对承租商户的经营项目进行限制。⁴⁷¹

“As protected historic and cultural block, Pingjiang Road is abundant in historical and cultural landscapes. The Pingjiang Historic Block Company is the owner of a part of its buildings. Out of the need for protection of its appearance and environmental improvement of the historic block, it [the company] should restrict business ventures of commercial tenants.”

On their website, the company further states:

小编在这里善意地提醒一下平江路上所有商铺商家哦：转租会导致平江路租赁市场紊乱，市场畸形，十分不利于平江历史街区的稳定发展。所以，在签订租赁协议时，就对转租权做了明确约定：未经同意，不得转租给第三人。擅自转租的，平江历史街区公司可以解除合同。同时还约定，承租方不按租赁合同规定的用途经营，而用于其他经营或者合同期内转租或由其他个人经营的，平江历史街区公司可以解除合同。⁴⁷²

“Hereby, the editor sincerely reminds all shop owners and businessmen on Pingjiang Road: sublease will cause disorder in the rental market of Pingjiang Road, and market distortions are extremely uncondusive to a stable development of the Pingjiang Historic Block. Therefore, a clear statement has been made concerning the right for sublease when the tenancy agreement was signed: unapproved. Sublease to third parties is not permitted. In the case of unauthorized sublease, the Pingjiang Historic Block Company may terminate the contract. It further has been stated that the Pingjiang Historic Block Company may terminate the contract, if the lessee does not operate according to the usage specified in the tenancy agreement as well as [in case of] use for other business and sublease to or operation by someone else within the period of the contract.”

The statements by the Pingjiang Historic Block Company show that the government sees control and restriction of commercial activities on Pingjiang Road as important means to ensure the protection of the block's overall environment. This can be seen as an attempt to balance conservation and development. On the other hand, the fact that the company took legal action and warns other shop owners on

471 “Pingjiang Lu yan jie shangpu bu ke sui yi zhuan zu o, yi you weigui qiye bei chachu le” 平江路沿街商铺不可随意转租哦，已有违规企业被查处了, (September 12, 2017), Pingjiang Road Historic Block Conservation and Improvement Co., Ltd., Online.

472 Ibid.

its website that sublease is prohibited indicates that the commercialization of Pingjiang Road has already become a serious problem.

Although the entire historic block has been promulgated as 4A scenic area, tourists concentrate on Pingjiang Road where the density of shops, restaurants and leisure facilities is the highest. Only recently, efforts are made to popularize the “Twelve Views of Pingjiang”, which comprise sights all over the block and to both sides of Pingjiang Road. One of these initiatives includes a brochure with short presentations of 300 characters on each sight which is said to have been drafted by a group of local elderly and sold in the tourism center of the block.⁴⁷³ The brochure comprises eight of the twelve sights in the conservation plan on which they are based. It informs on their historical backgrounds, structure, characteristics and location.⁴⁷⁴

Hereafter, in August 2017, the Pingjiang Historic Block Company included an introduction to the “Twelve Views of Pingjiang” on their website.⁴⁷⁵ Simultaneously, several activities were launched to make these places known better to both locals and tourists. During the two-month summer holidays in 2017, the Science and Technology Association of Pingjiang Subdistrict (Pingjiang jiedao kexue jishu xiehui 平江街道科学技术协会) organized a model building competition of the twelve sights for children and teenagers. Participants were supposed to build a model of one ancient built structure belonging to the twelve sights, using eco-friendly materials. All in all, 55 participants from 4-15 years turned in their models for evaluation.⁴⁷⁶

Apart from this initiative to hand down local culture to younger generations, events are organized to guide tourists not only along central Pingjiang Road but also into the smaller lanes of the historic district. On the occasion of a festival in 2017, the Pingjiang Historic Block Company together with the Business Association of Pingjiang Road (Pingjiang Lu shanghui 平江路商会) organized an event

473 Hu, Yujing 胡毓菁 (December 1, 2015): “Suzhou laoren zi bian lüyou shouce jieshao Pingjiang jiequ lishi wenhua” 苏州老人自编旅游手册介绍平江街区历史文化 [Suzhou elderly compile travel brochure introducing the history and culture of Pingjiang Block], Online.

474 Jiang, Xinyi 蒋心怡 (November 20, 2015): “Pingjiang shi'er jing guang ting mingzi jiu zui le” 平江十二景光听名字就醉了 [One becomes engrossed just by listening to the names of the Twelve Sights of Pingjiang], Online.

475 “Pingjiang shi'er jing” 平江十二景 [Twelve Sights of Pingjiang], (August 25, 2017), Pingjiang Road Historic Block Conservation and Improvement Co., Ltd, Online.

476 Zhang Yuchen 张雨琛 (September 5, 2017): “55 jian ‘Pingjiang shi'er jing’ gu jianzhu moxing jin xian Gusu fengqing” 55 件‘平江十二景’古建筑模型尽显姑苏风情 [55 models of ancient built structures from the ‘Twelve Sights of Pingjiang’ greatly display Gusu culture], Online.

called “Visit Pingjiang and stroll around Shantang” (You Pingjiang guang Shantang 游平江 逛山塘) referring to the Pingjiang Historic Block and Suzhou’s other Historically and Culturally Famous Street, Shantang Street 山塘街. Especially couples are encouraged to visit the Pingjiang Historic District and participate in an activity where they have to take a picture together in front of one of the twelve sights, upload it and collect “Like” - clicks.⁴⁷⁷

The transformation of residential buildings into stores is the form of use which developed the fastest on both sides along Pingjiang Road. After completion of the conservation and improvement project in 2004, the preserved buildings were rented out to ventures with a focus on cultural content. While, in the later development, tourist shops and famous chain stores increasingly emerged, many stores from the “first generation” are original brands (*yuanchuang pinpai* 原创品牌). They were created in and became known from their Pingjiang Road store, which laid the basis for their transformation into a brand and following expansion to other cities.

One of the most well-known of these shops on Pingjiang Road is “Momi Café” (Mao de tiankong zhi cheng 猫的天空之城, literally: “The Cat’s Castle in the Sky”). The name “Momi” supposedly derives from a phonetic transcription of the Chinese word *maomi* (猫咪 “kitty”). The success story of Momi Café began in 2009 when the first store was opened on Pingjiang Road No. 25.⁴⁷⁸ Its functions exceed those of a common bookstore, and it is therefore designated as concept bookstore (*gainian shudian* 概念书店). The notion of the concept store goes back to the late 1990s when European retail traders such as 10 Corso Como in Milan and Colette in Paris created cross-selling shops oriented on a lifestyle theme. This retail model follows a curatorial approach where physical products are selected according to the store’s philosophy and customers are provided with an emotional and sensory experience.⁴⁷⁹ In compliance with its motto “a bookstore to warm a city” (*yi jia shudian wenjuan yi zuo chengshi* 一家书店温暖一座城市),⁴⁸⁰ “Momi Café” comprises a showroom in the front and a two-storied building in the back with the café on the lower and the bookshelves on the upper story.

477 “Wei ai deng ni — ‘You Pingjiang guang Shantang’ 2017 Qixi Minsu Wenhua Fengqingjie” 为爱等你 —— ‘游平江 逛山塘’ 2017七夕民俗文化风情节 [Waiting for you, for love — ‘Visit Pingjiang and stroll around Shantang’ 2017 Qixi Folk Culture Festival], (August 23, 2017), Pingjiang Road Historic Block Conservation and Improvement Co., Ltd., Online.

478 “Maokong jieshao” 猫空介绍 [Introduction to “Maokong”], Suzhou Momicafe Books Co., Ltd., Online.

479 Popescu, Doina I.; Popa, Ion (2012): “The Option for the Universe of Consumption and the ‘Efficient Consumer Response’ Philosophy”, p. 2.

480 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 149.

The products sold revolve around different themes (*zhuti* 主题), mainly related to paper such as magazines, creative travel picture books and maps, postcards or notebooks but also creative ceramics.⁴⁸¹ They are characterized by a high degree of creativity and singularity. Handmade postcards, for example, include wooden postcards in special shapes or cuts. A creative map of the Pingjiang Historic Block comes with game tokens and can also be used as a game board. It further provides information on the district and introduces places of interest.

The buildings of today's Momi Café were part of the newly discovered buildings from the Third Cultural Relics Survey. They have been kept in traditional building style and signs of age have not been overcoated but integrated into the overall design of the store. It is equipped with wooden furnishings and decorations resonating with the building style. The owner further refrained from dazzling advertisement and put up creatively designed wooden signs in a line on the outside wall. Moreover, a preserved archway has been integrated into the café (see fig. 3-27).



Figure 3-27. Preserved Archway in Momi Café (from the inside).

Source: author's photo, 2018.

In the café, there is served coffee and tea, another one of the stores' main products. Corresponding to a component of its Chinese name, "Castle in the sky" (Tiankong zhi cheng 天空之城), music by Joe Hisaishi (久石讓 Hisaishi Jō, original

481 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 149.

name 藤澤守 Fujisawa Mamoru) from the same-titled Japanese movie is played in the store.⁴⁸² Apart from being a commercial space, the café takes up a social function of providing space for people to relax, to meet and to interact. Having made postcards one of their major themes, the store offers a special related service. Under the designation “send to the future” (*ji gei weilai* 寄给未来) customers are encouraged to write postcards which will then be kept on a shelf in the store until a chosen future date on which it will be sent. These messages can be wishes and greetings to relatives and friends as well as messages to one’s future self.⁴⁸³ Since the opening of its first store on Pingjiang Road, the brand has expanded into major cities all over China with branch stores in major cities such as Shanghai, Nanjing, Beijing, Lijiang, Kunming or Chengdu.⁴⁸⁴

Another form of reuse applied in an officially listed municipal-level building is the transformation into a restaurant. In the case of former Wang Family Yizhuang, the government holds the property rights and can initiate conservation projects as well as decide on its form of reuse. In 2008, the government rented out the former *yizhuang* to a restaurant-owner so that he could set up a test site for the establishment of cultural industries on Pingjiang Road.⁴⁸⁵ After the buildings had been repaired, they were opened as “Shang xia ruo” 上下若 – restaurant.⁴⁸⁶

The restaurant is decorated in Asian style. In addition to conventional tables and a bar inside, roofed corridors to the left and right of a courtyard are divided into several seating areas. These compartments have an elevated tatami mat floor and are shielded from the weather with a pitched roof-construction. In contrast to its traditional appearance and decoration, the restaurant offers international cuisine including coffee and desserts.

Except for its function as a restaurant, it is also used as recreational space and meeting place for private and work-related talks. According to an article in *Xin-min weekly*, the main target group of the “Shang xia ruo”-restaurant are young people and such working in the media.⁴⁸⁷ Visitors are informed on the historical background of former Wang Family Yizhuang by means of an official plaque. Furthermore, information on its protection status and the original scale of the Wang Family’s property is given. As in the case of Momi Café, the owner set up additional “Shang xia ruo”-restaurants in other cities when the business was successful.⁴⁸⁸

482 Bei, Chen 北辰 (2014): *Pingjiang Lu* 平江路, p. 149.

483 “Ji gei weilai” 寄给未来 [Send to the future], Suzhou Momicafe Books Co., Ltd., Online.

484 “Maokong jieshao” 猫空介绍, Suzhou Momicafe Books Co., Ltd., Online.

485 Zhong Sir 钟 sir (August 13, 2014): “Shang xia ruo” 上下若, Online.

486 Ibid.

487 Ibid.

488 Ibid.

Museums and Exhibition Halls

The main form of use for officially listed sites is to convert them into museums or exhibition halls. The earliest and most well-known museum in the historic block is the above-mentioned **Kunqu Opera Museum**. Originally opened as Suzhou Opera Museum, its specialization on *kunqu* opera followed in 2001, when UNESCO included *kunqu* opera into the first batch of “Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity”.⁴⁸⁹ With the aim to better protect and develop the art of *kunqu* opera, the site was transformed into China *Kunqu* Opera Museum 中国昆曲博物馆 in 2003, as approved by the Ministry of Culture and the government of Jiangsu Province.⁴⁹⁰

The museum holds a collection of cultural relics and more than 30,000 volumes of ancient books and historical documents on *kunqu* opera as well as other opera types. Combining history, culture and art, it assumes more “conventional” museum functions such as preservation and exhibition, but is further used as platform for performances, research and other forms of usage.⁴⁹¹ For example, the museum courtyard in front of the opera stage is used as a meeting place for local people to practice *kunqu* opera.



Figure 3-28. *Kunqu* Opera Practice.

Source: author’s photo, 2016.

489 “Xibo jianjie” 戏博简介 [Introduction to the Opera Museums], Suzhou Opera Museum, Online.

490 Ibid.

491 Ibid.

During a visit of the *Kunqu* Opera Museum in the course of an International Symposium on Chinese Heritage Conservation in Suzhou 2016, a group of locals told this author that they would meet regularly in this place to practice *kunqu* opera singing and instrumental compositions. They appreciated the courtyard in front of the preserved opera stage as appropriate space for their practices (see fig. 3-28).⁴⁹²

A second museum of a local form of art composed of singing as well as storytelling is the **Pingtán Museum** 评弹博物馆. The art of *pingtan* is unique to the area of Suzhou and has been recognized as such on a national level when it was included in the first batch of “Representative works of National Intangible Cultural Heritage” (*guojia ji fei wuzhi wenhua yichan daibiaozuo* 国家级非物质文化遗产代表作) by the State Council in 2006.⁴⁹³ Following its nomination two years earlier by Jiangsu Province and Suzhou Government, Suzhou *Pingtán* Museum was set up in order to better protect, pass on and enhance this form of local art.⁴⁹⁴ As mentioned in chapter 2.3, appropriate protection and management of cultural heritage are an important premise for official listing.

The museum was established in Zhong Zhangjia Lane 中张家巷 Shen Mansion 沈宅. This municipal-level protected traditional residence dates back to the end of the Qing dynasty and the beginning of the Republican period. It is located right next to the *Kunqu* Opera Museum and had formerly been used as both Suzhou opera and *pingtan* research centre.⁴⁹⁵ The preserved buildings of former Shen Mansion comprise one row with three *jin*. The entrance hall gives an overview of the general situation of *pingtan* and the visitor area of the museum. There is a Qing dynasty-style performance venue set up in the second *jin*, the former main hall of the mansion where regular performances are given. The last *jin* displays the historical development of *pingtan* and provides information on famous *pingtan* artists as well as historical accounts on past events.⁴⁹⁶

Similar to the China *Kunqu* Opera Museum, it holds a collection of cultural relics and more than 12,000 volumes of historic books and historical documents related to the art of *pingtan*, including several hundred unique copies as well as scripts. The basis of the museum are more than 560 disks of audiovisual *pingtan* material which originate from the private collection of China’s leading economic policy maker through the 1950s and the early 1960s, Chen Yun 陈云 (1905–1995),

492 Conversation with locals during field trip in the course of the International Symposium “Reclaiming Identity and (Re)materializing Pasts: Approaches to Heritage Conservation in China”, Suzhou, April 8, 2016.

493 “Xibo jianjie” 戏博简介, Suzhou Opera Museum, Online.

494 Ibid.

495 Ibid.

496 “Suzhou pingtan bowuguan” 苏州评弹博物馆 [Suzhou *Pingtán* Museum], Pingjiang Road Historic Block Conservation and Improvement Co., Ltd., Online.

and have been donated to the museum by his wife.⁴⁹⁷ The exhibition of the museum has been completely new arranged and upgraded in 2013.⁴⁹⁸ In addition to the continuous performance of *pingtan* at the venue inside the museum, the courtyard in front is also used as gathering place for local elderly to engage in dancing and gymnastics activities.⁴⁹⁹

Apart from cultural heritage related to local opera, Suzhou looks back to a great number of local figures listed in its historical records who came out first as Number One Scholars in the highest imperial examinations. Manifested in their former residences (*zhuangyuan guju* 状元故居) of which some have been preserved in the Pingjiang Historic Block, this material cultural heritage is included into what is referred to as “*zhuangyuan* culture” 状元文化. For example, the comparatively well-preserved former *zhuangyuan* mansion (*zhuangyuan fu* 状元府) of Pan Shi'en now hosts **Suzhou Zhuangyuan Museum** 苏州状元博物馆.

Located at the western end of Niujia Lane and close to Lindun Road 临顿路, Pan Mansion is one of three parts of the former “Phoenix Pond Garden” (Fengchi yuan 凤池园) and accordingly passed through the different forms of usage prevalent for great mansions in the course of housing transformation. After it had been confiscated in 1958, the buildings were used for housing with more than 30 households moving in and the garden of the mansion was further occupied by a factory during the 1960s.⁵⁰⁰ In order to repair and reuse the mansion, residential units firstly needed to be reacquired. Therefore, in the case of one tenant, the government had to file a lawsuit.⁵⁰¹

The residence has not completely been reused as museum space but divided into two parts. The most well-preserved buildings in the middle and the western row have been integrated into the Zhuangyuan Museum and the third to fifth *jin* of the middle row as well as the four *jin* of the eastern row have been rented out to Shanghai Ruihe Architectural Design and Engineering Co., Ltd. 上海睿合建筑设计工程有限公司. In this part, creative businesses have set up their studios and workshops.⁵⁰²

497 “Suzhou pingtan bowuguan” 苏州评弹博物馆 [Suzhou *Pingtan* Museum], Pingjiang Road Historic Block Conservation and Improvement Co., Ltd., Online.

498 “Xibo jianjie” 戏博简介, Suzhou Opera Museum, Online.

499 Observation by this author during fieldwork in the Pingjiang Historic Block on May 27, 2016.

500 Gong, Xi 弓玺; Jiang, Feng 姜锋 (April 25, 2017): “Liuyu tang: xiri zhuangyuan fu jin wei bowuguan” 留余堂: 昔日状元府今为博物馆 [Liuyu Hall: In former days Number One Scholar residence and today a museum], Online.

501 Ibid.

502 Ibid.

After more than one year of preparation, Suzhou Zhuangyuan Museum was opened to the public in November 2014. While the preserved built heritage of the *zhuangyuan* mansion with its traditional appearance provides the basis and sets the framework for the overall museum, it is enriched with a collection of 469 exhibits of cultural relics.⁵⁰³ Equally targeting at Suzhou residents and tourists, the purpose of the museum is to “pass on history and culture, to promote the city image and to foster cultural tourism development”.⁵⁰⁴

Therefore, the museum organizes thematically related activities for professional audiences as well as the general public. For example, a school opening ceremony was held in spring 2017 for children who started school. In this ceremony, the teacher performed traditional rituals with the students related to learning, such as writing the character *ren* (“human being” 人) with a brush, which expresses the expectation for students to learn how to become an upright person.⁵⁰⁵ Academic assemblies include symposia on *zhuangyuan* culture of which one was held on the day of the museum’s inauguration.⁵⁰⁶

Moreover, the museum is used for broader cultural activities, such as cultural exchange with other countries. In 2017, a group of young Germans from the association YouthORG.EU visited the museum. They were invited to take part in a program introducing major aspects of traditional Chinese culture, among these Chinese zither play, tea culture and traditional Han Chinese clothing.⁵⁰⁷

Another *zhuangyuan* mansion is the Former Residence of Hong Jun. Hong Jun 洪钧 (1839–1893) was a famous Chinese scholar and diplomat who was sent to Europe by the Qing Government as Chinese envoy. During his stay in Berlin, he further travelled to Russia, Austria and the Netherlands.⁵⁰⁸ With the support of a translator, he engaged in research on Yuan history by use of non-Chinese writings and material. He compiled the 30 volume “Supplemental Evidence on

503 “Suzhou zhuangyuan bowuguan” 苏州状元博物馆 [Suzhou Zhuangyuan Museum], Suzhou Xiangmen City Wall Cultural and Recreational Scenic Area, Online.

504 Ibid.

505 “Zhuangyuan Fu | Ding you xinchun xi, le xiang kaixue li” 状元府 | 丁酉新春禧乐享开学礼 [Zhuangyuan Mansion | The happiness of the first days in the New Year 2017 and a joyful school opening ceremony], (July 4, 2017), Xuzhou Imperial Decree Museum, Online.

506 “Suzhou zhuangyuan bowuguan” 苏州状元博物馆, Suzhou Xiangmen City Wall Cultural and Recreational Scenic Area, Online.

507 “Suzhou zhuangyuan bowuguan ‘cha xiang qin yun Han feng’ chuantong wenhua tian” 苏州状元博物馆“茶香琴韵汉风”传统文化体验 [“The scent of tea, the sound of the zither and Han-dynasty style” experience of traditional culture in Suzhou Zhuangyuan Museum], (July 4, 2017), Xuzhou Imperial Decree Museum, Online.

508 Di, Yongjun 邸永君 (March 29, 2006): “Zhuangyuan waijiaojia — Hong Jun qi ren qi shi” 状元外交家——洪钧其人其事 [A Number One Scholar Diplomat — The Life and Deeds of Hong Jun], Online.

Yuan history from translated texts” (*Yuan shi yiwen zhengbu* 元史译文证补). Another of his achievements of this time concerns the Chinese telegraph code, which he transformed in order to align it with the code used in non-Chinese countries.⁵⁰⁹



Figure 3-29. Entrance to Former Mansion of Hong Jun.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Equal to other residences of formerly famous figures, it is partly inhabited by Hong Jun's descendants. His great-grandson Hong Chuanxin 洪传心 lives in his private property, together with his wife and son. The majority of the buildings, however, is rented out to tenants by the Municipal Housing Management Bureau.⁵¹⁰ As mentioned earlier, the Former Residence of Hong Jun was partly opened as **Hall of Notables from Pingjiang** and **Exhibition on the Chinese Examination System** in 2007. It showed the achievements and related cultural objects of several tens of famous figures who were born in the historic block or had lived there.⁵¹¹ This restored part of the mansion bordering on Xuanqiao Lane 悬桥巷 is closed at present

509 Di, Yongjun 邸永君 (March 29, 2006): “Zhuangyuan waijiaojia — Hong Jun qi ren qi shi” 状元外交家——洪钧其人其事, Online.

510 Zheng, Fengming 郑凤鸣 (January 22, 2010): “Yu Hong zhuangyuan houren hua Hong zhai — fang Hong Jun guju guiyin tang” 与洪状元后人话洪宅 —— 访洪钧故居桂荫堂 [Talking about Hong Mansion with the descendants of zhuangyuan Hong — A visit of Guiyin Hall in the Former Residence of Hong Jun], Online.

511 “Yincang zai Suzhou chengli de zhuangyuan fu” 隐藏在苏州城里的状元府 [The zhuangyuan mansion hidden in Suzhou City], (October 22, 2014), Suzhou Tourism Administration, Online.

and not accessible to the public. The entrance of its inhabited part further in the back is still decorated with a horizontal board indicating its former status as *zhuangyuan* mansion (see fig. 3-29).

Another form of re-use which is still at its beginning in the Pingjiang Historic Block are art museums. As one of its strategies to open up new options for use of conserved built structures, Suzhou Government aims to attract international talents engaged in the cultural field to promote cultural and creative industries in Suzhou. Therefore, they initiated the establishment of an art gallery exhibiting the works of female artist Wang Xiaohui 王小慧 in the newly conserved Ding Mansion.⁵¹² With its relocation (see chapter 3.2.3) the original form of use of the mansion was changed from housing into an art gallery. Wang Xiaohui who graduated in architecture participated in the design of the gallery, combining Chinese and “Western” elements in a modern style.⁵¹³ Having lived and worked in China as well as Germany for a long time, she has great experience in working with international brands, which is incorporated in her work.⁵¹⁴

In October 2013, **Wang Xiaohui Art Museum** 王小慧艺术馆 was officially opened.⁵¹⁵ While the building structure and outward appearance of the mansion have been reconstructed according to previous documentation, the interior was equipped with fire prevention facilities as well as technology for environmental protection and energy saving to enhance usage and comfort.⁵¹⁶ The exhibits in the museum are contemporary artworks including photographs, sculpture, installations, images and new media art. Although the artworks have a strong experimental and avant-garde character, they have been well integrated into the traditional appearance of the building.⁵¹⁷

Even before the museum was opened, it has served as venue for a conference on the foundation of museums as well as the protection and development of

512 Cheng, Qi 程琦 (September 24, 2013): “Wang Xiaohui yishu guan ‘luohu’ mingdai laozhai, gudian yu dangdai yuansu kuajie ronghe” 王小慧艺术馆“落户”明代老宅, 古典与当代元素跨界融合 [Wang Xiaohui Art Museum “settles” in an old Ming dynasty residence, classical and contemporary elements cross boundaries and merge], Online.

513 Ibid.

514 Ibid.

515 Jin, Yajun 金亚军 (April 6, 2016): “Daru Xiang Ding zhai” 大儒巷丁宅, Online.

516 Tao, Guanqun 陶冠群 (November 29, 2011): “Ding zhai shishi zhengti baohuxing yijian 2012 nian 4 yue chu wancheng” 丁宅实施整体保护性移建 2012 年 4 月初完成 [The protective Movement and Reconstruction of the complete Ding Mansion shall be completed by the beginning of April 2012], Online.

517 Cheng, Qi 程琦 (September 24, 2013): “Wang Xiaohui yishu guan ‘luohu’ mingdai laozhai, gudian yu dangdai yuansu kuajie ronghe” 王小慧艺术馆“落户”明代老宅, 古典与当代元素跨界融合, Online.

historic urban spaces. Together with the management company of Pingjiang Road, there further was set up a network to support young artists and designers.⁵¹⁸ On the one hand, Wang Xiaohui Art Museum itself serves as a model for future creative industry projects and on the other hand, it is directly involved in the process of their formation.

Guesthouses and Social/Cultural Facilities

A function which enables the combination of housing conservation with tourism development in a feasible way is to transform traditional housing units into guesthouses or hostels. In the Pingjiang Historic Block, this form of usage has increasingly been applied with the start of the conservation project in 2002 and its following transformation into a tourist destination. It is now a frequently chosen form of conservation with establishments for different target groups ranging from boutique hotels (*jingpin jiudian* 精品酒店) to youth hostels, which shall be introduced in the following.

As part of the Pingjiang Historic Block Conservation and Improvement Project, two building complexes located at the bank of Pingjiang River were redeveloped into **Pingjiang Guesthouse** 平江客栈. Therefore, two former residences, Niujia Lane Fang Mansion and Dong Family Yizhuang have been combined into one guesthouse. The *Pingjiang Gazetteer* records that Fang Mansion had been used for housing before, while the *yizhuang* had assumed a range of different functions (compare chapter 3.2.3). Apart from hosting a school, it had been occupied by a plastics factory and a waste transfer station. Its adjacent ancestral temple had been used as gunnysack factory, canteen and storehouse.⁵¹⁹

Both mansions are officially listed. Fang Mansion was primarily promulgated as controlled and protected building in 1983 and has been listed on a municipal level since 2014. Dong Family Yizhuang, which includes Dong Family Ancestral Temple, was listed as controlled and protected building in 1983 as well. Treatment therefore was carried out by the government.⁵²⁰ The conservation process aimed at maintaining the original appearance of traditional buildings while simultaneously providing the requirements for modern usage.

518 Cheng, Qi 程琦 (September 24, 2013): “Wang Xiaohui yishu guan ‘luohu’ mingdai laozhai, gudian yu dangdai yuansu kuajie ronghe” 王小慧艺术馆“落户”明代老宅, 古典与当代元素跨界融合, Online.

519 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, pp. 242, 234.

520 Shen, Qingnian 沈庆年 (ed., 2012): *Gucheng yizhu: Suzhou kongbao jianzhu tanyou* 古城遗珠: 苏州控保建筑探幽, p. 67.

The transformed guesthouse comprises 42 guest rooms, which are arranged in the style of local dwelling houses.⁵²¹ Characteristic architectural elements and cultural relics have been retained and integrated into the guesthouse. In addition, every room is equipped with hot and cold air-conditioning as well as sanitation facilities in the form of a private bathroom. Apart from the guest rooms, it features a restaurant, a coffee bar and rooms of five different sizes which can be used for multiple purposes. With a maximum reception of 150 people, it can further be used to hold conferences or banquets.⁵²²

While the guest rooms are adapted to modern needs in terms of functionality and comfort, a strong focus is set on the inclusion of traditional culture. In addition to room numbers, the guest rooms have been provided with “cultural names” (*wenhua xingming* 文化姓名).⁵²³ These names express traditional morals such as righteousness and kindness with rooms named “Hall of the Esteem of Righteousness” (Shangyi ting 尚义厅) or “Hall of the Esteem of Kindness” (Shangshan ting 尚善厅). Furthermore, the often taken up ideal to withdraw from society and live in seclusion can be identified in names such as “Hall of Ploughing and Studying” (Gengdu ting 耕读厅). Finally, some names reflect qualities suggestive of poetry and painting (*shiqing huayi* 诗情画意). This is exemplified by guest rooms such as “Hall of the Refreshing Breeze” (Qingfeng ting 清风厅) or “Hall of the Bright Moon” (Mingyue ting 明月厅).⁵²⁴

These names imply the individual character of the rooms. Thus, the Hall of the Refreshing Breeze features a balcony and the windows of the Hall of the Bright Moon are oriented towards the scenery of Pingjiang River. Moreover, there are cultural relics and significant elements of material cultural heritage exhibited in some of the rooms. Such material cultural heritage includes ornamental carvings on screen doors or a traditional bed for newly-wed couples (*longfeng chuang* 龙凤床) which spend their honeymoon in the guesthouse.⁵²⁵

One of the earliest guesthouses in the block is **Suzhou Joya International Youth Hostel** 苏州小雅国际青年旅舍. The hostel is named after former official Pang Qinglin 庞庆麟 (1842–?) whose courtesy name (*zi* 字), *xiaoya* 小雅, is also the name of a poem in the “Book of Songs” (*Shijing* 诗经).⁵²⁶ Pang Mansion is the privately-owned residence of Pang Qinglin’s descendants. It comprises two rows

521 “Pingjiang kezhan” 平江客栈 [Pingjiang Guesthouse], Pingjiang Road Historic Block Conservation and Improvement Co., Ltd., Online.

522 Ibid.

523 Shen, Qingnian 沈庆年 (ed., 2012): *Gucheng yizhu: Suzhou kongbao jianzhu tanyou* 古城遗珠：苏州控保建筑探幽, p. 68.

524 Ibid.

525 Ibid.

526 Ibid., p. 62.

with five *jin* which have been well preserved. Dating back to the early Qing dynasty, the mansion has been listed as controlled and protected building. Its entrance hall, sedan-chair hall and a study and parlor in the western row have been repaired by the Pang Family before they opened Joya International Youth hostel. The owners still live in the eastern part of the mansion.⁵²⁷

To assume the basic functions of the hostel, the entrance hall has been turned into a reception room. In a small courtyard following the entrance hall are hung up written abstracts on the mansion's history and well-known earlier inhabitants, e.g. educator Jin Songcen 金松岑, who had provided his own residence in Tongli to open a school.⁵²⁸ The sedan-chair hall has been turned into a public recreational space where guests can assemble to play games, have a rest or to read a book. The former study and parlor, which are built in traditional Suzhou north-south structure facing each other, now accommodate the guest rooms. The hostel offers two types of rooms differing in number of guests and price. The former study has been divided into three double-rooms while the parlor offers cheaper standard hostel rooms from six to eight people.⁵²⁹

Characteristic architectural and environmental elements have been preserved and integrated into the setup of the hostel. Guests enter the building complex through a stone-framed door (*shikumen* 石库门, for an explanation of this element, see chapter 5.1.1) and the small courtyard following the entrance hall still features a historic well, both original components of the mansion. There further are old camellia 山茶 and wisteria 紫藤 trees as well as a lakeside rock scenery in the courtyard in-between the guest rooms (see fig. 3-30). The double rooms carry names with cultural connotations related to traditional poetry and painting, such as, again, the "bright moon" (*ming yue* 明月) or the "refreshing breeze" (*qing feng* 清风).⁵³⁰

As the description above shows, the structure of the mansion and the original appearance of the buildings have been preserved. As part of the network "Hostelling International", however, it is bound to international accommodation standards. In order to adhere to these standards in terms of sanitation and comfort, the buildings have been adapted to the contemporary lifestyle. The double-rooms each feature a private bathroom while another shared bathroom has been included for the standard rooms. The hostel further offers a laundry station with washing machines in the public area and a kitchen, which is equipped with cooking facilities.⁵³¹

527 Shen, Qingnian 沈庆年 (ed., 2012): *Gucheng yizhu: Suzhou kongbao jianzhu tanyou* 古城遗珠: 苏州控保建筑探幽, p. 62.

528 Ibid.

529 Ibid.

530 Ibid.

531 Information provided by hostel manager, Suzhou Pingjiang Historic Block, May 18, 2018.



Figure 3-30. Registered 70-year-old Wisteria Tree.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

In 2013, another controlled and protected building was opened as **Tan Hua Mansion** 探花府邸 which belongs to the Blossom Hill Inn 花间堂 Group. The former residence of Pan Zuyin 潘祖荫, grandson of Pan Shi'en, was converted into a boutique hotel. The concept of “boutique”, also interchangeable with “lifestyle” or “design” as a particular type of hotel emerged in the 1980s and was primarily popular in North America and Europe before it came to East and South-east Asia.⁵³² Vaguely defined, boutique hotels are smaller than usual hotels and do not belong to large chains, they have an individual character and give prominence to personal service. In their pursuit of uniqueness, they are either set up in exceptional modern architecture or settings of historic significance which makes them a popular form of adaptive reuse.⁵³³

Before transformation, Tan Hua Mansion's eastern row including the garden and the latter half of the central row belonged to a bed sheet factory. The factory used half of the place as guesthouse and the other half as dormitory.⁵³⁴ The rest of the mansion had been public rental housing, inhabited by more than 50 households.

532 Henderson, Joan C. (2011): “Hip heritage: The boutique hotel business in Singapore”, p. 218.

533 Ibid., pp. 218–219.

534 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 245.

During this period of use, new structures were added in the courtyards and the garden was demolished, but the basic layout of three rows with five *jin* and its original buildings could be maintained.⁵³⁵

Since the mansion has been transformed, it fulfills various functions. The first *jin* of the eastern row, which enables an unblocked view on its restored garden, functions as reception hall. The latter half of this row has been transformed into a restaurant area due to its irregular structure. To provide for the kitchen, a two-story building has been newly constructed adjacent to the northeastern corner of the mansion which is not part of the protection area. The former half of the central row is used for cultural exhibitions and “experiences”, including a reading corner, a tearoom, public space to hold salons (*shalong* 沙龙)⁵³⁶ and an exhibition area.⁵³⁷

The guest rooms of the hotel are mainly located in the western row as well as the northern part of the central and eastern row. In the central row, rooms have been designed in accordance with traditional occupation patterns. While the central rooms are used as public space, bedrooms are set up in the eastern and western side rooms. Such an arrangement has been chosen in order to solve the problem of low insulation and to increase privacy. At the same time, it shall offer an “authentic” experience of living in a courtyard house. The number of guests in these rooms therefore is lower, with one family per courtyard.⁵³⁸

Guest rooms in the western row show a greater variety of room types, including smaller rooms with several families sharing a courtyard. All rooms of the hotel are fully equipped with modern living facilities in order to satisfy the guests’ demand for comfort.⁵³⁹ The mansion’s new form of use as boutique hotel had been determined from the very beginning of the conservation project which enabled designers to consider future functional needs and include facilities and devices for water supply and drainage, a power system, air-conditioning and heating.⁵⁴⁰ In the

535 Cai, Shuang 蔡爽 (2015): “Tanhua fudi • Huajian tang — Suzhou Pingjiang lishi jiequ Pan Zuyin guju xiushan gaizao shijian” 探花府邸 • 花间堂——苏州平江历史街区潘祖荫故居修缮改造实践 [Tan Hua Mansion • Huajian Hall – Conservation and Transformation Practice of the Former Mansion of Pan Zuyin in the Pingjiang Historical Block, Suzhou], p. 84.

536 Salon refers to social gatherings with cultural content relating to literature, arts, science, etc.

537 Cai, Shuang 蔡爽 (2015): “Tanhua fudi • Huajian tang — Suzhou Pingjiang lishi jiequ Pan Zuyin guju xiushan gaizao shijian” 探花府邸 • 花间堂——苏州平江历史街区潘祖荫故居修缮改造实践, p. 84.

538 Ibid.

539 Ibid.

540 Xia, Rongjing 夏榕静 (2014): “Laozhai de jingcai tuibian — Pan Zuyin guju (zhonglu houbanbu ji donglu) weixiu zhengzhi” 老宅的精彩蜕变——潘祖荫故居（中路后

design process, special attention was paid to not violate regulations on the protection of ancient buildings.⁵⁴¹

In terms of fire prevention and control, the project has followed and to a high degree conforms to local fire prevention regulations (*Management Regulations on fire prevention in protective conservation and improvement of Historically and Culturally Protected Areas of Suzhou* 苏州市历史文化保护区保护性修复、整治消防管理办法). In accordance with these regulations for protected heritage buildings, there have been installed five types of fire prevention and control facilities in the buildings.⁵⁴²

However, the difficulty to adhere to conservation standards while achieving a high level of security becomes apparent by example of fire-retarding building parts. In the case of Tan Hua Mansion, the Cultural Relics Department disagreed with the plans for installing fire-retarding doors, windows and rolling fire shutters, because they contrasted strongly with the traditional appearance of the building. In the end, the department reached an agreement with the fire brigade whereby the installation of fire-retarding doors and windows could be avoided.⁵⁴³ Another component, which posed problems to the preservation of the mansion's outward appearance, was lightning protection. Here, a solution could be reached by employment of hidden laying lightning protection earth tapes.⁵⁴⁴

Furthermore, new materials with power saving functions have been employed for conservation. The mansion features a modern geothermal heat pump system, which can be used for air-conditioning, warm water and heating. On the one hand, such heat preserving and energy saving construction materials are employed to solve common problems in ancient building preservation, such as low heat preservation capacity, damp building floors or low insulation capacity.⁵⁴⁵ On the other hand, new energy saving technology has been chosen which supports continuing use of the buildings in their future function as boutique hotel.

This form of combining conservation with modern technological standards in a guesthouse can also be found in buildings which are not officially listed, yet, but

半部及东路) 维修整治 [The marvelous transformation of an old mansion — reparation and improvement of the Former Mansion of Pan Zuyin (latter half of central row and eastern row)], p. 13.

541 Ibid.

542 Cai, Shuang 蔡爽 (2015): “Tanhua fudi • Huajian tang — Suzhou Pingjiang lishi jiequ Pan Zuyin guju xiushan gaizao shijian” 探花府邸 • 花间堂——苏州平江历史街区潘祖荫故居修缮改造实践, p. 84.

543 Xia, Rongjing 夏榕静 (2014): “Laozhai de jingcai tuibian — Pan Zuyin guju (zhonglu houbanbu ji donglu) weixiu zhengzhi” 老宅的精彩蜕变——潘祖荫故居 (中路后半部及东路) 维修整治, p. 14.

544 Ibid.

545 Ibid.

have been discovered in the Third Cultural Relics Survey. One early example from 2007 is “**Zhu Garden**” (Zhuyuan 筑园) on Pingjiang Road No. 31. Originally a hall of the Zhang Family Residence in the Qing dynasty named “Sanhe Hall” (Sanhe tang 三和堂), it had later been used for housing.⁵⁴⁶ Now, it hosts “Archi-Garden Club” which, in addition to its function as guesthouse, can further be used as space for professional assemblies and exhibitions.⁵⁴⁷

When Shanghai Zhongfang Architectural Design Co., Ltd. 上海中房建筑设计有限公司 took over the conservation and reconstruction project, the building was seriously damaged, but some significant parts could be saved and are well-preserved. These parts include an 100-year-old wall and roof beams with fine wooden carvings.⁵⁴⁸ At the same time, less significant building elements have been designed to take up a new function in the guesthouse such as a fire-retarding lane (*huoxiang* 火巷) which has been roofed in a modern design and now serves as picture gallery.⁵⁴⁹

The design company describes their work as “protective transformation” (*baohu xing gaizao* 保护性改造) project. Therein, they took an approach which combines the preservation of the overall structure with partly renewal. Conservation was carried out in accordance with the original appearance of the buildings.⁵⁵⁰ Traditional building structures such as the skywell and an archway have been integrated into the overall design and the buildings provided with new functions. The front hall is now used as reception and the back hall has been converted into a reading room with coffee bar.⁵⁵¹

In order to adapt the buildings to the needs of a contemporary lifestyle, they are equipped with modern facilities and technology. For example, they feature a drainage and ventilation system as well as central air-conditioning. Insulation is regulated by means of energy-saving technologies and the buildings make use of a geothermal system.⁵⁵² The guest rooms are further furnished in a modern style and have plain windows. Instead of restoring these rooms to a traditional style as well, the difference between public space in traditional style and the private rooms in a modern style has been made visible.

546 Information plaque on the building.

547 “Suzhou Zhuyuan huisuo” 苏州筑园会所 [Suzhou Archi-Garden Club], Shanghai Zhongfang Architectural Design Co., Ltd., Online.

548 Information plaque on the building.

549 “Suzhou Zhuyuan huisuo” 苏州筑园会所, Shanghai Zhongfang Architectural Design Co., Ltd., Online.

550 Ibid.

551 Ibid.

552 Information plaque on the building.

The final group of use forms found in the Pingjiang Historic Block are social and cultural facilities. One example related to cultural facilities is **Weidao Guan Qian Pan Mansion**. Hosting a “lifestyle center” (*shenghuo fangshi zhongxin* 生活方式中心) to experience a certain “Suzhou lifestyle”, it takes up a comparatively rare function for a mansion listed on the national and highest protection level. This may relate to its earlier and established usage for cultural and artistic purposes. The *Pingjiang Gazetteer* records that the parlor was used for small-scale *pingtan* performances by famous artists during the 1920s and 30s and another drawing room functioned as venue for scholarly assemblies, artistic and drama performances.⁵⁵³ Only later was it partly turned into a storehouse for a silk weaving factory and partly into housing.⁵⁵⁴

In the course of an adaptive reuse project, there were restored 2800 m² of the mansion’s historical built heritage.⁵⁵⁵ Since 2014, it has been a locale for different chain brand cultural and creative industry branches of the Jiangsu province tourism developer Yuanjian Holdings Group 远见控股集团. This developer provides goods, services and activities relating to six domains: catering, accommodation, transportation, travelling, shopping and entertainment.⁵⁵⁶ In Pan Mansion, they operate a bookstore, a teahouse and a shop selling traditional Suzhou handicraft products. While having their own brand names, all these branches are brought together in the lifestyle center named “Pingjiang Road • Ligeng Hall LIFE+” (Pingjiang Lu • Ligeng tang LIFE+ 平江路 • 礼耕堂 LIFE+).

“First Sight Bookstore” (Chujian shufang 初见书房) is the brand name of one of the cultural tourism facilities belonging to entertainment. By now, this store has expanded to more than 10 stores in the Jiangnan region.⁵⁵⁷ The shop selling traditional handicraft products carries the brand name “Good Style of Suzhou” (Suzhou hao fengguang 苏州好风光). It covers seven types of cultural and creative industry products: tea, wine, food, wooden products, textiles, potteries and fragrances. The cultural and creative brand aims to creatively restore traditional handicraft and therefore integrates research and development of cultural resources with production and sales.⁵⁵⁸

553 Suzhou Pingjiang District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 苏州市平江区地方志编纂委员会 (ed., 2006): *Pingjiang Qu zhi* 平江区志, p. 241.

554 *Ibid.*, p. 242.

555 “Pingjiang Lu • Ligeng tang LIFE+, zhongqiu xiao changjia huohua Su shi shenghuo” 平江路 • 礼耕堂 LIFE+, 中秋小长假活化苏式生活 [Pingjiang Road • Ligeng Hall LIFE+, revitalizing Suzhou lifestyle during the short “long vacation” of the Mid-autumn Festival], (September 5, 2014), Suzhou Tourism Administration, Online.

556 “Jituan jianjie” 集团简介 [Company introduction], 2014, Yuanjian Holdings, Online.

557 “Chujian shufang” 初见书房 [First Sight Bookstore], 2014, Yuanjian Holdings, Online.

558 “Hao fengguang” 好风光 [Hao Fengguang Store], 2014, Yuanjian Holdings, Online.

According to an article on the website of Suzhou Tourism Administration, one of the purposes of setting up the lifestyle center was to “revitalize” (*huohua* 活化) the historical mansion, which is promoted to be representative for a “Suzhou lifestyle”. This lifestyle shall be experienced in the form of cultural and creative products, cultural books and art exhibitions.⁵⁵⁹ By including the historical name of the mansion’s main hall in the name of the center, the developer aims to adapt the general concept of the “lifestyle center” to local history and culture.

In line with this overarching concept, there are cultural events organized on different occasions in “First Sight Bookstore”. For example, two events held in fall 2014 were a Mid-autumn Festival gathering and a photography exhibition. The Mid-autumn Festival gathering included a lecture by a Zen-Buddhist priest with subsequent discussion and calligraphy writing.⁵⁶⁰ The photography exhibition, which carries a name homophone to Pingjiang Road and is called “Pingjiang • Record” (Pingjiang • Lu 平江 • 录), shows the development of the historical district over 13 years. The photographer and speaker at the event, a Suzhou native, has been taking pictures of Pingjiang Road since 2001. In addition to giving a content-related lecture on his work, the event also comprised a technical briefing.⁵⁶¹

On the one hand, specific products and activities at Pan Mansion are remodeled into a “Suzhou lifestyle” in order to make them more attractive to tourists as well as certain target groups of local people. On the other hand, the demand for traditional arts and handicraft techniques increases, thereby fostering the transmission and advance of local culture. Although the reuse of Pan Mansion follows clear commercial objectives, it further enables an inclusion of traditional aspects of Chinese culture, such as the Mid-autumn Festival, Buddhism, calligraphy and a local lifestyle in the examples above.

The government further strives to foster projects of adaptive reuse with a cultural focus in buildings which are not listed on one of the three administrative protection levels. By means of assigning possible tenants, it has a determining influence on future use in cases where it holds the property rights. Acceptable tenants can be private individuals who manage to accumulate sufficient funding to set up and maintain a business venture with cultural content. An example for such a case is the historical mansion in **Xiao Xinqiao Lane 小新桥巷 No. 2-1**.

The site with its now publicly owned buildings dates back to the Qing dynasty. Its current tenant told this author that some buildings of the site had been part of

559 “Pingjiang Lu • Ligeng tang LIFE+, zhongqiu xiao changjia huohua Su shi shenghuo” 平江路 • 礼耕堂 LIFE+, 中秋小长假活化苏式生活, (September 5, 2014), Suzhou Tourism Administration, Online.

560 Ibid.

561 Ibid.

the historical mansion She Garden (see chapter 3.1.2) during the Qing dynasty and subsequently, the renowned Couple's Garden Retreat. However, after the establishment of the PRC, this part of the mansion had been occupied by a silk factory and turned into a workshop. Later, it became an office of Pingjiang District Government before the government finally decided to rent out the buildings.⁵⁶²

Today, the place has been converted into what the interviewee called a “gathering place for distinguished assemblies of men of letters (*wenren yaji de difang* 文人雅集的地方) comparable to European cultural salons (*wenhua shalong* 文化沙龙)”.⁵⁶³ Moreover, it is a center for the research and promotion of traditional fans and fan culture. While fans are one of Suzhou's local products, they have another relation to local *kunqu* opera. The interviewee explained that the fan is an attribute of Du Liniang 杜丽娘, the female protagonist of the famous play “Peony Pavillion” (Mudanting 牡丹亭). Then again, the love story in the *kunqu* play relates to the Couple's Garden Retreat, connecting the cultural content of its contemporary form of use to the tangible site.

The project was initiated by the more than 80-year-old proprietor who, as a master fan craftsman, has great passion for fans and the continuity of this tradition. As the property is publicly owned and he is holding the right of use, he had to finance the reparation himself with a little support of the government.⁵⁶⁴ In the conservation process, the Qing and Republican period-buildings were repaired, consolidated and equipped with modern facilities (see fig. 3-31). Because the proprietor did have the necessary capital but no business experience, he engaged a team to support the project. Their team consists of about four to five people between 20 and 40 years of which some have studied abroad and learned about cultural businesses in Europe.⁵⁶⁵

The objective to open the salon was to provide a space for cultural exchange. Therefore, they set up a workshop to examine and produce fans as well as to lecture on and show the process of making fans, starting from the selection of materials until they are ready for sale. Following the interviewee, their aim is to let more people know about fan production and fan culture. However, the use of the historical building is not limited to this topic. There are further held different cultural activities, such as calligraphy writing, traditional music performances, exhibitions of traditional Han clothing and local crafts such as Suzhou embroidery.⁵⁶⁶

562 Interview with operator of Xiao Xinqiao Lane Fan Workshop, Suzhou, June 15, 2016.

563 Ibid.

564 Ibid.

565 Ibid.

566 Ibid.



Figure 3-31. Republican Building Adapted for Reuse (from the inside).

Source: author's photo, 2016.



Figure 3-32. Republican Building in Elderly Home.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

Other examples for social and cultural facilities set up in registered buildings deeper inside the block are Zhaoqing Temple and the former mansion of Shen Xingshu. The formerly Buddhist **Zhaoqing Temple** has been converted into Pingjiang Culture Center.⁵⁶⁷ The center is used by the local community for *pingtan* practice as well as performances. The earlier mentioned Shen Xingshu was a member of the Republican period gentry and chief of a private bank. His former mansion (Shen Xingshu zhai 沈惺叔宅) is located in **Weidao Guan Qian No. 27**. It comprises a Republican building, which is significant for its vase-shaped balustrade and wisteria canopy (see chapter 3.1.2, fig. 3-32) and is marked as controlled and protected building. It has now been integrated into a complex which is used as home for the elderly (*laonian gongyu* 老年公寓) in the district.

Although touristic and commercial forms of adapted reuse are predominant in the Pingjiang Historic Block, Xiao Xinqiao Lane 小新桥巷 No. 2-1, Zhaoqing Temple and the former mansion of Shen Xingshu are good examples of how built heritage is also reused for social and cultural purposes.

3.3 Case Study Results

As an ancient capital city, Suzhou derives great cultural significance from its double chessboard-urban structure with water canals running parallel to the street grid. This spatial pattern follows traditional design principles with Pingjiang Road as central axis and determined the settlement patterns of its residents. Moreover, the block has a high integrity and features a great amount of different environmental elements such as parts of the former city moat and wall, bridges, memorial archways, historic trees and wells. The block itself, its environmental elements as well as its streets are related to different aspects of intangible heritage. As expressed in their names, they can be related to historical figures, important events or carry literary allusions. They further may refer to their environment such as in the Lane of the Lilac Trees (Dingxiang Lane 丁香巷) or local legends as in the case of Xuegao Bridge (see chapter 3.1.1).

Historical and officially protected buildings consist of combined courtyard-building components, which are aligned on a central axis and may have several rows, depending on aspects such as social status. Thereby, built heritage gains cultural significance from the entire building complex and is not limited to individual buildings. Among others, this is reflected in the hall name, which is chosen

567 Xie, Jing; Heath, Tim (2018): *Heritage-led Urban Regeneration in China*, pp. 104–105.

after a residence's main hall and can equally stand for the entire residence (e.g. Ligeng Hall). Moreover, these built structures have adapted to their environment by consideration of aspects such as lighting and ventilation. While architectural structures share similar design principles such as orientation, symmetry, axiality and "graduated privacy", officially protected entities show additional significant characteristics.

In terms of historical and social value, officially protected entities are often related to historical figures (see appendix A.9) such as Number One Scholar Pan Shi'en or Li Hongzhang, who built Cheng Xueqi Memorial Temple as part of Huiyin Garden. The case study has shown that the high artistic value of listed sites in the Pingjiang Historic Block primarily derives from gardens as well as exceptional architectural forms such as *yuanyang* or *shamao* halls. Moreover, carvings play an important role as they not only have artistic value but also carry cultural and literary connotations. The cultural value of officially protected entities further may derive from philosophical principles such as *yin* and *yang* which, for example, have been considered for the design of the Couple's Garden Retreat. In addition, garden owners engaged literati to write a garden record or do a painting on their residences, which equally increases their cultural value.

The built environment of the Pingjiang Historic Block has been well preserved due to Suzhou's early preservation efforts as one of the first HCF Cities promulgated by the State Council. The conservation of the Pingjiang Historic Block is carried out through a government-led approach and under consultation of renowned domestic universities.⁵⁶⁸ Accordingly, its conservation plan was drafted by the National Famous Historical and Cultural Cities Research Center 国家历史文化名城研究中心 affiliated to Tongji University in Shanghai. The plan commits itself to international conservation principles such as authenticity and integrity whereby it explicitly refers to authenticity in material and substance. In terms of conservation and improvement measures, the plan defines a scheme which has later been included in the Planning Regulations and where different measures are prescribed depending on the building type.

The analysis of conservation in practice has shown that at the very beginning in the 1960s and 1980s, significant structures such as archways and halls were relocated to places which were later opened as tourist destinations. This followed a strategy of "accumulating" heritage in one place while its original location was then used for development purposes such as industrial use. During the comprehensive conservation project from 2002–2004, conservation work strictly adhered to international principles with the objective to achieve an inscription of the historic and cultural block on the World Heritage List. In addition to the improvement of

568 Xie, Jing; Heath, Tim (2018): *Heritage-led Urban Regeneration in China*, p. 101.

Pingjiang Road and its infrastructure, individual sites were treated for adaptive reuse. The example of Dong Family Yizhuang Teahouse shows how an industrial site was rebuilt to integrate with its surrounding townscape. Thereby, a design was chosen which clearly distinguishes itself from historic structures instead of following the widespread approach to “imitate” historical buildings. The consideration of the authenticity principle is illustrated by the conservation of Wang Family Yizhuang Ceremonial Archway which has not been reconstructed but is safeguarded through a plain structure built on top of its original columns.

In contrast, after the government project had been terminated, the focus shifted back to the conservation of individual structures. In the pilot project cases concerning the conservation of Suzhou-style architecture undertaken in the Pingjiang Historic Block, the relocation and reconstruction of structures both reoccurred. While the reconstruction of former temple halls has been recommended in the conservation plan, the relocation of Ding Mansion was, at least partly, carried out to enable and enhance further development of the block.

With regard to function and usage, a great variety of use forms has been found in the block. Officially protected entities are often restored and turned into tourist destinations such as the Couple’s Garden Retreat or museums as in the cases of the Quan-Jin Guild Hall and the Former Residence of Pan Shi’en. Controlled and protected buildings may equally be restored and used to foster development such as Ding Mansion which now hosts Wang Xiaohui Art Gallery. Moreover, buildings can take on social and cultural functions in the block and provide spaces for the practice of local opera or accommodation for the elderly. Finally, historical buildings usually maintain their outward appearance while their interiors are adapted to modern use and transformed into shops, restaurants and guesthouses.

4 Tongli Ancient Water Town 同里水乡古镇

“As one of the first large-scale conservation projects to integrate modern facilities into ancient townships, the project has not only improved resident’s quality of life, it acts as a valuable reference and benchmark for future, similar projects in China.”¹

- UNESCO Asia-Pacific Awards for Cultural Heritage Conservation, 2003

Tongli is a water town located in the southeastern corner of Jiangsu province, southeast of the city of Suzhou, on a horizontal axis between Lake Tai 太湖 and the city of Shanghai (see fig. 1-1). The historic town of Tongli in its present location dates back to the Song dynasty² and is characterized by local features of a Jiangnan water town such as water canals and small winding lanes. Due to the well-preserved state of its Ming and Qing period-built structures, the town has been compared to a “museum for ancient architecture” (*gudai jianzhu bowuguan* 古代建筑博物馆).³

Tongli primarily owes the preservation of its built environment to the **natural setting** of the town area. Surrounding lakes and rivers functioned as natural borders and largely sheltered the historic town from war destruction over the course of history.⁴ Furthermore, the natural setting of Tongli had great influence on the town’s economic development. Given its comprehensive network of rivers, boats were the most convenient means of transport and town access limited to waterways. On the one hand, this safeguarded the town from demolition for the construction of new infrastructure. On the other hand, the comparatively late opening up of Tongli for

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- 1 “Project Profile: 2003 Award of Distinction, Water Towns of the Yangtze River”, UNESCO Office in Bangkok, Online.
 - 2 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志 [Tongli Town Gazetteer], p. 15.
 - 3 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志 [Tongli Town Gazetteer], p. 134.
 - 4 Zhu, Tonghua (1986): “A Preliminary Study on the Development of Tongli — An Ancient Cultural Town”, p. 316.

road traffic in the early 1980s slowed down economic development and led to an increasing decline of its role as cultural center of surrounding villages.⁵

The preserved **architecture** reflects the social setting of the town at the time of their construction, which can equally be related to its favorable geographic location. The secluded town area became particularly attractive to officials who retired from public life, men of letters and wealthy merchants. Following Zhu's reference to the First National Population Census 全国人口普查 in 1953, out of the 2,021 households registered in Tongli, 506 were landlord families, amounting to 25 percent of the total population.⁶ This population composition is reflected in Tongli's built environment with formerly splendid mansions making up a great part of its architecture.

Tongli's private mansions carry important aspects of both, material and immaterial cultural heritage. As in the nearby city of Suzhou, great mansions were embellished with natural elements and landscape architecture in the form of private gardens. These gardens had an aesthetic as well as a structural function, complementing a residence and providing it with a characteristic form. Well-known private gardens from the late imperial and Republican period are the Ren family private garden "Tuisi yuan" 退思园, the Yan family private garden "Huancui Shanzhuang" 环翠山庄, the Gu family garden "Yuyuan" 愚园 and the Wang Family Garden 王家花园.⁷

While investigating on the role and condition of small towns in Wujiang county in 1983, Chinese sociologist Fei Xiaotong classified Tongli as representative example of a "consumer type town", similar to Suzhou, contrasting it to other town types, such as a political center, an industrial base or a transportation hub. With regard to its surrounding villages, Tongli equally functions as political, economic and cultural center, but its major role in the broader area is mainly for consumption, by serving as a place for recreation and entertainment, for example.⁸

Traditionally, local people in the town area and surrounding villages engaged in rice production and fishing. Despite its enclosed natural setting, the town largely benefited from its role as **economic center** due to its splendidly constructed net-

5 Zhu, Tonghua (1986): "A Preliminary Study on the Development of Tongli — An Ancient Cultural Town", pp. 324, 333.

6 Ibid., p. 316.

7 "Tongli Zhen zhi" bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 200.

8 Fei, Hsiao Tung (1986): "Small Towns, Great Significance — A Study of Small Towns in Wujiang County", pp. 23–26.

work of rivers. At the end of the imperial period, Tongli was home to 72 rice companies that supplied rice to the nearby urban center of Shanghai.⁹ The diversification of agricultural production and the formation of processing industries and manufacturing businesses further fostered commercial development and the prosperity of the town.

Moreover, Tongli looks back to a long tradition as **educational center**. Tongchuan Academy 同川书院 was set up by the county magistrate during the reign of the Qianlong Emperor in the Qing dynasty (1747).¹⁰ Before the establishment of public schools in China, scholars often privately raised funds and set up academies, an educational system which continued to exist in parallel to state-run institutions. Tongli, a naturally secluded township but still central to surrounding villages, provided favorable conditions and attracted scholars who set up such academies. Lianpu Private School 莲浦书塾, one of the historical mansions recorded in the *Tongli Town Gazetteer*, is one such example, established in 1806.¹¹

Throughout the imperial era, candidates from Tongli took part in the imperial examinations and later pursued careers as officials. Successful candidates of the imperial examinations from the Song to the Qing dynasties are listed in the *Tongli Gazetteers* and comprise one scholar who ranked first in the highest imperial examinations (*zhuangyuan* 状元), 38 successful candidates in the highest imperial examinations held in the capital (*jinsi* 进士) and 80 scholars who successfully passed the imperial examinations on a provincial level (*juren* 举人).¹² This historical characteristic has found its manifestation in the town's built environment, for example through the construction of a Zhuangyuan Street 状元街 to commemorate the successful candidate.

With an improved accessibility of Tongli resulting from road construction, the town has started **urbanization processes** in areas surrounding its historic center. According to development planning, tourism, culture and art as well as commerce and trade are foreseen to become the three key industries in the area.¹³ Therefore, an industrial park has been established in the west of the historic town

9 Zhu, Tonghua (1986): "A Preliminary Study on the Development of Tongli — An Ancient Cultural Town", p. 320.

10 Tongli Zhen renmin zhengfu 同里镇人民政府; Wujiang Shi dang'an ju 吴江市档案局 (ed., 2011): *Tongli zhi (liang zhong)* 同里志 (两种) [Tongli Gazetteers (two gazetteers, Tongli Gazetteer and Tuncun Gazetteer)], p. 52.

11 "Tongli Zhen zhi" bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 205.

12 Zhu, Tonghua (1986): "A Preliminary Study on the Development of Tongli — An Ancient Cultural Town", p. 317.

13 "The Historic Urban Landscape: Pilot Cities in China", Tongji University, Online.

in 1992 with a considerable size of 76 km².¹⁴ By 2014, Wujiang Economic and Technological Development Park 吴江经济技术开发区 accommodated more than 1800 international companies as well as schools, hospitals and commercial outlets.¹⁵ Tourism development concentrates on the historic town and an ecological area in the northeastern part of Tongli. Moreover, there are two new residential areas, one in the southeast of the historic town and another one in an adjacent town named Tuncun 屯村.¹⁶

4.1 Cultural Significance

4.1.1 Historic Town with Historic and Cultural Block

A consideration of the existing building stock in Tongli illustrates the different historical periods of its preserved material heritage. As part of an evaluation in Tongli's current conservation plan from 2011, the building stock of the historic town has been classified into architectural structures from four periods. These periods are the Ming and Qing dynasty (1368–1911), the Republican period (1911–1949), architecture from 1949–1975 and buildings after 1975.¹⁷ The resulting distribution is displayed in figure 4-1.

The figure shows that Ming and Qing dynasty architecture constitute the majority of historic structures in the historic town. Buildings originating from the late imperial period and the Republican period taken together amount to 45 percent of Tongli's building stock, slightly more than the overall construction after 1975. The figure also shows that during the Mao era (1949–1976), only a small proportion of new construction was added. Moreover, according to the commentary on

14 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 147.

15 Ibid., pp. 147, 198.

16 Ibid., p. 147.

17 The commentary on the conservation plan states that following conservation standards, usually 30 years are set as standard differentiation of historical architecture. Due to this standard, the year 1975 has been chosen as demarcation line. Ming and Qing dynasty buildings have not been differentiated further, yet, due to incomplete historical material. See: Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning and Design Institute 上海同济城市规划设计研究院 (ed., 2011): *Wujiang Shi Tongli lishi wenhua mingzhen baohu guihua — shuomingshu* 吴江市同里历史文化名镇保护规划 — 说明书 [Conservation Plan for Tongli Historically and Culturally Famous Town in Wujiang City — Commentary], pp. 17–18.

Tongli's conservation plan, buildings from the 1950s and 1960s constructed in the historic town do not show prominent features and therefore have not been classified as a distinct group.¹⁸ Buildings constructed after 1975 were mainly added at the outer margins of the historic town.¹⁹

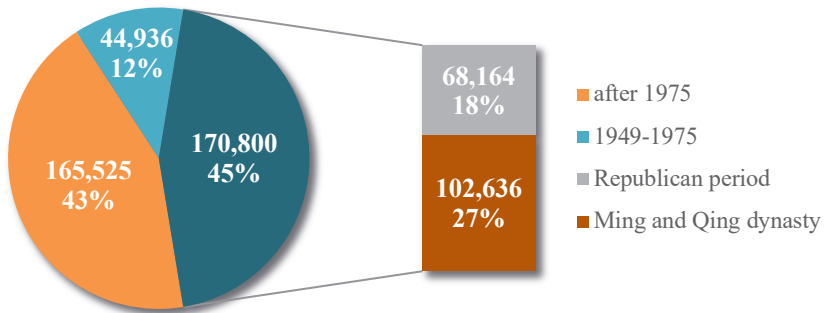


Figure 4-1. Building Stock of the Historic Town According to Historical Period (in m²).

Source: drafted by author. Data from: Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning and Design Institute 上海同济城市规划设计研究院 (ed., 2011): *Wujiang Shi Tongli lishi wenhua mingzhen baohu guihua — shuomingshu* 吴江市同里历史文化名镇保护规划 — 说明书 [Conservation Plan for Tongli Historically and Culturally Famous Town in Wujiang City — Commentary], pp. 17–18.

Consequently, significant historical structures of Tongli's existing building stock mainly originate from the Ming and Qing dynasties as well as the Republican period. In addition, intangible heritage can be identified in the forms of local traditions and customs, techniques and arts. In the following, the cultural significance of Tongli's tangible and intangible heritage shall be analyzed for the three tiers of HCF Towns: the town, the historic and cultural block and officially protected entities.

18 Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning and Design Institute 上海同济城市规划设计研究院 (ed., 2011): *Wujiang Shi Tongli lishi wenhua mingzhen baohu guihua — shuomingshu* 吴江市同里历史文化名镇保护规划 — 说明书 [Conservation Plan for Tongli Historically and Culturally Famous Town in Wujiang City — Commentary], p. 17.

19 Ibid., p. 8.

Natural Setting and Urban Structure

The core region of Wu culture where Tongli is located, is known as *zeguo* 泽国, “a place which abounds in **rivers and lakes**”.²⁰ In the Tongli gazetteer²¹ from the 16th year of the Jiaqing 嘉庆 period (1811) in the Qing dynasty by Zhou Zhizhen 周之桢 (hereafter *Jiaqing Gazetteer*), the importance of this natural environment for the overall layout of the town becomes apparent. The setting of Tongli is described as surrounded by lakes on every side, the closest being Jiuli Lake 九里湖 in the north, Tongli Lake 同里湖 in the east, Nanxin Lake 南新湖²² in the southeast, Yeze Lake 叶泽湖 in the south and Pangshan Lake 庞山湖 in the west. On its northwestern side, Tongli is further delimited by Wusong River 吴淞江.

Up to the Song dynasty, Tongli had been located at Jiuli Village 九里村 on the southern waterfront of Jiuli Lake, northwest of the historic town.²³ This is known from a Neolithic site identified by researchers of Jiangsu Museum 江苏省博物馆 in 1954.²⁴ The town later moved southward to its present location. The exact time when the town moved remains unclear. While the *Jiaqing Gazetteer* records that a gradual relocation occurred from the Yuan to the Ming dynasty,²⁵ Wang notes that the preserved Song dynasty stone bridges and private garden remains indicate that this process already started earlier.²⁶

Following the *Jiaqing Gazetteer*, the town itself is crossed by three rivers that flow into smaller tributary streams and divide the town area into 15 *wei* 圩,²⁷ island-like units enclosed by water. The term *wei* means “dike” or “embankment”

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- 20 Cihai bianji weiyuanhui 辞海编辑委员会 (2000): *Cihai* 辞海 [Sea of Words], p. 1101.
- 21 Tongli Zhen renmin zhengfu 同里镇人民政府; Wujiang Shi dang'an ju 吴江市档案局 (ed., 2011): *Tongli zhi (liang zhong)* 同里志 (两种) .
- 22 The name of this lake was altered. It is now designated as “Nanxing Lake” 南星湖 and is found on maps as such.
- 23 Wang, Jiadong 王稼冬 (1966): “Tongli Jiulihu xinshiqi shidai yizhi de kaozheng” 同里九里湖新石器时代遗址的考证 [Research on Jiuli Lake Neolithic Site in Tongli], in: Yan, Pinhua 严品华 (ed., 2001): *Tongli gutu wenhua zashuo* 同里故土文化杂说 [Miscellaneous writings on the culture of my hometown, Tongli], p. 2.
- 24 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 78.
- 25 Tongli Zhen renmin zhengfu 同里镇人民政府; Wujiang Shi dang'an ju 吴江市档案局 (ed., 2011): *Tongli zhi (liang zhong)* 同里志 (两种) , p. 33.
- 26 Wang, Jiadong 王稼冬 (1966): “Tongli Jiulihu xinshiqi shidai yizhi de kaozheng” 同里九里湖新石器时代遗址的考证, in: Yan, Pinhua 严品华 (ed., 2001): *Tongli gutu wenhua zashuo* 同里故土文化杂说, p. 18.
- 27 Tongli Zhen renmin zhengfu 同里镇人民政府; Wujiang Shi dang'an ju 吴江市档案局 (ed., 2011): *Tongli zhi (liang zhong)* 同里志 (两种) , p. 35.

with fields. For example, Yeze Lake has shrunk to less than half of its former size and was completely opened up for cultivation of aquatic products in 1976.³⁰ The former location of Pangshan Lake in the west of Tongli is mainly identifiable through remaining place names on contemporary maps. It has been reclaimed for cultivation from very early on.³¹ Figure 4-3 shows that infrastructure has been set up outside of the historic town (marked in orange) where new residential and industrial districts have been constructed.

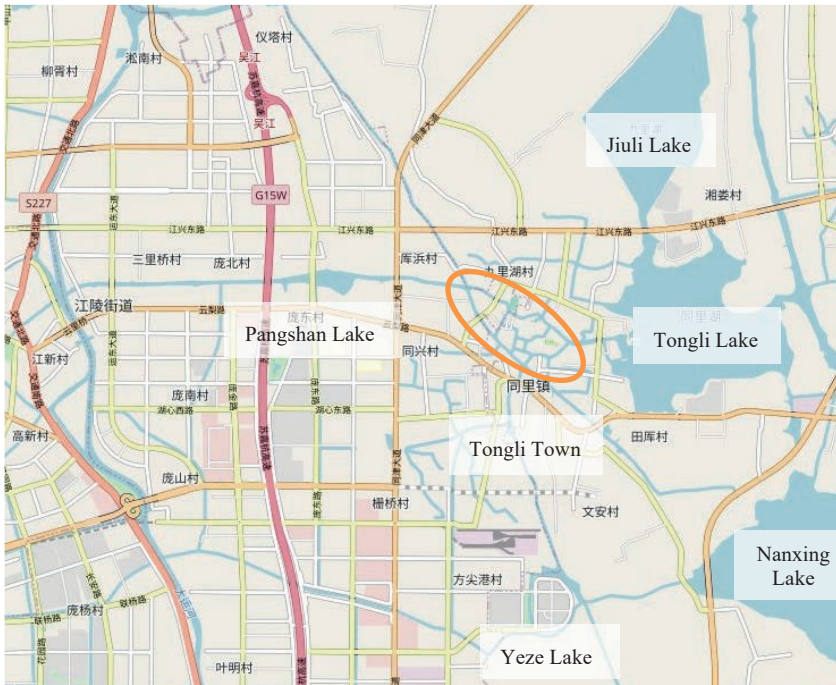


Figure 4-3. Present-day Map of Tongli.

Source: map adapted from © OpenStreetMap contributors, 2020, available from <https://www.openstreetmap.org/>, licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0. Lettering and marking supplemented by this author.

Nevertheless, the main topological layout has been preserved and still follows the original characteristics of the town delimited by surrounding lakes and structured by a network of water canals and streets. Similar to the spatial layout of Suzhou,

30 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 22.

31 Ibid.

streets are running parallel to water canals and are closely intertwined. Their evolutionary relation is reflected in local street names, many of which end on the character *dai* 埭 (“dam”) such as “southern dam” (*nan dai* 南埭) or “eastern dam” (*dong dai* 东埭) and bear witness to the development of streets from precedent water canals.³²

Furthermore, Tongli is traversed by a great number of smaller lanes which can be differentiated into *lilong* 里弄 (“lanes as part of a neighborhood”) and *zhailong* 宅弄 (“lanes as part of a residence”). While *lilong* are public spaces and function as boundaries between houses, *zhailong* or *beilong* 备弄 are usually private spaces and used by one family. In some cases, *zhailong* or *beilong* also serve as boundaries between two residences.³³ In contrast to the comparatively regular pattern of lanes in Suzhou, due to its planned urban form, lanes in Tongli differ greatly in length, shape and direction.

The most renowned lane of the town is Chuanxin Lane³⁴ (串心弄 or 穿心弄). It crosses an entire *wei*-island (Hongzi wei 洪字圩), delimited by high walls and paved with stone steps which function as a covered drain (see fig. 4-4). The lane is prominent for its changing width, starting from a width where two people can walk next to each other to 0.8 meters at its most narrow point.³⁵ It is therefore associated with a romantic scenario of a young man and a young woman getting close to each other as they coincidentally cross their way from opposite directions.³⁶ Another characteristic lane is Fan Family Double Lane (Fan jia shuang long 范家双弄). While houses are usually separated by a single lane, this double lane between two houses is separated by a wall in its center (see fig. 4-5).³⁷ Because these lanes are indoor lanes, they are equally very narrow and dark. They not only represent local customs but are also a rare lane form in the Jiangnan area housing construction.

32 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 142.

33 Ibid.

34 There are two notations with a differing first character for the lane name. In the TLCP, the lane is marked on the town map as Chuanxin Lane 串心弄. However, the Tongli Gazetteer from 2016 uses a second version, Chuanxin Lane 穿心弄.

35 Ibid., p. 166.

36 This scene is also shown in a performance named “Tongli in ink” (Shuimo Tongli 水墨同里) which is regularly staged in a theatre of the town center (see chapter 4.2.4.1).

37 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 166.



Figure 4-4. Chuanxin Lane.



Figure 4-5. Fan Family Double Lane.

Source: author's photos, 2016.

Street and lane names also carry historical value as they may refer to commercial activities which had formerly been practiced in these areas. Such names can be found in the southern part of the town where businesses were traditionally concentrated, in contrast to the mainly residential area in the north.³⁸ Examples of such names include Yuhang Street 鱼行街 (“Fishing Business Street”), Zhuhang Street 竹行街 (“Bamboo Business Street”) or Tiejia Lane 铁匠弄 (“Blacksmiths’ Lane”).

In addition to lakes and water canals, the environment of the town is characterized by cultivated land and fish ponds.³⁹ The favorable conditions of Tongli resulting from its rich water resources are further related to a legend about the origin of the **town name**. According to this legend, Tongli was formerly named *Futu* 富士 (“abundant land”). The present name is said to have been created by a shift of character components whereby the lower part of the first character *fu* 富 (= *tian* 田 “field”) was split off and set on top of the second character *tu* 土 (“earth”), thereby forming the second character *li* 里 of the new name “Tongli” 同里. The dot *zhu* 丶 on top of the first character has been omitted and the two vertical ends of the component *mi* 冫 in the remaining part have been lengthened to create the framing *jiong* 冫 which became the first character of the new name: *tong* 同.

38 Comm TLCP (2011), p. 8.

39 Ibid., p. 9.

While this name changing process has been documented in several historical records, others give a second explanation for the origin of the name. Local researcher Wang Jiadong 王稼冬 has found a record in a chronicle from the Tianshun 天顺 period (1457–1464) in the Ming dynasty which conforms to the above-described origin:

旧名富士，以其名太侈，乃析田加土为今名。⁴⁰

“Its former name was *Futu*. Because its name was too excessive, it was turned into the present name by separating [the character] *tian* and adding [the character] *tu*.”

He further lists two other chronicles, one from the same period and one from the Jiajing 嘉靖 period (1521–1566) which explain the name as follows:

唐初名铜，宋改为同。⁴¹

“At the beginning of the Tang dynasty [the town] was named *tong* [“copper”], in the Song dynasty it was changed to [the present homophonous character] *tong* [which means “similar” or “alike”].”

Both explanations are included in the *Jiaqing Gazetteer* but could not be verified. Moreover, the background behind the name change remains obscure. The latest gazetteer from 2016 gives a detailed account of a potential incident in its section on “folk legends” (*minjian chuanshuo* 民间传说). According to this account, *Futu* was founded by natural calamity refugees from Fuyang 富阳 county in Zhejiang province who chose the name in reference to its fertile soil and favorable conditions for cultivation.⁴² In one year of the Sui dynasty when the imperial treasury became emptier, and many regions were unable to pay their grain taxes, the Yangdi 炀帝 Emperor issued an edict that “abundant lands” (*futu* 富士) had to pay higher taxes. When the imperial tax collector who came to the Jiangnan region heard that there was a place named “Futu”, he ordered that its inhabitants were to pay the increased taxes. As *Futu* was equally affected by a famine in this year, inhabitants were unable to deliver the taxes and thought of a strategy to avoid punishment. They told the collector who did not believe that a place called “abundant land” would be unable to deliver the required taxes that this place was called “Tongli”

40 Wang, Jiadong 王稼冬 (1966): “Tongli Jiulihu xinshiqi shidai yizhi de kaozheng” 同里九里湖新石器时代遗址的考证, in: Yan, Pinhua 严品华 (ed., 2001): *Tongli gutu wenhua zashuo* 同里故土文化杂说, p. 14.

41 Ibid.

42 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 327.

and not Futu. They further changed this name on display signs so that the tax collector had no other option but to leave empty-handed.⁴³

Another version of the legend circulating among residents as found by Bellocq recounts that bandits were attracted by the name and regularly pressed landowner families for money. In order to conceal their riches, the name was changed by shifting character components as described above.⁴⁴ In both versions of the name changing process, the natural setting of Tongli (an abundant land) has cultural meaning which is reflected in the town name and passed on by means of local legends.

Environmental Elements and Intangible Heritage

The urban fabric of Tongli comprises a great amount of historical environmental elements. The Assessment Standard for HCF Cities/Towns defines environmental elements as components other than buildings which constitute the historic townscape. Such components found in Tongli's historic town include historic bridges, historic wells, historic trees and plants as well as elements related to its water system such as bank revetments, wharfs and stone boat cleats (*lanchuan shi* 揽船石).

Primarily, there were preserved 25 **bridges** in the historic town.⁴⁵ Bridges are a basic characteristic of water towns and function as connecting elements between the *wei*-islands. Moreover, bridges have cultural significance because their construction is a public undertaking and generates social benefit which is often related to stories and other forms of intangible heritage.⁴⁶ They have historical value as they originate from different historical periods, dating from the Yuan dynasty to the Republican period (Comm CP, 2.3.1 iii). Moreover, they inform on aesthetic forms as well as materials and construction techniques used during these periods and therefore have artistic as well as scientific value (Comm CP, 2.3.2 i + 2.3.3 ii). For example, while bridges dating from the Song and the beginning of the Yuan dynasties were built of Wukang stone 武康石, those of the later Yuan and the Ming dynasties were made of limestone and the usual construction material thereafter was granite.⁴⁷

43 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, pp. 327–328.

44 Bellocq, Maylis (2006): “The Cultural Heritage Industry in the PRC: What Memories Are Being Passed On? A Case Study of Tongli, A Protected Township in Jiangsu Province” (Jonathan Hall, transl.), p. 29.

45 Comm TLCP (2011), p. 27.

46 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三 (2015): *Tongli* 同里 [Tongli], p. 75.

47 Comm TLCP (2011), p. 27.

Furthermore, there have been identified 139 **historic trees and plants** in the historic town which are older than 50 years.⁴⁸ In addition to those planted at the riversides, historic trees and plants have been preserved as parts of residences and formerly private gardens. The eldest trees are more than 400 years old and comprise species such as ginkgo 银杏, Chinese little leaf box 黄杨, sweet-scented osmanthus 桂花, camellia 山茶, glossy privet 女贞 and many more.⁴⁹

Ginkgo trees are the most frequent and oldest trees in Tongli with one tree exceeding 1,000 years (Wangta yinxing gushu 旺塔银杏古树).⁵⁰ Another more than 400-year-old ginkgo tree located north of Tailai Bridge 泰来桥 is significant due to its formerly social function. A bell attached to this tree was used to alert local residents about fire, thieves or to assemble them (see fig. 4-6).⁵¹ Examples of rare trees that are part of historical buildings include a 200-year-old camellia tree in the courtyard of Hengfu Hall 亨复堂 and another one with two stems exceeding 100 years in Zhuhang Street No. 135.⁵²



Figure 4-6. Ginkgo Tree with Bell.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

48 Comm TLCP (2011), p. 27.

49 Ibid., pp. 28–29.

50 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 101.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid., p. 103.

Similar to the historic environment in Suzhou, Tongli town features a great number of **historic wells**. The 31 wells recorded until 2011 comprise public wells (*gongjing* 公井), private wells inside local residences (*zhaijing* 宅井), both located in courtyards and skywells as well as indoors, and wells associated with other-worldly qualities (*qijing* 奇井) such as a Buddhist well or “bone wells” (*gujing* 骨井).⁵³

Public wells were traditionally built as a form of social welfare by wealthy families (after 1949 by the government or work-units) and took the forms of single, double or triple-mouth wells.⁵⁴ While public wells built before 1949 have not been preserved (some were filled in the 1960s and 70s), private wells remained in various sizes and shapes, the oldest dating from the Song dynasty found in Tuncun Town and are still used by local residents for washing and cooking.⁵⁵ Especially the wells located inside private houses are still in the process of being recorded and many of Tongli’s wells are rehabilitated for usage.

The Buddhist well was discovered in 1803 during canal construction work in front of a Buddhist convent. It was sealed with a flagstone and contained a wooden Buddha statue that later was donated to the convent.⁵⁶ Another well from the Song dynasty was discovered in the course of constructing this canal, and a record titled “Record of the Ancient Well” (*Gujing ji* 古井记) was written to commemorate this finding.⁵⁷ The “bone wells” refer to nine wells found during the Ming dynasty that contained ancient objects as well as dried bones and were presumably used as open graves.⁵⁸

While **bank revetments** illustrated how local people adapted to their physical environment as well as their technological achievements at the time, **wharfs and stone boat cleats** also reflect the close relationship of local people’s traditional lifestyle to water. Wharfs further have artistic value due to their architectural form such as stone steps on one or both sides.⁵⁹ Finally, the boat cleats have cultural value relating to their ornamental stone carvings and reliefs. They may be in the shape of plants, animals or other forms with popular connotations and auspicious meanings.

53 Comm TLCP (2011), p. 27.

54 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 88.

55 *Ibid.*, pp. 88–89.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 90.

57 Tongli Zhen renmin zhengfu 同里镇人民政府; Wujiang Shi dang’an ju 吴江市档案局 (ed., 2011): *Tongli zhi (liang zhong)* 同里志 (两种), p. 243

58 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 88.

59 Comm TLCP (2011), p. 28.

Tongli Town's cultural value is further enhanced by its different kinds of **intangible heritage**. While the "Twelve Views" set of landscape scenes in the Pingjiang Historic Block were defined as part of its conservation plan, Tongli features historic sets of landscape scenes of exceptional scenic sights which have been named as early as the Ming dynasty.⁶⁰ The number of scenic sights included in these sets changed over time. In the Ming dynasty, the "Former Eight Views" (*Qian ba jing* 前八景) and the "Later Eight Views" (*Hou ba jing* 后八景) were defined.⁶¹ These are related to natural sceneries such as "Little Waves on Jiuli Lake" (*Jiuli qing lan* 九里晴澜) as well as man-made structures such as temples or bridges as in "Gazing at the Moon on Dongxi Bridge" (*Dongxi wang yue* 东溪望月), which refers to the respective bridge.

During the Qing dynasty, four more scenic sights were defined based on the sixteen views (former eight plus later eight) from the Ming dynasty, adding up to a total of twenty views. The cultural value of the scenic sights further derives from poems which described them. Ming dynasty erudite teacher and examiner Wu Ji 吴骥 wrote poems for six of the Former Eight Views and four of the Later Eight Views, all of which have been recorded in the *Jiaqing Gazetteer*.⁶² Of these twenty views, only four have been preserved⁶³ due to developmental changes.

As well, Tongli features a number of officially listed forms of intangible heritage. Examples include the Tongli *xuanjuan* 宣卷, protected as intangible heritage on a national level. *Xuanjuan* is a form of recitative listed under the category of "vocal art" (*quyi* 曲艺). The term is an abbreviation for *xuanjiang baojuan* (宣讲宝卷, "reciting the precious scrolls") and derives from a traditional practice of Tang dynasty Buddhism.⁶⁴ This recital involves a group of three to eight people giving a vocal performance of a script, the *baojuan*, to the sound of musical instruments. The content of these scripts which originally were passages of Buddhist and Taoist classics now mainly includes folk legends and stories from traditional opera. One of these stories, the Legend of the Pearl Pagoda 珍珠塔, which is said to have happened in Tongli, is listed as the town's intangible heritage on a provincial level.⁶⁵ Other forms of officially listed intangible heritage include arts and

60 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 79.

61 Ibid.

62 Tongli Zhen renmin zhengfu 同里镇人民政府; Wujiang Shi dang'an ju 吴江市档案局 (ed., 2011): *Tongli zhi (liang zhong)* 同里志 (两种), pp. 39–42.

63 Ibid.

64 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 70.

65 Ibid., p. 74.

folk customs such as paper-cutting or “crossing the Three Bridges” which will be explained below.

Historical Buildings

While the majority of formerly splendid mansions located in the north-eastern part of the historic town are listed as officially protected entities, a great number of historical buildings have also been preserved. The highest concentration of historical buildings is situated in the south-western part of Tongli, including the area designated as historic and cultural block. In total, the conservation plan lists 65 historical buildings.⁶⁶

Local-style dwelling houses in Tongli show basic construction features found in Jiangnan architecture concerning layout, building style and decoration. Similar to traditional houses in Suzhou, they are built in the form of enclosed residential compounds with rectangular courtyard-building components as their basic modules. While greater mansions follow the regular pattern of rows, smaller dwelling houses have a more flexible layout and have usually been adapted to local conditions.⁶⁷ Due to sumptuary regulations in the Ming and Qing dynasty, the houses of ordinary people could not have more than three *jin* and smaller houses in Tongli often only have one or two *jin*.⁶⁸

In contrast, formerly large-scale mansions may consist of several rows of *jin* and follow the fundamental principles of orientation to a cardinal direction, axiality and symmetry.⁶⁹ Their basic layout is similar to Suzhou mansions with the entrance hall (*menting* 门厅), a sedan-chair hall (*jiaoting* 轿厅) in the second *jin* and the third *jin* comprising the main hall (*zhengting* 正厅) followed by two-storied chambers (*louting* 楼厅) in the fourth *jin*. The halls are interconnected through archways (*menlou* 门楼), side rooms (*xiangfang* 厢房), enclosing walls, corridors, enclosed courtyards (*tingyuan* 庭院) and skywells (*tianjing* 天井). Large-scale mansions may further have side rows with supplementary buildings such as a parlor (*huating* 花厅), study rooms (*shufang* 书房) or an ancestral hall (*citang* 祠堂).⁷⁰

While houses and other types of buildings in Tongli are composed of the basic architectural components represented above, their overall layouts are very diverse.

66 TLCP (2011), appendix, pp. 3–6.

67 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三 (2015): *Tongli* 同里, p. 40.

68 Ibid., pp. 40, 52.

69 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 135.

70 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 200.

More common are vertical layouts, for example with a residence in the front and a garden in the back (*qian zhai hou yuan* 前宅后园).⁷¹ Furthermore, depending on the location and the occupation of the owner, a business may be located in front and the residence at the back (*qian dian hou zhai* 前店后宅). Some examples are found in the Ming and Qing Commercial Street 明清街 or Yuhang Street 鱼行街. The building with the highest number of *jin* and most exceptional example in Tongli is the Qing-period Yong'an pawnbroker's shop 永安典当. Comprising ten *jin*, it almost crosses Hongzi *wei* 洪字圩 from its southern to the northern riverside.⁷²

Similar to historical buildings in Suzhou, Tongli's local-style dwelling houses reflect **lifestyle, traditions and social practices** of their respective historical periods (Comm CP, 2.3.I. iii). They follow the principle of graduated privacy with the public space in the front and private chambers in the back.⁷³ Furthermore, the space used by male and female family members was traditionally separated spatially, following social hierarchy as revealed by the corridors set up at building sides (*beilong* 备弄) and the peripheral location of servant quarters.⁷⁴ Their historical value may further be related to their renowned owners; this is the case of the former residences of Ji Cheng 计成 (1582–ca. 1642), author of *The Craft of Gardens*, and well-known politics professor and revolutionary martyr Fei Gong 费巩 (1905–1945; Comm CP, 2.3.I. iii).

Traditional houses in Tongli display characteristic **architectural features**. They are built in brick-and-wood structure with a wooden framework usually set on stone column bases. The poetic expression “whitewashed walls and black tiles” (*fenqiang daiwa* 粉墙黛瓦) describes their appearance as part of the overall townscape.⁷⁵ Similar to Suzhou-style houses, they follow the custom of a modest and plain exterior with gateways made of wood or stone frames which conceal a beautiful interior from the outside.⁷⁶

Doors and windows of local-style dwelling houses are built in a great variety of architectural styles. While some main gates are built in the style of *shikumen* 石库门 or arched gateways (*qiangmen* 墙门), the inner doors were traditionally made of wood.⁷⁷ Window styles differ in material, form and placement. Although

71 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 201.

72 Ibid.

73 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 135.

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid., p. 133.

76 Knapp, Ronald G. (2000): *China's Old Dwellings*, p. 256.

77 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 200.

windows were equally made of wood, brick windows also appear in the walls of corridors, for example. The shapes of windows range from squared and octagonal to panel doors and others.⁷⁸

Furthermore, historical buildings have **scientific value** in terms of structural design and architectural form (Comm CP, 2.3.3. i). In a number of aspects, the orientation and structure of buildings were adapted to their environment. The integration of courtyards and skywells as well as a successive elevation of buildings from front to back improve ventilation, lighting and drainage (see fig. 4-7).⁷⁹

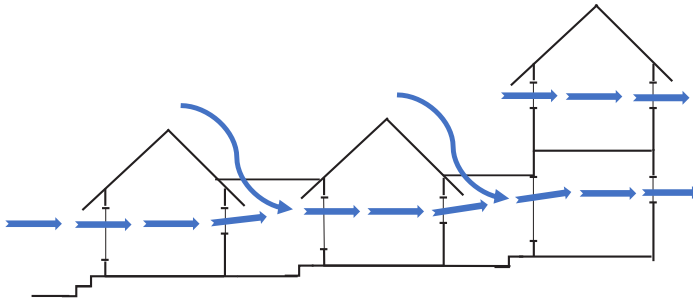


Figure 4-7. Illustration of Ventilation in Traditional Dwellings.

Source: author's draft. Based on: Knapp, Ronald (1990): *The Chinese House: Craft, Symbol and the Folk Tradition*, p. 18.

In addition, lattice windows and panel doors are beneficial to regulate both ventilation and lighting.⁸⁰ In some houses in Tongli, preserved wooden windows feature transparent oyster shells (*like chuang* 蛎壳窗) which have been inserted into the empty spaces in between the squared pattern of the window frames (see fig. 4-8). These shells traditionally blocked rain and wind while ensuring adequate lighting.⁸¹ A lot of houses further have fire-retarding bulkheads (*matou qiang* 马头墙, literally “horse-head walls”) between different buildings to prevent fire and to ward off thieves (see fig. 4-9).⁸²

78 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 200.

79 Ibid., pp. 200–201.

80 Knapp, Ronald G. (2005): “In Search of the Elusive Chinese House”, pp. 62–63.

81 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 200.

82 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 136.



Figure 4-8. Windows with Transparent Oyster Shells.

Source: author's photo, 2018.



Figure 4-9. Fire-Retarding Bulkheads, Jiayin Hall.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

Similar to those in Suzhou, local-style dwelling houses in Tongli have **cultural value** related to their hall names. But while the majority of historical buildings in Suzhou are named after their location (lane name + family name of owner), about half of Tongli's historical buildings are recorded under their hall name (listed in appendix A.16). Thereby, forms of hall names are equally diverse and carry cultural connotations. Some hall names are clearly related to Confucian virtues such as “Hall of Courtesy and Benevolence” (Li shan tang 礼善堂) or “Hall of Cultivating Virtue” (Xiude tang 修德堂).

Another pattern found by Xu is the expression of one's admiration of ancestors.⁸³ Two Qing-period historical buildings are named after their Xigu Hall (希古堂, “Hall in Admiration for Our Forefathers”) which may be chosen after this pattern. One example for a hall name referring to the natural environment is Hedong Hall (河东堂, “Hall East of the River”). However, the majority of hall names refer to good wishes for a household, such as “Hall of Happiness and Longevity” (Le shou tang 乐寿堂), “Hall of Abundance” (Youyu tang 有余堂) or, in the case of a formerly commercial building, “Pawnshop of Everlasting Peace” (Yong'an dian-dang 永安典当).

Finally, an important feature of these dwelling houses is decoration. The restrictions of sumptuary regulations for housing construction during the Ming and Qing dynasties included the use of bright colors so that carvings became the major form of domestic decoration.⁸⁴ The **three types of carvings** – wood, brick and stone carvings – not only have artistic but also cultural value. While brick carvings are used on archways between different *jin*, screen walls and roof ridges, stone carvings are engraved on the main gate, floor panels and boundary stones.⁸⁵ Wooden carvings are mainly found on building columns, doors and windows (see fig. 4-10).

Brick carvings comprise pictographic as well as calligraphic works which have artistic and cultural value. The content, motives and craftsmanship differ among social stratum. Similar to brick carvings on archways of more splendid mansions in Suzhou, these horizontal inscriptions were composed on behalf of the owner who originally needed to hold an official post.⁸⁶ Most ordinary houses feature ornamental carvings such as wooden carvings on window panels. These

83 Xu, Sujun 徐苏君 (2010): “Suzhou gu minju tanghao kao” 苏州古民居堂号考 [Investigations on hall names of old Suzhou local-style dwelling houses], p. 111.

84 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 137.

85 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 200.

86 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 137.

depictions further have cultural connotations such as an engraved magnolia, a symbol to ensure safety.⁸⁷ The most frequent motives of depictions on all three types of carvings are celestial beings, Buddhist figures, animals and plants, but also scenes from historical records or literary works.⁸⁸



Figure 4-10. Wooden Carvings on Door Panels.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

4.1.2 Officially Protected and Controlled Entities

By 2014, Tongli had built up an inventory of 30 officially protected and 14 officially controlled entities.⁸⁹ Of these 44 entities, eight are located in the wider town area and comprise historic stone bridges, tombs as well as a section of the Grand Canal. The majority of listed sites in the historic town are formerly splendid mansions as well as local-style dwelling houses and, equally, stone bridges from different historical periods. Although there had originally been a number of private gardens

87 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 138.

88 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 200.

89 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, pp. 68–69.

in Tongli, only one of them has been preserved: The Retreat and Reflection Garden (Tuisi yuan 退思园). This garden is not only listed on the highest administrative level, but also included in the Classical Gardens of Suzhou as a World Heritage Site.

The town's historic stone bridges date from the Song to the Qing dynasty and are listed on different levels, from national level to officially controlled entities. Similar to the first case study, there are sites named after their renowned owners. These "Former Residences of X" have been promulgated as officially protected entities on a provincial and municipal level. The former functional diversity of the historic town is further reflected in functional site names. Primarily, such a name has been selected for the national-level officially protected entity Lize Girls' School 丽则女学 which has an educational function. The municipal level further comprises a former Buddhist Nunnery (Woyun 'an 卧云庵), Nanyuan Teahouse 南园茶社, the former site of Taihu Water Conservancy Department 太湖水利同知署 and ancestral halls (*zongci* 宗祠).

The great majority of officially protected and controlled entities are sites with a residential function, both formerly splendid mansions and local-style dwelling houses. Notable residences include Chongben Hall 崇本堂 and Jiayin Hall 嘉荫堂, both of which are listed on a provincial level. An example for a significant local-style dwelling house listed on a municipal level is the "Hall of Threefold Gratitude" (Sanxie tang 三谢堂).

Historical and Social Value

In the analysis of historical buildings, it has been shown that local-style dwelling houses have historical value as they illustrate the **material production, life-style, traditions and social practices** of their historical periods (Comm CP, 2.3.1. iii). This criterion equally applies to officially protected and controlled entities. Stone bridges dating to earlier historical periods are listed on higher protection levels. Accordingly, the two national-level bridges originate from the Song and Yuan dynasties. Siben Bridge 思本桥, Tongli's oldest bridge from the Northern Song dynasty, is an arched bridge built of Wukang stone. It is a representative example for the material production of stone bridges during the Song and early Yuan dynasties (see fig. 4-11).⁹⁰

90 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三 (2015): *Tongli* 同里, p. 75.



Figure 4-II. Siben Bridge.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

With regard to residential buildings, a considerable number of officially listed entities are formerly splendid mansions where its inhabitants practiced a lifestyle and followed social conventions different from those of ordinary people. These differences are not only perceived in building size but also privileged spaces such as sedan-chair halls, inner chambers for women or parlors. One example where a specific mansion element illustrated the owner's higher social status is a "repentance well" (*xixin quan* 洗心泉), which has been preserved in Pang Family Ancestral Hall 庞氏宗祠. Following Confucian ethics, women in feudal China had to adhere to the "three obediences" and "four virtues"⁹¹ (*san cong si de* 三从四德). According to the *Tongli Town Gazetteer*, women in the family who violated these rules were drowned in this well.⁹² Categorized as one of the wells associated with other-worldly qualities it was used to enforce clan authority.

The historical value of sites further can be derived from related **significant events or important figures** which had been active there (Comm CP, 2.3.1 ii). In the historic town, there are a number of officially protected and controlled entities which meet this criterion. Some of the former owners of Tongli's great mansions

91 The "three obediences" were to obey one's father before marriage, one's husband after marriage and one's sons in widowhood. The "four virtues" refer to morality, proper speech, modest manner and diligent work.

92 "Tongli Zhen zhi" bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 142.

were high-ranking government officials. Ren Lansheng 任兰生 (1837–1888), the builder of Tuisi Garden, held an official post as general supervisor and military commander in Anhui province.⁹³ His family is one of the town's most influential clans and had lived in Tongli since the beginning of the Ming dynasty. When charges were levelled against him and he was dismissed from office, he returned to Tongli and built Tuisi Garden for 100,000 silver taels.⁹⁴

Another prominent clan which settled in Tongli during the Ming dynasty is the Chen family. Chen Wangdao 陈王道 (1526–1576) was one of many clan members which pursued an official career and became imperial censor after he had successfully passed the highest imperial examinations. After his death in 1580, the Imperial Court erected the Chen Family Decorated Archway 陈家牌楼 to honor his outstanding achievements in his official career.⁹⁵ His grandson in the fifth generation, Chen Yizhen 陈沂震, equally succeeded in the highest imperial examinations. After he had served as high-ranking official for more than 20 years, he built a new mansion in the west of the decorated archway in order to further increase his family's prestige.⁹⁶ With this expansion, the Chen Family Mansion became the grandest residence in the entire town. The residence's own waterway to access the public river network and that Chen Yizhen imported wood from mountains in Jiangxi province to build his mansion illustrate the splendor of the Chen Family Mansion at the time.⁹⁷ Currently only a small part of this former mansion has been preserved and listed as officially controlled entity.

Similar to the first case study, entities can be named after historically prominent owners, such as the Former Residence of Chen Qubing or the Former Residence of Wang Shao'ao. Chen Qubing 陈去病 (1874–1933) was a man of letters and political activist in the 1911 Revolution. After China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, he was a founding member of the "Revenge Society" 雪耻学会 and later joined Sun Yat-sen's Tongmenghui (同盟会, "Revolutionary Alliance") in 1906.⁹⁸ He also founded the "Southern Society" 南社 together with Gao Xu 高旭 (1877–1925) and Liu Yazi 柳亚子 (1887–1958) in 1909,⁹⁹ the largest literature and poetry organization at the time. His former residence was among the earliest listed

93 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 248.

94 Ibid., p. 47.

95 "Tongli Zhen zhi" bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 138.

96 Ibid., p. 139.

97 Ibid.

98 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 222.

99 Ibid.

sites in Tongli and has since been upgraded to the status of provincial-level protected entity. Furthermore, the teahouse in which members of the society used to meet, the Nanyuan Teahouse, whose historical value equally derives from these historical figures, is a protected site in Tongli.

Liugeng Hall 留耕堂 is the hall name of one of Tongli's historic mansions. However, it is known today as Former Residence of Wang Shao'ao 王绍鏊 (1888–1970). He was a labor activist and one of the founders of the Chinese Association for the Promotion of Democracy 中国民主促进会 in 1945.¹⁰⁰ Born into a literary family, he went abroad to study political economy in Japan. In 1933, he joined the CCP and, among others, held the post of Assistant Minister of Finance.¹⁰¹ As assistant minister, Wang Shao'ao also liaised with the Guomindang and functioned as prime organizer of the Chinese Association for the Promotion of Democracy through his connections to industry and commerce.¹⁰² His former residence is now listed as municipal-level protected entity.

In addition to residences, buildings with other functions are related to historical events and figures. One such site is the Lize Girls' School. The School was founded by the son of the owner of Tuisi Garden, Ren Chuanxin 任传薪 (1887–1962), who inherited the garden and converted it partly into school buildings in 1906. After the new school building had been set up, the school was moved from the garden to its present site.¹⁰³ In 1915, a group of about 140 people gathered at the school to protest against the capitulation of President Yuan Shikai 袁世凯 (1859–1916) who had signed the Twenty-One Demands on May 25, an ultimatum set by Japan in the course of World War I which guaranteed Japan special privileges. Moreover, a memorial to this “national humiliation” was set up which now stands opposite of the school building (see fig. 4-12). The site therefore not only has historical value but is further a commemorative site with social value.

Another example is Tianfang Building, which was set up by famous poet and educator Jin Songcen 金松岑 (Jin Tianhe 金天翮, 1874–1947) in 1924.¹⁰⁴ Jin Songcen was a poet, writer and educator with a literary family background. Together with Chen Qubing, he founded the Revenge Society in 1897.¹⁰⁵ In his attempt to foster revolutionary activities and to promote women's rights for political action

100 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 224.

101 Ibid.

102 Groot, Gerry (2004): *Managing Transitions: The Chinese Communist Party, United Front Work, Corporatism and Hegemony*, pp. 30–31.

103 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 53.

104 Ibid., p. 112.

105 Ibid., p. 224.

through his writings, Jin Songcen translated Japanese descriptions of anarchism into Chinese such as Kemuriyama Sentarō's 煙山專太郎 *Kinsei museifushugi* 近世無政府主義 (*Modern Anarchism*) which further provides the basis for parts of the well-known novel *Niehaihua* 孽海花 ("A Flower in an Ocean of Sin"), later taken over and completed by Zeng Pu 曾朴 (1871–1935).¹⁰⁶ Moreover, he strove to reform the educational system and opened a private school in his residence where he started to work as educator.¹⁰⁷ In 1903, he went to Shanghai to follow an invitation by Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940) to work for the "Patriotic Study Society" (Aiguo xueshe 爱国学社) and later moved to Suzhou.¹⁰⁸

Tianfang Building was set up on the former site of historic Tongchuan Academy 同川书院 and has originally been Jin Songcen's study.¹⁰⁹ It was destroyed during the Japanese occupation and was rebuilt in 1948 with funds donated by Jin Songcen's alumni to commemorate him.¹¹⁰ Petzet has noted how rebuilt structures can contribute to cure the losses caused by events of war and, despite their new fabric, are often perceived as historic documents.¹¹¹ While Tianfang Building was rebuilt, it still retains high historical and social value as a commemorative site.

Furthermore, sites have historical value if they can prove or supplement facts as stated in **historical records**. A considerable number of historic residences are recorded in the *Jiaqing Gazetteer*. In the case of Gengle Hall, there was further listed an individual structure of the residence as a significant building. According to this record, the historic mansion of Gengle Hall featured a structure named "Yanyi Building" 燕翼楼.¹¹² This building has been preserved and provides evidence for the historic record on Gengle Hall (see fig. 4-13).

106 Müller, Gotelind (2001): *China, Kropotkin und der Anarchismus: Eine Kulturbewegung im China des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts unter dem Einfluß des Westens und japanischer Vorbilder*, pp. 154–155.

107 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 221.

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid., p. 112.

110 Ibid.

111 Petzet, Michael (2013): "Conservation of Monuments and Sites — International Principles in Theory and Practice", "Denkmalpflege — Internationale Grundsätze in Theorie und Praxis", p. 80.

112 Tongli Zhen renmin zhengfu 同里镇人民政府; Wujiang Shi dang'an ju 吴江市档案局 (ed., 2011): *Tongli zhi (liang zhong)* 同里志 (两种), p. 68.



Figure 4-12. Lize Girls' School Memorial Site.

Source: author's photo, 2018.



Figure 4-13. Yanyi Building.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Finally, historical value derives from **unique elements** or elements representative of a type of site (Comm CP, 2.3.1 v). While a considerable number of historic mansions in Tongli were private gardens, only Tuisi Garden has been preserved. In the World Heritage nomination document, the garden is valued for its unique layout, which stands out from those of other Classical Gardens.¹¹³ Tuisi Garden can therefore be seen as a unique element, which increases its historical value. Other examples of unique elements include the exquisite carvings of Chongben Hall and Jiayin Hall, both of which will be analyzed more closely in the following section.

Artistic and Scientific Value

Artistic value can be derived primarily from architectural arts. This can include spatial composition, building style, decoration and aesthetic form (Comm CP, 2.3.2 i). In comparison to historical buildings in Tongli, officially protected entities feature buildings with exceptional architectural forms. Tuisi Garden has the greatest number of such buildings, both in the residential part of the mansion and its garden. The inner residence comprises two-storied chambers connected through two-storied corridors, forming a quadrangle around a central courtyard. This building type is called *zoumalou* 走马楼 (see fig. 4-14).¹¹⁴ The adjacent courtyard functions as transitional space between residence and garden and has a boat-shaped structure or landboat (*hanchuan* 旱船) in its center.¹¹⁵

The garden includes a great variety of landscape architecture built as pavilion (*ting* 亭), terrace (*tai* 台), two-story building (*lou* 楼), two-story pavilion (*ge* 阁), corridor (*lang* 廊), pavilion on a terrace (*xie* 榭), bridge (*qiao* 桥), and others. The main structure of the garden is Tuisi Cottage (Tuisi caotang 退思草堂), which has a characteristic roof, a terrace and is divided into a northern and a southern part.¹¹⁶ A structure named “Nao hong yi ge” (闹红一舸, “Barge in-between flourishing red lotuses”), again, is shaped as a boat and set on limestones reaching into the pond. Another structure designated as “skybridge” (*tianqiao* 天桥) with a bridge on the upper and a corridor on the lower level was selected as a “first choice” scenic spot of Suzhou Classical Gardens in 1985 (see fig. 4-15).¹¹⁷

113 Ministry of Construction of the People’s Republic of China; State Bureau of Cultural Relics of the People’s Republic of China (1999): *The Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, p. 13.

114 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 55.

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid., p. 57.

117 Ibid., p. 59.



Figure 4-14. Zoumalou in Tuisi Garden.

Source: author's photo, 2015.



Figure 4-15. "Nao Hong Yi Ge" and Skybridge.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

An outstanding example for a residence with high artistic value is Jiayin Hall. In terms of significant architectural characteristics, it primarily has an arched gateway in *shikumen*-style in the first *jin*.¹¹⁸ Its main hall is built as a *shamao* hall 纱帽厅, the same architectural form which can be found in the Former Mansion of Pan Shi'en in Suzhou. The beam capitals of this hall are decorated with the characteristic “gauze cap wings” (see fig. 4-16). In addition, Yanqing Building 衍庆楼, the two-storied chamber of the inner residence, further features different types of verandas (*xuan* 轩) on its upper and lower stories.¹¹⁹

As for decoration, formerly splendid mansions usually feature three types of carvings: wooden, brick and stone carvings.¹²⁰ Jiayin Hall's artistic value is found in its carvings; they are considered its most outstanding feature. In the entry of the *Tongli Town Gazetteer*, it reads:

嘉荫堂四进三十二间，环境静谧，建筑精巧，特别是各种雕刻，细腻精致，富丽典雅，有较高的艺术价值。¹²¹

“Jiayin Hall has four *jin* and 32 *jian*¹²² in a tranquil environment and with exquisite architecture. In particular, the various kinds of fine and elaborate carvings are of comparatively high artistic value.”

This completeness of carvings can also be found in other higher-listed officially protected entities such as Chongben Hall or Gengle Hall. The cultural value of the carvings is determined by what they depict, which will be addressed below.

118 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 136.

119 Ibid.

120 Ibid., p. 200.

121 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 136.

122 A *jian* 间 (“bay”) is the standardized basic unit of width measurement used for traditional building construction. Related to the size of a room, this spatial unit may further refer to floor space as well as volumetric measurement, comprising the space in between four columns. Accordingly, the width of a *jian* is measured as the span between two lateral columns. In Southern China, it ranges from 3.6–3.9 m whereas its depth can reach up to 6.6 m. See: Knapp, Ronald G. (2000): *China's Old Dwellings*, pp. 21–22.



Figure 4-16. Gauze Cap Wings in Jiayin Hall.

Source: author's photo, 2018.



Figure 4-17. Jingsi Hall.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

As well, there are entities in the historic town that owe their significance to their blending of Chinese and Western elements (*Zhong Xi he bi* 中西合璧). One example for a mansion built in combined style is the Former Residence of Chen Qubing. The residence shows some unique and characteristic architectural features such as a moon gate (*yuedong men* 月洞门) through which Lüyu Qingyao Building 绿玉青瑶馆, one of its main buildings, is entered.¹²³ Its side rooms are separated by paneled doors, and on the second floor of the southern side contains a Western-style flat roof (*lu tai* 露台).¹²⁴

Another building with combined elements from the Republican period is municipal-level protected Jingsi Hall 经筵堂. The outside wall of its entrance hall is built with red bricks and has a semi-circle-shaped decorative door frame as well as stone stairs due to an unusually high elevation difference of inner and outer space.¹²⁵ In contrast, the *beilong* to its east has a *shikumen*-entry (see fig. 4-17). While the second and third *jin* feature traditional elements of Chinese architecture, such as richly engraved beams, skywells and an engraved archway, there is another Western-style two-storied building with red bricks, a balcony and windowsills in the fourth *jin*.¹²⁶

The artistic value of sites is further defined as residing in landscape arts (Comm CP, 2.3.2 ii). As mentioned in the first case study, Liu Dunzhen characterizes the Chinese classical garden as “system of garden art”. Similarly, Tong Jun deduced the significant elements of a garden from the meaningful components of its Chinese character: *yuan* 园. In traditional form, the character is composed of four parts carrying the meaning of an enclosure (口), architectural elements (土), a water pond (口) and rockeries or plants, expressed by the remaining strokes.¹²⁷

Tuisi Garden in Tongli comprises all these meaningful components. The significance of the garden for the overall site is reflected in its name which has been chosen after the original name of the garden although the mansion is composed of two parts, the residence and the garden. Similar to other Classical Gardens, there is a lotus pond in the center of Tuisi Garden around which additional architectural and natural elements are arranged. The structures are built so as to directly border on

123 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 144.

124 Ibid., p. 145.

125 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 124.

126 Ibid.

127 Wang, Joseph C. (2005): “House and Garden: Sanctuary for the Body and the Mind”, p. 75.

the pond surface, which is why it has also been called “Garden built on water” (Tieshui yuan 贴水园).¹²⁸

In contrast to Suzhou’s Couple’s Garden Retreat, the pond in Tuisi Garden does not have a name despite its central role. The same applies to the artificial hill in the east of the garden. On top of this hill is set a pavilion named “Sleeping Cloud Pavilion” (Yanyun ting 眼云亭). The artificial hill has artistic value deriving from the way it has been piled up and forms a cave underneath this pavilion.¹²⁹

The site features 25 historic trees such as the Chinese little leaf box 黄杨, camellia 山茶 and glossy privet 女贞.¹³⁰ As part of the greater design of the garden, some trees also carry connotations. In the courtyard between the inner residence and the garden, for example, a magnolia tree has been preserved. This tree was planted by the garden owner and also bears the owner’s name (Ren Lansheng 任兰生), since the Chinese name for this type of magnolia is *guang yulan* 广玉兰.¹³¹ Another “hidden view” involves a bamboo grove which is placed at the eastern wall of “Zither Room” (Qinfang 琴房). Depending on the position of the sun, this grove casts shadows on the white-washed wall,¹³² relating to an ink drawing on white paper.

Tuisi Garden further has high artistic value, since it was designed by the famous local painter Yuan Long 袁龙 (1820–1902).¹³³ The painter himself belonged to an influential family in Tongli and made his living from selling his paintings. In 1885, Ren Lansheng hired him to design Tuisi Garden.¹³⁴ Similar to other Classical Gardens, the composition is based on techniques from Chinese landscape painting and involves a careful positioning of garden-related elements, thereby creating different views framed by windows or wall openings.

In their design of gardens, builders attempted to enrich space limited by the urban environment with increasing vistas and perspectives.¹³⁵ One example for this technique in Tuisi Garden is the “Pine, Bamboo and Plum House” (*Suihan ju* 岁寒居). The name of this building originates from the “Three Friends of Winter” (*sui han san you* 岁寒三友), a popular painting motive that refers to the three

128 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 57.

129 Ibid., p. 59.

130 TLCP (2011), appendix, p. 9.

131 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 55.

132 Ibid., p. 58.

133 Ibid., p. 53.

134 Ibid.

135 Ministry of Construction of the People’s Republic of China; State Bureau of Cultural Relics of the People’s Republic of China (1999): *The Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, p. 11.

winter-thriving plants: pine, bamboo and plum. Because the skywell south of this structure is comparatively small and narrow, the owner created a window scene of plants representing these “Three Friends of Winter”.¹³⁶

Another example is “Zizania Rain Brings Coolness Pavilion” (Guyu sheng liang xuan 菰雨生凉轩) in the southeast of the pond. The building contains a mirror imported from Germany by Ren Chuanxin when he returned from his investigation on women’s education in 1907.¹³⁷ And this mirror “borrows” the scenery of the garden, providing the spectator who is standing in front of it with the impression of being part of the scene.

The fourth criterion for artistic value defined in the China Principles is related to immovable and unique sculptural artistic works (Comm CP, 2.3.2 iv). Although there is no sculptural work, Tuisi Garden features a unique lakeside rock erected at the side of the pond. Since its form resembles an elderly person, the rock is called “Elderly Peak” (Laoren feng 老人峰).¹³⁸ Placed on top of this rock is another stone that resembles the hat of the elderly person from afar and a turtle which symbolizes longevity standing close (see fig. 4-15).¹³⁹ The rock gains significance from this natural and combined form.

In contrast to the mainly regular layout of mansions and dwelling houses in the planned Pingjiang Historic Block, Tongli mansions and houses show more diverse layouts that have scientific value (Comm CP, 2.3.3 i). As mentioned above, the classical layout for mansions is vertical, comprising a residence in the front and a garden in the back. By contrast, Tuisi Garden is built on a west-east axis. It has three parts: a residence, a courtyard and a garden which are aligned horizontally (see appendix A.6).¹⁴⁰ The residence has an inner and an outer part. Its outer part covers three *jin*, including an entrance hall, a main hall and a tea hall, which is similar to a sedan-chair hall. The private chambers of the family are set up in the following inner residence with two-storied buildings in *zoumalou* form. The courtyard in the middle serves as transitional space between residence and garden and was used to receive visitors.¹⁴¹ This layout is unique for a classical garden and therefore has high scientific value.

An example for an officially protected entity with regular layout is Chongben Hall. Facing south and oriented towards the water canal, it is set right beside the northern end of Changqing Bridge, one of the Three Bridges in the town center.

136 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 56.

137 Ibid., p. 59.

138 Ibid.

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid., p. 48.

141 Ibid.

The mansion consists of five *jin* and has a traditional layout with an entrance hall, a main hall, front chambers and rear chambers as well as side rooms.¹⁴² Among other attributes, Chongben Hall's significance derives from its comparatively scientific architectural structure. This is stated in the *Tongli Town Gazetteer* as follows:

门厅、正厅和堂楼之间，均有封火墙分隔。门楼过道左右两侧均设有“蟹眼天井”，天井虽小，但在建筑上是个重要环节，它既可通风，又可采光，既能泻水，又能防火。门厅东侧，辟有一条深邃的备弄，使一进进房屋院落既分隔独立，又串连为整体 [...]。从正厅到后楼，呈前低后高结构，建筑上利于通风采光，在民间则称之为“连升三级”。¹⁴³

“The entrance hall, the main hall and the private chambers are separated by fire-walls. On both sides of the archway aisle are ‘crab-eye skywells’¹⁴⁴. Although the skywells are small, they are an important architectural element which enables ventilation, daylighting, water outlet and fire prevention. On the eastern side of the entrance hall, there is a deep *beilong* that partitions one compound with several *jin* of buildings from the other to stand independently, while at the same time inter-connecting them into an entity [...]. From the main hall to the private chambers, the structure is lower in the front and higher in the rear which has architectural advantages for ventilation and lighting. According to a popular saying, this is called ‘to be promoted three ranks at once’.”

As the record describes, the architectural form and structural design of the mansion were adapted to threats, including fire to which the wooden buildings are particularly vulnerable. Moreover, similar to historical buildings, the hall's construction factored in topographic and climatic conditions, which helps the above-mentioned lighting, drainage and ventilation. Finally, this characteristic architectural structure symbolizes achievement in one's career.

On the contrary, the layout of Chen Qubing's former residence is much more irregular (see fig. 4-18), since it has been adjusted to a non-rectangular land plot. It consists of three main buildings, an ancestral shrine, multiple study rooms and a servants' room. The first main building in the southwest is the Lüyu Qingyao Building 绿玉青瑶馆, a two-storied structure with side rooms that features a hall

142 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 134.

143 Ibid.

144 Designation for two smaller skywells situated on a horizontal axis next to each other, in contrast to a larger central skywell.

on its lower story as well as a study and a bedroom.¹⁴⁵ Opposite of the Lüyu Qingyao Building is the ancestral shrine, and to the east his former book storage and writing room, Baichi Building 百尺楼. In the courtyard behind Baichi Building is another study room, followed by the third main building, Haoge Hall 浩歌堂. Finally, on the northern side of this hall are more bedrooms. While the different building components of the residence are similar to those of traditional mansions, their arrangement only partially follows conventional principles.

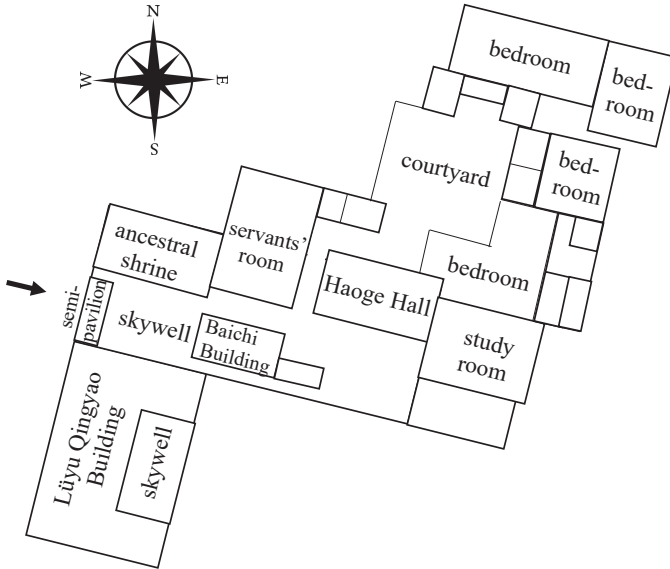


Figure 4-18. Layout of Chen Qubing's Former Residence.

Source: author's draft. Information from: "Tongli Zhen zhi" bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 148.

As well, other officially protected mansions and local-style dwelling houses in Tongli are laid out in various forms. The ground plan of the former residence of local calligrapher Yang Tianji 杨天骥 (1882–1958), for example, has the shape of a boat.¹⁴⁶ Another municipal-level protected entity named Wuben Hall 务本堂 resembles a crane lying prone. Thereby, the long *beilong* symbolizes the crane's neck, the row of courtyard-building components its body and the *ensembles* to the left and right of the *beilong* form the crane's wings. Finally, the kitchen

145 "Tongli Zhen zhi" bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 145.

146 *Ibid.*, p. 201.

and servants' rooms in the back symbolize the crane's tail.¹⁴⁷ It is recorded that the owners built their mansion in this particular form to adhere to *fengshui* principles.¹⁴⁸

Another example which reveals the importance of landscape characteristics for the construction of housing is Sanxie Hall 三谢堂. This officially protected entity is not a great mansion but a local-style dwelling house built by the Shao 邵 family clan. According to the *Tongli Town Gazetteer*, the clan held the belief that their house was set on particularly favorable land in terms of *fengshui*. The buildings in the residence were built in triangular and step-shaped form to adapt to this environment.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, while the buildings in the front are lower, the rear buildings are taller, and some of them even feature lofts.¹⁵⁰

According to Knapp, the great attentiveness to a site and its characteristics such as ventilation and natural light laid the basis for the employment of *fengshui* in China.¹⁵¹ The design of Sanxie Hall shows such an awareness of environmental influences. Moreover, the local-style dwelling house comprises one of the few remaining structures dating back to the Ming dynasty. The site's scientific value can be therefore derived from construction, materials and techniques used in this historical period (Comm CP, 2.3.3 ii). For example, the columns of its main hall are built on wooden column bases,¹⁵² which is a rare feature and characteristic of Ming-dynasty architecture.

Cultural Value

These official entities do not only possess the historical, artistic and scientific value mentioned above but are also rich in cultural content deriving from different attributes. Firstly, they gain significance from naming. Similar to the first case study, hall and structure names can derive from a variety of sources which include aspects related to the owner, the natural environment, the family clan or aspirations and good wishes.

147 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 110.

148 Ibid.

149 Ibid., p. 120.

150 Ibid.

151 Knapp, Ronald G. (2005): "Siting and Situating a Dwelling: Fengshui, House-Building Rituals and Amulets", pp. 135–136.

152 Ibid.

Names which are related to their owners have often been selected for great mansions and can include the personal name of the mansion owner. Gengle Hall, for example, was built by recluse Zhu Xiang 朱祥 who rendered great service to the inspector-general of Jiangsu Province assisting in the construction of a bridge and was awarded with a government post.¹⁵³ But Zhu Xiang was unwilling to serve as an official, so he resigned on grounds of bad health and decided to live in seclusion. The name of his residence is chosen after his own “assumed name” or *hao* 号: Gengle 耕乐.¹⁵⁴

The naming of Tuisi Garden expresses the owner’s disposition. Ren Lansheng returned to Tongli after charges were levelled against him and he was dismissed from office. In light of his dismissal, he deliberately named his residence Tuisi Garden, “Retreat and Reflection Garden”, to express his loyalty to the emperor. The two characters *tui si* 退思 originate from the expression *tui si bu guo* 退思补过 (“to think about how to retrieve one’s errors in retreat”), which originates from a passage in the *Zuo Commentary* (*Zuo zhuan* 左传)¹⁵⁵ about the historic Battle of Bi 郟 between the states of Jin 晋 and Chu 楚 in 597 BC. Due to the disgraceful defeat of Jin by Chu, Jin army leader Xun Linfu 荀林父 should have been executed. This passage describes an appeal to the Marquis of Jin that persuaded him to spare Xun Linfu and describes his loyal behavior.¹⁵⁶

The circumstances of Ren Lansheng’s career show some parallels to the events described in the passage from the *Zuo zhuan*. By choosing an expression from this passage as name for his residence, the owner wanted to indirectly demonstrate his loyalty to the imperial court and his will to serve the emperor, since he was “reflecting on his mistakes”. Ren Lansheng was not the only owner to use this practice of expressing his disposition through garden names. Another example from Yangzhou is a private garden named Ge Yuan 个园. The Chinese character *ge* 个 (“single”) resembles one half of the character for bamboo (*zhu* 竹), connoting moral integrity. The garden name therefore reflects the owner’s self-perception

153 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 137.

154 Ibid.

155 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 47.

156 The respective passage reads: “Linfu’s service of his ruler has been of this character, that, in an advance, his thought has been how to display his loyalty, and, when obliged to withdraw, his thought has been how to retrieve his errors; he is a bulwark to the altars of Jin ...” (Linfu zhi shi jun ye, jin si jin zhong, tui si bu guo, sheji zhi wei ye 林父之事君也，进思尽忠，退思补过，社稷之卫也). Translated after: Legge, James (1972): *The Ch’un Ts’ew, with the Tso Chuen*, p. 321.

as the single remaining upright person in contrast to his peers as well as his wish to be appreciated for this quality by others.¹⁵⁷

Hall and building names can also express an owner's aspiration, and they often allude to Chinese classics or poetry. The municipal-level listed Tianfang Building 天放楼, for example, was named by Jin Songcen after a verse from the outer chapters of *Zhuangzi*.¹⁵⁸ The passage from "Horses' Hoofs" 马蹄 praises the occupation with weaving clothes and cultivating food as virtue of ordinary people.¹⁵⁹ Jin Songcen named his study after elements in this passage to express his aspiration for freedom and independence in thinking and acting.¹⁶⁰

The building names of main structures in the Former Residence of Chen Qubing are rooted in poems. The name of Lüyu Qingyao Building originates from a verse of a poem written by one of his mother's ancestors; he chose this name in order to express gratitude for her education.¹⁶¹ Likewise, the names of Baichi Building and Haoge Hall have been named after poem verses. When Haoge Hall was being built, Chen Qubing was reading the poem *Haoge xing* 浩歌行 ("Grand-song Lay") by Bai Juyi 白居易 and named the completed hall in reference to this poem.¹⁶²

As mentioned above, the owners of Sanxie Hall regarded their house to be located in a favorable position in terms of *fengshui*. According to Knapp, the consideration of *fengshui* characteristics is believed to provide "a vehicle for ensuring a reasonable share of good fortune, that includes wealth, progeny, good harvests and official positions".¹⁶³ Expressing their wish that descendants would thank heaven (*xie tian* 谢天), thank earth (*xie di* 谢地) and thank their ancestors (*xie*

157 Wang, Joseph C. (2005): "House and Garden: Sanctuary for the Body and the Mind", in: Knapp, Ronald G.; Lo, Kai-yin (ed.): *House Home Family: Living and Being Chinese*, p. 93.

158 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 134.

159 The passage reads: "Weaving clothes and cultivating food, refers to sharing equally in virtue. It is oneness without partisanship, and refers to heaven's liberation." (Zhi er yi, geng er shi, shi wei tong de. Yi er bu dang, ming yue tian fang. 织而衣, 耕而食, 是谓同德; 一而不党, 命曰天放。) Source: Thompson, Paul B.; Thompson, Kirill O. (ed., 2018): *Agricultural Ethics in East Asian Perspective: A Transpacific Dialogue*, p. 49.

160 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 134.

161 "Tongli Zhen zhi" bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 145.

162 Ibid.

163 Knapp, Ronald G. (1990): *The Chinese House: Craft, Symbol and the Folk Tradition*, p. 55.

zuzong 谢祖宗) for this beneficial location, they chose this name.¹⁶⁴ Literally named the “Three Thanks Hall”, this local-style dwelling house has been named in reference to its location.

Residences in Tongli are associated to their occupants’ family clan, and the same residence name can also refer to different residences of clan members. For example, the name Wuben Hall 务本堂 belonging to the Gu 顾 family clan, related to a lineage from the Ming dynasty, was used for three residences in different locations.¹⁶⁵ In addition, residences can be named after an ancestor’s official title. The officially controlled entity “Residence of the Imperial Servant” (Shiyu di 侍御第) built in the Ming dynasty, was formerly inhabited by an imperial censor and is named after his official position.¹⁶⁶

The bridges in Tongli, some of which are officially protected or controlled entities, are mainly given names associated with auspicious meanings or positive connotations. The Three Bridges in the historic center, for example, are called “Bridge of Great Peace” (Taiping qiao 太平桥), “Bridge of Good Luck” (Jili qiao 吉利桥) and “Bridge of Lasting Prosperity” (Changqing qiao 长庆桥). Other examples are the “Bridge of Universal Peace” (Pu’an qiao 普安桥) or the “Bridge of Longevity” (Yongshou qiao 永寿桥).¹⁶⁷

Similar to buildings, Tongli’s bridges derive cultural significance from decorative carvings and intangible heritage related to them. Locals refer to the Ming-period Pu’an Bridge as the “Study Bridge” (Dushu qiao 读书桥), which derives from a stone carving. A couplet which portrays Tongli’s residents as fond of studying was engraved on the western bridge pier and gives the bridge its local name.¹⁶⁸

Wujin Bridge 乌金桥 features a stone-engraved image inset on the top of its crossover; this image alludes to a legend. Originally, this bridge was located at a strategic access point for Tongli and is said to have been reconstructed in a rush by the town residents to welcome the troops of the Taiping Movement.¹⁶⁹ The engraved “Announcing Good News Right Away” - image (*Mashang baoxi tu’an* 马上报喜图案) depicts a horse turning its head and looking at a bird approaching it from behind (see fig. 4-19). The Chinese term *mashang* 马上 has a double

164 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 218.

165 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 134.

166 Ibid.

167 Ibid., p. 69.

168 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三 (2015): *Tongli* 同里, p. 76.

169 Ibid., p. 78.

meaning which can be “right away” as well as “on horseback”. This ambiguity has been used in the image.



Figure 4-19. “Mashang Baoxi”-Image.

Source: author’s photo, 2016.

Bridges can also be associated with intangible heritage through related customs, as illustrated by the case of the Three Bridges. As mentioned above, these bridges all have names expressing good wishes. According to a local custom, newlywed couples must cross the bridges to receive the blessings indicated by the bridge names. The custom suggests that the couple will embark on a common path through life in prosperity and adversity.¹⁷⁰ While the official account of this custom “crossing the Three Bridges” (*zou sanqiao* 走三桥) designated Taiping Bridge, Jili Bridge and Changqing Bridge, Bellocq pointed out that the *Jiaqing Gazetteer* only includes two bridges.¹⁷¹

170 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 166.

171 Bellocq, Maylis (2006): “The Cultural Heritage Industry in the PRC: What Memories Are Being Passed On? A Case Study of Tongli, A Protected Township in Jiangsu Province” (Jonathan Hall, transl.), p. 31.

In the *Jiaqing Gazetteer*, the custom is recorded as follows:

里中迎娶，必经太平、吉利二桥，以为佳讖。¹⁷²

“In the town, when a bride is escorted to her wedding, [the escort] has to cross both, Taiping and Jili Bridge, as this is considered a good omen.”

As shown above, the custom has been recorded but only refers to Taiping and Jili Bridges. Bellocq further found that “crossing the Three Bridges” was not practiced during the Cultural Revolution and only was revived with the development of tourism, then being practiced again by younger generations.¹⁷³ Although the custom may not have been subject to uninterrupted continuity, it increases the cultural significance of the bridges.

Officially protected buildings equally gain cultural value through decorations which carry cultural connotations or are related to history, literature or legends. This is illustrated by example of three provincial-level listed sites, the Former Mansion of Chen Qubing, Chongben Hall and Jiayin Hall. While the Former Residence of Chen Qubing features buildings in plain architectural style, its significance greatly derives from written works. Since the owner was a devoted poet, couplets written by him and for him play an important role. Although not preserved, there had originally been a horizontal inscription on the main door lintel reading “Ancestral Mansion of Filial Piety and Fraternity” (Xiao you jiu ye 孝友旧业).¹⁷⁴ This name expresses fundamental virtues its owners aspired to and therefore has cultural value.

The name of Lüyu Qingyao Building derives from a verse of a poem composed by an ancestor of Chen Qubing’s mother. The inscription that was originally carved on the door lintel by calligrapher Yang Tianji was destroyed in the Cultural Revolution.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, similar to the garden records written for their owners in the first case study, Chen Qubing composed a couplet on Lüyu Qingyao Building as well as Haoge Hall.¹⁷⁶ His former residence is another example of the practice of enriching tangible architectural structures with intangible content deriving from literary works.

172 Tongli Zhen renmin zhengfu 同里镇人民政府; Wujiang Shi dang’an ju 吴江市档案局 (ed., 2011): *Tongli zhi (liang zhong)* 同里志 (两种), p. 74.

173 Bellocq, Maylis (2006): “The Cultural Heritage Industry in the PRC: What Memories Are Being Passed On? A Case Study of Tongli, A Protected Township in Jiangsu Province” (Jonathan Hall, transl.), pp. 30–31.

174 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 164.

175 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 144.

176 Ibid., p. 145.

In the second example, Jiayin Hall derives great significance from its numerous decorative carvings, including calligraphic inscriptions as well as images and patterns. Such carvings appear on both the interior and exterior structural elements of the mansion. The entrance hall, for example, features a traditional auspicious motif in the middle of the ridge, which is called “Song he chang chun” 松鹤长春.¹⁷⁷ The motif shows a pine tree and a crane which symbolize longevity.¹⁷⁸ Equally, the main hall shows a relief of the “Three Star Gods” (*fu lu shou san xing* 福禄寿三星); in the middle of its ridge are the Star of Fu 福 (“fortune”), the Star of Lu 禄 (“status”) and the Star of Shou 寿 (“longevity”).¹⁷⁹

The main hall is tall and wide, containing numerous wooden carvings on the beams and window panels. The carvings include “The Eight Steeds” (*Ba jun tu* 八骏图¹⁸⁰) and floral depictions with related cultural meanings.¹⁸¹ As well, since the hall was built in the style of a *shamao* hall, there are very rare carvings on the decorative wooden boards of the beam capitals in the shape of gauze caps, showing eight scenes from one of the Four Great Classical Novels, “The Romance of the Three Kingdoms” (*Sanguo yanyi* 三国演义). The wooden door panels feature depictions of ancient objects (*Bogu tu*¹⁸² 博古图), arranged with the flowers traditionally representing the four seasons: the orchid for spring, the lotus for summer, the chrysanthemum for autumn and the plum for winter.¹⁸³

As stated above, formerly splendid mansions usually are adorned with all three types of carvings. Stone carvings of Jiayin Hall can be found on the flagstones of the courtyard in front of Yanqing Building, for example. This carving shows the

177 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 136.

178 Williams, C.A.S. (1974): *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs*, p. 101.

179 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 136.

180 The art motif of the “Eight Steeds” refers to the eight horses of the Zhou dynasty (1046–256 BC) sovereign Mu Wang 穆王 (1001–746 BC) which pulled his chariot. Each of the horses had a distinguishing name and they appear in popular stories and legends. See: Williams, C.A.S. (1974): *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs*, p. 225.

181 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 159.

182 These are decorative motives of flowers and plants or fruit set on ancient utensils. The motives originate from the work *Illustrated Catalogue of Antiquities from the Xuanhe Hall* (*Xuanhe bogu tu* 宣和博古图), a record of ancient vessels which had been collected by the imperial family in Xuanhe Hall 宣和殿. It was compiled in 30 volumes by Wang Fu 王黼 (1079–1126) under Emperor Huizong 徽宗 in the 1120s. See: Visconti, Chiara (2015): “The Influence of Song and Qing Antiquarianism on Modern Chinese Archaeology”, pp. 68–69.

183 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 136.

Qing-dynasty pattern “Five Blessings Encircling Longevity” (*Wu fu peng shou*¹⁸⁴ 五福捧寿, see fig. 4-20).¹⁸⁵



Figure 4-20. “Wu Fu Peng Shou” - Stone Carving.

Source: author’s photo, 2018.

The final category of brick carving is represented on an archway facing the Yanqing Building. The carving comprises four characters and reads “pass on morality and kindness from generation to generation” (*houdao chuanjia* 厚道传家, see fig. 4-21).

Above the calligraphic inscription are the “Eight Immortals”¹⁸⁶ from Taoist mythology, engraved in the shape of their iconographic attributes. This special

184 Literally: “Five blessings holding longevity in their hands”, symbolized through the depiction of five bats encircling and holding the character *shou* 寿 for “longevity”. The character *fu* 蝠 of “bat” is homophone to the character for “happiness”, therefore their visualization in the form of bats. The five blessings are standing for “old age” (*kangning* 康宁), “wealth” (*fu* 富), “health” (*shou* 寿), “love for virtue” (*you hao de* 攸好德) and “a natural death” (*lao zhong ming* 老终命). See: Williams, C.A.S. (1974): *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs*, pp. 35, 450.

185 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 136.

186 The “Eight Immortals” primarily appeared as a group in dramatic texts from the Yuan dynasty. Each of the figures carries an iconographic attribute: Lü Dongbin 吕洞宾 is the head of the group and depicted as a scholar with a demon-slaying sword, Zhongli Quan 钟离权 carries a fan, Li Tieguai 李铁拐 has an iron crutch and a gourd, Cao Guojiu 曹国舅 is depicted as an official with insignia of office, the woman He Xiangnu

form of representation is called “Hidden Eight Immortals” (*an ba xian* 暗八仙). The relief below again shows the Three Star Gods, the Star of Fu, the Star of Lu and the Star of Shou.¹⁸⁷

The second residence deriving high aesthetic and cultural value from its different types of carvings is Chongben Hall:

崇本堂的最大特色，是其各种富有古典民族风格的雕刻，仅木雕就有一百余幅，尤以门窗隔扇上的《西厢记》、《红楼梦》浮雕，最为醒目。¹⁸⁸

“The most significant feature of Chongben Hall are its various kinds of carvings which are rich in classical folk style. The mere number of wooden carvings amounts to more than one hundred. The reliefs of *The Story of the Western Wing* and *The Dream of the Red Chamber* on doors, windows and partition boards are particularly striking.”

The complete set of 14 scenes from the popular love-story drama *The Story of the Western Wing* is engraved on the window panels of the main hall (see fig. 4-22). The panels are also decorated with carvings of the peony flower symbolizing wealth and well-being.¹⁸⁹ Window panels on the lower story of the front chamber are engraved with famous scenes from one of the Four Great Classical Novels, *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, enriched by floral depictions and other auspicious motives.¹⁹⁰ Finally, in the rear building, there are a total of 58 wood carvings on partition boards, with similar images such as the above-mentioned Eight Immortals.¹⁹¹

The origin of Chongben Hall's *The Story of the Western Wing* wood carvings can be traced to a legend. This legend, as recorded in the local gazetteers, involves a talented young man who met the beautiful daughter of the Qian family and fell in love with her at first sight. One evening a few days later, he longed to see her and climbed over the wall of the Qian Mansion. There, she happened to be contemplating the moon in the garden, and the two secretly agreed to marry. The next day, he engaged a matchmaker to propose marriage, but her father refused and set

何仙姑 carries either ladle or lotus flower, Han Xiangzi 韩湘子 has a flute, Zhang Guolao 张果老 carries a tubular drum and Lan Caihe 蓝采和 is depicted with a basket of fruit or flowers. See: Penny, Benjamin (2000): “Immortality and Transcendence”, pp. 117–118.

187 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 136.

188 Ibid., p. 135.

189 Ibid.

190 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 157.

191 Ibid.

two conditions for his daughter's future husband: he had to achieve a high social and economic status and adopt "Qian" as his family name.¹⁹²



Figure 4-21. Engraved Archway of Jiayin Hall.

Source: author's photo, 2018.



Figure 4-22. Wooden Carving of Chongben Hall.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

192 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 330.

Three years later, a wealthy merchant named Qian asked her father for his daughter's hand in marriage, and the father agreed right away. The daughter was pleasantly surprised when it turned out that this merchant was the same talented young man. Later, when the family renovated the mansion, the young man remembered the early encounter with his wife in the garden and let the *Story of the Western Wing* be engraved on the window panels of Chongben Hall.¹⁹³ The legend basically recounts the plot of the drama but adapted it to the setting of Qian Mansion.

In the example of Jiayin Hall, the different kinds of ornamentation express not only good wishes and traditional virtues but also Taoist concepts such as the Eight Immortals. Other carvings depict famous scenes from literary works such as *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, *The Dream of the Red Chamber* or *The Story of the Western Wing*. As expressions of related intangible heritage, they greatly enhance the cultural meaning of their overall traditional mansions.

4.2 Conservation and Management

Tongli was pre-defined as a destination suitable for tourism development at the beginning of the 1980s. Consequently, heritage conservation was started shortly with the restoration of a former private garden, the "Retreat and Reflection Garden" (Tuisi yuan 退思园). Next, the town government restored three more mansions and opened them up to the public. The government then sought professional support from Tongji University College of Architecture and Urban Planning and began collaborating with the Research Observatory of Architecture in Contemporary China, which promotes French-Chinese exchanges in fields such as architecture and heritage.¹⁹⁴

Following the attempt to list the Retreat and Reflection Garden as a UNESCO World Heritage site, a number of improvement measures were taken to enhance its environment and reduce negative impacts on the site. The garden was successfully inscribed on the World Heritage List as extension of the Classical Gardens of Suzhou in 1999, which significantly increased the prominence of the overall town. The inscription distinguished Tongli from other water towns in the vicinity

193 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 330.

194 Bellocq, Maylis (2006): "The Cultural Heritage Industry in the PRC: What Memories Are Being Passed On? A Case Study of Tongli, A Protected Township in Jiangsu Province" (Jonathan Hall, transl.), p. 22.

of Suzhou – towns that boosted tourism development or even started conservation beforehand, such as Zhouzhuang 周庄. In 2000, the overall townscape was comprehensively improved and adapted to touristic use by successively developing infrastructure and tourism facilities.

With the introduction of UNESCO's HUL management approach to China promoted by WHITRAP, Tongli became a pilot city for the implementation of integrated conservation. Therefore, the town government is continuously exploring strategies to establish its own development model, the "Tongli Model" 同里模式 for historic town protection and development. Central aspects to maintain its function as "living heritage" are the integration of the town's scenic area (*jingqu* 景区) with the local community (*shequ* 社区) as well as the participation of the historic town's residents in conservation.¹⁹⁵

Tongli presents an interesting case study not only because it is one of China's first listed National Historically and Culturally Famous Towns. The entire historic town has also been promulgated as an officially protected entity even before the HCF City conservation system was extended to cover towns and villages. The development of Tongli's conservation system illustrates how cities/towns with existing conservation strategies are incorporated into the national conservation system.

4.2.1 Local Conservation System

At the Second National Cultural Relics Survey in 1982, Jiangsu Province promulgated its third batch of officially protected entities, among them "Tongli Town" 同里镇. As the conservation system for HCF cities was first established and limited to a few selected cities, Tongli Town was listed under the category of "ancient architectural structures and historically commemorative architecture" (*gu jianzhu ji lishi jinian jianzhuwu* 古建筑及历史纪念建筑物).¹⁹⁶ Although it came under protection comparatively early, Tongli is not the only town which has been selected to be protected as an entity. Other early examples include Xidi 西递 traditional village, which was promulgated as an officially protected entity of Anhui Province in 1986 and inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2000, and the local-

195 Interview with the Deputy Chief of the Construction and Management Bureau, Tongli Historic Town Conservation and Management Committee, Tongli, April 25, 2016.

196 "Jiangsu Sheng di san pi wenwu baohu danwei mingdan" 江苏省第三批文物保护单位名单 [List of Jiangsu Province's third batch of officially protected entities], Jiangsu Sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, Online.

style dwelling houses of Dingcun 丁村 in Shanxi Province, listed as national-level officially protected entity in 1988.¹⁹⁷

The decision to list the entire town of Tongli illustrates the comprehensiveness of the category “officially protected entity” that was initially understood in broader terms than individual site or built *ensemble*. Moreover, the early listing helped to protect Tongli’s built environment in a period of increasing urbanization. The urbanization of the area around Tongli is further reflected in several changes of administrative division. Until 1992, it belonged to Wujiang county 吴江县, which was then upgraded to the level of municipality. In 2001, the administrative area of Tongli was enlarged when Tuncun town was merged into Tongli.¹⁹⁸ Wujiang city was further incorporated into the city of Suzhou in 2012 and transformed into Wujiang district 吴江区. In terms of heritage conservation, these administrative changes meant that Tongli’s officially listed entities on municipal level, which were managed by Wujiang City, came under direct jurisdiction of the City of Suzhou.

Following its promulgation as national-level officially protected entity, the government drafted a first comprehensive plan in which Tongli was defined as an “ancient water town”.¹⁹⁹ Apart from the historic town itself, individual sites and ensembles located in the town and its surrounding area have been listed since 1980 as officially protected entities which constitute the third layer of HCF Cities/Towns. In 1985, a cultural relics protection and management department was primarily set up, reporting to the cultural relics management committee of Wujiang County.²⁰⁰

Tongli features a considerable number of officially protected entities listed on all three administrative protection levels (see appendix A.5). Corresponding to the national conservation system, the highest levels are national key protected cultural relic entities (*quanguo zhongdian wenwu baohu danwei* 全国重点文物保护单位) and officially protected entities of Jiangsu Province (*Jiangsu Sheng wenwu baohu danwei* 江苏省文物保护单位). Due to the above-mentioned changes in administrative division, the designation of officially protected entities listed on a municipal level also changed over time, from officially protected entities of Wujiang County (*Wujiang Xian wenwu baohu danwei* 吴江县文物保护单位), to Wujiang

197 Qiu, Baoxing 仇保兴 (2014): *Feng yu ru pan — lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu 30 nian* 风雨如磐——历史文化名城保护 30 年 [“Tumultuous wind and heavy rain” - 30 Years of Conservation in Historically and Culturally Famous Cities], p. 33.

198 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 26.

199 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 145.

200 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

City 吴江市 and finally to officially protected entities of Suzhou City (*Suzhou Shi wenwu baohu danwei* 苏州市文物保护单位).

At the municipal level, there are the so-called “controlled cultural relic entities” (*wenwu kongzhi danwei* 文物控制单位, hereafter officially controlled entities). These are consistent with protected buildings, the second type in the Planning Regulations which have not been promulgated as officially protected entities but have the legal status of immovable cultural relics. Corresponding to officially protected entities on a municipal level, they were initially registered by Wujiang County and are now under jurisdiction of the City of Suzhou.

Officially controlled entities in Tongli are equivalent to controlled and protected buildings (*kongzhi baohu jianzhu* 控制保护建筑) in Suzhou. While Suzhou introduced controlled and protected buildings in 1983, its subordinated Wujiang County registered the first batch of officially controlled entities in 1986. This category covers heritage sites that were newly discovered in national cultural relics surveys.²⁰¹ Their protection level can later be upgraded after further assessment.

Finally, there are historical buildings (*lishi jianzhu* 历史建筑) which are protected by the conservation plan and are under jurisdiction of the town government. In contrast to the above-mentioned types, they have neither been promulgated as protected heritage site nor registered as immovable cultural relics but represent the historic townscape and local characteristics. As mentioned earlier, Tongli featured a total of 30 officially protected entities and 14 officially controlled entities by 2014.²⁰² Of these 44 officially registered heritage sites, 36 are located in the historic town and 8 are part of the greater town area.²⁰³

The listing process of protected heritage sites in Tongli contains many examples of upgraded sites. For example, Chongben Hall and Jiayin Hall were listed primarily as protected sites of Wujiang City on a municipal level, the former in 1986 and the latter in 1997.²⁰⁴ Both were later included into the seventh batch of provincial-level protected sites promulgated by Jiangsu Province in 2011.²⁰⁵

201 Interview with the Deputy Chief of the Construction and Management Bureau, Tongli Historic Town Conservation and Management Committee, Tongli, April 25, 2016.

202 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, pp. 68–69.

203 Ibid.

204 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, pp. 135–137.

205 Suzhou Municipal People’s Government 苏州市人民政府 (June 30, 2014): *Shi zheng-fu guanyu gongbu Suzhou Shi di qi pi wenwu baohu danwei he di si pi kongzhi baohu jianzhu de tongzhi* 市政府关于公布苏州市第七批文物保护单位和第四批控制保护建筑的通知 [Circular by the Municipal Government on the promulgation of

Another example is Gengle Hall 耕乐堂 which was listed earlier as provincial-level protected site. In 2013, it was upgraded by the State Council to one of the three national key protected heritage sites in Tongli.²⁰⁶

However, the listing of heritage sites can be revoked or sites can be downgraded. Corresponding to the conservation system on an international level, this is carried out in cases where sites no longer fulfil the criteria for which they have been listed or, in the most serious cases, no longer exist. An example of a site no longer fulfilling the criteria and no longer existing is the Renji Temple 仁济道院 in Tongli, originally a Taoist temple that can be traced back to the Chunxi 淳熙 reign (1174–1189) of Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 in the Song dynasty.²⁰⁷ With its high historical value, the site was listed as protected heritage site of Suzhou City as part of the second batch in 1986. Eleven years later, in 1997, it was adjusted to the status of controlled heritage site of Wujiang City.²⁰⁸ Now, Renji Temple is no longer listed. According to the *Tongli Town Gazetteer*, it was illegally demolished in 2005.²⁰⁹

Tongli's heritage conservation system is based on three major pillars: its management mechanism, its conservation planning and a set of management regulations. Conservation management is coordinated by the town government and includes the cultural relics departments of the municipal, county and town levels as well as related departments such as those for construction and tourism.²¹⁰ In addition to its master plan and other specific plans, Tongli issued a first conservation plan in 2000 in which heritage conservation, the protection of its townscape, cultural and tourism development as well as the improvement of its living environment were addressed.²¹¹ Three years later, the town was selected for the first batch of Historically and Culturally Famous Towns promulgated by the State Council.

In 2011, the Tongji University College of Architecture and Urban Planning, which had already been involved in drafting this first conservation plan, created a revised plan titled “Conservation Plan for Tongli Historically and Culturally Famous Town in Wujiang City” (*Wujiang Shi Tongli lishi wenhua mingzhen baohu guihua* 吴江市同里历史文化名镇保护规划). Due to its status as Historically and

Suzhou's seventh batch of officially protected entities and fourth batch of controlled and protected buildings], Online.

206 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 160.

207 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 106.

208 Ibid., pp. 131–132.

209 Ibid.

210 Interview with the Deputy Chief of the Construction and Management Bureau, Tongli Historic Town Conservation and Management Committee, Tongli, April 25, 2016.

211 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 145.

Culturally Famous Town, conservation in Tongli is further subject to a number of regulations which have been issued since 2005, such as the Conservation Regulations at a national level and the “Conservation Regulations for Historically and Culturally Famous Cities and Towns in Jiangsu Province” (Jiangsu Sheng lishi wenhua mingcheng mingzhen baohu tiaoli 江苏省历史文化名城名镇保护条例) at the provincial level.

While the State Administration of Cultural Heritage assumes responsibility for officially protected entities, the conservation and maintenance of local-style dwelling houses is more complicated and depends on **property rights**. Due to housing reform and the redistribution of housing in the 1950s, the property rights situation in Tongli’s historic town is very complex. There are four different kinds of property rights in the historic town: publicly owned, collectively owned, privately-owned and mixed property rights. In general, the party holding the property rights of a building is responsible for its maintenance. The conservation of publicly owned properties therefore is undertaken by the state and collectively-owned properties are maintained by the respective collective. Equally, homeowners bear the responsibility for maintenance of their privately-owned buildings.²¹²

However, in some cases, different stories of the same building belong to different parties, or several parties own different sections of a story. In these situations, additional complications arise.²¹³ Moreover, low-income households may not have the financial means to maintain or renovate their houses. Depending on the state of property rights and the economic situation of owners, the government undertakes different conservation measures.

In the case of publicly owned housing, the buildings are conserved and maintained by the government. Since the houses are rented out to tenants, this is based on an application and implementation process. When a house requires repairs, the tenant generally applies for conservation work. After his request has been verified on-site, a conservation scheme is prepared, and conservation work is carried out by a construction unit of the public housing management authority.²¹⁴ As the conservation scheme and construction work are carried out by the government, it is relatively easy to ensure compliance with the historic townscape as a major objective. In these cases, “conservation of the old as old” (*xiu jiu ru jiu* 修旧如旧) inter-

212 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 154.

213 Representative of Tongli Town Government (December 17, 2015): “Jiangnan shuixiang guzhen — Tongli: gaishan juzhu shenghuo de shijian” 江南水乡古镇 — 同里: 改善居住生活的实践 [Jiangnan Ancient Water Town — Tongli: Putting the improvement of Residential Life into Practice], presentation in the course of ‘WHITRAP Asia-Pacific Region Training on HUL’, Tongli.

214 Ibid.

ventions are carried out *in situ* and a building's height and outward appearance are maintained.²¹⁵

However, owners of privately-owned housing are obliged to renovate and maintain the houses themselves. Here, the government aims to achieve the conservation of the historic townscape through monitoring. Equally, an application system for the construction and maintenance of privately-owned housing has been established. In this process, the owner or inhabitant has to apply for the desired intervention at the Conservation and Management Department and engage a company to draft a conservation scheme.²¹⁶

Because construction work often leads to conflicts with neighbors living in surrounding houses, an agreement has to be signed with affected parties before the project is approved. The Conservation and Management Department further conducts on-site investigation and has to issue an acceptance certificate after construction work.²¹⁷ Low-income households which are unable to finance maintenance themselves can apply for subsidies.²¹⁸ If approved, the conservation work is implemented according to the same process as for publicly owned housing.

In contrast to other water towns in the region where governments relocated the residents of historic areas to transform the buildings into tourism or entertainment destinations, Tongli moved towards integrated conservation. Here, the town government explored strategies to establish its own development model, the above-mentioned Tongli Model. This model aims to integrate protection of the historic town and economic development.²¹⁹

While maintaining the historic town's residential function, the model directs economic development towards cultural tourism. The integration of both objectives is realized in different management aspects such as funding. An example is the establishment of an Historic Town Preservation Fund that derives income from tourism revenues: precisely five to seven percent of the annual income generated from tourism.²²⁰ Another funding strategy of the government is to offer favorable conditions for investors who take on the responsibility for conservation of a

215 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 153.

216 Representative of Tongli Town Government (December 17, 2015): "Jiangnan shuixiang guzhen — Tongli: gaishan juzhu shenghuo de shijian" 江南水乡古镇 — 同里: 改善居住生活的实践, presentation in the course of 'WHITRAP Asia-Pacific Region Training on HUL', Tongli.

217 Ibid.

218 Ibid.

219 Interview with the Deputy Chief of the Construction and Management Bureau, Tongli Historic Town Conservation and Management Committee, Tongli, April 25, 2016.

220 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 154.

property. Consequently, they are freed from paying rent for the respective properties for a fixed period of time, usually about 20 years.²²¹

As a pilot city for the introduction of UNESCO's HUL management approach to China, Tongli was involved in bilateral projects for the exchange of heritage conservation knowledge between China and Italy. In 2013, WHITRAP Shanghai signed a Memorandum of Understanding with CNR (National Research Council of Italy) – ICVBC (Institute for the Conservation and Valorization of Cultural Heritage) to promote the implementation of the *HUL Recommendation*.²²² During this cooperation, Tongli Old Town Conservation and Management Committee signed two agreements in 2015, one with Priverno²²³ and one with the Municipalities of Palestrina and Castel San Pietro Romano.²²⁴

The cooperation aims to implement the HUL approach for the development of joint research activities. This approach aims to enable the identification and understanding of interconnections between the natural setting and the broader city, including smaller units, such as the historic center or historic houses, as well as the historical development of different architectural and landscape elements.²²⁵ A thorough understanding of the city as a continuum in time and space will then inform decision-making and enhance management in terms of conservation and development.²²⁶

So far, research in the historic town of Tongli as part of this strategic cooperation was directed towards land lots. A project was launched to determine the average size and shape of land lots in the town through field surveys to identify locations in conflict with the setting.²²⁷ The surveys revealed that the majority of the lots are rectangular and smaller than 300 m². These surveys imply that the

221 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 154.

222 “China-Italy: Historic Urban Landscape: Bridging Cultures”, Institute for the Conservation and Valorization of Cultural Heritage, National Research Council of Italy, Online.

223 “Tongli (CH) and Priverno (IT) Comparative Research on the Application of the HUL Approach Bilateral Project Meeting in Tongli, Jiangsu”, (March 13, 2015), WHITRAP Shanghai, Online.

224 “2015 CNR-ICVBC and University of Rome “Tor Vergata”, Municipality of Palestrina and of Castel San Pietro Romano with WHITRAP and Tongli Old Town Committee”, Institute for the Conservation and Valorization of Cultural Heritage, National Research Council of Italy, Online.

225 Tongli Town Conservation and Management Committee, CNR-ICVBC, WHITRAP Shanghai (signed: March 10, 2015): *Agreement on Strategic Cooperation Concerning the Implementation of UNESCO's Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, p. 4.

226 Ibid.

227 Zhou, Jian (2015): “Analysis on Historic Urban Landscape Approach”, pp. 76–77.

urban landscape of Tongli will change if the proportion of the above-mentioned average land lots decreases.²²⁸ These possible effects of urban renewal will help with future planning that considers characteristics of the local setting.

4.2.2 Conservation Plan

Tongli's current conservation plan already includes its natural setting and relationship with the historic town. Moreover, it employs the concept of historical layering. As already mentioned, the Conservation Plan for Tongli Historically and Culturally Famous Town in Wujiang City was drafted by Tongji University College of Architecture and Urban Planning in 2011 and is effective until 2030.²²⁹ Similar to the conservation plan for the Pingjiang Historic Block, it is based on research on the town's historical development as well as an evaluation of existing building stock.

While the plan of Suzhou Pingjiang Historic Block listed the World Heritage Convention and the China Principles as reference documents, Tongli's conservation plan uses national documents and regulations as the basis for the planning. Article four lists national documents, such as the Chinese Cultural Relics Protection Law from 2007 or the Planning Regulations from 2005, as well as provincial and municipal-level regulations. However, it does not mention the China Principles or other international documents.²³⁰

The plan defines a four-tier conservation system to protect and develop the ancient town and its surroundings. These four tiers are the town area (*zhenyu* 镇域), the historic town (*lishi zhenqu* 历史镇区), the historic and cultural block (*lishi wenhua jiequ* 历史文化街区), and the different kinds of tangible and intangible cultural heritage (*wuzhi yu fei wuzhi wenhua yichan* 物质与非物质文化遗产). As illustrated in figure 2-7 (chapter 2), these tiers may overlap spatially but not in content, since the focus of every tier is different.

The first tier, the town area, geographically exceeds the boundaries of the historic town and covers its surrounding natural environment and the countryside. Individual sites may be located outside of the town area (e.g. Siben Bridge) or inside its boundaries (e.g. He Family Grave). The main purpose of this tier therefore is not to cover the totality of sites but to safeguard the historic town's overall surroundings, the natural lakes and river system, farmland and the layout of villages (see fig. 4-23).²³¹

228 Zhou, Jian (2015): "Analysis on Historic Urban Landscape Approach", pp. 76-77.

229 TLCP (2011), p. 1.

230 Ibid.

231 Ibid., p. 3.

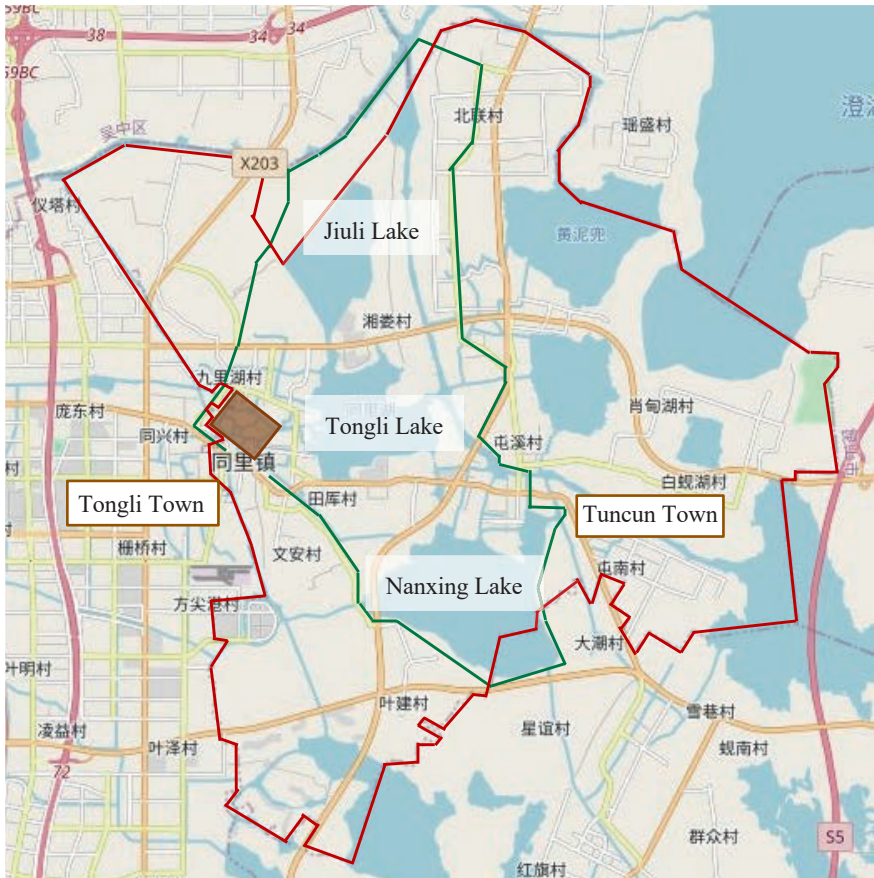


Figure 4-23. Planned Conservation Area around Tongli Town.

Source: map adapted from © OpenStreetMap contributors, 2020, available from <https://www.openstreetmap.org/>, licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0. Information from: Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning and Design Institute 上海同济城市规划设计研究院 (ed., 2011): *Wujiang Shi Tongli lishi wenhua mingzhen baohu guihua* 吴江市同里历史文化名镇保护规划, n. pag.

Map key

- historic town
- town area boundary
- protected scenic area (*jingqu* 景区) boundary

In accordance with the HUL approach, the conservation of the historic town as an entity (brown) together with its surroundings and landscapes follows the purpose

that the historic town maintains the interdependent relationship with its natural environment.²³²

The historic town comprises the historic built environment and is demarcated into two sections: the core protection area (*hexin baohu qu* 核心保护区) and a controlled buffer zone (*jianshe kongzhi didai* 建设控制地带). This demarcation has important implications for the regulation of construction and other changes to existing structures. In this tier, priority is given to the preservation of the traditional embanked islands, the waterway network, the layout of streets and alleys, and the overall town structure.²³³ Landscape and building characteristics as well as the historical appearance must be maintained.²³⁴

Tongli further has a historic and cultural block in the center of the historic town: the Three Bridges Historic and Cultural Block (San qiao lishi wenhua jiequ 三桥历史文化街区, see fig. 4-24). In Figure 4-24, the core protection area of the historic town is demarcated in green and the controlled buffer zone is in orange. In the historic and cultural block (demarcated in pink), the density of built heritage is the highest. The conservation plan characterizes the block as “central exhibition area of Tongli’s embanked island town layout and a Ming and Qing dynasty water town living environment”.²³⁵ Again, the focus is on its traditional appearance and layout. New construction and building expansion are strictly regulated.²³⁶

The fourth tier covers different kinds of tangible cultural heritage which include immovable cultural relics and historical buildings, but also ancient bridges, ancient trees, memorial archways and other key environmental elements.²³⁷ Due to the high density of buildings, the majority of tangible cultural heritage is located within the boundaries of the historic town. The conservation plan contains inventories of those tangible cultural heritage sites listed as officially protected or controlled entities on different administrative levels, as well as other key elements such as historic wells or trees.

Intangible cultural heritage is also grouped into the fourth tier. Examples include traditional fine arts and calligraphy, music, dances and drama, as well as traditional ceremonies and customs.²³⁸ The plan divides Tongli’s intangible cultural heritage into three categories: traditional opera (*chuantong xiqu* 传统戏曲),

232 TLCP (2011), p. 3.

233 Ibid.

234 Ibid., p. 4.

235 Ibid., p. 14.

236 Ibid., p. 4.

237 Ibid., p. 3.

238 Ibid.

traditional customs and ceremonies (*chuantong liyi* 传统礼仪) and traditional techniques and arts (*chuantong jiyi* 传统技艺).²³⁹

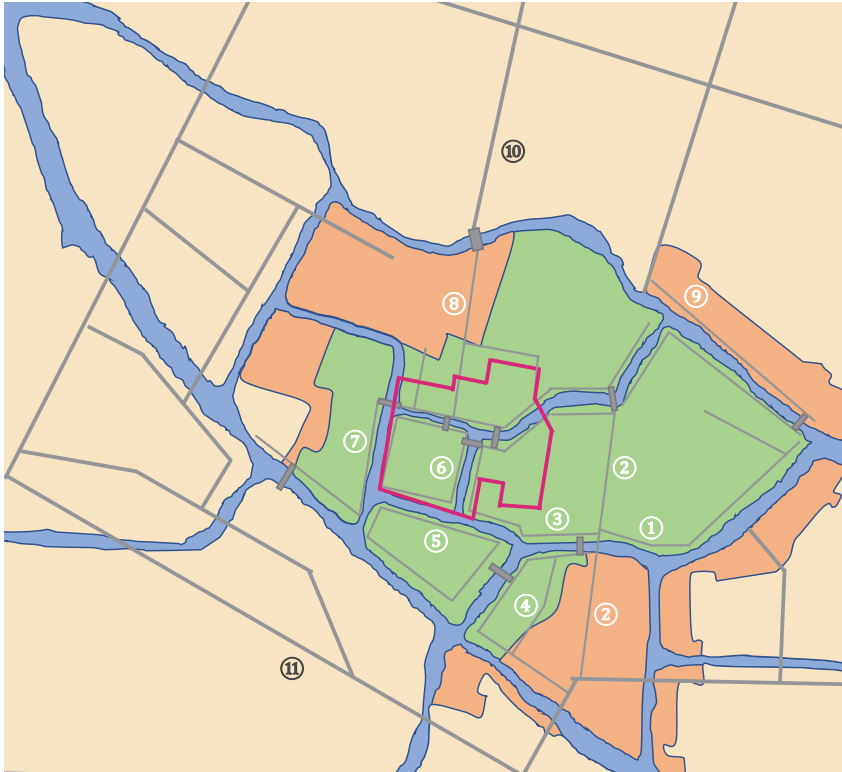


Figure 4-24. Tongli Core Protection Area and Buffer Zone.

Source: author's draft. Map data from © OpenStreetMap contributors, 2020, available from <https://www.openstreetmap.org/>, licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0. Information from: Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning and Design Institute 上海同济城市规划设计研究院 (ed., 2011): *Wujiang Shi Tongli lishi wenhua mingzhen baohu guihua* 吴江市同里历史文化名镇保护规划, n. pag.

Map Key

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| ① Ming and Qing Street 明清街 | ② Zhongchuan Road 中川路 |
| ③ Zhuhang Dai 竹行埭 | ④ Tiejia Long 铁匠弄 |
| ⑤ Yuhang Street 鱼行街 | ⑥ Fanjia Dai 范家埭 |
| ⑦ Lujia Dai 陆家埭 | ⑧ Cangchang Long 仓场弄 |
| ⑨ Hongta Dai 红塔埭 | ⑩ Tongchuan Road 同川路 |
| ⑪ Yingyan Road 迎燕路 | |

239 TLCP (2011), p. 17.

In terms of conservation principles, the plan contains four aspects: authenticity (*zhenshixing* 真实性), integrity (*zhengtixing* 整体性), a harmonious character (*xietiaoxing* 协调性) and sustainability (*kechixuxing* 可持续性).²⁴⁰ Authenticity is defined as protecting “genuine” historical information of historical built structures and the historical environment. Therefore, historical elements and “marks” resulting from historic events must be respected in conservation and usage, and the focus is set on readability and reversibility.²⁴¹

Integrity refers to the protection of Tongli’s urban structure and townscape as well as its overall environment, including the cultural and natural environment.²⁴² The principle of harmonious character addresses construction of new buildings or transformed buildings and advocates the consideration of continuity in the treatment of built structures, as well as the natural and cultural landscape. Finally, the sustainability principle seeks to integrate the conservation of cultural heritage and economic and social development.²⁴³

As mentioned above, the notion of historical layering has been incorporated into Tongli’s conservation plan. Accordingly, the plan includes different physical and intangible layers integrated into its framework of protection levels. While layers may overlap among protection levels, this structure allows a consideration of the setting as well as aspects of intangible heritage. The references to historical layers in the plan will be analyzed in the next section.

First, a direct reference to three layers defined by historical period is made at the beginning of the fourth section on historical and cultural values of the town area. Following the first paragraph of article 13, these values are embodied in:

萌芽于新石器时代，始建于北宋，繁荣于明清的悠久历史。²⁴⁴

“Its long history, originating from the Neolithic period, having primarily been established in the Northern Song period and prospered in the Ming and Qing period.”

References to physical layers can be found in the second section on the town’s overall historical and cultural values and characteristics. In its first paragraph, article six refers to the composition of Tongli’s built environment:

数量众多、保存完好的明清住宅和园林建筑²⁴⁵

240 TLCP (2011), p. 3.

241 Comm TLCP (2011), p. 1.

242 Ibid.

243 Ibid.

244 TLCP (2011), p. 4.

245 Ibid., p. 2.

“Great scale of well-preserved Ming and Qing-period residential buildings and landscape architecture”

This paragraph indicates a physical layer of buildings originating from a certain historical period (the Ming and Qing dynasties) that also had a clearly defined function (residential usage).

Spatial layers referring to the town’s natural environment and spatial structure are included in the second paragraph:

以五湖环绕的自然环境、圩岛河网交织的空间格局为特征的江南水乡城镇格局²⁴⁶

“Its Jiangnan water town structure, characterized by a natural environment of five surrounding lakes and a spatial layout of embanked islands intertwined with a network of rivers”

Here, two physical layers can be identified. Surrounded by five lakes and structured by a network of rivers, Tongli’s boundaries and overall layout are well defined. The embankments and typical waterway town structure were created by its inhabitants using engineering methods available at that time. They can be regarded as technological innovations that also show how local people adapted to this geographical context.²⁴⁷

Article 6.3 lists intangible layers of symbolic significance for town culture. It includes:

以毕圩遗址、九里湖遗址为代表的远古崧泽文化、良渚文化；以金松岑、任传薪为代表的明清江南士绅文化；以南社陈去病为代表的近代革命文化；以及包括民间习俗、民间戏曲、民间手工艺等的非物质文化遗产，具有丰富的人文历史和民间传统。²⁴⁸

“Biwei Site and Jiuli Lake Site, standing for ancient Songze and Liangzhu culture; Jin Songcen and Ren Chuanxin, representing Jiangnan gentry culture of the Ming and Qing dynasties; Chen Qubing from the Southern Society as an archetypal figure of modern revolutionary culture; and immaterial cultural heritage, including folk customs, folk opera and folk craft which have a rich cultural history and folk tradition.”

246 TLCP (2011), p. 2.

247 Compare: Bandarin, Francesco; Van Oers, Ron (ed., 2015): *Reconnecting the City: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage*, preface, p. xiv.

248 TLCP (2011), p. 3.

While these cultural layers can be related to tangible sites, the different cultures they represent are intangible. Article 16 in the fifth section on the historic town further supplements an intangible layer specifically for dwellings: local-style dwelling traditions (*minju chuantong* 民居传统).²⁴⁹

Sanqiao Historic and Cultural Block 三桥历史文化街区 is the core protection area of the historic town and comprises both physical and intangible layers. Its most distinct physical layer are its three Qing-period bridges: Changqing Bridge, Taiping Bridge and Jili Bridge. Ming and Qing-period residential buildings of different protection levels are clustered in this central area. Tongli's town structure of embanked islands is listed in section six of the conservation plan for the protection of the historic and cultural block.²⁵⁰ Once again, the layers are derived from geographical context and also express local technological development. Finally, the local custom of "crossing the Three Bridges" (*zou san qiao* 走三桥) is registered as intangible cultural heritage in the plan.²⁵¹ In terms of layering, Sanqiao Historic and Cultural Block can therefore be regarded as a comprehensive miniature of the overall townscape.

The extracts above show that four major historical layers are protected by the conservation plan. The first layer represents the historic period of the Songze and Liangzhu culture dating approximately to 3,900-2,000 BC, the Neolithic period. Three archaeological sites located in the Tongli town area represent this layer. Jiuli Lake Site is located at the southern bank of the identically named lake and is the site of ancient Songze culture. Excavations from 1954 and 1973 revealed different types of pottery, ancient wells, stone objects as well as additional artifacts from the Neolithic and later periods.²⁵² Biwei Site was discovered in 1985 at Jiuli Village 九里村. Among others, pieces of pottery and stone utensils from Liangzhu culture were excavated there.²⁵³ Finally, there is He Family Grave 何家坟 which was listed as controlled heritage site in the conservation plan. It was excavated in 2009 and most of its findings are from Liangzhu culture.²⁵⁴

There is not much remaining built heritage from the Song and Yuan period. When Tongli was established as a town in the Song dynasty, it was still located at

249 TLCP (2011), p. 5.

250 Ibid., p. 14.

251 Ibid., appendix, p. 13.

252 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 78.

253 Wujiang Archives 吴江档案局 (2012): *Wujiang Xian zhi* 吴江县志 [Wujiang County Gazetteer], chap. 21, subchap. 6, Online.

254 Zhang, Tiejun 张铁军 (2010): "Wujiang Shi Tongli He jia fen liangzhu wenhua yizhi" 吴江市同里何家坟良渚文化遗址 [He Family Grave Liangzhu Culture Site of Tongli in Wujiang City], in: Wang, Wei 王巍 (ed.): *Zhongguo kaoguxue nianjian* 中国考古学年鉴 [Yearbook of Archaeology in China], pp. 214-215.

the site of present-day Jiuli Village. For different reasons, the town was moved further southward to its present location. One important reason was geological changes, which gradually turned the area into a lake.²⁵⁵ Another reason was that at the start of the Yuan dynasty, the town center was moved to a place where the waterways were more concentrated.²⁵⁶ This structure was more beneficial for the town's function as political, economic and cultural center of the area.

Due to these reasons and the long temporal distance, remaining material heritage sites of this layer listed in the conservation plan are not buildings but ancient stone bridges. As mentioned in chapter 4.1.2, the oldest preserved construction throughout the town area is Siben Bridge. It was built between 1253–1258 by local poet Ye Yin 叶茵.²⁵⁷ The bridge is now listed as national-level protected entity.²⁵⁸ The other listed bridge from the Yuan dynasty is Fuguan Bridge 富观桥. Originally named Qingrong Bridge 庆荣桥, it was constructed in 1353 by local inhabitant Ning Cheng 宁成.²⁵⁹ It is now listed as municipal-level protected entity.²⁶⁰

As shown above, most of the architectural structures in the historic town date to the Ming and Qing periods. Ming and Qing Street 明清街 (see fig. 4-24, ①), a commercial street during Tongli's period of prosperity, has been restored and now symbolizes its former function as an economic center. Moreover, the intact appearance of residential buildings from the Ming and Qing periods is stressed in multiple passages of the plan. In terms of intangible layers, Jin Songcen and Ren Chuanxin are listed as exemplary figures for Jiangnan gentry culture (see citation above). The final layer refers to the Republican period. While residential buildings continued to be built in the same layout and in the same architectural style at the beginning of the Republican period, successively, buildings with a combined structure of Chinese and Western elements began to emerge, such as the Former Residence of Chen Qubing. This historical figure is further mentioned as representative for Tongli's modern revolutionary culture.²⁶¹

In accordance with the Planning Regulations, Tongli's conservation plan defines different conservation schemes. According to these schemes, conservation

255 Zhu, Tonghua (1986): "A Preliminary Study on the Development of Tongli — An Ancient Cultural Town", p. 319.

256 Ji, Dongsheng 计东生 (2013): "Tongli zhenqu de bianqian" 同里镇区的变迁 [Transition of Tongli town area], Wujiang Archives, Online.

257 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三 (2015): *Tongli* 同里, p. 75.

258 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 68.

259 Tongli Zhen renmin zhengfu 同里镇人民政府; Wujiang Shi dang'an ju 吴江市档案局 (ed., 2011): *Tongli zhi (liang zhong)* 同里志 (两种), p. 44.

260 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 69.

261 TLCP (2011), p. 3.

measures must be carried out by building type as defined by their present state; building type is determined by appearance, year of completion, quality, function, building height, and state of property rights.²⁶² During a survey of building stock in the historic town in article 17 of the plan, diversification standards were set for every of these factors. For example, the building appearance (*jianzhu fengmao* 建筑风貌) is differentiated into first-type to fourth-type appearances.

Well-preserved heritage buildings, historical buildings and traditional buildings are classified as the first and most complete type of appearance.²⁶³ Second-type appearances are designated as buildings that fundamentally retained their original appearance, but to some extent have visible damage on doors, windows, walls and the exterior. If the damage is severe, or doors and windows have been completely exchanged and diminish the traditional appearance of the building, the building is then classified as third-type appearance. This also applies to newly built structures with a poor outward appearance. The fourth and final type refers to buildings whose traditional appearance have been negatively affected to a great extent and whose building quality is seriously damaged.²⁶⁴ These diversification standards for building appearance are then applied to define conservation measures.

There are six different kinds of conservation measures prescribed in the plan: treatment (*xiushan* 修缮), restoration (*xiufu* 修复), improvement and renewal (*zhengzhi he gengxin* 整治和更新), improvement or transformation (*zhengzhi huo gaizao* 整治或改造), transformation or reconstruction (*gaijian huo chongjian* 改建或重建) and maintenance (*weihu* 维护).²⁶⁵

According to the plan, treatment should be applied as a measure of conservation for:

传统结构、布局、风貌保存完好且质量较好的传统建筑。即对一类风貌建筑中的文物保护单位及文物控制单位、建筑质量较好的大部分历史建筑和部分历史风貌保存完好的传统建筑，应保持原样，不得翻建，并使用相同材料进行修缮。²⁶⁶

“traditional buildings where the traditional structure, layout and appearance have been well-preserved, and which are of better quality. The original appearance of officially protected entities and officially controlled entities [classified as] buildings

262 TLCP (2011), p. 9.

263 Ibid.

264 Ibid., p. 5.

265 Ibid., p. 9.

266 Ibid., p. 8.

with a first-type appearance, most of the historical buildings of better construction quality, and some traditional buildings with a well-preserved historical appearance must maintain their original appearance; they cannot be renovated and treatment must be carried out by use of similar materials.”

Well-preserved traditional buildings with some altered parts must be restored to their original layout, style and appearance before alteration also by use of similar materials. This measure should be applied to traditional buildings of second-type appearance and some historical buildings of first-type appearance.²⁶⁷

The six conservation measures for different building types as defined in the plan are illustrated below:

Table 4-1. Conservation Scheme for Built Structures in Tongli Historic Town.

conservation measure	building type	requirements
1) treatment (<i>xiushan</i> 修缮)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - trad. buildings with well-preserved structure, layout and appearance, including: - officially protected and controlled entities (first-type appearance) - historical buildings of better quality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - maintenance of original appearance - no renovation - treatment by use of similar materials
2) restoration (<i>xiufu</i> 修复)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - fundamentally well-preserved, but some altered parts, including: - trad. buildings (second-type appearance) - historical buildings (first-type appearance) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - restoration of layout, style and appearance before alteration by use of similar materials
3) improvement and renewal (<i>zhengzhi he gengxin</i>) (整治和更新)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - preserved, but mostly altered, including: - trad. buildings (third-type appearance) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - improvement and renewal according to traditional appearance and built form

267 TLCP (2011), p. 9.

conservation measure	building type	requirements
4) improvement/ transformation (<i>zhengzhi huo gaizao</i>) (整治或改造)	- not in harmony with and negatively affects historic townscape - non-trad. buildings (third-type appearance)	- improvement or transformation according to traditional appearance and built form
5) conversion/ reconstruction (<i>gaijian huo chongjian</i>) (改建或重建)	- in serious conflict with historic townscape - building of fourth-type appearance	- conversion or reconstruction to bring structure in harmony with historic townscape
6) maintenance (<i>weihu</i> 维护)	- non-trad. buildings not in conflict with historic townscape, including: - non-trad. buildings (second-type appearance, mainly newly constructed or converted buildings after 1996 with trad. appearance)	- regular maintenance of their present state

Source: author's draft, according to data from TLCP, art. 20. pp. 9–10.

The conservation scheme in Tongli's conservation plan from 2011 corresponds to the standards defined in the Planning Regulations and classifies preserved buildings into different groups according to their state of preservation and impact on the historic townscape. Conservation measures equally correspond to nationally defined standards, which list restoration (*xiufu* 修复) separately from *xiushan* (修缮, "treatment"). In numerical terms, the evaluation of the historic town's building stock revealed that 19 percent of the buildings should be treated, 22 percent restored, 8 percent improved and renewed, 28 percent improved or transformed, 16 percent converted or reconstructed, and 8 percent maintained.²⁶⁸ The conservation of exemplary structures will be examined in the following section.

268 TLCP (2011), p. 10.

4.2.3 Conservation and Improvement Measures

In Tongli, conservation started with the restoration of individual structures, primarily Tuisi Garden. The garden plays a key role for Tongli's development: it was not only listed on a national and international level, but its restoration also triggered the transformation of the historic town into a tourist destination. Originally, Tuisi Garden was defined as a heritage site in the preparation process to set up the "Tai Lake Landscape and Famous Scenery Area" 太湖风景名胜區 (short: Tai Lake Scenic Area 太湖风景区). In 1980, the Preparatory Team of Jiangsu Province Tai Lake Scenic Area Construction Bureau, together with Wujiang County Bureau of Construction and the Cultural Relics Management Committee, started studying the landscape resources in the Tai Lake Scenic Area in order to safeguard scenic and historic sites. The decision was made to list Tuisi Garden as a key project and restore it. As a result, landscape experts and workers from the urban construction bureaus of Suzhou and Wuxi 无锡 were tasked with drafting a restoration scheme.²⁶⁹

Restoration was then carried out in two stages. The first stage lasted from February 1982 to May 1984 and focused on the garden and the courtyard.²⁷⁰ Architectural structures in the garden have partly been restored (*xiufu* 修复) and partly reconstructed (*chongjian* 重建), depending on their state of dilapidation. Among the structures that had to be reconstructed were the "Qin room", the barge-shaped structure "Nao hong yi ge", the "Guihua Parlor" and the "Jiuqu winding corridor". Total expenses, including greening projects and reparations, exceeded 400,000 Yuan.²⁷¹ After restoration was complete, Tuisi Garden was opened to the public.²⁷² The second stage from October 1985 to the end of 1989 focused on the residence itself. In this project, the *zouma lou*, the entrance hall and the side rooms were restored. Other parts of the outer residence were reconstructed, such as the main hall. Expenses for the second stage amounted to approximately 500,000 Yuan.²⁷³

Due to severe material damage to the built structures (requiring reconstruction), and the paucity of historical sources, the restoration process of Tuisi Garden encountered great difficulties. There were no drawings, and only very few written

269 Wujiang Archives 吴江档案局 (2010): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志 [Tongli Town Gazetteer], Chap. 5, Subchap. 1, Online.

270 Ibid.

271 Ibid.

272 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 54.

273 Wujiang Archives 吴江档案局 (2010): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, Chap. 5, Subchap. 1, Online.

records available.²⁷⁴ As a result, the restoration bureau adopted a strategy of reconstructing its original appearance by supplementing lost information with the help of former photographs and oral accounts of local elderly residents. Moreover, Jiang Jianqing 蒋鉴清, director of the restoration project and deputy mayor of Tongli at the time when restoration was started, launched an initiative to record information about Tuisi Garden from the memories of elderly residents who had known the site in its complete state.²⁷⁵

Thanks to the remaining foundations of dilapidated buildings and marks left on collapsed walls, the layout, building height and dimensions of structures such as the barge-shaped structure “Nao hong yi ge” or “Jiuqu winding corridor” were drafted and reconstructed.²⁷⁶ However, the inscribed horizontal tablet with the hall name from the main hall was lost and none of the residents could recall its name. The bureau therefore approached Ren Lansheng’s descendants to find out about the original inscription. When Ren’s grandson came to Tongli in 2000, he could not remember the name himself. Instead, he consulted other relatives who had stayed at Tuisi Garden and was able to recover its name: Yinyu Hall 荫馥堂²⁷⁷ (“Hall of Lasting Status”).²⁷⁸

The arduous search for the original hall name inscribed on the tablet shows its importance for the whole site’s authenticity. The name expresses the aspiration that the good fortune and merits accumulated by one’s ancestors will be passed on to one’s children and grandchildren.²⁷⁹ After the bureau learned of its name,

274 Shao, Qun 邵群 (May 6, 2013): “Wujiang: “koushu Tuisi yuan” shou ru yuanlin dang’an” 吴江: “口述退思园” 首入园林档案 [Wujiang: “oral account of Tuisi Garden” first enters files on landscape architecture], Online.

275 Ibid.

276 Ibid.

277 The character *yin* 荫 in this hall name refers to a kind of patronage gained through a high position of one’s ancestors in the form of an hereditary rank or other privileges. In imperial times, the sons and grandsons of officials with a certain status had the privilege to “inherit” the rank of their ancestor. This practice first occurred in the Qin dynasty with the appointment of *baozi* 葆子. In the following Han dynasty, a similar mechanism for the recruitment of state officials existed, known as *renzi* 任子. By the Sui and Tang dynasties, it had developed into a system, the *enyin zhidu* 恩荫制度, and become a significant recruitment mechanism in the Northern Song dynasty in addition to the imperial civil service examinations. See: Bai, Wengu 白文固 (2002): “Beisong wen-wu guanyuan enyin zhidu tanjiu” 北宋文武官员恩荫制度探究 [Investigation of the System for Imperial Patronage of Civil and Military Officials in the Northern Song Dynasty], p. 24.

278 Shao, Qun 邵群 (May 6, 2013): “Wujiang: “koushu Tuisi yuan” shou ru yuanlin dang’an” 吴江: “口述退思园” 首入园林档案, Online.

279 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 54.

Jiang Jianqing asked the grandson to send him a handwritten letter, with the name as written evidence.²⁸⁰ The substitute tablet hanging in the main hall today was inscribed by famous poet and calligrapher Shen Peng 沈鹏 (1931–).²⁸¹ Once again, this gesture shows the importance of writer and form for the authenticity of an inscription.

In terms of conservation principles, the different administrative bodies involved in the project also had differing objectives. The Tai Lake Scenic Area Construction Bureau for the restoration of Tuisi Garden from 1981 placed its emphasis on “restoring its former appearance” (*huifu jiumao* 恢复旧貌).²⁸² Here, the result of the restoration process is highlighted; the result must comply with the site’s original appearance. For the second stage involving the restoration of the residence, Tongli Town Government suggested to Wujiang County Government in 1985 that “renovation must adhere to the principle of ‘repairing the old as old’” (*zhengxiu bixu zunxun ‘xiu jiu ru jiu’ de yuanze* 整修必须遵循‘修旧如旧’的原则).²⁸³ The principle proposed by the town government, originating from Liang Sicheng, stresses the restoration process used to achieve the final result.

From the perspective of international conservation standards, this would include the adoption of traditional local building techniques. According to the accounts of Jiang Jianqing, construction workers and craftsmen used local architecture from a corresponding period for restoration as a reference point. All original windows and doors, for example, were demolished and reconstructed according to comparable Qing-dynasty mansions in the town. As well, carpenters, masons and other craftsmen went to famous Suzhou gardens several times to examine and learn about local building structures, furniture and decorations.²⁸⁴

An exception to this practice was the reconstruction of “Guihua Parlor” 桂花厅. Formerly a rice granary for rent collection of the Ren family clan, the building became extremely dilapidated over time. Because the site already featured architectural structures representing the three seasons, spring (“Tower of Contemplating the Moon in Spring”, *Zuochun wangyue lou* 坐春望月楼), summer (“Zizania Rain Brings Coolness”-Pavilion, *Gu yu sheng liang xuan* 菰雨生凉轩) and winter (“Pine, Bamboo and Plum House”, *Suihan ju* 岁寒居), experts suggested

280 Shao, Qun 邵群 (May 6, 2013): “Wujiang: “koushu Tuisi yuan” shou ru yuanlin dang’an” 吴江: “口述退思园” 首入园林档案, Online.

281 Chen, Zhiqiang 陈志强 (November 20, 2014): “Tuisi yuan” 退思园 [Tuisi Garden], Online.

282 Wujiang Archives 吴江档案局 (2010): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, Chap. 5, Sub-chap. 1, Online.

283 Ibid.

284 Shao, Qun 邵群 (May 6, 2013): “Wujiang: “koushu Tuisi yuan” shou ru yuanlin dang’an” 吴江: “口述退思园” 首入园林档案, Online.

the granary be transformed into a structure showing an autumn scenery.²⁸⁵ By Jiang Jianqing's account, some people were against this plan and wanted to restore the granary. In the end, the case was passed on to conservation experts from Jiangsu Province for verification and the proposal was accepted.²⁸⁶ The granary was transformed into a *guihua* parlor²⁸⁷ with reference to the autumn season in its name: "Divine fragrance attaining full maturity in autumn" (tianxiang qiu man 天香秋满).

The final decision to transform the granary into a *guihua* parlor shows that the completeness of all four seasons was considered more important than the preservation of the granary's material substance. An entry of Wujiang Archives on Tuisi Garden written by Chen Zhiqiang 陈志强, chairman of the Suzhou Association for Writers of Folk Literature and Folk Artists specializing in cultural heritage protection, states:

园内集中了江南园林的楼台亭阁、廊舫桥榭、厅堂房轩等建筑，均贴水而筑，而且春夏秋冬、琴棋书画，各景俱全，赢得建筑大师们的一致赞誉，于2000年11月被联合国教科文组织列入世界文化遗产名录，2001年6月由国务院公布为全国重点文物保护单位。²⁸⁸

"Two-storied buildings, terraces, pavilions and two-storied pavilions, corridors, boat-shaped structures, bridges and pavilions on terraces as well as halls, houses, verandas with windows and other structures of Jiangnan landscape architecture are concentrated in the garden, all built as if they were stuck on the water. Moreover, the completeness of various kinds of sceneries: spring, summer, autumn and winter as well as Chinese zither, Chinese chess, calligraphy and painting²⁸⁹, has gained unanimous recognition of architectural masters. In November 2000, it has been inscribed on the World Heritage List by UNESCO. In June 2001, it was promulgated by the State Council as a national key protected heritage site."

285 Shao, Qun 邵群 (May 6, 2013): "Wujiang: "koushu Tuisi yuan" shou ru yuanlin dang'an" 吴江: "口述退思园" 首入园林档案, Online.

286 Ibid.

287 "Guihua parlors" are a type of landscape architecture which derive their name from surrounding osmanthus trees (*guihua* 桂花). The trees shed their fragrance in autumn when they are standing in full bloom.

288 Chen, Zhiqiang 陈志强 (November 20, 2014): "Tuisi yuan" 退思园, Online.

289 The so-called "four arts" 四艺: *guqin* 古琴 (seven-string instrument resembling a zither), *weiqi* 围棋 (Go game, a type of chess), *shufa* 书法 (calligraphy) and *huihua* 绘画 (painting) were traditionally practiced by well-educated gentlemen. The different architectural structures in the garden represent all four: the "Qin room" 琴房 has been built to play the zither, "Yanyun Pavilion" 眼云亭 is suitable for playing chess, "Xin Terrace" 辛台 to practice calligraphy and "Lansheng Pavilion" 揽胜阁 to do painting. See: Dillon, Michael (ed., 1998): *China: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*, p. 292. Wujiang Archives 吴江档案局 (2010): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, Chap. 5, Subchap. 1, Online.

The integrity of all four seasons displayed in a distinctive scenery is regarded as a decisive factor for the recognition of professionals, which increases the overall value of the site. The four seasons are a popular theme in Chinese landscape painting, and Suzhou private gardens were “artistically created in the manner of landscape paintings”²⁹⁰. Ryckmans states that calligraphy and painting were traditionally considered as highest forms of art in China.²⁹¹

While the material heritage of the granary does not have the same high historical, artistic or scientific value as the structures listed at the beginning of the citation, the completion of the four seasons greatly enhances the garden’s artistic value in terms of intangible heritage. The example of Tuisi Garden’s conservation shows a preference of the intangible over the tangible in a situation where the former is perceived to be able to further enhance the site’s overall value. This choice also reveals a desire to “improve” the state of a site beyond its original state, equally with the objective to enhance its value.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the government restored three more residences, Chongben Hall and Jiayin Hall as well as Lüyu Qingyao Building in the Former Residence of Chen Qubing. As one of the earliest buildings in Tongli, Chongben Hall was listed as municipal-level protected heritage site in 1986.²⁹² Conservation work started five years later in 1991 and was completed in one year. The main buildings of the site were repaired, and two engraved archways were reconstructed. The repaired buildings comprise the entrance hall, the main hall, the front and back building of the private chambers (*qian lou* 前楼, *hou lou* 后楼) and side rooms.²⁹³ In addition, a flower terrace of lakeside rocks was built in the courtyard and planted. Characteristic plants that were added include a mulberry tree, maple trees and bamboo. With a restoration price tag of 800,000 Yuan, Chongben Hall is one of the government-subsidized restoration projects with a lower cost.²⁹⁴

As mentioned above, Chongben Hall features a great number of wooden carvings which depict scenes of famous literary works. During the Cultural Revolution, the faces of figures in some of these depictions were scratched off²⁹⁵ (see fig. 4-25):

290 Knapp, Ronald G. (2000): *China’s Old Dwellings*, p. 256. He is referring to: Wang, Joseph C. (1998): *The Chinese Garden*.

291 Ryckmans, Pierre (1986): *The Chinese Attitude towards the Past: The 47th George Ernest Morrison Lecture in Ethnology*, pp. 5–6.

292 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 135.

293 Ibid., p. 261.

294 Ibid.

295 Upon inquiry, this explanation has also been confirmed by a local tour guide (Tongli, April 2016).



Figure 4-25. Scratched Wooden Carving on Partition Wall.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Noticeably, figures with scratched off faces are engaged in traditional literary and artistic activities of Confucian self-cultivation such as playing Chinese zither. As artifacts reflecting “feudal” culture, these carvings were targeted for destruction by the so-called Red Guards (*Hong weibing* 红卫兵), student groups pursuing Mao Zedong’s mission to destroy the Four Olds (*si jiu* 四旧: old thinking *jiu sixiang* 旧思想, old culture *jiu wenhua* 旧文化, old customs *jiu fengsu* 旧风俗 and old habits *jiu xiguan* 旧习惯). In the restoration process, these historical marks were preserved and not restored. Chongben Hall therefore is a rare example where incomplete parts of material heritage have been acknowledged for their historical significance.

The conservation of Jiayin Hall was started in 1993 and took three years.²⁹⁶ During this period, the main buildings of the site were equally repaired, namely the entrance hall, the main hall and the chamber Yanqing Building as well as an engraved archway. The two structures, Shuixiu Pavilion 水秀阁 and the western gate, were reconstructed.²⁹⁷ Moreover, minor structures, such as corridors, a courtyard, a kitchen and a flower terrace made of lakeside rocks were newly built. For greening, traditional plants were added to Jiayin Hall, among them magnolias, yew, maple and osmanthus trees. For the conservation of Jiayin Hall, the government invested a total of 1,680,000 Yuan.²⁹⁸

During restoration, the decision was made to demolish a two-storied building and rebuild it into a courtyard. The motivation for this decision is given in the *Tongli Town Gazetteer* as another measure to “expand the visiting space” (*kuoda youlan kongjian* 扩大游览空间).²⁹⁹ In addition, where carvings could not be fully

296 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 137.

297 Ibid., p. 261.

298 Ibid.

299 Ibid., p. 136.

recognized, they were supplemented to complete the original set. For example, four scenes out of eight from “The Twenty-Four Paragons of Filial Piety”³⁰⁰ on the beam capitals of Yanqing Building were supplemented. Furthermore, eight landscape patterns were carved into the beam capitals of the veranda that differ from the original carvings.³⁰¹

Starting from the second half of the 1990s, the government carried out a number of improvement projects in the historic town. The earliest projects involved important waterways and streets. Dingzi River 丁字河 which was filled in 1971, for example, was dredged so as to restore the former water town appearance, enable a better water flow and create a waterway for touristic purposes.³⁰² The improvement of central streets included new pavements as well as a restoration of the historic townscape. One of the restored streets was Xintiandi 新填地, which was transformed into Ming and Qing Commercial Street 明清商业街. The restoration of buildings in this street included the use of wooden panels to close up shopfronts, the use of wooden or cloth-made shop signs and advertising, windows and doors in an historical style, and the use of roof tiles.³⁰³

Another important measure was to move industry out of the historic town and to introduce services and shops. To provide space for tourism development, more than ten industries were moved.³⁰⁴ As well, measures were taken with the goal of getting inscribed on the World Heritage List. Therefore, the transformation of industrial sites in the surrounding of Tuisi Garden played an important role. To fulfill the listing requirements, the government initiated five major improvement measures.

The first measure concerned a more than 30-meter-high water tower in the north-eastern corner outside of the garden which was considered as heavily disturbing the garden landscape. At this time, the tower still provided the water supply for the town residents. Because it threatened the listing of Tuisi Garden as

300 The Twenty-Four Paragons of Filial Piety (*Ershi si xiao* 二十四孝) are a supplement to the Classic of Filial Piety (*Xiao jing* 孝经) which is part of the Confucian canon. The popular stories in this supplement have a didactic function and contributed to spread fundamental Confucian teachings concerning different aspects of filial piety. See: Mo, Weimin; Shen, Wenju (1999): “The Twenty-Four Paragons of Filial Piety: Their Didactic Role and Impact on Children’s Lives”, p. 15.

301 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 136.

302 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 148.

303 Ibid.

304 Interview with the Deputy Chief of the Construction and Management Bureau, Tongli Historic Town Conservation and Management Committee, Tongli, April 25, 2016.

World Heritage Site, it was demolished in 1999 and water supply for the town residents was converted to pressurized tap water.³⁰⁵

As second measure, the town government bought a large abandoned mixed-structure factory building of Wujiang Electromechanics Company 吴江市机电公司 north of Tuisi Garden and reconstructed it in 2004 in the style of traditional Jiangnan architecture. The reason given was that the building was only partially obscured by a row of trees in summer and affected the landscape of the garden in autumn and winter.³⁰⁶ The third measure started in February 2002 with the improvement of Tuisi Square 退思广场 under consultation of experts, such as designers from Tongji University in Shanghai. Power supply cables, television cables and telecommunication cables were laid underground, shops were put in order and public facilities such as street lights as well as greenery were adjusted in style.³⁰⁷

The last two measures were the transformation of a former cement basketball court and the former Tongli Electromechanical Plant in the south of the square. The basketball court dated from the 1960s and was used for about 20 years. It was partly integrated into the exit area of Tuisi Garden, and the other half was turned into a small parking space, both in accordance with the appearance of the garden and its surroundings.³⁰⁸ The former plant was demolished and rebuilt into a street in ancient architectural style and interlinked with Ming and Qing Commercial Street. In this street, restaurants, guesthouses and various shops were opened.³⁰⁹

Further measures in the overall town equally concerned the improvement of the spatial environment affected by overhead cables and the improvement of the water environment. Starting in 2001, power supply cables, television cables and telecommunication cables were laid underground throughout the historic town.³¹⁰ Water improvement included different projects such as the construction of a sewage treatment plant, the construction of water gates and the cleaning of waterways. Regular waterway cleaning projects have been carried out since 1998.³¹¹

Simultaneously, the government continued to conserve and open up further historically significant mansions; Gengle Hall and the Former Residence of Chen Qubing will be examined in detail. According to the deputy mayor at the time,

305 Qian, Guoliang 钱国良 (March 29, 2012): “Tuisi yuan zhoubian huanjing de zhengzhi” 退思园周边环境的整治 [The ecological improvement of the surroundings of Tuisi Garden], in: *Wujiang wenshi ziliao di ershi er ji* 吴江文史资料第二十二辑 [Wujiang historical accounts no. 22], Online.

306 Ibid.

307 Ibid.

308 Ibid.

309 Ibid.

310 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 148.

311 Ibid., p. 150.

Gengle Hall had fallen into ruins before its restoration and only the main structure could be traced from its remains.³¹² The project therefore began with research and the gathering of material about its original appearance. Furthermore, experts and scholars specializing in landscape gardening, urban construction and heritage protection from Suzhou and Wujiang were approached; they helped to draft a working drawing through the course of several discussions.³¹³

Restoration involved two phases and took four years in total. The first phase started in June 1998 and was finished in October 2001. While the restored part was already opened to the public, the second phase of the project was carried out until June 2002.³¹⁴ In the restoration process, the buildings of the residence predominantly were restored. Among the buildings that have undergone major restoration are the private chambers, the main hall and the side rooms. The entrance hall and the three archways, as well as a porch crossing the walkway in front of Gengle Hall, have been reconstructed. As for the garden, the remaining architectural structures Yuanyang Hall 鸳鸯厅, Huanxiu Pavilion 环秀阁 and Yanyi Building have also been restored.³¹⁵

There further are newly built structures which have only been placed in the garden as part of the restoration process. These structures include a *guihua* parlor, several pavilions and corridors, two archways with brick carvings as well as restrooms which have been attached to Gengle Hall from the outside of the enclosing wall. The *Tongli Town Gazetteer* provides the reasoning behind adding new architectural structures to the garden:

为拓宽游览空间，提升文化品位，动迁 10 户居民，在后花园新建花厅、墨香阁、古松轩、三友亭、半亭、两座砖雕门楼（竹苞松茂、得返自然）和双层廊、曲廊、碑廊、西墙门、洗手间、风火墙等 432 平方米；。。³¹⁶

“in order to expand the visiting space and to raise its cultural quality, 10 households were relocated and 432 m² [of structures] were newly built in the backyard, [among those] a parlor, Moxiang Pavilion, Gusong Veranda, Sanyou Pavilion, a semi-pavilion, two archways with brick carvings [carrying the inscriptions:] (bamboo and pine trees growing in profusion, return to nature) and a two-storied corridor, winding corridors, stele corridors, the western arched gateway, restrooms and fire-retarding bulkheads; ...”

312 Sun, Yueqin 孙跃勤 (May 24, 2013): “Gengle tang — zhe shi wo xiufu gujian zui manyi de yi bi” 耕乐堂 —— 这是我修复古建最满意的一笔 [Gengle Hall — The restored ancient building which I am most satisfied with], Online.

313 Ibid.

314 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 261.

315 Ibid.

316 Ibid.

The extract mentions two central aims in adding new structures to the garden: make the site more attractive for visitors and to raise its cultural quality. Since the goal of opening up Gengle Hall was to turn it into a scenic site, additional places of interest were considered necessary to satisfy visitor expectations. Once again, further improvement of the mansion is regarded as an acceptable means to raise its cultural value and to adhere to standards of outstanding landscape architecture.

According to the deputy mayor, not many people in Tongli had experience with building restoration at the time, which posed a major problem to the project. As a result, technical personnel from Suzhou and Shanghai needed to be hired to instruct local craftsmen.³¹⁷ In the restoration process, a traditional technique was used to rectify the wooden structure of inclined buildings. This technique involves tying steel wires to the wooden posts and slowly adjusting their position. Since adjustment is limited to several centimeters a day, and work must be carried out in an intermittent fashion in hot weather, this technique is very time-consuming.³¹⁸ As has been explained by Liang Sicheng, the characteristic form of a Chinese building derives from its timber framework, while the walls do not carry weight from the upper floors or roof and fulfill a single function of separating the interior from the exterior.³¹⁹ The government's effort to preserve the wooden framework of Gengle Hall reflects the authenticity of the structure and its pursuit of "scientific" restoration.

All in all, the restoration project cost 3,020,000 Yuan, which was provided by different government institutions. Tongli Tourism Development Company 同里镇旅游发展总公司 invested 2,270,000 Yuan, and 250,000 Yuan of subsidies were contributed by Tai Lake Scenic Area Construction Bureau.³²⁰ Around 1,100,000 Yuan or about 36 percent of the total restoration costs were house purchase expenses.³²¹ This figure illustrates the problem of relocation, related to the transformation of residential buildings into scenic sites.

317 Sun, Yueqin 孙跃勤 (May 24, 2013): "Gengle tang — zhe shi wo xiufu gujian zui manyi de yi bi" 耕乐堂 —— 这是我修复古建最满意的一笔, Online.

318 Ibid.

319 Liang, Sicheng; Lin, Zhu (ed., 2013): *Da zhuo zhi mei: Liang Sicheng zui mei de wenzi jianzhu* 大拙至美: 梁思成最美的文字建筑, pp. 58–59.

320 "Tongli Zhen zhi" bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 261.

321 Sun, Yueqin 孙跃勤 (May 24, 2013): "Gengle tang — zhe shi wo xiufu gujian zui manyi de yi bi" 耕乐堂 —— 这是我修复古建最满意的一笔, Online.

Chen Qubing's former residence was restored in two phases. The first focused on Lüyu Qingyao Building: the cultural relics department invested 130,000 Yuan for repairs.³²² During the Cultural Revolution, the originally inscribed lintel tablet written by calligrapher Yang Tianji was destroyed. It was recreated by the poet and researcher of classical literature Qian Zhonglian 钱仲联 (1908–2003) in 1994.³²³ One year after its restoration, the residence was further upgraded to a provincial-level protected heritage site.³²⁴

From 2001 onwards, a large restoration project was initiated by three work-units with the objective of turning the Former Residence of Chen Qubing into a scenic site. This project was primarily promoted and managed by Tongli Tourism and Development Company. The Tongli branch of Wujiang City Real Estate Management Office 吴江市房地产管理处 was in charge of building conservation, relocation of residents, and related tasks. The Tongli Cultural Heritage Protection Management Office 同里镇文物保护管理所 was responsible for data collection on material objects, exhibition and cultural heritage management.³²⁵

In the second project, the foundation of Baichi Building was consolidated and the upper story reconstructed. A semi-pavilion was rebuilt, based on the remaining traces on the wall and written records. The upper story of the ancestral shrine was demolished and rebuilt according to its original appearance.³²⁶ The ridge framing was also rectified, and inner walls, which had been demolished before, were rebuilt. Damaged parts of fire-retarding bulkheads were also rebuilt. Paneled doors were restored in the ancestral shrine and Baichi Building, and the floors were paved anew with bricks.³²⁷

In contrast to the examples above, where the focus of restoration was on material evidence, the conservation of Former Chen Family Mansion followed another path of development. Tongli Town Tourism Development Company 同里镇旅游发展总公司 and Suzhou Kaida Real Estate Development Co., Ltd. 苏州凯达房地产发展有限公司 restored the former residence of Chen Wangdao and opened it up as the “Pearl Pagoda Scenic Site”, a tourist destination.

322 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 263.

323 Ibid., p. 144.

324 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 69.

325 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 261.

326 Ibid., pp. 263–264.

327 Ibid.

There is not much information in the *Tongli Town Gazetteer* about the steps taken in the restoration process. The part of the residence listed as Former Mansion of the Chen Family and the ancestral hall were repaired and the landscape architectural structures in the garden, such as pavilions and terraces, were rebuilt. While restoration workers drew on remaining structures for the residential buildings and halls, other parts were designed and rebuilt according to the Legend of the Pearl Pagoda (see next subchapter for a recount of the legend).³²⁸ According to Ruan, the residential part was restored on the basis of historical sources. However, the garden was rebuilt on the site of the former orchard using the gardening style of Suzhou landscape architecture. The decorated archway was also rebuilt to its original appearance (*yuanyang chongjian* 原样重建).³²⁹

Carvings and ornamentation increase the artistic value of a heritage site. Mansions with a great number of carvings in addition to their historical and scientific values, such as Chongben Hall and Jiayin Hall, are listed on high protection levels. The Chen Family Mansion now has more than 1600 wooden carvings and more than 300 brick and stone carvings.³³⁰ In the restoration process, well-known skilled craftsmen and technical experts from Suzhou were engaged to recreate images of historical figures, landscapes, flowers and birds on the wooden doors and windows of the buildings. As well, artistically valuable stone, wood and brick carving objects dating to the Ming and Qing dynasties were installed.³³¹ In the private chambers, wooden carvings with different motives from Suzhou Gardens were supplemented.³³² However, the purpose of substitution with carvings from historical buildings was not to upgrade the site. The status of the Former Mansion of the Chen Family as a municipal-level controlled heritage site indicates the importance of original building material for the administrative listing level.

Although the *Tongli Town Gazetteer* primarily calls the site the “Mansion of the Imperial Censor Chen” 陈御史府, the site’s official name is the “Pearl Pagoda Scenic Site”. This name reflects the focus on its intangible heritage aspect, the “Legend of the Pearl Pagoda”, rather than the inherent values of remaining tangible heritage, which is only a small part of the originally magnificent residence. Yet, Ruan sees an important difference between the Pearl Pagoda Scenic Site and other tourist destinations:

328 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 264.

329 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三 (2015): *Tongli* 同里, p. 96.

330 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 142.

331 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三 (2015): *Tongli* 同里, p. 100.

332 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 142.

由于开发修复工作根据的是在江南民间广为流传的《珍珠塔》故事以及留存的遗迹，所以修复后的珍珠塔景区有别于一般的名胜古迹，少了一点历史的沉重，却注重一般民俗的体现，而那一段美丽的爱情故事更增添了游览的情趣。³³³

“Since its opening up and restoration work are based on the Story of the Pearl Pagoda, which is widely spread among the people south of Yangzi River, as well as preserved historical remains, the restored Pearl Pagoda Scenic Site is different from common places of historic interest. It is a little short of historical seriousness but lays stress on common folk customs. And this beautiful love story further increases the interest in visiting.”

The restoration of Former Chen Family Mansion was clearly motivated by its later use as touristic site. As a result, the lack of authenticity from remaining built heritage has been supplemented by intangible aspects from the Legend of the Pearl Pagoda. Here, the goal of rebuilding was not to achieve a higher listing level but to enrich the cultural content of the site.

4.2.4 Function and Usage

Traditionally, two functions prevailed in Tongli's historic town: a residential function in the north and a commercial function in the south. Accordingly, the northern part of the town is characterized by great mansions, and the function of the southern part is reflected in its original lane names. The site names of officially registered buildings suggest that while the majority of buildings was originally used for accommodation, non-residential buildings had a variety of functions, including commercial, governmental, educational and religious or spiritual purposes. Historical buildings appear to have exclusively been of residential use, except for a Catholic church and Yong'an pawnshop (see appendix A.16).

When conservation work began, a great number of formerly splendid mansions, private gardens and local-style dwelling houses in the historic town were dilapidated due to extensive use and a lack of architectural maintenance. In the course of housing transformation in the 1950s, the buildings of great mansions originally owned by one family were allocated to multiple households. Moreover, gardens and formerly residential spaces were transformed into manufacturing spaces or public facilities such as schools, nurseries, government bureaus, workers' dormitories, and others. With the reform of state-owned enterprises in the 1990s, many people in Tongli were laid off, resulting in high unemployment in the overall town,

333 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三 (2015): *Tongli* 同里, pp. 89–92.

particularly its historic center.³³⁴ A second problem resulting from such high unemployment is that young people move to greater cities such as Suzhou or Shanghai, leading to the aging of the population of the historic town.³³⁵

With the transformation of Tongli into a tourist destination, numerous registered buildings took on new functions, and the range of functions was basically reduced to touristic/commercial and residential functions. An exception is educational buildings, which maintained their original functions. Fieldwork in May 2018 revealed that all officially protected entities on national and provincial levels were used as touristic sites. Municipal-level protected sites that have changed their residential function were either used entirely for commercial purposes or for touristic purposes.

In the case of historical buildings, this development is more explicit, since they formerly have almost exclusively been used for housing. Of the 64 historical buildings recorded as having a residential function in the conservation plan, 28 had taken on a commercial function by May 2018, with two in transformation to be used commercially in the future. This amounts to 47 percent (see appendix A.16) of residential buildings taking on a commercial function. The next section will examine the different forms of reuse more closely.

Tourist Venue

Opening Tongli for tourism is not a recent decision; it has been considered since the beginning of the 1980s. In his discussion of future development in the historic town, Zhu Tonghua, who participated in Fei Xiaotong's investigation on small towns in Wujiang county, wrote in 1983:

“...Tongli should be opened up for tourism. It is one of the best-preserved old water-country towns in existence. Situated close to Shanghai and Suzhou, it has rich resources for tourism. Its great number of ancient houses present valuable material for the study of our ancient architecture. Therefore, if its special features were better preserved, Tongli would become an attraction to tourists.”³³⁶

334 Bellocq, Maylis (2006): “The Cultural Heritage Industry in the PRC: What Memories Are Being Passed On? A Case Study of Tongli, A Protected Township in Jiangsu Province” (Jonathan Hall, transl.), p. 27.

335 Ibid., p. 26.

336 Zhu, Tonghua (1986): “A Preliminary Study on the Development of Tongli — An Ancient Cultural Town”, p. 336.

As mentioned above, Tuisi Garden was Tongli's first historic mansion to be restored and opened for tourism. This project carried out by the governments of Jiangsu Province and Wujiang County aimed to establish a tourist destination in Tai Lake Scenic Area. Since its opening, the garden has attracted increasing numbers of visitors, particularly after its inscription on the World Heritage List.

In addition to being a scenic site, the garden has been used as film set for outdoor scenes. Until 2010, around 100 films and TV series were filmed in the garden, including a number of well-known productions.³³⁷ The first movie filmed in the garden was "The Dream of the Red Chamber" (*Honglou meng* 红楼梦) by Beijing Film Studio in 1984.³³⁸ Other well-known productions are "Temptress Moon" 风月 by Chen Kaige 陈凯歌 from 1994 or the series *Tian zhi jiaonü* 天之骄女 ("Heaven's beloved daughter"), also from 1994.³³⁹

Tuisi Garden is not the only site that serves as film set; other mansions and the entire townscape have also been used as settings. In 2006, Tongli was selected as one of China's top ten film and television bases 中国十大影视基地, and a stone memorial was set up on the public square in front of Tuisi Garden (see fig. 4-26). The floor around the memorial is paved with stones in the shape of embanked islands, each one engraved with the name of a movie or TV series shot in the town while simultaneously symbolizing Tongli's characteristic spatial layout (see fig. 4-27).

The form and price of admission in Tongli illustrate the increasing importance of tourism for local development. At the time of its inauguration in 1984, a ticket for Tuisi Garden cost 0.1 Yuan which gradually rose to 2 Yuan in 1992.³⁴⁰ From 1993 to 2000, an entrance ticket was charged for a set of sites comprising Tuisi Garden, Chongben and Jiayin Halls, as well as the Three Bridges (*yi yuan er tang san qiao* 一园二堂三桥). From 5 Yuan in the beginning, the price of admission rose to 35 Yuan in 2000.³⁴¹

Subsequently, in addition to Tuisi Garden, all national and provincial-level protected entities except for Lize Girls' School have been opened as tourist destinations. At present, a comprehensive entrance ticket to the historic town that comprises eight sites costs 80 Yuan online and 100 Yuan on-site.³⁴² While charging an

337 "Tuisi Garden" 退思园, 2010, Wujiang Museum, Online.

338 Ibid.

339 Wujiang Archives 吴江档案局 (2010): "Tongli Zhen zhi 同里镇志", Chap. 5, Sub-chap. 5, Online.

340 "Tongli Zhen zhi" bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 177.

341 Ibid.

342 "Suzhou Tongli guzhen da menpiao" 苏州同里古镇大门票 [Suzhou Tongli Ancient Town comprehensive ticket], Suzhou Tongli guoji lüyou kaifa youxian gongsi, Online.



Figure 4-26. Film and Television Base Memorial.

Source: author's photo, 2016.



Figure 4-27. Movie and TV Series Memorial Stones.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

entrance fee is common for individual sites, an entrance ticket from the tourism company to access the still inhabited town is required, regardless of whether individual sites are visited. The company justifies this fee for accessing the town with the listing of Tongli as provincial-level protected entity.³⁴³ Despite the town's special character as "living heritage", it is treated as an individual site.

The company for tourism development in Tongli was established by the town government. Originally founded as Tongli Town Tourism Company 同里镇旅游公司在 1994,³⁴⁴ it was later transformed into Tongli International Tourism Development Co. Ltd. 同里国际旅游开发有限公司. The transformation of former mansions and other buildings into touristic sites is made possible through the town government's property rights to almost all these properties.³⁴⁵



Figure 4-28. Restored Nanyuan Teahouse.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

While some former mansions such as Chongben Hall and Gengle Hall host exhibitions, others such as Jiayin Hall solely display the characteristics deriving from

343 Interview with the Deputy General Manager of the Suzhou Tongli International Tourism Development Co., Ltd., Tongli, June 22, 2016.

344 "Tongli Zhen zhi" bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 174.

345 Ibid., pp. 174-175.

the site itself. One example for a municipal-level site which has been restored and opened as a tourist destination is Nanyuan Teahouse. The restoration of the building was carried out in 1999 and funded by Tongli Housing Management Bureau, the town party committee and the town government. When restoration was finished, the teahouse was decorated in the style of the 1920s–30s and re-opened to operate in its original function (see fig. 4-28).³⁴⁶

Another example of a site focusing on tourism is the Pearl Pagoda Scenic Site. The site was realized through the participation of an external investor, Suzhou Kaida Real Estate Development Co., Ltd. 苏州凯达房地产发展有限公司. Together with Tongli Town Government, the company invested 27,000,000 Yuan into the opening of the site, with the town government holding 34 percent and Suzhou Kaida Real Estate 66 percent of the share.³⁴⁷ As discussed in chapter 4.2.3, this included the repairs and restoration of municipally controlled Former Chen Family Mansion and municipally protected Pang Family Ancestral Hall. The public-private partnership combined development of a future source for income generation with the conservation of two municipal-level heritage sites.

While the Former Chen Family Mansion has been restored, the garden was rebuilt according to the Legend of the Pearl Pagoda. Providing the basis for local opera, *pingtan* 评弹 and *xuanjuan* 宣卷 recitatives in the region of Suzhou, this legend picks up a traditional theme from Chinese vernacular literature. It deals with the romance of an ideal couple known as “gifted scholars and talented beauties” (*caizi jiaren* 才子佳人), referring to young imperial examination candidates and beautiful as well as literary talented daughters with gentry family background. According to Ruan,³⁴⁸ the legend has been passed on:

Chen Cui’e 陈翠娥 was a beautiful and cultivated young woman. When her father, the imperial censor Chen 陈御史, turned fifty years old, he gave a great banquet to celebrate his birthday. On this occasion, the nephew of his wife, Fang Qing 方卿, went to their home to pay his respects. Because Fang Qing came from a poor family, he asked for some money for his travel expenses to the capital where he wanted to take part in the imperial examinations. His aunt felt that the shabbily dressed nephew made her loose face in front of the honored guests, so she humiliated him and drove him out into the mansion’s garden.

When Chen Cui’e heard about the incident, she felt ashamed for her mother’s behavior, so she hid the family treasure, a pagoda covered with myriad pearls, in a dessert box and gave it to him. Chen Wangdao who had heard about his wife’s

346 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, pp. 262–263.

347 Ibid., p. 264.

348 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三 (2015): *Tongli* 同里, pp. 103–106.

actions hurried after him, offered his apologies and betrothed his daughter to him. On his way to the capital, Fang Qing was robbed and lost the pearl pagoda. Later, the family treasure appeared in a pawnshop and the Chen family thought that he had been murdered. About to commit suicide, Fang Qing's mother was rescued by a nun who took her into a nunnery called Baiyun An 白云庵. Fortunately, he had been taken in by a passerby to prepare for the next round of examinations. After three years, Fang Qing achieved the highest results in the examinations which made him a Number One Scholar, so he was able to return and marry Chen Cui'e.

Whether the legend is based in Tongli or elsewhere has not been clarified. While material evidence such as the historic sites of the Chen daughter's study or Baiyun Nunnery 白云庵 from the opera are missing, indications exist in the form of personal names or place names. The imperial censor Chen, his wife carrying the surname Fang 方 and his daughter (whose name is not given) are all historical figures.³⁴⁹ While no historical records for Baiyun Nunnery can be found, a record has been included into the *Tongli Town Gazetteer* where a descendant of the Chen family remembered the accounts of an older relative of a nunnery belonging to the Chen family clan. The record further states that the nunnery was demolished in 1960 and a stele which could have proven its existence was destroyed in the Cultural Revolution.³⁵⁰

Moreover, there are indications in the form of a Chen family dowry notebook that the family collected a precious object called the "Pearl Pagoda" 珍珠塔. An edition of *Wujiang Periodical* 吴江报 in 1957 reported that it was found 30 years earlier in a cotton shop in Tongli.³⁵¹ Both of these indications rely on eyewitness testimonies. The establishment of a scenic site with clear reference to the Pearl Pagoda Legend, spread around the Jiangnan region, can be seen as a way to increase touristic interest in the site. It can also be perceived as an attempt to attach intangible heritage to a tangible site. By rebuilding the former site where the legend is said to have happened, Tongli claims the legend to be local intangible heritage.

This claim is further reinforced by live performances of the story on an opera stage in the town center and in a theatre set up at the central square. With the purpose of attracting tourists and expanding the cultural meaning of the town, a former stone terrace in the north of the square has been transformed into an opera

349 Xu, Wenchu 徐文初 (2017): "Tongli 'Zhenzhu ta' yu xiqu 'Zhenzhu ta'" 同里《珍珠塔》与戏曲《珍珠塔》 ["The 'Pearl Pagoda' in Tongli and the 'Pearl Pagoda' in traditional opera"], p. 76.

350 "Tongli Zhen zhi" bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, pp. 110–111.

351 Xu, Wenchu 徐文初 (2017): "Tongli 'Zhenzhu ta' yu xiqu 'Zhenzhu ta'" 同里《珍珠塔》与戏曲《珍珠塔》, p. 76.

stage in the course of the town's improvement measures.³⁵² On the weekends and on holidays, cultural performances are given, which include popular scenes from the Pearl Pagoda Legend (see fig. 4-29).³⁵³



Figure 4-29. Performance on Central Opera Stage.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

The other performance named “Tongli in Ink” (Shuimo Tongli 水墨同里) is an extravagant show with a professional dancing group and supported by high-tech effects. The theatre built exclusively for the performance of the Pearl Pagoda Legend was inaugurated in 2014³⁵⁴ and offers performances every Saturday evening.

As part of its cultural tourism strategy, the town has launched a number of other branding activities related to culture and intangible heritage. Since 1997, the Town Government regularly hosts a tourism and culture festival called “Spring of Tongli” 同里之春 on April 18 every year in cooperation with the superordinate national, provincial and municipal tourism administrations. The festivals have different cultural themes and are focused on related activities to promote cultural

352 Qian, Guoliang 钱国良 (March 29, 2012): “Tuisi yuan zhoubian huanjing de zhengzhi” 退思园周边环境的整治 [The ecological improvement of the surroundings of Tuisi Garden], in: *Wujiang wenshi ziliao di ershi er ji* 吴江文史资料第二十二辑 [Wujiang historical accounts no. 22], Online.

353 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 192.

354 Ibid., p. 190.

aspects such as film documentation competitions on the local townscape and painting exhibitions.³⁵⁵

Other activities include *weiqi* 围棋 (Go-game) competitions, a Chinese mind sport which is promoted as heritage, and also the “Evening Drum and Morning Bell” (*mugu chenzhong* 暮鼓晨钟) event. Since early 2000, the national *weiqi* finals are held in Tongli as well as the international *weiqi* finals between China and Korea.³⁵⁶ In 2011, an architectural *ensemble* in historical style has been constructed for this event near the southern town entrance, comprising a garden with a two-storied pavilion and exhibits on the Go-game.³⁵⁷ The “Evening Drum and Morning Bell” derives from a Buddhist monastic practice, and this event is hosted on New Year’s Eve on Luoxing Island 罗星洲. Originally the site of a local temple and a single scene of Tongli’s traditional twenty views set of landscape scenes as defined in the Qing dynasty, Luoxing Island was destroyed by Japanese troops in the course of the Second Sino-Japanese War. In 1996, the temple was rebuilt and a “national humiliation” memorial erected.³⁵⁸ The event includes cultural and artistic performances, the striking of the bell and the display of firework.³⁵⁹

To increase the number of tourist destinations with a view to prevent high concentrations of visitors in the historic town, the government opened up scenic areas in the town’s surroundings. These destinations include another garden named Jingsi Garden 静思园, Jiangsu Tongli National Wetland Park 江苏同里国家湿地公园 and Luoxing Island. With the steady growth of tourism, the town government further established additional facilities and services, such as a transfer service from the parking area to the town entrance. Moreover, tourist service centers were set up, one in the town center in 2007 and three more centers at the southern, northern and eastern town entrances which opened in 2013 and 2014.³⁶⁰

Exhibition Halls, Educational and Recreational Spaces

The majority of officially listed and restored mansions in Tongli opened as tourist destinations have not only been decorated and equipped with historic furniture but also used to host exhibitions or were transformed into museums. Gengle Hall, for

355 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 180.

356 Ibid., pp. 180–181.

357 Ibid., p. 181.

358 Ibid., p. 162.

359 Ibid., p. 183.

360 Ibid., pp. 150, 185.

example, which was listed on a national level and opened in 2001 is used for exhibitions. Its different buildings feature more than 120 pieces of tree-root carvings and an exhibition of embroidery from the Ming and Qing periods.³⁶¹

The provincial-level listed Chongben Hall contains an exhibition on Wu culture wedding customs. As a result, the main hall was turned into a marriage hall, displaying wedding customs of the Jiangnan region as well as related clothing and objects, such as a bridal sedan chair.³⁶² Keeping the theme of its carvings, the front building was decorated as “Happiness and Longevity Hall” 福寿堂 with a great depiction of the character “longevity” 寿 in the middle and statues of the Three Star Gods: the Star of Fu 福 (“fortune”), the Star of Lu 禄 (“status”) and the Star of Shou 寿 (“longevity”).³⁶³

The Former Residence of Chen Qubing is used to exhibit objects as well as written and pictorial material relating to Chen Qubing and the Southern Society, since the residence’s former owner was an important historical figure. The exhibits include pictures of him and his family, written articles, as well as original pieces of furniture. Moreover, a bust of Chen Qubing was placed in Baichi Building. The project was primarily promoted and managed by Tongli Tourism and Development Company. The Tongli branch of Wujiang City Real Estate Management Office 吴江市房地产管理处 was in charge of building conservation, relocation of residents, and related tasks. Tongli Cultural Heritage Protection Management Bureau 同里镇文物保护管理所 was responsible for data collection on material objects, the display and cultural heritage management.³⁶⁴

Since Chen Qubing was fond of collecting inscribed stelae, some of these works from different historical periods were preserved in the residence.³⁶⁵ One piece has a particularly high historical value: it was inscribed by Sun Yat-sen. Originally made for the grave of Chen Qubing’s father and paternal uncle, the stele reads: “Grave of the two gentlemen from the Chen Family” (*er Chen xiansheng zhi mu* 二陈先生之墓).³⁶⁶ During the Cultural Revolution, the stele was severely damaged and only a relic with the first three characters survived (see fig. 4-30). It is now exhibited in Baichi Building.

361 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 160.

362 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, pp. 135.

363 Ibid.

364 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 261.

365 Ibid., p. 145.

366 Ibid.



Figure 4-30. Relic with Inscription by Sun Yat-sen.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Another example for a site related to an historical figure is Liugeng Hall, the former residence of Wang Shao'ao 王绍鏊 (1888–1970). Before its transformation into a memorial hall in 2008, the mansion housed the Tongli Historical and Cultural Relics Exhibition Hall 同里历史文物陈列馆. This exhibition hall presented important episodes of Tongli Town's history, subdivided into a literati hall 文人馆, a hall of culture and history 文史馆 and a hall of cultural relics 文物馆. While important historical figures were displayed in the literati hall, the hall of culture and history was focused on historical events between the period of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom 太平天国 (1851–1864) and 1949. The hall of cultural relics exhibited excavated material objects and presentations of different protected heritage sites.³⁶⁷

On occasion of his 120th birthday, the residence was converted into Wang Shao'ao Memorial Hall 王绍鏊纪念馆.³⁶⁸ This hall is separated into two parts. The first floor is completely centered on Wang Shao'ao, exhibiting objects, photographs and writings related to him. The exhibition's main theme is his outstanding

367 "Tongli Zhen zhi" bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 152.

368 "Wang Shao'ao jinian guan" 王绍鏊纪念馆 [Wang Shao'ao Memorial Hall], (December 1, 2015), China Association for Promoting Democracy, Online.

achievements in the struggle for revolution. On the second floor are exhibited cultural relics of Tongli, probably still from the earlier exhibition.³⁶⁹

The conservation process was carried out by Tongli Town Subdistrict Office 同里镇街道办事处, Tongli Town Cultural Relics Protection and Management Bureau 同里镇文物保护管理所 and Wujiang Museum 吴江市博物馆 in 1996. While the subdistrict office carried out the repairs and restoration of the buildings, the Cultural Relics Protection Management Bureau was responsible for the collection of tangible data, the installation of security facilities and daily management. Wujiang Museum provided exhibits such as material objects and arranged them for display.³⁷⁰ In this case, the realization of the project was achieved through cooperation of different government bodies with Wujiang Museum.

In another example, the use of the site is not related to cultural aspects and historical figures but rather its original function. In the case of Tongli's former Water Conservancy Bureau, the town government decided to restore the buildings in the sixth *jin*, which is also the best-preserved of the overall ensemble, and set up an exhibition hall on water conservancy in the region of Lake Tai (Taihu shuili zhanshi guan 太湖水利展示馆). The hall is structured in five parts and displays the history of river and watercourse regulation in Lake Tai region by means of photographs, material objects and documents, comprising more than 410 exhibits.³⁷¹

The conservation project was started in April 2012 and completed in Mai 2016.³⁷² Tongli Ancient Town Protection and Management Committee 同里古镇保护管理委员会 had initiated its urgent protection based on archaeological investigations, planning and design, including large-scale repairs.³⁷³ It was carried out with the participation and cooperation of several administrative bodies, among them the Management Bureau of Lake Tai Water Conservancy Department 水利部太湖流域管理局, Wujiang District Water Conservancy Bureau

369 “Wang Shao’ao jinian guan” 王绍鏊纪念馆 [Wang Shao’ao Memorial Hall], (December 1, 2015), China Association for Promoting Democracy, Online.

370 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会, (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 262.

371 Cui, Yangyang 崔阳阳 (June 9, 2016): “Taihu shuili zhanshi chenlie guan zhengshi kaiguan — ping Tongli guzhen da menpiao mianfei cangan” 太湖水利展示陈列馆正式开馆——凭同里古镇大门票免费参观 [Lake Tai Water Conservancy Exhibition Hall officially opened — Free admission by comprehensive Tongli Ancient Town ticket], Online.

372 “Taihu shuili tongzhishu jiuzhi yi qi xiushan gongcheng jungong ji Taihu shuili zhanshi guan dui wai kaifang” 太湖水利同知署旧址一期修缮工程竣工暨太湖水利展示馆对外开放 [The first stage of the Former Site of Lake Tai Sub-prefectural Water Conservancy Bureau conservation project has been completed and the Lake Tai Water Conservancy Exhibition Hall has been opened to the public], (July 4, 2016), Wujiang District Cultural Broadcast and Television Press and Publication Bureau, Online.

373 Ibid.

吴江区水利局, Wujiang District Cultural Relics Bureau 吴江区文物局 and the town government.³⁷⁴

While the exhibition hall was designed as touristic site, it also has an educational focus, covering topics such as water pollution control and water regulation mechanisms. Therefore, Wujiang District Water Conservancy Bureau provided water conservancy exhibits which are displayed in the backyard.³⁷⁵ Furthermore, the town community donated material objects and written material to the exhibition hall. The descendants of Wang Jiadong 王稼冬, himself descendant of the residence founder and researcher on Tongli Town history, contributed 325 of his collected books and 489 cultural relics of the former Jiuli Lake site. Another donor provided the government 36 rubbings of cultural relics, among others excavated at Tongli site 同里遗址.³⁷⁶

While most sites were supplemented with cultural and historical content, an infrequent example is the case of Lize Girls' School. From 1993, an exhibition on Chinese sexual culture (*xing wenhua* 性文化) with about 4,000 pieces from private collectors has been displayed in 26 Chinese cities, Hong Kong, Taiwan as well as other global cities.³⁷⁷ In 2003, Shanghai Sexual Culture Museum was transferred to Tongli and was housed in the school and its surrounding garden, due to the very high operation costs in Shanghai had become too high after the museum was moved from central Nanjing Road to a more peripheral location in Jing'an district.³⁷⁸ The exhibition comprised a great number of pieces, among them more than 60 stone sculptures and 20 more than 5,000-year-old exhibits related to eroticism.³⁷⁹

Local authorities had agreed to host the museum for 10 years and therefore receive half of the revenue gained from ticket sales.³⁸⁰ According to official records, the museum was established to “enhance national culture” (*hongyang zuguo wen-*

374 “Taihu shuili tongzhishi juuzhi yi qi xiushan gongcheng jungong ji Taihu shuili zhan-shi guan dui wai kaifang” 太湖水利同知署旧址一期修缮工程竣工暨太湖水利展示馆对外开放, (July 4, 2016), Wujiang District Cultural Broadcast and Television Press and Publication Bureau, Online.

375 Cui, Yangyang 崔阳阳 (June 9, 2016): “Taihu shuili zhanshi chenlie guan zhengshi kaiguan — ping Tongli guzhen da menpiao mianfei canguan” 太湖水利展示陈列馆正式开馆——凭同里古镇大门票免费参观, Online.

376 Ibid.

377 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 154.

378 Wu, Runguo 吴润果 (September 3, 2012): “Yi ge ren de xing bowuguan” 一个人的性博物馆 [A private sexual culture museum], Online.

379 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 154.

380 Bellocq, Maylis (2006): “The Cultural Heritage Industry in the PRC: What Memories Are Being Passed On? A Case Study of Tongli, A Protected Township in Jiangsu Province” (Jonathan Hall, transl.), p. 26.

hua 弘扬祖国文化) and “overcome mysterious feelings towards sexual culture” (*pochu xing wenhua shenmigan* 破除性文化神秘感).³⁸¹ According to Bellocq, younger locals in particular criticized the opening of the museum, which they regarded as contradictory to the school’s function as center for patriotic education.³⁸² In 2016, the museum was repeatedly moved to Changzhou 常州, but it is unclear if this transfer was related to such reactions: the museum also faced economic difficulties.³⁸³

Other former school buildings in Tongli Historic Town are also used for educational purposes. Tianfang Building and Red Building are located on the former site of Tongchuan Academy and were integrated into the campus of Tongli Middle School afterwards, continuing their educational function. Because school buildings belong to work-units, public funding for conservation usually has to be provided by the respective units that manage them.³⁸⁴ This mechanism can also be observed in the case of school buildings in Tongli. In 1997, Wujiang Education Bureau provided 200,000 Yuan of funding for the conservation of Tianfang and Red Buildings.³⁸⁵ The actual repairs were then carried out by Tongli Middle School. Apart from building conservation measures, the repairs included the installation of a stele indicating its status as protected heritage site. In 2002, Wujiang Higher Education Middle School further financed the establishment of Jin Songcen Memorial, whereby Tianfang Building was transformed into a moral education base (*deyu jiaoyu jidi* 德育教育基地).³⁸⁶

At present, both school buildings have further been integrated into Shattuck-St. Mary’s School, a private school for students in grades 7–10.³⁸⁷ This private school which was founded as Episcopal mission school in Faribault, Minnesota, in the 19th century opened its international campus, SSM-Suzhou, in 2017. The transformation of the site into the SSM-Suzhou campus involved the construction of student dormitories and a school entrance gate. The outward appearance of Tianfang Building and Red Building was considered as a choice of style for the

381 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 154.

382 Bellocq, Maylis (2006): “The Cultural Heritage Industry in the PRC: What Memories Are Being Passed On? A Case Study of Tongli, A Protected Township in Jiangsu Province” (Jonathan Hall, transl.), p. 26.

383 Cai, Wenjun (April 9, 2015): “Sex museum will be moved to Changzhou”, Online.

384 Interview with Director of Monitoring Department, WHITRAP Suzhou, Suzhou, May 27, 2016.

385 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 264.

386 Ibid.

387 “SSM-Suzhou”, Shattuck-St. Mary’s School, Online.

new structures so as to maintain the original character of the site. Both are built in the style of the Republican period with grey and red bricks.

An example of exceptional use for non-exceptional buildings is the Huancui Villa (Huancui Shanzhuang 环翠山庄), located at the periphery of the historic town. Ancestral home of one of the founders of Wenhui Daily 文汇报, Yan Baoli 严宝礼 (1900–1960), it is one of the historical mansions recorded in the *Tongli Town Gazetteer* that were built during the reign of the Tongzhi Emperor (1861–1874).³⁸⁸ The site had been listed as controlled heritage site of Wujiang City in 1986, but its status was revoked in 1994³⁸⁹, probably due to the great damage and transformation it underwent in the course of historical development. In 1970, a glasses factory started to operate in the residence; the factory altered the landscape architecture in the mansion's garden, demolished existing buildings and replaced them with factory buildings.³⁹⁰

The uniform usage of the site (by the glasses factory) and the fact that property rights were publicly owned facilitated a comprehensive renewal project, which is often impossible when property rights are fragmented. In May 2007, Wujiang Bureau of Land and Resources sold the land use right to the glass factory's former site to Suzhou Xin Canglang Real Estate Development Co., Ltd. 苏州新沧浪房产开发有限公司.³⁹¹ Seizing the opportunity to benefit from the historical and cultural value of the former mansion, the real estate developer decided to reconstruct the Huancui Villa according to historical sources.³⁹²

Following a recent trend where real estate developers offered property in combination with a complete set of facilities and services,³⁹³ the former mansion was converted into a clubhouse for the homeowners of surrounding dwelling compounds. The underlying concept of the project is a combination of passing on traditional culture and adapting the place to modern usage through adding the

388 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 205.

389 Ibid., p. 132.

390 Ibid., pp. 205–206.

391 “Suzhou Tongli — Huancui Shanzhuang” 苏州同里·环翠山庄 [Suzhou Tongli — Huancui Villa], (January 6, 2016), Suzhou Landscape Architecture, Online.

392 Chen, Guilan 陈桂兰 (January 25, 2017): “Huancui Shanzhuang yu Yan Baoli xiansheng” 环翠山庄与严宝礼先生 [Huancui Villa and Mr. Yan Baoli], Online.

393 For more information on facilities and services in Chinese residential areas (*xiaoqu* 小区) as characteristics for social segregation, see: Wallenwein, Fabienne (2014): “The Housing Model ‘xiaoqu’ 小区: The Expression of an Increasing Polarization of the Urban Population in Chinese Cities?”, MA-Thesis. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/heidok.00017143>.

functions of a modern clubhouse.³⁹⁴ Such a clubhouse is of great benefit for homeowners as a social meeting place and to satisfy their daily needs.

In the restoration and reconstruction process, the lotus pond was recovered, and the historical buildings were restored (see fig. 4-31). The developers also preserved historical plants and trees on the site, such as a 230-year-old pine tree and a 130-year-old osmanthus tree.³⁹⁵ Moreover, to adapt it to modern use, a basement floor was included. This basement functions as a wine cellar and is also used for audio-visual entertainment due to its sound insulation qualities.³⁹⁶



Figure 4-31. Restored Historical Buildings of the Huancui Villa.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

The clubhouse has a dual function: offering space for commercial and recreational activities. It comprises a main hall to receive guests, an office area to hold conferences and carry out commercial activities, as well as a section with guest rooms. Furthermore, the clubhouse provides health and recreation facilities where homeowners can exercise, relax or entertain themselves.³⁹⁷ Although not directly used

394 “Xin Suzhou gudian yuanlin • Suyuan xilie — Huancui Shanzhuang” 新苏州古典园林·苏院系列——环翠山庄 [New Suzhou Classical Gardens • Suzhou Compound Series — Huancui Villa], (January 6, 2016), Suzhou Xin Canglang Real Estate Development Co., Ltd., Online.

395 Chen, Guilan 陈桂兰 (January 25, 2017): “Huancui Shanzhuang yu Yan Baoli xiansheng” 环翠山庄与严宝礼先生, Online.

396 Ibid.

397 “Xin Suzhou gudian yuanlin • Suyuan xilie — Huancui Shanzhuang” 新苏州古典园林苏院系列 —— 环翠山庄, (January 6, 2016), Suzhou Xin Canglang Real Estate Development Co., Ltd., Online.

as housing, the Huancui Villa is one of the few projects which is used for residential purposes after renewal. While its functions have been supplemented and diversified, it still maintains the original purpose of the garden to serve as recreational space for its inhabitants.

Boutique Hotels and Guesthouses

Another frequently occurring form of use of historical buildings and buildings that have not been registered is the boutique hotel (*jingpin jiudian* 精品酒店) or guesthouse (*kezhan* 客栈). Two representative boutique hotels in Tongli are Yinlu 隐庐 and Blossom Hill Inn (Huajian tang 花间堂). Yinlu Boutique Hotel has been restored by an architect in one and a half years' time; the original structure of the building was maintained.³⁹⁸ The mansion originally belonged to one of Tongli's influential family clans and was known as "New Pang Family Mansion" 庞氏新宅, which has been listed as historical building. The mansion was built in 1931 and comprises 4 *jin*, all two-storied buildings except for the second *jin*. While the mansion's engraved archways were severely damaged, its buildings have been well-preserved.³⁹⁹

The restored Yinlu Boutique Hotel that was designed by an artist has five apartments and maintained its characteristic Jiangnan water town style. In addition to accommodation, it has been equipped with cultural facilities such as a tearoom or a Chinese restaurant which offers seasonal food.⁴⁰⁰ This integration of cultural aspects into the hotel concept is another characteristic aspect that distinguishes boutique hotels from other hotels.

Blossom Hill Inn emerged as a public-private partnership between the town government and the hotel group. The group has several boutique hotels in the Jiangnan region; one of them is located in Suzhou and was discussed in the previous case study. Tongli Blossom Hill Inn was set up in the transformed mixed-structure factory building north of Tuisi Garden, which was bought by the government and reconstructed during the town's improvement measures. As part of the agreement,

398 "Tongli Yinlu: Keneng shi Zhongguo zui you chanyi de minsu" 同里隐庐：可能是中国最有禅意的民宿 [Tongli Yinlu: Maybe the most meditative guesthouse in China], (May 23, 2018), Online.

399 "Tongli Zhen zhi" bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 260.

400 "Tongli Yinlu: Keneng shi Zhongguo zui you chanyi de minsu" 同里隐庐：可能是中国最有禅意的民宿, (May 23, 2018), Online.

the hotel group assumed responsibility for the conservation of adjacent Lize Girls' School, where the Sexual Culture Museum was previously located.⁴⁰¹

Conservation started with the hotel building, which was consolidated and its original structure remaining unaltered. Changes were made to the interior of the building and a garden was added.⁴⁰² For the conservation of the girls' school site, requirements were stricter due to its status as officially protected entity. Therefore, conservation of the school building mainly consisted of repairs, while the "National Humiliation" Memorial was left untouched.⁴⁰³ The upper part of the school gate was repainted (see fig. 4-32).



Figure 4-32. Lize Girls' School Gate During Treatment.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

For its surrounding one-story buildings, measures such as consolidation were applied, and damaged or altered parts such as windows and doors were substituted with new pieces made of wood in the traditional style (see fig. 4-33).

401 Interview with the Blossom Hill Inn Regional General Manager, Tongli, April 25, 2016.

402 Ibid.

403 Ibid.



Figure 4-33. Substitution of Wooden Windows.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

In exchange for its conservation duties, Blossom Hill Inn is allowed to use the buildings after treatment is finished. According to the regional general manager, the places will be used in accordance with their original function. For example, there are plans to set up classrooms and a library in the school building that will also be used by the local community. The former sports grounds will be rehabilitated and used for yoga or taiji classes. The restored single-story buildings will be used as further guesthouses.⁴⁰⁴ A later on-site investigation in May 2018 revealed that these guestrooms were already in operation.

The transformation of historical buildings into guesthouses illustrates another accommodation type in Tongli's historic town. By 2016, a total of 98 guesthouses were established.⁴⁰⁵ While there are no spatial restrictions on guesthouse locations, the government still determines the number of guesthouses that are allowed to operate. According to Tongli International Tourism Development Co., Ltd., guesthouses will only receive official permits until their number reaches 300 places.⁴⁰⁶

404 Interview with the Blossom Hill Inn Regional General Manager, Tongli, April 25, 2016.

405 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 185.

406 Interview with the Deputy General Manager of the Suzhou Tongli International Tourism Development Co., Ltd., Tongli, June 22, 2016.

As well, the government has introduced a star ranking and evaluation system to ensure the quality of guesthouses.⁴⁰⁷

An excellent example of a transformed guesthouse is the privately-owned buildings in the eastern part of former Taihu Water Conservancy Bureau. These buildings are owned by the descendants from Wang Quan 王铨, who purchased the mansion in 1736 from the government after it was confiscated.⁴⁰⁸ His descendants decided to convert parts of it into the guesthouse, among those its well-preserved fourth *jin*.

In an interview, the owner discussed his motives for opening the guesthouse: he felt deeply attached to the mansion, since the property had been held by his family for such a long time. He saw it as a personal matter to maintain it. To cover the very high costs for renovating and maintaining traditional housing, he decided to open a guesthouse in some units to cover these expenses. He had been working in a company for building materials for about 30 years but was laid off in 2014. Since then, he manages the guesthouse on a full-time basis while still living in the other section with his family.⁴⁰⁹

Addressing the improvement measures he took before opening the guesthouse, he stressed that it was important for him to maintain the original appearance of the buildings (*baochi yuanmao* 保持原貌). For conservation measures, he therefore limited himself to repairs. Since modern amenities are required for rentals, he added restrooms to the original buildings.⁴¹⁰ His statements are confirmed by the *Tongli Town Gazetteer* according to which the outward appearance of the buildings in the fourth *jin* has been preserved.⁴¹¹ Newly constructed are only an archway with the name of Jingyi Hall 敬仪堂 and the eastern side room (the place where the restroom has been added). The original buildings and layout of the courtyard have been maintained (see fig. 4-34). These measures are in accordance with the conservation plan of the ancient town which is centered on the conservation of an integrated outward appearance of the built environment.

On finance and conservation restrictions, the owner said that as the property rights holder, he had to pay for the renovation and construction work. As a result, he was comparatively free to decide on alterations. Regulations covered only

407 Jiangsu Sheng Suzhou Shi Wujiang Qu Tongli Zhen zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 江苏省苏州市吴江区同里镇志编纂委员会 (ed., 2016): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 185.

408 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 219.

409 Interview with the owner of Jingyi Hall Guesthouse, Tongli, April 24, 2016.

410 Ibid.

411 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, p. 220.



Figure 4-34. Courtyard of Jingyi Hall Guesthouse.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

general aspects, such as building height or the outward appearance, but did not mention explicit details. Nevertheless, alterations were not allowed to modify the structure of neighboring buildings and had to “comply with the overall appearance of the old town”.⁴¹² Because the former site of the water conservancy bureau was listed as protected heritage site, building structure and appearance are inspected regularly by the competent authorities; they also check for compliance with safety regulations.⁴¹³ In the case of Jingyi Hall Guesthouse, the owner uses the income he earns from the guesthouse to maintain the residence.

Another example is the development of Hengfu Hall, formerly owned by the Ren family clan, who has been left with a largely fragmented distribution of property rights. While the majority of the mansion is publicly owned buildings, the Ren family clan still own housing units both in the northern as well as the southern section. These units are mainly used for residential purposes. The buildings of the northern section sold in 1992 were turned into a guesthouse with the name Genhe Guesthouse 根和民居客栈.⁴¹⁴ Recently, Tianyiju Home 天易居装饰 renovated the privately-owned buildings of former Genhe Guesthouse, and it was reopened as Tianyiju Guesthouse 天易居客栈. Today, there are four Tianyiju Guesthouses

412 Interview with the owner of Jingyi Hall Guesthouse, Tongli, April 24, 2016.

413 Ibid.

414 “Tongli Zhen zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《同里镇志》编纂委员会 (ed., 2007): *Tongli Zhen zhi* 同里镇志, pp. 248-249.

天易居客栈, all in Suzhou region. One of these is located at Pingjiang Road, as the first case study discussed in chapter three.

The owner of the guesthouse had engaged Suzhou Tianyiju Renovation Projects Co., Ltd. 苏州天易居装饰工程有限公司 to restore and renovate the rooms. Among others, this company specializes in the renovation of Chinese-styled hotels and guesthouses, including design and construction work.⁴¹⁵ It aims to integrate the local residential environment with international living standards and functionality. As well, it strives to highlight significant cultural and artistic elements of the residential environment through on-site inspections as well as research on the background and characteristics of respective places.⁴¹⁶

Since Hengfu Hall is designated as a historical building, alterations must comply with the conservation plan. In addition to protected heritage sites and historical buildings, the plan contains an ancient Camellia tree 山茶树 in the courtyard of Genhe Guesthouse that is over 200 years old.⁴¹⁷ When Tianyiju Home renovated the guesthouse, this tree was integrated into the design as central element of the courtyard and left untouched (see fig. 4-35).

For the renovation of the buildings, a local professional was hired to restore the wooden structure and to repair dilapidated parts.⁴¹⁸ As well, traditional building elements such as characteristic stone column bases were preserved. The owner is well aware of the historical value of her property and concerned about the preservation of the buildings. In her field research, the author was shown the gold-lacquered wooden ornamentation on a 260-year-old door in the main hall.⁴¹⁹ The owner further explained that since they own the property, they must pay for renovation and maintenance of the buildings themselves. However, they still consider it worthwhile. The chief designer of the project equally stated that he prefers to work on buildings with historical significance, because of “the stories they have to tell”.⁴²⁰ In the conservation process, the above-mentioned ornamented door was one of a number of original parts that were maintained (see left side of fig. 4-36).

415 “Gongsi jianjie” 公司简介 [Company Profile], Tianyi Home, Online.

416 Ibid.

417 TLCP (2011), appendix, p. 11.

418 “Tuisi yuan bian shang minguo lao zhai gaizao de kezhan — Tianyiju kezhan” 退思园边上民国老宅改造的客栈——天易居客栈 [Tianyiju Guesthouse — A guesthouse next to Tuisi Garden which has been transformed from an old mansion of the Republican Period], (May 9, 2017), Tianyiju Guesthouses, Online.

419 Ibid.

420 Conversation with the owner of the guesthouse and the chief designer of the project. Site of former Genhe Guesthouse, Tongli, June 23, 2016.



Figure 4-35. Preserved Camellia Tree in Tianyiju Guesthouse.

Source: author’s photo, 2016.



Figure 4-36. Conservation Work in Hengfu Hall.

Source: author’s photo, 2016.

Original calligraphies from painters and writers such as Zhang Daqian 张大千 (1899–1983), Jia Pingwa 贾平凹 (1952–) and Tan Yiwen 谭以文 (1956–) that were displayed in Hengfu Hall were also integrated into the new guesthouse.⁴²¹ Tongli Tianyiju Guesthouse now has 11 rooms for different target groups, ranging from single rooms to rooms in ancient style (*gudian fang* 古典房) and family rooms (*jiating fang* 家庭房). While they are all kept in traditional Chinese and plain style, the rooms are comprehensively equipped with modern facilities, such as integrated bathrooms or air-conditioning.⁴²²

The example of Hengfu Hall shows a greater flexibility in terms of building alterations and adapted usage of historical buildings. Compared to protected heritage sites, these buildings are not covered by the Cultural Relics Protection Law. Instead, they are subject to the conservation plan that regulates the preservation of significant elements and the outward appearance of a building. Hence, these buildings provide more opportunities for adaptations of the interior, opening up new chances for usage and integration into the general development scheme of cultural tourism, such as the opening of a guesthouse. Enhancing a site with modern amenities enable its continued use as accommodation, albeit short term and with regularly changing occupants.

The opening of a guesthouse is an opportunity chosen by a number of Tongli residents in order to participate in cultural tourism development. During several fieldtrips to Tongli between 2016 and 2018, this author gathered information about local residents turning their dwellings into guesthouses. The author conducted interviews with the operators of these guesthouses in the houses themselves. The results found in two guesthouses shall be discussed in the following section.

The first example is Shengping Guesthouse 昇平客栈, which is located in the former commercial area of the town, next to Shengping Bridge 昇平桥. It was primarily opened by an elderly couple who ran the guesthouse for about ten years.⁴²³ In 2013, the current manager took over the business under its original name, but the guesthouse is still the property of the couple, and she pays them a yearly rent of 80,000 Yuan.⁴²⁴ According to the manager, the couple moved out of the ancient town and no longer wanted to look after the day-to-day running of the guesthouse.

Shengping Guesthouse is now run as a double business: it includes the accommodation and a small restaurant. In addition to the manager, her sister works in

421 “Tongli kezhan” 同里客栈 [Tongli Guesthouse], Tianyiju Guesthouses, Online.

422 “Tuisi yuan bian shang minguo lao zhai gaizao de kezhan — Tianyiju kezhan” 退思园边上民国老宅改造的客栈——天易居客栈, (May 9, 2017), Tianyiju Guesthouses, Online.

423 Interview with the manager of Shengping Guesthouse, Tongli, April 23, 2016.

424 Ibid.

the guesthouse as well as her aunt, who takes care of catering. They came to Tongli from Hunan province, where the manager had worked in a company. Her husband and her son still live in Hunan, but she is willing to travel a great distance to start her own business.⁴²⁵ In Tongli, they live outside of the ancient town but in close vicinity, so they can reach the guesthouse very quickly.

When they took over the guesthouse, they did not make any alterations to the building structure or to the exterior façade (see fig. 4-37). However, they renovated the interior of the building. The guesthouse comprises five rooms from 170 to 260 Yuan, depending on room size and equipment. There are standard rooms, as well as rooms featuring a wooden bed in the ancient style (*gudian chuang* 古典床). During the peak season of the three national holidays designated as “Golden Week” (Huangjin zhou 黄金周) every year, the same rooms are rented out for more than 300 Yuan.⁴²⁶



Figure 4-37. Shengping Guesthouse.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

The second guesthouse is located close to the southern entrance of the ancient town and carries the name Senzhilü Guesthouse 森之旅客栈. It is run by a young couple who just started their own business. The husband is qualified as a designer but is working as trainer in the area of electronic commerce management. The guesthouse is managed by the wife and her mother.

425 Interview with the manager of Shengping Guesthouse, Tongli, April 23, 2016.

426 Ibid.

The buildings which they have transformed into the guesthouse are publicly owned vernacular buildings. The original tenant is the mother of the wife, and the family has been living there for more than 50 years.⁴²⁷ Now, she left the buildings to her daughter and son-in-law, enabling them to open the guesthouse. While they just have the right to use the property, the government allows them to run their guesthouse. The husband ascribes this development to the government's benefit for tourism development.⁴²⁸ By running the guesthouse, the young couple could afford to move into a newly built house outside of the ancient town, together with the wife's mother.

According to the husband, they were not allowed to make major alterations to the outward appearance of the buildings. Given that the building is neither a protected heritage site nor a historical building, there were no strict regulations for the renovation of the interior.⁴²⁹ To increase the space which can be rented out as rooms, they built a small building in the adjacent courtyard for which they have the right of use. The interior room of this structure on the ground floor is about 13m² and the roof has been transformed into a terrace which can be used by visitors.

After this transformation, the guesthouse altogether has four rooms of different sizes: three rooms with double beds that can be used as single or double rooms, and one family room. The rooms are all quite small, ranging from 10 to 20 m² and the overall size had to be further reduced to equip them with separate bathroom units. This is reconciled by a well thought-out and consistent design that integrates the entire guesthouse. In the interview, the husband stated that the guesthouse was a good opportunity for him to bring in his background as designer and that he considers the style of a guesthouse as the decisive factor of its future success. The lobby displays plants and traditional Chinese tea sets: while these serve as decoration, they can be sold to interested visitors.

In terms of security, tourist registration and room prices, the government issues instructions and carries out regular inspections in the guesthouse.⁴³⁰ For example, first-aid kits with protective masks in every room must be provided in case of fire, and the room prices need to be hung up visibly to protect visitors from price gouging. Just like the example of Shengping Guesthouse, the new dwelling of the couple is close to the ancient town and within walking distance.

427 Interview with the operator of Senzhilü Guesthouse, Tongli, April 24, 2016.

428 Ibid.

429 Ibid.

430 Ibid.

The two examples suggest an increasing trend of local residents to convert their housing into guesthouses in order to afford newly built homes outside of the historic town. On the one hand, the number of local people living in the historic town of Tongli is in decline while tourists increasingly take their place. On the other hand, by opening a guesthouse, they participate in the local development process and use their housing as a source of income generation. Although they no longer inhabit their family homes, younger generations are provided with a future perspective in their native place. Otherwise, they might have to leave Tongli for greater cities to find employment.

4.3 Case Study Results

The ancient water town derives great cultural significance from its natural setting, surrounded by lakes and traversed by rivers. A decisive element, tributary streams divide the town area as well as the historic town into *wei*-islands that generate the town's unique spatial structure. This structure then determined the orientation of housing, since the majority of residential structures and streets in Tongli are situated near water. The significance of this spatial layout is reflected in street names with their names including the character *dai* 埭 (“dam”). Another characteristic element of Tongli's spatial structure are its small lanes or *lilong* which represent local culture and appear both as public and private space. Similar to the first case study, names often carry cultural content. The name of the town, for example, is related to a legend, and Chuanxin Lane is associated with a story involving a fateful encounter between two people in the narrowing lane.

Moreover, the town features a great number of bridges, wells, and other environmental elements. In addition to their historical significance, these elements may have social significance for fulfilling different functions, such as the ginkgo tree with the bell that was used to warn or assemble local residents. Tongli further derives cultural significance from its environment: it was part of the recorded historic sets of landscape scenes, such as the “Former Eight Views” and the “Later Eight Views”. In terms of intangible heritage, several forms have been listed for Tongli on the tier of the HCF Town. These include the *xuanjuan*-recitative on a national and the Legend of the Pearl Pagoda on a provincial level.

Similar to architectural structures in Suzhou, buildings in Tongli consist of courtyard-building modules that follow the principles of orientation, axiality, symmetry and “graduated privacy”. However, due to its natural spatial layout, these

principles are employed in a more flexible manner, and layouts are diverse. Concerning structural design and architectural form, built structures equally were adapted to their environment by inserting skywells and other techniques to regulate ventilation, lighting and drainage.

The historical and social values of officially protected entities come from their relations to historical figures, such as Chen Qubing, or important events, as in the case of Lize Girls' School and its "National Humiliation" Memorial. Similar to the first case study, residences derive high artistic value from gardens or landscape architecture as well as exceptional architectural forms. Built structures in Tongli also gain cultural value from hall and building names, calligraphic inscriptions and different kinds of carvings. Specifically, officially protected entities often are named after poems or Chinese Classics. One example is Tuisi Garden, whose name derives from the *Zuo Commentary*. Others relate to *fengshui*, as in the example of Sanxie Hall. As well, the carvings of officially protected entities such as Chongben Hall and Jiayin Hall carry rich literary and cultural connotations.

Conservation in Tongli was triggered by the restoration of Tuisi Garden and its inscription on the World Heritage List. The town applies a government-led conservation approach which includes international cooperation such as bilateral projects with Italian cities to implement the *HUL Recommendation*. Tongli is one of the early cases where an entire town was listed as officially protected entity. In addition, it was included in the first batch of HCF Towns promulgated in 2003. After the restoration of Tuisi Garden, the town gradually opened up further restored mansions for tourism and started comprehensive improvement of its historic townscape. Moreover, the town is exploring its own conservation model, the "Tongli Model" which aims at the integration of its residential and touristic functions.

Tongli's conservation plan was drafted by Tongji University College of Architecture and Urban Planning. The plan includes the notion of historical layering and defines different spatial, temporal and cultural layers which will be preserved. Moreover, four conservation principles are defined which conform to international principles: authenticity, integrity, a harmonious character and sustainability. Accordingly, the definition of authenticity explicitly mentions that historical "marks" shall be respected. This has been implemented in some cases, such as the preservation of wooden carvings in Chongben Hall that were scratched during the Cultural Revolution. Concerning conservation schemes, different measures are defined for the different building types, where the buildings were assessed according to criteria such as appearance.

In terms of conservation in practice, the case study has found that when it comes to higher listed sites, "improving" historical remains and enhance their significance were pursued. In the case of Tuisi Garden, this was related to a popular

theme from Chinese painting and the completion of the fourth season. For Gengle Hall, the visiting area should be enlarged by construction of landscape architecture in between the historic buildings. The Pearl Pagoda Site illustrates how intangible heritage is attached to a tangible site and is claimed as local heritage. Another aspect is that not only buildings but also the inscription tablets with hall or building names are restored in the conservation process. This practice shows how inscriptions boost the perceived authenticity of heritage buildings.

In Tongli, officially protected entities on national and provincial levels are mainly used as touristic sites. This is related to the town's strong focus on tourism development, which is also reflected in its different branding activities. Since most of the sites are restored local mansions, they are often turned into exhibition halls. This is the case with Chongben Hall, which displays exhibits on local wedding customs. Sites related to historical figures have been converted into memorial halls, and the former Water Conservancy Bureau houses an exhibition on water conservancy in Tai Lake area. In contrast, a great number of historical and non-exceptional buildings have been opened as guesthouses or restaurants. Similar to the first case study, the outward appearance of these buildings is maintained while the interior is adapted to modern use.

5 Shanghai Tianzifang 上海田子坊

田子坊是在一片真实的弄堂空间里生长出来的，无论空气里弥漫着多少和怎样的异域的气息，氛围的感性是地道上海风味的，那既狭窄又富有变化的弄堂之道，给予人的亲切真是绝大多数商业之都难以寻觅的，...¹

“Tianzifang grew out of an authentic *longtang* area. Despite the presence of various different foreign styles, the atmosphere remains distinctively Shanghaiese. The sense of intimacy these both narrow and greatly varying *longtang* alleyways render really is something most businesses can hardly find, ...”

- Yu Hai 于海

Tianzifang, originally a common mixed-use urban block with residential and industrial buildings in the center of Shanghai is a third case where cultural heritage has been recognized for its economic function as a “driver of development”. Another important aspect about this case is that Tianzifang emerged through a **bottom-up approach** (*zifa xingcheng* 自发形成) and not as a planned top-down development project. Development started at a time when Shanghai was investigating different conservation models for *shikumen lilong* buildings and established itself as one approach among other simultaneous projects such as Xintiandi² 新天地. In the course of further expansion and differentiation of heritage categories in Shanghai, it was only recently integrated into the local conservation system.

The area which is commonly referred to as “Tianzifang” today (for an explanation of the name, see chapter 5.1.1) is located in the former Luwan district 卢湾区, more precisely the Dapujiao subdistrict 打浦桥街道 of Shanghai and

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- 1 Yu, Hai 于海 (2009): “Tianzifang shiyan: Chaoyue quanqiu — difang er yuan duili de chengshi gengxin moshi” 田子坊实验：超越全球——地方二元对立的城市更新模式 [The Tianzifang experiment — A city renewal model going beyond the global-local duality], p. 29.
 - 2 Xintiandi 新天地 is the name of a preservation based redevelopment project in Shanghai. The project comprised the transformation of two *shikumen* housing blocks into an entertainment quarter in a cooperation between the local government and international developers and architects. Former residents of the area were relocated by the development company. See: Ren, Xuefei (2008): “Forward to the Past: Historical Preservation in Globalizing Shanghai”, pp. 23–43.

belonged to the French Concession from 1914 to 1946 (marked in blue, see fig. 5-1).³ As a result of the Opium Wars, China was forced to sign so-called “unequal treaties” with Western powers and Japan, in which it was obliged to pay reparations, open ports for trade, and cede territory to them where they would set up foreign concessions. The French Concession was established in between the Shanghai International Settlement (British and U.S.-American settlements, marked in green) and the Chinese zone in 1849 and was expanded upon several times.

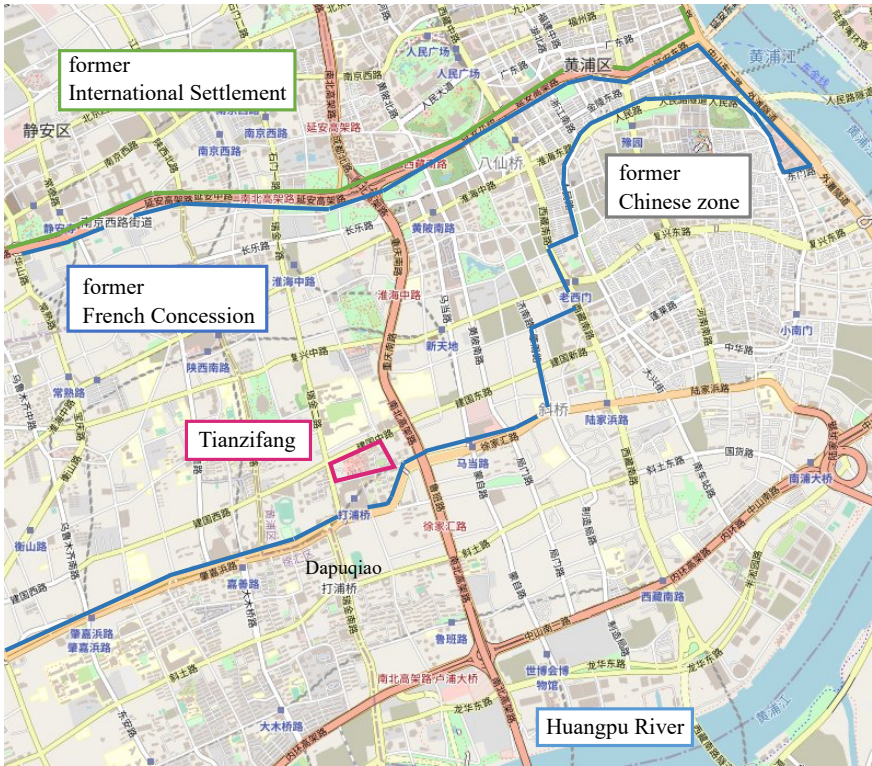


Figure 5-1. Location of Present-day Tianzifang.

Source: map adapted from © OpenStreetMap contributors, 2020, available from <https://www.openstreetmap.org/>, licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0. Lettering and marking supplemented by this author.

3 Shi, Ding 石鼎 (2015): “Tianzifang de lishi yange” 田子坊的历史沿革 [Historical Development of Tianzifang], in: “Wenhua yichan jiazhi de panduan yu bianxi — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li” 文化遗产价值的判断与辨析——以上海田子坊为例 [Evaluating the Significance of Cultural Heritage — Shanghai’s Tianzifang as Case Study], p. 21.

Tianzifang is part of the Taikang Road Block (Taikang Lu jiequ 泰康路街区) or “Block 56” as designated in the master plan of Luwan District.⁴ The overall block has a size of 7.2 ha and is delimited by Middle Jianguo Road 建国中路 in the north, Sinan Road 思南路 in the east, Taikang Road in the south and Second Ruijin Road 瑞金二路 in the west.⁵ The core area of Tianzifang has been defined in the *TZF Comprehensive Planning* as “three alleyways and one road” (*san xiang yi jie* 三巷一街) which cover about 2 ha of the block.⁶

While this “one road” refers to Taikang Road, the three original alleyways inside the block comprise Taikang Road Alleyway 210 泰康路 210 弄, Taikang Road Alleyway 248 泰康路 248 弄 and Taikang Road Alleyway 274 泰康路 274 弄. Following the gradual expansion of Tianzifang, further alleyways were integrated into this core area. The tourist map issued by its management committee in 2008 further includes Taikang Road Alleyway 200 泰康路 200 弄 and Central Jianguo Road Alleyway 155 建国中路 155 弄 (see appendix A.7).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the neighborhood was still surrounded by a dense network of waterways and had maintained the structural characteristics of a Jiangnan water town.⁷ The former district name “Luwan” which was carried over until it was incorporated into the Huangpu district 黄浦区 in 2011 still reflected this close relationship to water. The designation originated from the name of a waterway called “Lujia River [bend]” (Lujia wan 卢家湾) which connected “Donglou Stream” (Donglou pu 东淞浦) in the west to “Zhaojia Creek” (Zhaojia bang 肇嘉浜) in the east, bending in the shape of an “s” south of Taikang Road.⁸ Because Donglou Stream still carried the name “Donglu Stream” during the Qing dynasty (*lu* 芦 instead of *lou* 淞) and Zhaojia Creek could also be written with an alternative second character (*jia* 家 instead of *jia* 嘉), the connecting waterway was named *Lujia wan* (芦家湾).⁹ This designation was used as the district name

4 “Luwan Qu zhi (1994–2003)” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《卢湾区志 (1994–2003)》编纂委员会 (ed. and comp., 2008): *Luwan Qu zhi* (1994–2003) 卢湾区志 (1994–2003) [Luwan District Gazetteer (1994–2003)], p. 204.

5 Yao, Zigang 姚子刚; Pang, Yan 庞艳; Wang, Jieqiong 汪洁琼 (2012): “‘Haipai wenhua’ de fuxing yu lishi jiequ de zaisheng — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li” “海派文化”的复兴与历史街区的再生——以上海田子坊为例 [The Revival of “Haipai culture” and regeneration of historic blocks — by example of Shanghai Tianzifang], p. 140.

6 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 5.

7 Shi, Ding 石鼎 (2015): “Tianzifang de lishi yange” 田子坊的历史沿革, in: “Wenhua yichan jiazhi de panduan yu bianxi — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li” 文化遗产价值的判断与辨析——以上海田子坊为例, p. 21.

8 Shanghai Luwan District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 上海市卢湾区志编纂委员会 (ed., 1998): *Luwan Qu zhi* 卢湾区志 [Luwan District Gazetteer], p. 76.

9 An annotation in the *Luwan District Gazetteer* points out that there is another theory according to which the name of “Lujia wan” goes back to a settlement with a shared

when it was established in 1945 before the Municipal People's Government altered it to Luwan district, written with the first character again substituted by *lu* 卢 in 1950; following habitual use.¹⁰

The origin of this area in a traditional water town landscape is reflected in another name: Dapuqiao. The subdistrict carries the name of Dapu Bridge 打浦桥 which was built during the Tongzhi era (1861–1874) of the Qing dynasty and stood at the intersection of Xujiahui Road 徐家汇路 and the Second Ruijin Road. It became a market by the end of the Qing dynasty and its favorable geographic location attracted manufacturing businesses which depended on waterways for the transport of goods.¹¹ In the following years, small-scale factory buildings were increasingly set up in the area.¹² Together with residential and a small number of commercial buildings, these so-called *lilong* factories constitute the characteristic structures of the block.

Starting with the development of manufacturing businesses, the area's environment underwent great changes. Waterways were increasingly filled for road construction. As recorded in the *Luwan District Gazetteer*, many of these road construction projects were undertaken at the time of the area's incorporation into the French Concession in the course of its third expansion in 1914.¹³ Taikang Road was constructed in 1926 and had originally been named Jiaksi Road 贾西义路, after the French cruiser "Cassini".¹⁴ The road got its present name after Vichy France gave up its concessions in 1943.¹⁵ Three years later, Dapu Bridge was likewise demolished for road construction.¹⁶

According to Zhu, the area of present-day Tianzifang featured 36 small workshops and factories in the 1930s and by the 1970s they had been integrated and

clan name such as *luo* 罗 or *lu* 卢. The annotation informs that place names in relevant chronicles from the Ming and Qing periods have been checked. However, as no respective settlements were found, the theory has been discarded. See: Shanghai Luwan District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 上海市卢湾区志编纂委员会 (ed., 1998): *Luwan Qu zhi* 卢湾区志, p. 76.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., p. 77.

12 Shi, Ding 石鼎 (2015): "Tianzifang de lishi yange" 田子坊的历史沿革, in: "Wenhua yichan jiazhi de panduan yu bianxi — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li" 文化遗产价值的判断与辨析——以上海田子坊为例, p. 21.

13 Shanghai Luwan District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 上海市卢湾区志编纂委员会 (ed., 1998): *Luwan Qu zhi* 卢湾区志, pp. 75–76.

14 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): "Taikang Lu yishu jie" 泰康路艺术街 [Taikang Art Street], Online.

15 Ibid.

16 Shanghai Luwan District Gazetteer Compilation Committee 上海市卢湾区志编纂委员会 (ed., 1998): *Luwan Qu zhi* 卢湾区志, pp. 76, 262.

transformed into six factories.¹⁷ These six factories which still remained by the end of the 1980s were the Shanghai Huamei Radio Factory 上海华美无线电厂, Shanghai Plastic Component Factory for Clocks and Watches 上海钟表塑料配件厂, Shanghai People's Needle Factory 上海人民针厂, Shanghai Xinxing Belt Factory 上海新兴制带厂, Shanghai Food Industry Machinery Factory 上海食品工业机械厂 and Shanghai Electrolytic Manganese Factory 上海电解锰厂. Furthermore, Taikang Road provided the setting for a decades-old street market.¹⁸

As part of an attempt at economic restructuring in Shanghai by the 1980s, manufacturing industries were relocated to peripheral positions while establishing industries from the tertiary sector in the city center,¹⁹ leaving the former industrial sites of state-owned enterprises unused. Simultaneously, the existing building stock of *lilong* housing dating from the 1920s and 1930s had been neglected for a long time, resulting in strongly crowded living conditions for many dwellers without basic sanitation facilities. Following Ren, *shikumen* houses were originally inhabited by tenants from the lower middle class.²⁰

As mentioned in the introduction, urban renewal in the 1990s was mainly carried out through large-scale demolition and reconstruction by real estate developers under designations such as “old city renewal” (*jiucheng gaizao* 旧城改造). In contrast, Tianzifang is one of the earliest projects developed through “soft transformation” (*ruan gaizao* 软改造).²¹ This alternative approach was facilitated by global developments, precisely the Asian financial crisis (1997–1998) which halted large-scale real estate projects in central Shanghai and led Luwan District Government to grant greater autonomy concerning the reuse of vacant factories to subdistrict governments.²²

This chance was seized by the head of the local subdistrict government who envisioned the transformation of Taikang Road into an arts and crafts street.²³ In 1999, the first artist, Chen Yifei 陈逸飞, moved his workshop to one of the empty factory buildings in Taikang Road Alleyway 210 which attracted further artists to

17 Zhu Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊 [A Reading of Tianzifang], p. 12.

18 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): “Taikang Lu yishu jie” 泰康路艺术街, Online.

19 Zheng, Jane (2011): “‘Creative Industry Clusters’ and the ‘Entrepreneurial City’ of Shanghai”, p. 3566.

20 Ren, Xuefei (2008): “Forward to the Past: Historical Preservation in Globalizing Shanghai”, p. 23.

21 Xu, Yibo 徐逸波 (2008): “Xu” 序 [Preface], in: Zhu Ronglin 朱荣林: *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. [3].

22 Yu, Hai; Chen, Xiangming; Zhong, Xiaohua (2016): “Commercial Development from Below: The Resilience of Local Shops in Shanghai”, p. 67.

23 Interview with former Head of Dapujiao Subdistrict Office, Tianzifang, June 8, 2016.

follow his example.²⁴ The claim of this area as an artistic space was reinforced when another renowned painter, Huang Yongyu 黄永玉, named the alleyway “Tianzifang” in 2001.

However, the initial success of the project was threatened one year later when real-estate investment regained pace and the district government signed an agreement for redevelopment with a Taiwan real estate company.²⁵ In the end, demolition of the block was prevented by a group of “Tianzifang advocates” (mainly the head of the subdistrict government, the later chairman of the Tianzifang Merchant Association (Tianzifang shanghui 田子坊商会) and a mediator between the government and local residents) who, among other initiatives, invited architectural and conservation experts into the block to evaluate its significance. The preservation of Tianzifang was ensured with its official recognition as a creative industry park, supported by economist and vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of Shanghai Municipal People’s Congress 上海市人大常委会副主任, Li Wuwei 厉无畏 in 2006.²⁶

5.1 Cultural Significance

As one of the traditional housing neighborhoods prevalent in Shanghai at the beginning of the 20th century, the urban fabric of Taikang Road Block was mainly comprised of *lilong* buildings which were constructed between 1912 and 1936.²⁷

24 Yu, Hai; Chen, Xiangming; Zhong, Xiaohua (2016): “Commercial Development from Below: The Resilience of Local Shops in Shanghai”, p. 68.

25 Yu, Hai 于海; Zhong, Xiaohua 钟晓华; Chen, Xiangming 陈向明 (2013): “Jiucheng gengxin zhong jiyu shequ mailuo de jiti chuangye — yi Shanghai Tianzifang shangjie wei li” 旧城更新中基于社区脉络的集体创业——以上海田子坊商街为例 [Communal Entrepreneurship in Old Neighborhood Renewal — Case Study of Shanghai Tianzifang Shopping District], p. 60.

26 Yu, Hai 于海; Zou, Huahua 邹华华 (2015): “San zhong shehui mingming yiyi xia de chengshi neicheng fuxing — yi Shanghai Tianzifang de chanye kongjian pinpai dan-sheng wei li” 三重社会命名意义下的城市内城复兴——以上海田子坊的产业空间品牌诞生为例 [Inner City Revival under the triple social significance of naming — by example of Shanghai Tianzifang’s emergence as brand for industrial space], p. 64.

27 Huang, Ye 黄晔; Qi, Guangping 戚广平 (2015): “Tianzifang lishi jiequ baohu yu zai liyong shijian zhong shang ju hunhe maodun de caichanquan wenti” 田子坊历史街区保护与再利用实践中商居混合矛盾的财产权问题 [The Problem of Property Rights in the Conflict of Commercial and Residential Mixture in the Conservation and Re-using Practice of Tianzifang Historical District], p. 67.

Since then, according to Huang and Qi,²⁸ major changes to its built environment took place twice. With the establishment of the PRC, *lilong* factory buildings (*li-long gongchang* 里弄工厂) and storehouses in the east of the block were demolished and replaced with new multi-story factories up to five stories high. Later, in the 1980s, some *lilong* houses in different positions were demolished as well and nine multi-story buildings and apartments built in their places. Taken as a whole, with two-thirds of the original *lilong* housing having been preserved,²⁹ the integrity of the block is comparatively high.

5.1.1 Protected Scenic Block

Located in central Shanghai where space is scarce and densely populated, Taikang Road Block is the case study which underwent the greatest changes from its original Jiangnan water town landscape. As has been mentioned above, waterways were filled and bridges demolished for road construction at the beginning of the 20th century. In contrast to the other two case studies, where a great number of preserved built heritage sites are mansions and dwelling houses from the late imperial period, Taikang Road Block has been transformed into densely populated *lilong* neighborhoods.

Urban Structure and Environmental Elements

The term *lilong* (里弄 “alleyway house compound”³⁰) refers to a neighborhood of characteristic Shanghai row houses connected by a network of smaller and wider lanes. *Lilong* usually cover a block delimited by streets on all four sides and are built in an enclosed form. While residential wards of ancient capital cities were enclosed by walls, the streets surrounding alleyway house compounds in present-day Shanghai carry on this enclosing function and simultaneously integrate the

28 Huang, Ye 黄晔; Qi, Guangping 戚广平 (2015): “Tianzifang lishi jiequ baohu yu zai liyong shijian zhong shang ju hunhe maodun de caichanquan wenti” 田子坊历史街区保护与再利用实践中商居混合矛盾的财产权问题, p. 67.

29 Ibid.

30 Translation after: Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, p. 11.

compound into its greater city context.³¹ Following Lu, these alleyway house compounds functioned as microcosms which provided for daily necessities of their residents, all within the boundaries of the compounds.³²

They are entered through the main gate and onto the main lane (*zonglong* 总弄) from which smaller branch lanes (*zhilong* 支弄) extend deeper into the block.³³ So as not to break the line of enclosing buildings, there usually is a “street-across building” (*guojielou* 过街楼) constructed on top of the entrance gates. This structure is attached to the upper story-buildings on both sides of the gate and can be traversed underneath. In terms of appearance and function, main gates closely resemble city gates and used to be closed at night.³⁴

The structure of these neighborhoods follows a clear spatial and functional pattern whereby streets and alleyways are arranged in a hierarchical system. This system follows “graduated privacy” from outer to inner space,³⁵ similar to traditional housing analyzed in the preceding case studies. The streets surrounding the *lilong* are public spaces which is why the encircling row of buildings facing the street is usually not used for residential purposes but accommodates all kinds of shops. The lanes within the block are semi-public and semi-private spaces with the main lane, for example, functioning as a public thoroughfare while the smaller branch lanes are used by residents for activities of daily life, such as cooking, drying clothes or doing reparations.³⁶ Housing is situated at the branch lanes and is the most private space in the neighborhood.³⁷

As a result of the high building density in and around the Taikang Road Block, the number of environmental elements is much lower than in the other two case studies. Nevertheless, the block features a number of **historic wells and trees**. Zhicheng Well 志成井 which belongs to Alleyway 210 was sunk in 1930 (see fig. 5-2).³⁸ It is named after Zhicheng Lane 志成坊 which was built in the

31 Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, p. 85.

32 Lu, Hanchao (1995): “Away from Nanking Road: Small Stores and Neighborhood Life in Modern Shanghai”, p. 96; cited in: Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, p. 94.

33 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Zhang, Jie 张杰; Zhang, Chenjie 张晨杰 (2014): *Shanghai Shikumen* 上海石库门, p. 70.

34 Ibid., p. 88.

35 Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, p. 2.

36 Ibid., p. 6.

37 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Zhang, Jie 张杰; Zhang, Chenjie 张晨杰 (2014): *Shanghai Shikumen* 上海石库门, p. 72.

38 Information plaque on the building.

same year.³⁹ As the well had been used by local residents for domestic purposes, it is mainly significant for its historical value and does not show engravings or artistic characteristics.



Figure 5-2. Zhicheng Well.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Moreover, there is a lane which has been named “Lane of the Two Wells” (Erjing xiang 二井巷). In this example, the lane's two wells were regarded as significant characteristic of the lane and have therefore been included in its name. Both wells have been preserved, differing in size as well as form. Similar to Zhicheng Lane, they are probably both common wells for domestic use which may be suggested due to the lack of information on them. The two examples of Zhicheng Well and Erjing Lane show the interrelatedness of characteristic structural and environmental elements which refer to each other in their names. The names thereby reveal the relations between built heritage and its environment as underlying the concept of the Historic Urban Landscape.

There are two characteristic **historic trees** in the five core alleyways of Tianzifang. One occupies a traditional Chinese quadrangle-shaped courtyard adjacent to Alleyway 210 which is a rare architectural element found in alleyway house compounds. This tree has now been integrated into the outdoor area of “Kom-mune Bar” (see fig. 5-3).

³⁹ Information plaque on the building.



Figure 5-3. Historic Tree in a Traditional Chinese Courtyard.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

The second tree is standing in a courtyard in front of a preserved traditional Qing-period house which has equally been converted into an enclosed beer garden of another bar (see fig. 5-4).



Figure 5-4. Historic Tree in the Courtyard of a Qing-Period Dwelling.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

It is interesting that both trees are standing in preserved traditional housing structures where they still greatly enrich the urban landscape of the densely built row house block. This becomes apparent with their successful present-day usage as recreational spaces where visitors not only enjoy their relaxing effect but also their provision of shade in hot weather.

Another characteristic element of traditional *lilong* housing is the **archway**. As an architectural element, it appears as a gateway to alleyway house compounds. Main compound gateways were traditionally stone-framed which provided Shanghai's local housing type with its characteristic designation as *shikumen* housing. While the term "shikumen" 石库门 can also mean the entrance door of an individual row house, as will be explained below, Lu considers it more likely that *shikumen* originally denoted the compound entrance.⁴⁰ Thereby, he refers to Luo Suwen's deduction of the term from the names of palace entrances in ancient China, according to which palaces of emperors and kings as well as princes and dukes had sequential layers of gates and the outermost gate was designated as *kumen* 库门.⁴¹ Accordingly, the stone-framed gateways and, more figuratively, the Shanghai alleyway houses were named "stone *kumen*".

The archway has cultural significance as the carrier of the **compound name**. The most common way to name Shanghai alleyway house compounds was by use of terms with auspicious meanings or positive connotations. According to Liang, this measure may be related to an attempt to improve the *fengshui* of "inauspicious land".⁴² Such terms included *fu* 富 ("good fortune"), *he* 和 ("peace"), *qing* 庆 ("occasion for celebration") or *xing* 兴 ("prosperity") and were often combined with adjectives expressing permanence or eternity, such as *chang* 长 ("long") or *yong* 永 ("eternal").⁴³ However, the selection of compound names reflects the same variety as employed in traditional hall names or archway inscriptions in the preceding two case studies.

Consequently, compound names were further chosen after local characteristics such as a well in the above-mentioned example, the owner and significant aspects related to him or her, or moral principles. Frequently used expressions from Confucian classics found by Lu comprise *hengde* 恒德 ("lasting virtue"), *ai ren* 爱仁

40 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, pp. 143–144.

41 Luo, Suwen (1991): *Shikumen: xunchang renjia* 石库门：寻常人家 [Shikumen: Ordinary homes], p. 18; cited in: Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 143.

42 Liang, Samuel Y. (2008): "Where the Courtyard Meets the Street: Spatial Culture of the Li Neighborhoods, Shanghai, 1870–1900", pp. 490–491.

43 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 145.

(“love and benevolence”) or *ren de* 仁德 (“benevolence and virtue”).⁴⁴ They usually follow the pattern of two characters + *li* 里 or *fang* 坊.

Among the preserved compound names in Tianzifang, there are two installed above main gates and one on an archway at the intersection of Alleyway 210 to Erjing Lane. The compound name inscribed on the first main gate leading to Alleyway 248 reads “Pingyuan Fang” (平原坊, “Pingyuan Alleyway”). As mentioned above, compound names could be chosen after local features. Situated on the alluvial plain of Yangzi River Delta, Shanghai’s cityscape is shaped by flat land as well as rivers and its proximity to the sea.⁴⁵ Accordingly, the term *pingyuan* (平原, “plain”) refers to Shanghai’s characteristic environment.

Another neighborhood in the block has been named “Tiancheng Li” (天成里, “Alleyway of Natural Endowment”). The term *tiancheng* originates from the Miscellaneous Chapters 杂篇 of the *Zhuangzi* where a Taoist disciple describes his experience of attaining the “Great Mystery” 大妙 in nine years: “the seventh year, (my nature as designed by) Heaven was perfected” (*qi nian er tian cheng* 七年而天成).⁴⁶ *Tiancheng* has further been used as the era name by several emperors in the Tang dynasty and the Five Dynasties period, the most well-known being Tang Mingzong 唐明宗 (867–933, reigned 926–933).⁴⁷ In Tianzifang, it designates the neighborhood around Alleyway 274.

The third example is the archway carrying the name Zhicheng Lane 志成坊 (“Alleyway of Fulfilled Ambitions”), shown in fig. 5-5.

As has been explained above, this lane was built in 1930 and diverts from Alleyway 210. The name of this neighborhood appears in the idiomatic phrase *you zhi jing cheng* 有志竟成 (“where there is a will there is a way”) and derives from a passage in the *History of Eastern Han* 后汉书.⁴⁸ It can further be related to Li Dazhao⁴⁹

44 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 145.

45 Tang, Zhiping 汤志平 (1991): “Shanghai lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua gaiyao” 上海历史文化名城保护规划概要 [Conservation Planning Outline of Shanghai Historically and Culturally Famous City], p. 4.

46 Translated after James Legge. The transcription of names has been changed into Pinyin. See: Zhuang, Zhou 庄周 (1962): *The Writings of Chuang Tzū (Books XVIII-XXXIII). The T'ai Shang Tractate of Actions and Their Retributions. Appendices I – VIII*. In: Legge, James (transl.): *The Texts of Taoism*, p. 146.

47 Davis, Richard L. (2014): *From Warhorses to Ploughshares: The Later Tang Reign of Emperor Mingzong*, p. 61.

48 Huang, Yen-Kai (compiled, 1964): *A Dictionary of Chinese Idiomatic Phrases*, p. 1221.

49 Li Dazhao 李大钊 (1888/89–1927) was a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party and educator. As one of China’s early lecturers on Marxism, he had great influence on students and the formation of the New Culture Movement. See: Yang, Hua 杨华 (2009): “Li Dazhao qingnian jiaoyu sixiang yu shijian shulüe” 李大钊青年教育

李大钊 who used the idiomatic phrase as school motto when he was a board member of former Zhicheng Middle School 志成中学; nowadays Beijing No. 35 Middle School 北京三十五中学 in 1923.⁵⁰ The motto expresses his idea on education that China's backwardness at the beginning of the 20th century originated from a lack of young people with courage and a new, progressive thinking.⁵¹ Beijing No. 35 Middle School continues to promote this spirit under the designation of *zhicheng jingshen* 志成精神.⁵²



Figure 5-5. Archway to Zhicheng Lane.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Although no concrete evidence could be found to prove this hypothesis, a connection to Li Dazhao seems plausible due to his role as cofounder of the CCP and the arrival of secret CCP supporter Yang Du 杨度 from Beijing in 1929. Yang had attempted to prevent Li Dazhao's execution in 1927 but his appeal to the warlords

思想与实践述略 [Brief account on Li Dazhao's thinking and practice of youth education], p. 70.

50 "Beijing sanshi wu zhongxue" 北京三十五中学 [Beijing No. 35 Middle School], 2008, in: *People's Education*, n. pag.

51 Yang, Hua 杨华 (2009): "Li Dazhao qingnian jiaoyu sixiang yu shijian shulüe" 李大钊青年教育思想与实践述略, pp. 70-71.

52 "Beijing sanshi wu zhongxue" 北京三十五中学 [Beijing No. 35 Middle School], 2008, in: *People's Education*, n. pag.

was turned down.⁵³ He then became a party member in 1930, the same year when the lane was built. The commemorative function of archways and the fact that Yang lived in a nearby residence where he worked as writer and calligrapher (see chapter 5.1.2) suggest a connection of the lane name to this legacy of Li Dazhao.

As compound names are written in calligraphy, they not only carry cultural but also artistic value. Following Lu, the practice of naming the alleyway house compounds was “a matter of adding a touch of elegance, bestowing a blessing on a new home, and, practically, establishing an everlasting advertisement”.⁵⁴ Thereby, these calligraphic names were inscribed on horizontal stones and installed above the compound gateway.⁵⁵ The names, in some cases painted in red, further needed to be identified from a greater distance because they were an important part of a postal address.⁵⁶ In terms of cultural significance, the compound names therefore resemble the hall names of traditional houses in the Jiangnan region which carry connotations to aspirations, local characteristics or moral principles as well as artistic value due to their calligraphic form.

Moreover, archways played an important role as symbolic structures in the developmental process of Tianzifang which shall be illustrated by two examples. The first **symbolic archway** in the block is related to the period when Tianzifang was an art street. At the end of January 2002, a street landmark in the shape of an archway was set up at the intersection of Taikang Road and Xujiahui Road 徐家汇路. This “Gate of Art” (*yishu zhi men* 艺术之门) is a stainless steel sculpture designed by artist Chen Yifei (see fig. 5-6). According to the artist’s official website, the upper part of the sculpture in the shape of a ribbon symbolizes a connection between artists from all over the world.⁵⁷

Following the naming of Taikang Road Alleyway 210 by artist Huang Yongyu, the establishment of the archway can be seen as another step of claiming the alleyway as an artistic space. Being an artwork itself, the archway symbolizes the entrance to a place of artists which is further emphasized by its name: “Gate of Art”. Simultaneously, the meaning of the artwork reflects the social setting of Tianzifang at the time when it was characterized by studios of foreign artists and designers from 26 countries.⁵⁸

53 Chan, Henry Y. S. (1998): “Yang Du (1875–1931)”, p. 400.

54 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, pp. 145–146.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 “Shanghai Taikang Lu ‘Shanghai yishu zhi men’” 上海泰康路 《上海艺术之门》 [Shanghai Taikang Road “Shanghai Gate of Art”], CHEN YIFEI Art Studio, Online.

58 Zhu, Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 20.



Figure 5-6. Shanghai Gate of Art.

Source: author's photo, 2018.



Figure 5-7. Shikumen Archway at Entrance No. 7.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

The recent functional shift of the block into a cultural and creative tourism destination can also be related to an archway which was set up at entrance no. 7 in the southeast of Tianzifang. In contrast to the artwork by Chen Yifei, this archway is an imitation of traditional *shikumen* entrance gates (hereafter *shikumen* archway, see fig. 5-7). It clearly alludes to the architectural characteristics of traditional Shanghai *lilong* housing, well known by visitors. It is further set up in a strategic position, welcoming tourists arriving by subway as well as “embellishing” the entrance to the former factory area.

The name “Tianzifang” is written in calligraphic script in the center of the archway as well as inscribed in a commemorative stone and signed “Juexing” 觉醒 in the lower corner on the left. The name Juexing refers to Master Juexing, the abbot of Shanghai Jade Buddha Temple and vice president of the Buddhist Association of China⁵⁹. The abbot has a close relation to the arts, himself being a famous calligrapher. The Jade Buddha Temple further hosts calligraphy exhibitions of works based on Buddhist sutras such as in June 2017 when the abbot was on the expert panel to select the most outstanding pieces.⁶⁰

The practice of having Tianzifang’s name inscribed on an archway brings to mind the memorial archways in the former two case studies which have also been inscribed by famous calligraphers. On the one hand, this form of the name’s manifestation reinforces it as the legitimate name of the block. As has been explained earlier, compound names in alleyway house compounds have an identity-building function. On the other hand, Master Juexing’s inscription shows support for the project and recognition in the artistic world which is central to the establishment of Tianzifang as a brand.

Naming

The selection of “Tianzifang” as compound name (later standing for the entire block) was a strategic move related to the objective of expanding the block’s functions. Therefore, it is helpful to understand the origin of the name and its underlying naming process. While alleyway house compounds were traditionally provided with compound names, the part of the block which was designated as “Tianzifang” in the very beginning and later core area of the creative industry park was not a

59 “Fangzhang jianjie” 方丈简介 [Introduction of the abbot], Shanghai Jade Buddha Temple, Online.

60 Yang, Jian (June 26, 2017): “Calligraphy exhibition starts in Jade Buddha Temple”, *Shanghai Daily*, Online.

housing compound but an alleyway with factory buildings and originally belonged to Zhicheng Lane.⁶¹

In 1999, famous artist Huang Yongyu 黄永玉 named Alleyway 210 of Taikang Road “Tianzifang” 田子坊 which marked the beginning of Taikang Road as an art street. The name was not randomly chosen but carries a cultural connotation and is related to historical records and the Chinese classics. According to an information sign put up at entrance no. 1 by former Taikang Road Art Association (Taikang Lu yishu hangye lianyihui 泰康路艺术行业联谊会), the alleyway has been named after the “oldest” Chinese painter who appears in an account of the “Records of the Grand Historian” (*Shiji* 史记) and was called Tian Zifang 田子方. The respective sign stated the following (see fig. 5-8):



1999年，画家黄永玉为泰康路210弄题名“田子坊”。“田子方”据史记记载是中国古时最老的画家，取其谐意，喻意艺术人士集聚地。

“In 1999, painter Huang Yongyu entitled Taikang Road Alleyway 210 “Tianzifang” 田子坊. According to the “Records of the Grand Historian”, “Tian Zifang” 田子方 [written with another character for *fang*] was the oldest painter of China’s ancient times. Through the adoption of [characters with] a corresponding meaning [as name for the alleyway, it] connotes a gathering place for artists.”⁶²

Figure 5-8. Introduction to Tianzifang.

Source: author’s photo, 2015.

61 Shi, Ding 石鼎 (2015): “Tianzifang de lishi yange” 田子坊的历史沿革, in: Du, Xiaofan 杜晓帆 (ed.): “Wenhua yichan jiazhi de panduan yu bianxi — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li” 文化遗产价值的判断与辨析——以上海田子坊为例, p. 20.

62 In the name for Taikang Road Alleyway 210, the last character *fang* 坊 has been altered from the name of the figure Tian Zifang 田子方 which served as its model. By adding the component *tu* 土 which can mean “soil” or “local”, the character indicates a place

From the explanation on the information sign, the reader would expect that there is an entry on a painter named “Tian Zifang” in the “Records of the Grand Historian”. While there indeed is an account on a figure named “Tian Zifang” in the 44th chapter on the “Hereditary House of Wei” (*Wei shijia* 魏世家), the 14th of the 30 genealogies of feudal houses from the Zhou dynasty (1045–256 BC) to the beginning of the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD), this figure appears in the position of a teacher. Together with the well-known Confucian disciple Bu Zixia 卜子夏 and another one of his students, Duangan Mu 段干木, Tian Zifang is named as a teacher of the Marquis Wen of Wei (魏文侯, reigned 424–387 BC).⁶³

The above-mentioned chapter records an encounter of Tian Zifang with Wei Ji 魏击, the eldest son of Marquis Wen and later Marquis Wu of Wei (Wei Wu Hou 魏武侯, reigned 387–371 BC):

十七年，伐中山，使子击守之，赵仓唐傅之。子击逢文侯之师田子方于朝歌，引车避，下谒。田子方不为礼。子击因问曰：“富贵者骄人乎？且贫贱者骄人乎？”子方曰：“亦贫贱者骄人耳。夫诸侯而骄人则失其国，大夫而骄人则失其家。贫贱者，行不合，言不用，则去之楚、越，若脱屣然，柰何其同之哉！”子击不怩而去。西攻秦，至郑而还，筑雒阴、合阳。⁶⁴

“In the 17th year [of Marquis Wen, 409 B.C.], [he] led a [successful] campaign against Zhongshan and sent [his] son [Prince] Ji to defend it. Zhao Cangtang assisted him. The son [Prince] Ji came across the teacher of Marquis Wen, Tian Zifang, at Zhaoge. He moved his chariot to give way and dismounted to pay his respects. Tian Zifang did not return a salute. Thus, [his] son [Prince] Ji asked him: “Do the rich or the poor treat others arrogantly?” Zifang replied: “Of course, it is the poor who treat others arrogantly. If a feudal prince treats others arrogantly, he will lose his country. If a senior official treats others arrogantly, he will lose his manor. But a poor man, if his actions do not conform [to a ruler’s request] and his words are not heard, will leave and go to [the states of] Chu or Yue, just as striving off his straw sandals. How could these [conditions] be considered equivalent?” The son [Prince] Ji left discontentedly. [Marquis Wen] attacked Qin in the west and returned after he had reached Zheng. He built [the cities of] Luoyin and Heyang.”⁶⁵

name. This character is particularly suitable as *fang* 坊 can mean “lane” as well as “workshop” and is frequently used as the final character in lane names.

63 Sima, Qian (2016): *The Grand Scribe’s Records, Volume X: The Memoirs of Han China*, Part III. Nienhauser, Jr.; William H. (ed.). Chan, Chiu Ming; van Ess, Hans; Nienhauser, Jr., William H.; Noel, Thomas D.; Nürnberger, Marc; Pöllath, Jakob; Siegl, Andreas; Wu, Lianlian (transl.), p. 273.

64 Wang, Liqi 王利器 (ed., 1997): *Shu shijia* 书世家 [Genealogies]. *Shiji zhuyi* 史记注译 [Annotations on the Records of the Grand Historian], p. 1353.

65 Translated by this author, based on: Wang, Liqi 王利器 (ed., 1997): *Shu shijia* 书世家. *Shiji zhuyi* 史记注译, p. 1353.

In this passage, Tian Zifang is introduced as the teacher of Marquis Wen (“Wen Hou zhi shi” 文侯之师). Accordingly, his son, Wei Ji, shows his respect when they meet. Tian Zifang is depicted as a wise man who cleverly reacts to the provocation of his opponent and teaches him a lesson. Following the “Biographies of Scholars” (*Rulin liezhuan* 儒林列传) in the “Records of the Grand Historian”, Tian Zifang was a Confucian follower instructed by Bu Zixia to teach sovereigns after Confucius’ death.⁶⁶ The annotations further state that he came from the state of Wei and that Marquis Wen treated him with great courtesy.⁶⁷

In this role of a teacher, Tian Zifang further appears in other classical Chinese texts. Another well-known passage is from the “Strategies of the Warring States” (*Zhanguo ce* 战国策). In chapter 22 on the strategies of Wei, section five is entitled: “Marquis Wen of Wei was drinking with Tian Zifang and praised the music” (Wei Wen Hou yu Tian Zifang yinjiu er cheng yue 魏文侯与田子方饮酒而称乐). Therein, Tian Zifang advises the marquis to focus on politics instead of investing great effort in thinking about music.⁶⁸ Again, Tian Zifang is portrayed as teacher and political advisor, but not as a painter.

The relation of the name “Tian Zifang” with an artist, as established on the information sign, becomes clearer from the paintings of Huang Yongyu. One famous motive of his paintings is a bare-chested painter holding a brush and focusing on his work. Huang Yongyu painted this motive several times in ink and color on paper with an early version dating from 1981.⁶⁹ In addition, he titled the paintings “Tian Zifang” and added to them a paragraph in calligraphy. This paragraph itself is an extract from a classical text, namely the *Zhuangzi*⁷⁰. Therein, chapter 21 from which the paragraph originates, is named “Tian Zifang” 田子方.

However, although its name has been chosen as the title, the figure Tian Zifang is not the central theme of chapter 21. Rather, Tian Zifang only appears in the first of eleven sections in this chapter whereby the sections are not related to one another.

66 Wang, Liqi 王利器 (ed., 1997): *Liezhuan* 列传 [Biographies]. *Shiji zhuyi* 史记注释 [Annotations on the Records of the Grand Historian], p. 2549.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 2550.

68 Liu, Xiang 刘向 (compiled in Han dynasty, 1978): *Zhan guo ce* 战国策 [Strategies of the Warring States], pp. 780–781. For a translation see: Crump, J.I. (1970): *Chan-Kuo Ts’u’e*, p. 373.

69 “Tian Zifang”, Poly International Auction Co., Ltd, Online.

70 *Zhuangzi* 庄子 (369–286 BC), original name Zhuang Zhou 庄周, was a Chinese Daoist philosopher. His teachings had a great influence on Chinese poetry and landscape painting. The book of the same name consists of 33 chapters of which the first seven are ascribed to Zhuangzi himself and are called “inner chapters” (*nei pian* 内篇). Chapters 8–22 are the “outer chapters” (*wai pian* 外篇) and together with the “miscellaneous chapters” (*za pian* 杂篇) are believed to originate from his followers. See: Liu, Xiaogan (2003): “Zhuangzi (Chuang Tzu): Schools”, pp. 919–923.

“Tian Zifang” 田子方 are the first three characters at the very beginning of this chapter, hence its name.⁷¹ The section records another encounter of Tian Zifang with Marquis Wen:

田子方侍坐于魏文侯，数称谿工。文侯曰：“谿工，子之师邪？”子方曰：“非也。无择之里人也，称道数当，故无择称之。”文侯曰：“然则子无师邪？”子方曰：“有。”曰：“子之师谁邪？”子方曰：“东郭顺子。”文侯曰：“然则夫子何故未尝称之？”子方曰：“其为人也真，人貌而天虚，缘而葆真，清而容物。物无道，正容以悟之，使人之意也消。无择何足以称之？”...⁷²

“Tian Zifang, sitting in attendance on the marquis Wen of Wei, often quoted (with approbation) the words of Qi Gong. The marquis said, ‘Is Qi Gong your preceptor?’ Zifang replied, ‘No. He only belongs to the same neighborhood. In speaking about the Dao, his views are often correct, and therefore I quote them as I do.’ The marquis went on, ‘Then have you no preceptor?’ ‘I have.’ ‘And who is he?’ He is Dongguo Shunzi.’ ‘And why, my Master, have I never heard you quote his words?’ Zifang replied, ‘He is a man who satisfies the true (ideal of humanity); a man in appearance, but (having the mind of) Heaven. Void of any thought of himself, he accommodates himself to others, and nourishes the true ideal that belongs to him. With all his purity, he is forbearing to others. Where they are without the Dao, he rectifies his demeanor, so that they understand it, and in consequence their own ideas melt away and disappear. How should one like me be fit to quote his words?’”⁷³

Although the different sections of chapter 21 are unconnected, the conversation between Tian Zifang and Marquis Wen touches on topics which are addressed again in the following sections. Chen identified “truth” as one of these topics covered in the chapter, proceeding from Dongguo Shunzi’s conduct of life in the example above.⁷⁴ Again, the passage does neither mention a painter nor refer to Tian Zifang as such. However, the later chapter includes the passage quoted on Huang Yongyu’s painting which is the seventh section and reads as follows:

71 Chen, Guying (2016): *The Philosophy of Life — A New Reading of the Zhuangzi*, p. 166.

72 Yang, Bojun 杨伯峻 (introduction); Zhang, Zhen 张震 (collation, punctuation, 1989): *Laozi • Zhuangzi • Liezi 老子 • 庄子 • 列子*, p. 85.

73 Translated after James Legge. The transcription of names has been changed into Pinyin. See: Zhuang, Zhou 庄周 (1962): *The Writings of Chuang Tzū (Books XVIII-XXXIII). The T'ai Shang Tractate of Actions and Their Retributions. Appendices I – VIII*. In: Legge, James (transl.): *The Texts of Taoism*, pp. 42–43.

74 Chen, Guying (2016): *The Philosophy of Life — A New Reading of the Zhuangzi*, p. 166.

宋元君将画图。众史皆至，受揖而立；舐笔和墨，在外者半。有一史后至者，儻儻然不趋，受揖不立，因之舍。公使人视之，则解衣般礴，裸。君曰：“可矣，是真画者也。”⁷⁵

“The ruler Yuan of Song wishing to have a map drawn, the masters of the pencil all came (to undertake the task). Having received his instructions and made their bows, they stood, licking their pencils and preparing their ink. Half their number, however, remained outside. There was one who came late, with an air of indifference, and did not hurry forward. When he had received his instructions and made his bow, he did not keep standing, but proceeded to his shed. The duke sent a man to see him, and there he was, with his upper garment off, sitting cross-legged, and nearly naked. The ruler said, ‘He is the man; he is a true draughtsman.’”⁷⁶

While the passage provides an account of what is perceived to be a “true draughtsman”, the name of this person is not given. The fact that Huang Yongyu added a quotation of this section from the *Zhuangzi* on his paintings and that the figure is depicted bare-chested, suggests that the paintings refer to a scene from this later section, rather than to the Confucian teacher from the beginning sections.

Following his earlier preoccupation with the topic in the context of his paintings, Huang Yongyu’s choice to name the street “Tianzifang” can be assumed to have a close relation to section seven of chapter 21 from the *Zhuangzi*. He suggested the name in the course of a visit to the block because the artists’ workshops were not located on Taikang Road but on one of its smaller alleyways (Alleyway 210).⁷⁷ By choosing a name related to the respective passage from the *Zhuangzi*, this alleyway is bestowed with “authenticity” as the working place of “true draughtsmen” or, in a broader sense, “true artists”.

By replacing the third character of the name “Tian Zifang” 田子方 with the character *fang* 坊, the new name is further provided with an additional meaning. Besides being a common part of street or alley names, *fāng* 坊 (pronounced in the first tone) can mean “street block” or “neighborhood”, as in *jiefang* 街坊.⁷⁸ This meaning of “neighborhood” gained importance during Tianzifang’s later development when the designation was extended to cover not only Alleyway 210 but the

75 Yang, Bojun 杨伯峻 (introduction); Zhang, Zhen 张震 (collation, punctuation, 1989): *Laozi • Zhuangzi • Liezi* 老子 • 庄子 • 列子, p. 87.

76 Translated after James Legge. The transcription of names has been changed into Pinyin. See: Zhuang, Zhou 庄周 (1962): *The Writings of Chuang Tzū (Books XVIII-XXXIII). The T'ai Shang Tractate of Actions and Their Retributions. Appendices I – VIII*. In: Legge, James (transl.): *The Texts of Taoism*, pp. 50–51.

77 Zhang, Jianjun 张建君 (April 15, 2009): “Lao Zheng he ta de Tianzifang” 老郑和他的田子坊 [Lao Zheng and his Tianzifang], Weblog entry.

78 Hanyu da zidian bianji weiyuanhui 汉语大字典编辑委员会 (1995): *Hanyu da zidian* 汉语大字典 [Comprehensive Chinese Character Dictionary], p. 427.

whole block. Thereby, the name not only contributed to the protection of the art-related, and previously industrial, buildings but the entire mixed-use block, including its residential architecture.

After Huang Yongyu had made his suggestion, the Tianzifang advocates constructed a cross beam and put up the new name in calligraphic script at the entrance to Alleyway 210 (see fig. 5-9).⁷⁹



Figure 5-9. Tianzifang Entrance No. 1.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Zhang, another Tianzifang advocate and close confidant of the head of the subdistrict government, describes the installation of the name board in 2002 as the starting point of Tianzifang's popularity, but emphasizes the initial rejection of the name by many. Because Alleyway 210 had originally not been named "Tianzifang", it was perceived as "fake" (*jia* 假).⁸⁰ That it became recognized as the "authentic" name of the block is owed to Huang Yongyu. According to Zhang, the fact that the name had been given by the renowned artist was a decisive factor.⁸¹

79 Zeng, Fanrong 曾凡荣 (written and directed, May 9, 2018): "Chuangyi Tianzifang (xia)" 创意田子坊 (下) [Creative Tianzifang (Part two)], episode 366, min. 1–3, Online.

80 Zhang, Jianjun 张建君 (April 15, 2009): "Lao Zheng he ta de Tianzifang" 老郑和他的田子坊, Weblog entry.

81 Ibid.

By choosing a name for the lane he set a clear statement which can be regarded as the approval of the place's significance. Moreover, in their attempt to establish the name, the Tianzifang advocates presented it in the traditional form already known from the former case studies: as calligraphic inscription at the "entrance gate".

In the naming process of Tianzifang, both its associated meaning as a gathering place of artists and the relation to classical works played an important role. Following Xu, the naming of an artifact in ancient China needed to be justified logically and historically and its significance lay more in its spiritual meaning, or historical events associated with it, than in physical characteristics.⁸² Facing the difficulty to justify the preservation of vernacular buildings and industrial heritage, the Tianzifang advocates employed a strategy to enrich it with associated meaning. This became particularly important for the block's development as a creative industry park and was later taken up by the district government. In 2009, the deputy secretary of Luwan District Party Committee wrote on his blog that the choice of "Tianzifang" as the name implies the attempt of "opening up a world of boundless creativity".⁸³

5.1.2 Historical Buildings

In contrast to the two preceding case studies where conservation management is based on inventories of buildings protected on different administrative levels, there are no officially listed buildings in Taikang Road Block. The built heritage consists of local *shikumen lilong* housing as well as *lilong* and multi-story factory buildings. *Shikumen lilong* is the designation for characteristic Shanghai housing structures. The term *shikumen*, as has been mentioned above, thereby can refer to the stone-framed door at the entrance of a building as well as figuratively to the entire building as a housing unit. In the case of *shikumen lilong*, the neighborhoods are composed of housing which features the characteristic stone-framed doors.

82 Xu, Yinong (2000): *The Chinese city in space and time: the development of urban form in Suzhou*, p. 50.

83 Ding, Haijiao 丁海椒 (August 13, 2009): "Tianzifang yu Tian Zifang" 田子坊与田子方 [Tianzifang and Tian Zifang], Weblog entry.

Historical Value

As a specific building type, *shikumen* alleyway houses originate from the middle of the 19th century when great numbers of refugees flocked to Shanghai from the countryside. The great influx of refugees resulted from an uprising of the “Small-sword Society” (Xiaodaohui 小刀会), an anti-Qing and anti-foreign secret society at the time of the Taiping Rebellion.⁸⁴ In search for safety and shelter, Chinese from the vicinity of Shanghai fled to the foreign concessions with their number having reached more than 110,000 by the end of the rebellion.⁸⁵ Moreover, the increasing scarcity of accommodations triggered the development of a real estate market, initiated by Western merchants who built housing and rented it out to refugees. While this real estate market was initially dominated by Western tycoons such as the Sassoon family and Silas Aaron Hardoon (1847–1931); Chinese merchants as well as wealthy landlords and officials who had come to the city as refugees soon joined in real estate speculation.⁸⁶

The alleyway houses built for wealthy families were u-shaped, following the model of multi-generational traditional courtyard houses and featured wing rooms to accommodate the families of sons as well as rear rooms for domestic servants.⁸⁷ By the beginning of the 20th century, the overwhelming population increase required a downsizing of housing units at lower costs, resulting in a gradual substitution of u-shaped with single-bay alleyway houses accompanied by increasing scales of housing compounds.⁸⁸ Soon developed in large-scale production, the densely-built row houses spread across the city and became the prominent form of housing in Shanghai. As a form of built heritage, Shanghai alleyway houses therefore reflect the material production, lifestyle, traditions and social practices of the city in the transition from the 19th to the 20th century and have historical value (Comm CP, 2.3.1 iii).

Until recently, the buildings of the Taikang Road Block have not been considered significant enough to be included into Shanghai’s conservation system of “historic and cultural scenic areas”. This may be related to their location in the periphery of the former French Concession where blocks were built for mixed usage (in this case, factories and residential buildings) and building quality was

84 Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, p.76.

85 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 139.

86 *Ibid.*, p. 141.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 151.

88 *Ibid.*, p. 152.

comparatively poor.⁸⁹ Following the *TZF Concept Plan*, there is a further social gradation of the traditional built environment from north to south.⁹⁰ The central residential area between Huaihai Road Commercial Street and Taikang Road Block was characterized by garden-style townhouses (*huayuan yangfang* 花园洋房) and condominium houses (*gongyushi zhuzhai* 公寓式住宅). The areas further south including present-day Tianzifang partly comprised small-scale *lilong* housing as well as townhouses. Finally, the block south of Taikang Road consisted of lower grade *lilong* housing for “ordinary” residents.⁹¹

With traditional *lilong* housing blocks becoming more and more rare in Shanghai’s built environment, the significance of this formerly common residential area strongly increased. Austrian art historian and conservation theorist Alois Riegl illustrates this phenomenon by referring to a ripped paper fragment. Rather a trivial written document if compared to other pieces which can provide more elaborate and much more detailed information, it may become an indispensable testimony from the moment it remains as the only preserved piece of its time.⁹²

In contrast to the Pingjiang Historic Block which is also a residential area but gains historical value from the great number of historically famous figures who lived there, only a few of Tianzifang’s houses are related to historical figures. One of these buildings is the former residence of Yang Du 杨度 (1874–1931), located in Middle Jianguo Road Alleyway 155 No. 13. He was a politician who took many twists and turns in the course of his life, starting his career as an official in the Qing government, later joining the Guomindang and finally turning to the Communist Party as a secret member in his last years.⁹³

After he had moved back to Shanghai from Beijing in 1929, the Shanghai Green Gang leader Du Yuesheng 杜月笙 invited him to become his advisor and therefore offered him to live in the above-mentioned residence which was owned by Du.⁹⁴

89 Huang, Ye 黄晔; Qi, Guangping 戚广平 (2015): “Tianzifang lishi jiequ baohu yu zai liyong shijian zhong shang ju hunhe maodun de caichanquan wenti” 田子坊历史街区保护与再利用实践中商居混合矛盾的财产权问题 [The Problem of Property Rights in the Conflict of Commercial and Residential Mixture in the Conservation and Re-using Practice of Tianzifang Historical District], p. 67.

90 TZF Concept Plan (2007), p. 2.

91 Ibid.

92 Riegl, Alois (1903): *Der moderne Denkmalkultus: Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung*, p. 3.

93 Hou, Yijie 侯宜杰 (1988): “Qingmo yubei lixian shiqi de Yang Du” 清末预备立宪时期的杨度 [Yang Du in the period of constitutionalization at the end of Qing dynasty], p. 88.

94 Zhou, Jun 周军 (2003): “Yang Du — Cong baohuang pai dao Zhonggong dangyuan de chuanqi rensheng” 杨度 — 从保皇派到中共党员的传奇人生 [Yang Du — His legendary life from royalist to member of the Communist Party], p. 8.

During this time, Yang who lived from his writing, composed poems and did calligraphy for Du while simultaneously taking advantage of his patronage to work secretly for the Communist Party.⁹⁵ The residence in present-day Tianzifang can only be identified by a small sign hung up at the back door by the Tourism Management Bureau of Luwan District which states that Yang had once lived there (see fig. 5-10).



Figure 5-10. Information Plaque on Yang Du’s Former Residence.
Source: author’s photo, 2016.

Another building of historical significance is Yinyun Building (Yinyun lou 隐云楼), one of the few buildings which has its own name. In the 1930s, it was home to painter Wang Yayun 汪亚云 who established Shanghai Xinhua Art School 上海新华艺术专科学校 and an artist association named “Strength Society” 力社.⁹⁶ The house became a gathering place and venue for artistic exchange of students from this art school.⁹⁷ Unfortunately, there is hardly any information on the building or its owner.

In the critical period of Tianzifang’s development when the area had been promised to the Taiwan real estate developer, well-known Chinese architectural scholars Zheng Shiling 郑时龄 and Ruan Yisan from Tongji University were invited to investigate the block as part of the strategy to obtain public consent on the necessity to retain its material built heritage. Following their judgment, Tianzifang has become historically significant as a “Chinese-Western juncture” (*huayang*

95 Zhou, Jun 周军 (2003): “Yang Du — Cong baohuang pai dao Zhonggong dangyuan de chuanqi rensheng” 杨度 — 从保皇派到中共党员的传奇人生, pp. 8–9.

96 Zhu Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 8.

97 He, Jinliao (2013): *Creative Industry Districts in Shanghai: An analysis of dynamics, networks and implications*, p. 68.

jiaojie 华洋交界) in the formation process of Shanghai city.⁹⁸ This encounter of Chinese and “Western” culture is most aptly manifested in its diverse forms of housing architecture.

Following criterion 2.3.1 vi from the commentary on the China Principles, a site has historical value if different stages of its transformation over time are revealed. The different architectural housing forms in Tianzifang well illustrate the block’s developmental stages from the end of the imperial period to the People’s Republic. The earliest housing type preserved in Tianzifang is a traditional Qing period dwelling encircled by a wooden fence and with a traditional wooden entrance gate (see fig. 5-11). Located in Middle Jianguo Road Alleyway 155 No. 25; it is the only house of its kind preserved in the Tianzifang core area.



Figure 5-11. Traditional Qing-Period Dwelling.

Source: author’s photo, 2016.

During the most recent field research visit in May 2018, this author further found another single-story traditional house in Taikang Road Alleyway 274 No. 28 which was formerly not accessible but has now been renovated and opened as a small shop (see fig. 5-12).

98 Zhang, Jianjun 张建君 (April 15, 2009): “Lao Zheng he ta de Tianzifang” 老郑和他的田子坊, Weblog entry.



Figure 5-12. Traditional Local-style Dwelling.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Artistic and Scientific Value

The majority of Tianzifang's built environment consists of *shikumen lilong* houses. In line with their time of construction, *lilong* houses vary in terms of layout and building style and are categorized as “old-style” *lilong* (*jiushi lilong* 旧式里弄) or traditional *shikumen* houses, “new-style” *lilong* (*xinshi lilong* 新式里弄), “Cantonese-style” *lilong* (*guangshi lilong* 广式里弄) mainly inhabited by Cantonese immigrants,⁹⁹ “garden-style” *lilong* (*huayuan lilong* 花园里弄) with open space surrounding the house or “*lilong* condominiums” (*gongyushi lilong* 公寓式里弄).¹⁰⁰

99 Wang, Shaozhou 王绍周; Chen, Zhimin 陈志敏 (1987): *Lilong jianzhu* 里弄建筑 [Lilong architecture], pp. 59-60; cited in: Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 150.

100 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Zhang, Jie 张杰; Zhang, Chenjie 张晨杰 (2014): *Shanghai Shikumen* 上海石库门, p. 53.

The *lilong* houses in Tianzifang include traditional *shikumen lilong* as well as new-style *lilong* houses.¹⁰¹ While traditional *shikumen* houses are in plain style with their characteristic stone-framed doors (see fig. 5-13), new-style *lilong* houses are usually of a higher quality as they were built in reinforced concrete structure and have three stories (see fig. 5-14). Moreover, they had waxed wooden floors, iron gates, as well as small front gardens and were equipped with sanitation fixtures.¹⁰²

Moreover, the block does not solely feature “common” *shikumen* houses, as they could be found in other parts of Shanghai as well but comprises a particular kind of alleyway house. These “face-to-face” *shikumen* (“*mian dui mian*” *shikumen* “面对面”石库门) are set up as two opposing rows of *shikumen* houses which are oriented in opposite directions but both have their entries facing the central lane which separates them. In Tianzifang, one row of such “face-to-face” *shikumen* can be found in Alleyway 248 of Taikang Road (see fig. 5-15). According to Gu, this is a rare type of *shikumen* housing in Shanghai which makes them historically and architecturally significant (Comm CP, 2.3.1 v; Comm CP, 2.3.2 i).¹⁰³

Lilong housing further gains artistic value from different architectural elements (Comm CP, 2.3.2 i). One of these elements is the “skywell” (*tianjing* 天井), usually located in-between the entrance gate and main room. Corresponding to skywells in Chinese courtyard houses, it facilitates ventilation and lighting. While in early period *shikumen* there further were skywells in-between the front and rear buildings and their positions still closely resembled traditional courtyard houses; they were partly left out in the later period due to an increasing scarcity of space.¹⁰⁴

101 Xu, Yibo 徐逸波; Chen, Haiwen 陈海汶 (ed., 2011): *Xianhuo de Shanghai longtang: Tianzifang* 鲜活的上海弄堂: 田子坊 [Vibrant Lanes in Shanghai: Tianzifang], p. 19.

102 Ibid., p. 150.

103 Gu, Li 顾力 (2012): “‘Shanghai de Suhe’ — Tianzifang chuangyi wenhua chanye yuanqu de wenhua yishu tese tanxi” “上海的苏荷”——田子坊创意文化产业园区的文化艺术特色探析 [“Shanghai’s SoHo” — Analysis of the cultural and artistic characteristics of Tianzifang creative and cultural industry park], p. 6.

104 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 149.



Figure 5-13. Traditional Shikumen Houses.



Figure 5-14. New-style Shikumen Houses.

Source: author’s photos, 2018.



Figure 5-15. “Face-to-face” Shikumen.

Source: author’s photo, 2016.

Other traditional characteristic elements identified by Ruan et al. comprise high enclosing walls, stone door frames as well as black-painted wooden doors.¹⁰⁵ And yet another element originating from the Jiangnan region and reappearing in *shikumen* lanes are fire-retarding partition walls.¹⁰⁶ A particular architectural phenomenon arising from the later period when more stories were added to accommodate more people is the *laohu chuang* (老虎窗, “tiger window”). This designation refers to the dormers which were constructed to light newly added rooms under the rooftops which had no side windows. The name relates to their appearance resembling tiger heads stuck out from the roof (see fig. 5-16).¹⁰⁷



Figure 5-16. Laohu Chuang, “Tiger Windows”, Taikang Road.

Source: author’s photo, 2018.

Moreover, roof space is a substantial part of this type of housing. This is well-illustrated by the example of the flat roof (*shaitai* 晒台) which is used for different purposes such as to drying laundry.¹⁰⁸ Traditionally set up above the kitchen, an upper story or “garret” (*tingzijian* 亭子间) was constructed in-between when more space was needed. Because of the low rent, it was affordable to social groups with lower income such as writers. Having its name come from the similarities to a

105 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Zhang, Jie 张杰; Zhang, Chenjie 张晨杰 (2014): *Shanghai Shikumen* 上海石库门, p. 91.

106 Ibid., p. 93.

107 Ibid., p. 81.

108 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, pp. 146–149.

pavilion, this place often became the birthplace of *tingzijian* literature (*tingzijian wenxue* 亭子间文学) during the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁰⁹ The *tingzijian* therefore is not only an architectural element but gains significance as an eponym for a literary genre.

It is due to this artistic influence that the block features individual buildings with elements of a great variety of characteristic Western architectural styles including baroque, Spanish, eclectic, modern and classical style.¹¹⁰ Figure 5-17 shows a u-shaped building in the northwestern part of the block with a characteristic *lilong* housing façade and “Western”-style balconies. The above-mentioned Yinyun Building which was home to painter Wang Yayun in the 1930s has been built in classical architectural style while the former residence of Yang Du shows modern-style architectural elements (see fig. 5-14).



Figure 5-17. Building in the Eclectic Style.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

Shanghai alleyway houses have scientific value due to their layout, architectural form and structural design (Comm CP, 2.3.3 i) as well as construction techniques and materials (Comm CP, 2.3.3 ii). In contrast to local-style dwelling houses, alleyway houses not only show traditional architectural characteristics but also new

109 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Zhang, Jie 张杰; Zhang, Chenjie 张晨杰 (2014): *Shanghai Shikumen* 上海石库门, p. 77.

110 Xu, Yibo 徐逸波; Chen, Haiwen 陈海汶 (ed., 2011): *Xianhuo de Shanghai longtang: Tianzifang* 鲜活的上海弄堂: 田子坊, p. 19.

influences. Lu regards alleyway houses as row houses which combine European and Chinese features.¹¹¹ He argues that their general layout with housing units being arranged in rows shows “Western” influences while the interior structure of such early *shikumen* houses follows the traditional Chinese courtyard house.¹¹²

Wai agrees that *shikumen* architecture is grounded in Chinese culture and he suggests a process of “selective adaptation” where Western architectural styles were selectively appropriated.¹¹³ Moreover, Liang stresses the subversion of traditional spatial order and hierarchy in alleyway housing compounds as reflected in the weakening of the walls’ enclosing function, the transformation of alleyways into “courtyard-like spaces” and the connection of residential and commercial spaces.¹¹⁴ He sees the compounds as hybrid forms which have been jointly developed by foreign landowners and Chinese builders as efficient built form in a dense urban area and which are distinct rather than transitional spaces, “embodying a Shanghai or Chinese modernity”.¹¹⁵

The earliest row houses built by foreign landowners at the time of the 1850s and 1860s refugee tide were built of wood with uniform architectural features.¹¹⁶ With the 1870s, alleyway houses were constructed as more durable timber structures with brick walls due to the wooden houses’ dilapidation and vulnerability to fire.¹¹⁷ Successive new-style *lilong* houses as has already been mentioned above were equipped with sanitation as well as kitchen amenities and built in reinforced concrete structure.

The layout of basic *lilong* units comprises a *shikumen* and skywell in the front, a living room, side rooms which could be used as study or bedroom, an upper-story room on top of the living room either used for social gatherings or as a bedroom and a kitchen at the rear, the so-called *zaopijian* 灶披间.¹¹⁸ Moreover, the houses were built as south-oriented structures whenever allowed by spatial conditions which Bracken ascribes to perceptions of *fengshui*.¹¹⁹

111 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 112.

112 *Ibid.*, p. 146.

113 Wai, Albert Wing Tai (2006): “Place promotion and iconography in Shanghai’s Xintiandi”, pp. 254–255.

114 Liang, Samuel Y. (2008): “Where the Courtyard Meets the Street: Spatial Culture of the Li Neighborhoods, Shanghai, 1870–1900”, p. 491.

115 *Ibid.*, p. 501.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 484.

117 Lu, Hanchao (1999): *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 143.

118 Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, pp. 97–98.

119 *Ibid.*, p. 96.

Corresponding to the neighborhood names written on main compound gates, alleyway houses usually gain artistic value through decorations on the *mentou* (门头, ornamented surface above the door lintel, similar to a tympanum, see fig. 5-18). According to Ruan et al., the *mentou* is the most characteristic part of a *shikumen* house and shows the artistic skills of its architect and craftsmen. Originating from the local-style dwelling house of the Jiangnan region, they were primarily made of stone and decorated with ornamental brick carvings. Later, cheaper materials which were easier to work such as clay or lime were used, and motives were enriched by “Western” decorative elements.¹²⁰

The *mentou* has twofold significance. Firstly, it manifests a gradual fusion of traditional Chinese and “Western” culture and art in Shanghai at the time. Secondly, it is an important distinctive feature of *lilong* houses as their basic structure, layout and appearance is comparatively similar.¹²¹ The entrances of *shikumen* houses in Tianzifang are comparatively plain without ornamental carvings (see fig. 5-19).



Figure 5-18. Restored Decorated Mentou, Xintiandi, Shanghai.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

120 Ruan, Yisan 阮仪三; Zhang, Jie 张杰; Zhang, Chenjie 张晨杰 (2014): *Shanghai Shikumen* 上海石库门, p. 82.

121 Ibid.



Figure 5-19. Shikumen Archway.

Source: author's photo, 2016.

Cultural and Social Value

Tianzifang's built heritage has high cultural value deriving from its alleyway houses which are a form of housing unique to Shanghai and were still its main housing type as of and in the 1990s.¹²² The construction technique of *shikumen lilong* buildings (*shikumen lilong jianzhu yingzao jiyi* 石库门里弄建筑营造技艺) has been listed in the course of the third designation round of national immaterial cultural heritage in 2009.¹²³ In addition to their above-analyzed historical, artistic and scientific values, the inscription justification names Xintiandi and Tianzifang as renowned Shanghai landscapes where traditional *shikumen* have been developed into modern spaces for cultural businesses and recreation.¹²⁴

The *lilong* alleyways further have cultural value as transitional areas between private and public spaces where most of the residents' everyday social life took

122 Liang, Samuel Y. (2008): "Amnesiac Monument, Nostalgic Fashion", p. 48.

123 "Shikumen lilong jianzhu yingzao jiyi" 石库门里弄建筑营造技艺 [The construction technique of shikumen lilong buildings], National Immaterial Cultural Heritage, Online.

124 Ibid.

place. Usual activities transferred from the houses' interior to alleyways were washing, cooking, drying clothes, doing repairs, or chatting with neighbors and playing games. Although invisible, the spatial boundaries for these different activities were clearly set, which Bracken relates to Jane Jacobs' concept of "organized complexity"¹²⁵, an essential premise for safe and lively streets. He gives the example of commercial stalls which would always be set up on the main lane at the intersection of main and side lanes.¹²⁶

Due to the fact that a part of its residents are still living in the block, an important characteristic which distinguishes the regeneration project from other cases in Shanghai, Tianzifang has cultural value for continuation of its residential function. As will be further discussed below, the maintenance of the block as a residential area and the preserved lifestyle of local inhabitants contributed to the perception of Tianzifang as an "authentic" place. However, the number of original residents in the block has strongly decreased and solely amounts to about 60 of formerly 671 households.¹²⁷

Finally, the alleyway houses of Tianzifang have social value which, for the major part, does not derive from the commemoration of historical figures or events but the feeling of local people who grew up in this type of housing and have memories related to it. These feelings and memories are captured in one of the two different types of Shanghai nostalgia identified by Liang. The first type is collective nostalgia for the city's colonial and socialist past which aims at celebrating the city's "colonial glory and heroic revolution" by publication of old photographs, the establishment of museums and the restoration of former colonial mansions. It is further used as basis to justify the city's transformation towards consumerism and a cosmopolitan lifestyle.¹²⁸ The second type is a personal nostalgia which is directed towards everyday spaces of alleyway compounds where a traditional lifestyle has been preserved throughout the colonial and socialist periods but which is now disappearing as a result of urban renewal.¹²⁹

Yu has found that this personal Shanghai nostalgia is an important selling point of both regeneration projects, Tianzifang and Xintiandi, which he regards as the influence of globalization whereby in contrast to warding off mainstream culture,

125 Jacobs, Jane (1993): *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, p. 20; cited in: Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, p. 6.

126 Bracken, Gregory (2013): *The Shanghai Alleyway House: A vanishing urban vernacular*, pp. 5–6.

127 Interview with the resident mediator, Tianzifang, June 14, 2016.

128 Liang, Samuel Y. (2008): "Amnesiac Monument, Nostalgic Fashion", p. 47.

129 *Ibid.*, pp. 47–48.

he sees this nostalgia as dynamic and embracing.¹³⁰ But while the impression of the Shanghai alleyways provided by Xintiandi relates to architectural aesthetics and creates a feeling of familiarity, Tianzifang emerged from a genuine alleyway neighborhood and evokes feelings of intimacy as well as perceptions of an “authentic” local atmosphere which cannot be merely created.¹³¹

5.2 Conservation and Management

The conservation of Tianzifang is based on the reuse of existing built heritage and a diversification of its functions. Development started in 1997 with plans of the subdistrict office to set up a “characteristic crafts street” (*gongyipin tese jie* 工艺品特色街) or, as it was later named, the “culture and arts street” (*wenhua yishu jie* 文化艺术街).¹³² Thereby, the focus was set on Taikang Road, a typical road of early 20th century Shanghai, flanked with two to three-story *lilong* architecture which was also the setting of a traditional street market. Equipped with very little resources, the subdistrict office decided to move the street market indoors and transform Taikang Road into a “clean” and orderly environment, taking advantage of its characteristic atmosphere to attract cultural businesses.

But the busy traffic on Taikang Road diminished its attractiveness as a cultural and artistic center. The office therefore shifted its focus to the smaller lanes and alleyways inside the block adjacent to Taikang Road and local *shikumen lilong* culture.¹³³ With the functional change of former industrial buildings into **workshops**, **art galleries** and **design studios**, Taikang Road Alleyway 210 came closer to becoming the envisioned culture and arts street. In this early stage of development, Alleyway 210 oriented itself on the American case of urban regeneration in New York’s SoHo (see chapter 5.2.4). Following this successful example of artists

130 Yu, Hai 于海 (2009): “Tianzifang shiyan: Chaoyue quanqiu — difang er yuan duili de chengshi gengxin moshi” 田子坊实验：超越全球——地方二元对立的城市更新模式 [The Tianzifang experiment — A city renewal model going beyond the global-local duality], p. 29.

131 Ibid., pp. 29–30.

132 Zeng, Fanrong 曾凡荣 (written and directed, May 9, 2018): “Chuangyi Tianzifang (xia)” 创意田子坊 (下), episode 366, min. 1–2, Online.

133 Yu, Hai; Chen, Xiangming; Zhong, Xiaohua (2016): “Commercial Development from Below: The Resilience of Local Shops in Shanghai”, in: Zukin, Sharon; Kasinitz, Philip; Chen, Xiangming (ed.): *Global Cities, Local Streets*, p. 67.

promoting industrial built heritage, Alleyway 210 likewise attracted artists to set up their studios and workshops in its idle-lying factory buildings.

When the formerly industrial buildings were fully occupied and in response to demolition plans, the Tianzifang advocates initiated the spread of cultural businesses to adjacent residential buildings. Thereby, local residents who rented out their apartments were able to improve their living conditions and the formerly residential area was provided with an additional **commercial function**. Simultaneously, renowned conservation experts evaluated the block and provided support for its preservation. In preparation of the World Expo 2010, Tianzifang was then selected as an urban practice demonstration site.¹³⁴ As mentioned earlier, Shanghai started experimenting with creative industries at the time and officially designated the core area of the block as one of the first **creative industry parks**.

However, as most of the housing in Tianzifang is publicly owned and only required very low rents, usage was limited to residential purposes which made the opening of businesses in these apartments technically illegal. After it had been decided to preserve the built heritage of the block, the sublease of the residents' apartments to shop owners was legalized with the adoption of a policy named *ju gai fei* (居改非 “transformation from residential to non-residential [use]”, see chapter 5.2.3).¹³⁵

A management committee for Tianzifang was established in 2008 and development plans were drafted in cooperation with conservation experts. Following these plans, a number of conservation and improvement measures were taken to improve the living conditions of remaining residents and to open the block for tourism. Officially listed as **3A national tourist destination**, Tianzifang therewith experienced another functional expansion in 2010. In the following section, the conservation and reuse of the block shall be analyzed according to its different functions.

134 Luwan District People's Government Bureau (September 24, 2008): *Guanyu yinfa "Luwan Qu ying Shibo keji chuangxin xingdong jihua" de tongzhi* 关于印发《卢湾区迎世博科技创新行动计划》的通知 [Circular on the publication of “Luwan District Science and Technology Innovation Action Plan to Receive the World Expo”], Shanghai Municipal People's Government, Online.

135 The abbreviated name of the policy is composed of the three characters *ju* (居 “to reside”) which stands for residential use of a building, *gai* (改 “transform to”) and *fei* (非 “non”), indicating the opposite of residential use, or non-residential use. More concretely, non-residential use refers to commercial use whereby income is generated in the form of rent. Because the property rights of public rental housing are held by the state and residents only hold the right of use (*shiyong quan* 使用权), they are usually not allowed to sublease this property for commercial purposes and to gain profits from said leasing. A key reason for this regulation is that residents likewise merely pay very low rents for their dwellings.

5.2.1 Local Conservation System

As in the case of Suzhou, Shanghai is one of the earliest Chinese cities which developed its own conservation system. On the one hand, the formation of this system reflects the evolution of conservation categories on a national level and on the other hand, how it has been shaped by Shanghai's local stock of built heritage. The heritage conservation system in Shanghai differentiates between the protection level (*baohu jibie* 保护级别) and the conservation category (*baohu xingzhi* 保护性质).

In accordance with the national conservation system, heritage sites are protected on a national level (*quanguo zhongdian wenwu baohu danwei* 全国重点文物保护单位), municipal level (*shiji wenwu baohu danwei* 市级文物保护单位) and district level (*quji wenwu baohu danwei* 区级文物保护单位). Conservation categories can either be comprised of single built structures, *ensembles* or wider areas with a considerable amount of built heritage. The basic categories are “revolutionary heritage sites” (*geming yizhi* 革命遗址), “historical and commemorative sites” (*lishi jinian di* 历史纪念地), “outstanding historical buildings” (*youxiu lishi jianzhu* 优秀历史建筑 which were in the beginning designated as “outstanding modern buildings” 优秀近代建筑) and “historic and cultural scenic areas” (*lishi wenhua fengmaoqu* 历史文化风貌区).

Following national heritage categories, *revolutionary heritage sites* and *historical and commemorative sites* were the earliest defined categories on a municipal level. Shanghai Municipal People's Government promulgated its first batch of officially protected entities in 1959 and a second and third batch in 1960 and 1962 respectively, all in all 105 units.¹³⁶ The sites listed in 1959 and 1960 were considered by the State Council for its first promulgation of national key protected sites in 1961.¹³⁷ In the following period of further designation rounds and adjustments, Shanghai established a conservation system with municipal-level officially protected entities (*shiji wenwu baohu danwei* 市级文物保护单位), municipal-level commemorative sites (*shiji jinian didian* 市级纪念地点), municipal-level protected spots (*shiji baohu didian* 市级保护地点) as well as an identical structure for the district level.¹³⁸

136 “Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会 (ed., 1999): “Wenwu baohu danwei yu youxiu jindai jianzhu” 文物保护单位与优秀近代建筑 [Officially protected entities and outstanding modern buildings], in: *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志 [Shanghai Gazetteer on Urban Planning], Online.

137 Ibid.

138 Ibid.

The first batch of national key protected sites comprised of four sites located in Shanghai. These were the Site of the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the Former Site of the Chinese Socialist Youth League Central Committee, the Former Residence of Sun Yat-sen¹³⁹ and Lu Xun's¹⁴⁰ tomb.¹⁴¹ The fact that these sites were all listed under the same category of "revolutionary sites and revolutionary commemorative architecture" (*geming yizhi ji geming jinian jianzhuwu* 革命遗址及革命纪念建筑物) shows that the city was primarily acknowledged for its revolutionary heritage.

Conservation was genuinely addressed after Shanghai has been promulgated as a HCF City by the State Council in the second round of designations in December 1986. In their nomination, the Shanghai Commission of Capital Construction and the Cultural Affairs Bureau argued for the listing of Shanghai due to two main characteristics. Firstly, as the "birthplace" of the CCP and with a considerable number of sites related to revolutionary events and activities, Shanghai would have great revolutionary significance. Secondly, with the city assembling Eastern and Western architectural culture and as an "architectural exposition of all nations"

139 Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan 孙中山, 1866–1925) was a revolutionary leader and founder of the Chinese Republic. He is respected as the founding father of modern China by politicians of the Chinese Communist Party as well as the Guomindang. The name Sun Yat-sen derives from his given name in Cantonese, Sun Yixian 孙逸仙. Born into a farming family in Guangdong, he first followed his brother to Hawaii and then went to Hong Kong to study medicine. In 1893, he moved to Guangzhou where he became a radical politician and had to flee after a failed insurrection one year later. During his exile in Japan, he developed the Three Peoples Principles (nationalism 民族主义, democracy 民权主义, livelihood 民生主义) and founded the Revolutionary Alliance (Tongmeng hui 同盟会) in 1905. After the Revolution of 1911, Sun was elected as president of the new republic but resigned in April 1912 in favor of army leader and government official Yuan Shikai 袁世凯. Source: Dillon, Michael (ed., 2013): *China: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*, pp. 302–303.

140 Lu Xun 鲁迅 (Zhou Shuren 周树人, 1881–1936) was a writer, translator, scholar and cultural critic. As pioneer of modern literary forms including the short story, the prose-poem, and the polemical essay, he is often regarded as the "father of modern Chinese literature". His portrayals of China aim at inducing social change by exposure of societal problems. A well-known example is his work *Diary of a Madman* (*Kuangren riji* 狂人日记) from 1918, in which he strongly criticizes Chinese culture and which is seen as the first modern vernacular Chinese short story. Source: Cheng, Eileen J. (2016): "Lu Xun 鲁迅", p. 1320.

141 State Council 国务院 (March 4, 1961): *Guowuyuan guanyu gongbu di yi pi quanguo zhongdian wenwu baohu danwei mingdan de tongzhi* 国务院关于公布第一批全国重点文物保护单位名单的通知 [Circular of the State Council on the promulgation of the first batch of national key protected cultural relic entities], State Administration of Cultural Heritage, Online.

(*wanguo jianzhu bolanhui* 万国建筑博览会); it would occupy an important place in Chinese modern history.¹⁴²

In 1988, the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Culture required all regions to nominate units for a new category: outstanding modern buildings.¹⁴³ Previously, the Shanghai Planning Bureau had reported to the State Council in the course of a comprehensive urban plan for Shanghai that 155 historical buildings needed protection of which 46 were perceived as “modern” architecture (*jindai jianzhu* 近代建筑).¹⁴⁴ The report was based on investigations of local built heritage sites such as *ensembles* at the Bund.¹⁴⁵ Consequently, Shanghai was the first Chinese city to establish “modern” architecture as a conservation category.¹⁴⁶ While the most characteristic and representative *outstanding modern buildings* were listed as national key protected cultural relic entities, the remaining together with newly nominated units were listed on the municipal level, including public buildings, residential buildings, religious buildings, manufacturing buildings and warehouses as well as administrative buildings.¹⁴⁷

Following the inclusion of Shanghai into the national system of HCF Cities, the Municipal Planning Bureau and the Administration Committee for Cultural Relics drafted a first conservation outline and a conservation plan under the guidance of Tongji University College of Architecture and Urban Planning in 1991.¹⁴⁸ Simultaneously, conservation and management regulations were drafted and protection as well as construction control areas defined for the different sites. By 1995, the fundamental framework of Shanghai’s conservation system was set and the

142 “Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会 (ed., 1999): “Lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua” 历史文化名城保护规划, in: *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志, Online.

143 “Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会 (ed., 1999): “Wenwu baohu danwei yu youxiu jindai jianzhu” 文物保护单位与优秀近代建筑 [Officially protected entities and outstanding modern buildings], in: *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志 [Shanghai Gazetteer on Urban Planning], Online.

144 Ibid.

145 Ibid.

146 Hu, Minjue 胡旻珏 (June 14, 2015): “Shanghai youxiu lishi jianzhu jiang dadao shang qian chu, fugai quan shi 17 ge quxian” 上海优秀历史建筑将达到上千处, 覆盖全市 17 个区县 [Shanghai’s outstanding historical buildings will reach more than 1,000 sites, covering 17 districts and counties in the overall city], Online.

147 “Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会 (ed., 1999): “Wenwu baohu danwei yu youxiu jindai jianzhu” 文物保护单位与优秀近代建筑, in: *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志, Online.

148 “Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会 (ed., 1999): “Lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu guihua” 历史文化名城保护规划, in: *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志, Online.

city had listed 9 national key protected sites, 67 officially protected entities, 28 commemorative sites, 15 protected spots, 235 outstanding modern buildings and sites listed on a district level as well.¹⁴⁹

The preservation of greater areas of built heritage in Shanghai first became an issue in 1979, when the Municipal Planning Bureau proposed the establishment of two touristic areas, located at Sinan Road which showed a high concentration of *revolutionary heritage sites*, and Yu Garden 豫园.¹⁵⁰ In the following way, the bureau further began to plan the protection of revolutionary heritage and representative buildings in the city center as wider areas. These *historic and cultural scenic areas* were first defined in the conservation planning of 1991.¹⁵¹ The scenic areas were divided into six types: protected areas of revolutionary heritage, protected areas of outstanding modern buildings, the protected area of 1930 Jiangwan city plan, the Shanghai ancient city proper protected area and contemporary commercial and cultural protected areas as well as residential protected areas.¹⁵²

With the “Conservation Regulations for Historic and Cultural Scenic Areas and Outstanding Historical Buildings” from 2002, a legal basis for conservation has been established. While, in the context of Chinese history, the time period *jindai* 近代 begins with the Opium Wars in 1840 and lasts until the May Fourth Movement in 1919, the category of *outstanding modern buildings* was defined for a longer period, from 1840 to the establishment of the PRC in 1949.¹⁵³ In addition, the regulations determine that buildings older than 30 years can be categorized as *outstanding historical buildings*.¹⁵⁴ Following the definition, such buildings further have to fulfill one of five requirements: (1) building style and construction techniques must carry architectural and artistic characteristics as well as scientific and research value, (2) reflect the historical and cultural characteristics of Shanghai architecture, (3) be a representative work of a famous architect,

149 “Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会 (ed., 1999): “Wenwu baohu danwei yu youxiu jindai jianzhu” 文物保护单位与优秀近代建筑, in: *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志, Online.

150 “Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《上海城市规划志》编纂委员会 (ed., 1999): “Zhongxin cheng lishi wenhua fengmao baohu qu” 中心城历史文化风貌保护区 [Historic and cultural scenic areas in the city center], in: *Shanghai chengshi guihua zhi* 上海城市规划志 [Shanghai Gazetteer on Urban Planning], Online.

151 Ibid.

152 Ibid.

153 Xia, Liqing 夏丽卿 (January 30, 2002): “Guanyu “Shanghai Shi lishi wenhua fengmao-qu he youxiu lishi jianzhu baohu tiaoli (cao’an)” de shuoming” 关于《上海市历史文化风貌区和优秀历史建筑保护条例（草案）》的说明 [Commentary on “Shanghai Conservation Regulations for Historic and Cultural Scenic Areas and Outstanding Historical Buildings (Draft)”], Shanghai Municipal People’s Congress, Online.

154 Ibid.

(4) be a representative workshop, business, manufacturing building or warehouse from Chinese industrial development history or (5) be of other historical and cultural significance.¹⁵⁵

The category of *outstanding historical buildings* therefore includes built structures which are not directly linked to important historical events or figures but acknowledges a wider range of values such as cultural, architectural, artistic and scientific values. Simultaneously, the category pertaining to *historic and cultural scenic areas* refers to an accumulation of historical buildings. The building style, spatial structure and “landscape” of the block (*jiequ jingguan* 街区景观) need to show a comparatively high integrity and reveal local cultural characteristics of a certain historical period.¹⁵⁶

While the regulations from 2002 clearly define conservation categories and formally guarantee the protection of listed sites, much of the not yet listed traditional built heritage in central Shanghai did not fit into the single building categories and was too small to be protected as a scenic area. As a result, remaining traditional built heritage sites became especially vulnerable to large-scale development projects. In October 2004 at the Shanghai International Forum on the Protection of Historic and Cultural Areas and Outstanding Historical Buildings, Ruan Yisan therein called for an expansion of its scenic areas and an inclusion of smaller historically and culturally significant areas; among them Taikang Road.¹⁵⁷

Since then, Shanghai has greatly put forward its conservation system, increased the number of listed sites and realized an expansion of the category of *historic and cultural scenic areas* in terms of both concept and scope. The expanded category includes two smaller units, “protected scenic blocks” (*fengmao baohu jiequ* 风貌保护街区) and “protected scenic streets” (*fengmao baohu daolu (jixiang)* 风貌保护道路(街巷)). The first 118 scenic blocks together with 23 scenic streets were

155 Standing Committee of the Eleventh Shanghai Municipal People’s Congress 上海市第十一届人民代表大会常务委员会 (July 25, 2002): Shanghai Shi lishi wenhua fengmao qu he youxiu lishi jianzhu baohu tiaoli 上海市历史文化风貌区和优秀历史建筑保护条例 [Regulations of Shanghai Municipality on the Protection of Historically and Culturally Scenic Areas and Outstanding Historical Buildings], para. 9.

156 *Ibid.*, para. 8.

157 “Ben shi zhaokai lishi wenhua fengmao qu yu youxiu lishi jianzhu baohu guoji yantaohui” 本市召开历史文化风貌区与优秀历史建筑保护国际研讨会 [Shanghai convenes International Forum on the Protection of Historic and Cultural Areas and Outstanding Historical Buildings], (October 28, 2004), Shanghai Municipal People’s Government, Online.

officially listed in 2016 and another 131 blocks one year later.¹⁵⁸ With the further differentiation of scenic areas, especially *lilong* housing and industrial heritage are included in Shanghai's conservation system, as well as universities and colleges, new workers housing estates (*gongren xincun* 工人新村), historical parks, mixed blocks and traditional villages mostly located at the city periphery.¹⁵⁹

Most recently Shanghai's conservation system has begun to cover single spots, streets and wider areas. In a fifth designation round in 2017, the city promulgated another 426 units of *outstanding historical buildings*, amounting to a total of 1058 sites.¹⁶⁰ The 12 central historic and cultural scenic areas promulgated in 2004 have also been expanded by 32 scenic areas in the surrounding districts and conservation plans drafted for all 44 areas.¹⁶¹ Although a historic residential block, Tianzifang has only recently been officially listed as a protected area. As it neither features "traditional" heritage units such as revolutionary heritage nor outstanding historical or "modern" architecture, Tianzifang did not fit into already established categories. Furthermore, Shanghai's aspirations to become a global city were directed towards the construction of new world-class architecture rather than the protection of decaying old factories and overcrowded dwellings.

This changed with a revaluation of local culture and the global trend to regard the same as distinguishing characteristic of urban centers. Similar to many long unnoticed streets with remaining built heritage in Shanghai, Tianzifang profited from the introduction of the smaller unit of *protected scenic blocks*. In the course of the first designation round for sites of this category in January 2016, the block was listed by Huangpu District under the serial number HP-028.¹⁶²

158 "Shanghai lishi wenhua fengmao qu zai kuoda 118 chu jiefang 23 tiao daolu gongshi" 上海历史文化风貌区再扩大 118 处街坊 23 条道路公示 [Announcement of Shanghai's further expansion of 118 blocks and 23 streets of historic and cultural scenic areas], (March 18, 2015), Shanghai Municipal People's Government, Online.

159 Ibid.

160 Qi, Yingpu 戚颖璞 (June 11, 2017): "Shi di wu pi 426 chu youxiu lishi jianzhu jiepai" 市第五批 426 处优秀历史建筑揭牌 [The city's fifth batch of 426 outstanding historical buildings set up], Online.

161 Xu, Yun 徐运; Zhang, Song 张松; Liang, Jie 梁洁; Wu, Feiqiong 吴斐琼; Fu, Chao-wei 付朝伟 (July 29, 2014): "Shanghai ruhe jinxing lishi wenhua mingcheng baohu?" 上海如何进行历史文化名城保护? [How is Shanghai carrying out Historically and Culturally Famous City Conservation?], Online.

162 Shanghai Municipal People's Government 上海市人民政府 (January 23, 2016): *Shanghai Shi renmin zhengfu guanyu tongyi Shanghai Shi lishi wenhua fengmao qu fanwei kuoda mingdan de pifu* 上海市人民政府关于同意上海市历史文化风貌区范围扩大名单的批复 [Approval of list for expansion of Shanghai historic and cultural scenic areas by Shanghai Municipal People's Government], Online.

5.2.2 Conservation Plan

Originally designated as the old city renewal project and construction area for commercial housing units,¹⁶³ it was finally decided to try and preserve Tianzifang's built heritage. After its cultural significance had been recognized, the protection of the block's historic and cultural features was integrated into development plans. Tongji University National Famous Historical and Cultural Cities Research Center 同济大学国家历史文化名城研究中心 which had also drafted the conservation plan for Suzhou Pingjiang Historic Block developed a general concept plan on the functional expansion of Tianzifang (*Luwan Qu Tianzifang gongneng tuozhan gainian zong cehua* 卢湾区田子坊功能拓展概念总策划) in 2007 and a comprehensive planning (*Shanghai Shi Luwan Qu Tianzifang zonghe guihua* 上海市卢湾区田子坊综合规划) in 2008. Before Tianzifang's official listing, these plans were the decisive documents which not only regulated development measures but also guaranteed the conservation of its built heritage.

A formal reference to preserve Block 56 at Taikang Road as an entity appears in the "General Concept Plan on the functional expansion of Tianzifang in Luwan District" from 2007 (hereafter *TZF Concept Plan*). The plan intended an expansion of Tianzifang to the four roads delimiting the block under the concept of a "special cultural community or block" (*teshu wenhua shequ (jiejū)* 特殊文化社区(街区)).¹⁶⁴ Thereby, "culture" is referred to as connecting elements which justify the preservation of Block 56 as an entity.

According to the plan, the expansion should be carried out in three stages, starting with the housing area adjacent to Taikang Road Alleyway 210 from 2008–2009.¹⁶⁵ This area corresponds to the five lanes listed in the introduction of this chapter and are marked as the Tianzifang core area in the tourist map (see appendix A.7). In the following two years (2010–2011), a second expansion was planned to be carried out including the entire western part of the block up to the Second Ruijin Road. Thirdly, the historical buildings in the northeastern corner of the block were to be integrated, extending Tianzifang to Middle Jianguo Road in the north and Sinan Road in the west.¹⁶⁶

Similar to the conservation plans in the previous two case studies, the *TZF Concept Plan* defines a protection area with a historic townscape (*lishi fengmao qu* 历史风貌区) and a construction control zone (*jianzhu kongzhi didai* 建筑控制地带). The historic townscape covers the entire Taikang Road Block except

163 Zhang, Jianjun 张建君 (April 15, 2009): "Lao Zheng he ta de Tianzifang" 老郑和他的田子坊, Weblog entry.

164 TZF Concept Plan (2007), p. [1].

165 Ibid., p. 48.

166 Ibid.

for the southeastern corner where a newly built residential compound is located. This compound, together with the four roads surrounding Taikang Road Block as well as adjacent building rows across these roads, are part of the construction control zone.¹⁶⁷

Conservation in terms of material built heritage preservation is defined for *shikumen lilong* buildings in the “Comprehensive Planning for Tianzifang in Luwan District, Shanghai” (*TZF Comprehensive Planning*) from 2008. This conservation system requests the preservation of two main tiers. The first tier covers the environment surrounding Tianzifang and the second tier refers to the area of Tianzifang itself, including the existing spatial *lilong* pattern, new and old-style *lilong* buildings as well as the spatial surrounding of these buildings. The two levels are further specified into three protection categories: the appearance (*fengmao* 风貌) of *shikumen lilong* buildings, wider and smaller lanes (*jiexiang* 街巷), and individual buildings (*jianzhu* 建筑).¹⁶⁸

Every category comprises significant elements which are protected by the plan. The protection of the appearance is directed towards elements characterizing the environment in the block such as rooftops or the structure of lanes.¹⁶⁹ The second category regulates the protection and transformation of main and branch lanes. Finally, the protection of buildings refers to the preservation and repairation of architectural elements, such as street-across buildings, skywells, flat roofs, gables, windows and doors, dormers, balconies, etc.¹⁷⁰ The significant elements included in the conservation plans are consistent with environmental elements found in chapter 5.1.1 of this case study.

Although not separately listed, the significance of trees becomes clear by looking at the newly defined scenic spots in the development plans. The tree in the courtyard of the traditional Qing-period house is indicated in the *TZF Concept Plan* as an “ancient tree” (*gushu* 古树) which shall be preserved.¹⁷¹ The courtyard with the tree adjacent to Alleyway 210 is also part of a scenic spot from the *TZF Comprehensive Planning* defined as Eastern Square.¹⁷² Hence, conservationists and planners regard them as important elements and part of the existing urban landscape. While trees and plants of historical value were considered as important environmental elements and officially listed in the other two case studies, in Tianzifang, they are solely protected by the development plans.

167 TZF Concept Plan (2007), p. 9.

168 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 16.

169 Ibid.

170 Ibid.

171 TZF Concept Plan (2007), p. 37.

172 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 13.

In addition to preservation measures, conservation in *TZF Comprehensive Planning* includes spatial improvement and the integral reuse of *shikumen lilong* buildings. Spaces such as main and branch lanes, street-across buildings and skywells are seen as characteristic for *lilong* residential areas and should accordingly be preserved.¹⁷³ In order to better showcase their dimensions, exterior and related activities, the plan foresees a number of improvement measures for factors such as scattered public pipes and power cables, temporary constructions, piled-up personal items, laundry drying poles or bicycles blocking public space.¹⁷⁴

The reuse of *shikumen lilong* buildings is accepted under the premise of maintaining their building characteristics. Moreover, the reuse of building space has to be realized in a rational way (*heli liyong* 合理利用) which prohibits a damage of the buildings' outward appearance. In order to meet the requirements for a functional transformation, it is permitted to renew the building interior and reuse of traditional buildings is explicitly recommended as a means of revitalization.¹⁷⁵

Conservation as formulated in one of the planning principles in *TZF Comprehensive Planning* pursues the following objectives:

凸现和强化田子坊的历史价值。保留可以保留的里弄空间格局和建筑形态与风貌。对其内部空间可是适当利用。坚持保护和发展相互协调的原则。¹⁷⁶

“Emphasize and intensify the historical value of Tianzifang. Maintain the spatial *lilong* structure as well as the architectural form and appearance which can be maintained. Its interior spaces can be appropriately used. Adhere to the principle of well balancing conservation and development.”

This relatively short passage offers important insights on how conservation is approached. Primarily, the focus is set on historical value. The spatial structure and appearance should also be preserved while the interior space of buildings can be reused. Moreover, conservation and development are not considered as contradicting concepts but two approaches which can be combined. Furthermore, it is stated that the protection of *shikumen lilong* housing and their functional transformation into cultural businesses is seen as contributing to the transmission of history and culture in general as well as enhancing Shanghai Culture (*haipai wenhua* 海派文化).¹⁷⁷

TZF Comprehensive Planning defines **basic principles** for restoration (*xiufu* 修复) and protection which conform to international conservation standards.

173 *TZF Comprehensive Planning* (2008), p. 16.

174 *Ibid.*

175 *Ibid.*

176 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

177 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

These principles are authenticity (*yuanzhenxing* 原真性), integrity (*zhengtixing* 整体性), recognizability (*keshibiexing* 可识别性) and reversibility (*kenixing* 可逆性). Hereby, recognizability is practically identical to the principle of readability from the former case studies. Authenticity is defined as “repairing the old and preserving its inherent quality” (*zheng gu cun zhen* 整故存真) with the objective of displaying its original historical appearance as generated by factors such as design, materials, technology and the environment.¹⁷⁸

The principle of integrity requires that restored and mended parts must form an entity with original parts and maintain the consistence of the landscape, thereby enhancing restoration without reducing its artistic and informational value.¹⁷⁹ In addition, added parts must be visibly distinguishable from original parts in order to guarantee readability. Therefore, people must be enabled to recognize which parts are restored. By reducing consolidation and protection measures to a minimum, conservation further must ensure reversibility. Thereby, future conservation measures which might be more effective shall not be obstructed.¹⁸⁰

Similarly, basic principles are defined for new construction. The principle of “adjustment” (*xietiao* 协调) emphasizes the continuity of historical context by strictly controlling the number, measures, colors and other factors of all kinds of installations and their accordance with the overall appearance.¹⁸¹ “Locality” (*diyuxing* 地域性) implies natural, as well as cultural, diversity and means a recreation of local building culture based on local building traditions. Another two principles are modernization and sustainability which are said to enable a modern lifestyle by rational use of modern facilities and technologies to improve residents’ quality of life and to promote the use of ecological and energy conserving methods as well as widespread greening for sustainable development.¹⁸²

Different architectural **conservation measures** are suggested in the design scheme for the “three alleyways and one road”. The conservation measures recommended for the appearance of Taikang Road depending on the building type are “improvement” (*gaishan* 改善), “transformation” (*gaizao* 改造) and “removal” (*chaichu* 拆除).¹⁸³ Traditional *shikumen lilong* buildings are to be improved in order to restore their characteristic architectural style. Such improvement includes the use of traditional building materials for doors, windows and building façades

178 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 45.

179 Ibid.

180 Ibid.

181 Ibid.

182 Ibid.

183 Ibid., pp. 59, 64.

as well as stylistic adjustments in terms of color, placement of characteristic elements such as balconies or removal of components, e.g. utility installations, which interfere with the appearance of building façades.¹⁸⁴

There are some further office buildings on Taikang Road which are to be transformed so as not to affect the overall historic appearance of the road. This transformation comprises the adjustment of measurements and building elevation so that the continuity of the road is not interrupted. Similarly, uniformity with the rest of the road is intended to be achieved by use of construction techniques or materials.¹⁸⁵ Moreover, the plan marks one single-story built structure in the southwestern corner of the block to be removed.¹⁸⁶ This structure which was built in front of a row of *shikumen lilong* buildings greatly deviates from the rest of the road in terms of size, orientation and building style. It is not part of the original residential area but is rather commercially used. Taken as a whole, removal as a conservation measure for Taikang Road is only suggested in this one single case.

Similar architectural conservation measures are also suggested for the three alleyways by example of Alleyway 248. The traditional appearance of Shanghai *lilong* houses has to be maintained which prohibits the transformation of building façades and gables as well as to add various further components. In cases where the traditional appearance has already been damaged, such components are supposed to be cleared from the buildings.¹⁸⁷ For the improvement and consolidation of historical buildings, traditional materials and colors have to be used or new materials which are distinguishable and are conform with the surrounding historical environment. New built structures shall be constructed with traditional materials and techniques as well and have to be in accordance with *lilong* style.¹⁸⁸

Removal is chosen as a measure to solve sanitation problems of traditional *lilong* housing. Public toilets and garbage collection points at the lane entrances should be demolished and replaced by public indoor toilets set up in former residential spaces from which residents have been relocated. Moreover, additional garbage cans and closed garbage collection points should be installed along the lanes.¹⁸⁹

The analysis above shows that conservation is approached as a “protection of appearance” (*fengmao baohu* 风貌保护) in the plans. This can be related to the HCF City concept, according to which historical buildings gain significance as major elements which constitute the characteristic appearance of an urban area.

184 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), pp. 59, 64.

185 Ibid., p. 64.

186 Ibid., p. 59.

187 Ibid., p. 70.

188 Ibid., p. 49.

189 Ibid., p. 68.

The development aspect of this focus becomes clear from another passage in the *TZF Comprehensive Planning* on business formats. In this passage, the cultural appearance of Shanghai *shikumen lilong* buildings is seen as a basis on which important scenic spots and exhibition spaces should be highlighted to form Shanghai's most characteristic touristic route upon local conditions and customs (*fengqing* 风情) as well as to establish a creative industry.¹⁹⁰

Another key aspect in the plans is to create a landscape of Tianzifang which gives prominence to its characteristics. The plan offers three examples where such characteristic spaces could be realized. Primarily, the appearance of rooftops shall be improved to form a characteristic "landscape in the sky" (*kongzhong jingguan* 空中景观).¹⁹¹ By putting in order and clearing up lanes and alleyways, the particular spatial structure of winding paths leading from public to private space shall be highlighted. The third and final example is the creation of scenic squares.¹⁹²

The **notion of landscape** has further been integrated in the definition and naming of "scenic spots" (*jingdian* 景点). As shown in chapter 5.1.2, Tianzifang's significance does not derive from landmark buildings or a great number of historical figures who lived there, but its diversity of architectural styles which makes it a manifestation of developmental processes in Shanghai neighborhoods. Both plans therefore concentrate on significant built heritage representative for these developmental stages, including traditional wooden structure housing and neighborhood patterns, *lilong* housing and *lilong* factory buildings as well as later multi-story factories.

The scenic spots defined in Tianzifang's development plans follow the traditional naming practice for landscape scenes (see chapter 3.1.2) in terms of the number of sight names in a set (8–10) and the four-character structure of sight names. The *TZF Concept Plan* mentions 18 "beautiful sceneries" (*shiba shengjing* 十八胜景)¹⁹³ which are to be highlighted, corresponding to a "*shiba jing*" 十八景 (8+10) set of landscape scenes. *TZF Comprehensive Planning* additionally names ten scenic spots (*jingdian* 景点)¹⁹⁴ and eight cultural landscapes (Taikang ba jing 泰康八景),¹⁹⁵ both maintaining the "eight views" and "ten views" sets.

190 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 11.

191 Ibid., p. 16.

192 Ibid.

193 TZF Concept Plan (2007), p. 49.

194 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 13.

195 Ibid., p. 18.

Zhao¹⁹⁶, Zhang and Wang¹⁹⁷ have identified aesthetic, cultural and functional characteristics of landscape scene sets which have equally been considered for the definition of Tianzifang's sight names. Primarily, they feature **aesthetic characteristics** with regard to inner meaning. The four-character sight names are meant to gain poetic quality by selection and combination of certain images (*yixiang* 意象) which then create a certain artistic mood (*yijing* 意境).¹⁹⁸ Common images which appear in both plans are mainly cultural elements related to the "urban" landscape. Such cultural elements comprise multi-story buildings (*lou* 楼), wells (*jing* 井), stores (*dian* 店), factories (*chang* 厂), markets (*shi* 市), lanes and alleyways (*nong* 弄, *xiang* 巷, *fang* 坊), walls (*qiang* 墙), doors (*men* 门), curtains (*mu* 幕), and others. There are also some cultural elements which would, in actuality, rather occur in traditional landscape settings than a modern city, e.g. the multi-story pavilion (*ge* 阁), the cottage (*lu* 庐) or the bamboo fence (*zhuli* 竹篱).

Sight names in the Tianzifang development plans clearly further show **cultural characteristics**. Elements used in the names reflect general characteristics of *lilong* housing areas such as small lanes or "street-across buildings" as well as cultural elements related to the Taikang Road Block and its development (red building 红楼, wooden gate 柴门, creativity 创意, factories 工厂). All in all, the elements used in Tianzifang's sight names can be divided into three groups representing traditional architecture, *lilong* architecture and industrial architecture.

While many sight names contain literary quotations, some can be directly ascribed to a particular poem. One example, "Dwellings in a Small Lane" (Xiao xiang ren-jia 小巷人家), is the sight name for Erjing Lane 二井巷 which has been named after its two wells. The phrasing of this sight name has strong similarity to a verse from the well-known classical Chinese poem *Autumn Thoughts* 秋思 by Ma Zhiyuan 马致远 (ca. 1250–1323), one of the Four Great Yuan Dramatists¹⁹⁹. *Autumn Thoughts* belongs to the poetry form of *sanqu* 散曲 ("nondramatic songs") and has been written to a fixed metric pattern based on the tune "Sky-clear Sand" (*Tianjingsha* 天净沙). While Ma Zhiyuan was not only a great dramatist but also one of the most outstanding writers of *sanqu* works, *Autumn Thoughts* exemplifies his mastery. In his description of the quiet life of seclusion, he uses clusters of images to establish its characteristic mood and to enable the reader a personal

196 Zhao, Xia 赵夏 (2006): "Wo guo de 'ba jing' chuantong ji qi wenhua yiyi" 我国的“八景”传统及其文化意义, pp. 89–91.

197 Zhang, Xianliang 张先亮; Wang, Min 王敏 (2014): "Shilun 'Xihu shi jing' de ming-ming yishu" 试论“西湖十景”的命名艺术, pp. 190–196.

198 Ibid., p. 193.

199 The other three dramatists are Guan Hanqing 关汉卿 (ca. 1241–1320), Zheng Guangzu 郑光祖 (1260–1320) and Bai Pu 白朴 (1226–1306).

experience of homesickness.²⁰⁰ The second verse of the poem reads: “A small bridge, flowing water, people’s homes”²⁰¹ (xiao qiao liushui renjia 小桥流水人家). Compared to the above-mentioned sight name which has a fixed form of four characters, the “flowing water” has been taken out and the “small bridge” has been converted into “a small lane” (*xiaoxiang* 小巷). By creating a relation of Erjing Lane to the famous poem through the sight name, it evokes a greater appreciation of this formerly common lane.

Another example is a verse from the poem “A Buddhist Retreat Behind Broken-Mountain Temple” (*Ti Poshansi hou chanyuan* 题破山寺后禅院) by Tang poet Chang Jian 常建 (ca. 708–?). “My path has wound, through a sheltered hollow”²⁰² (*qu jing tong you chu* 曲径通幽处) is the third verse of this poem describing the author’s impression and feelings on his way to the Buddhist retreat. The first four characters of this verse are used as sight name in both development plans. As indicated in the plans, the name *qu jing tong you* 曲径通幽 stands for the lanes and alleyways of Tianzifang which share similar characteristics with the path leading to the retreat.²⁰³ The “winding path” can be compared to the smaller branch lanes which extend deep into the block and which are more quiet, private spaces compared to the public main lane.

There is only one sight name featuring a historical figure, which is the painter Chen Yifei in the designation “Charm Left Behind by Yifei” (*Yifei yi yun* 逸飞遗韵). As he was the first artist to move his workshop to Tianzifang, he thereby substantially contributed to shape its landscape as an art street. In addition to material heritage such as his workshop and the “Shanghai Gate of Art”, the name commemorates this early period of Tianzifang’s development. The above-mentioned three groups of naming elements representing traditional architecture, *lilong* architecture and industrial architecture equally reflect different developmental stages of local history.

The second part of another sight name, “falling from heaven” (*tian jiang* 天降) derives from a folk song (*geyao* 歌谣) transmitted around Hangzhou. The song tells a legend about the origin of the West Lake according to which it emerged from a bright pearl which fell from the heavens.²⁰⁴ Two verses which sum up this tale have

200 Cai, Zong-qi (ed., 2008): *How to Read Chinese Poetry: A Guided Anthology*, pp. 333–335.

201 Ibid., p. 395.

202 Translated by Witter Bynner. See: Minford, John; Lau, Joseph S.M. (ed., 2000): *Classical Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Translations*. Vol. 1, p. 841.

203 TZF Concept Plan (2007), p. 49. TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 13.

204 According to the legend, a white dragon simply named Jade Dragon and a colored phoenix named Golden Phoenix living in the heavens come to a magical island where they find a stone. They decide to chisel the stone into a bright pearl. One day, the Queen

been passed down until today: “The bright pearl West Lake fell from the heavens, lively and elegant [it reaches] up to Qiantang [River]” (Xihu mingzhu cong tian jiang, longfei-fengwu dao Qiantang 西湖明珠从天降, 龙飞凤舞到钱塘).²⁰⁵

In the last of the eight cultural landscapes defined for Tianzifang in *TZF Comprehensive Planning*, this part reappears in the sight name “Great Curtain Falling from Heaven” (Da mu tian jiang 大幕天降). The plan indicates that this name stands for the landscape element of “walls” (*qiang* 墙) but does not give further indications concerning a closer relation to the folk tale. However, a closer look at the illustrations in the planning shows that originally it was planned to set up curtain walls around the multi-story factory buildings.²⁰⁶ Covering the outside of the buildings, the illustrations show curtain walls which would surmount the building tops and thereby could evoke an impression of being attached to the sky. However, until the completion of this research, such curtain walls still have not been realized.

Corresponding to long acknowledged historical and cultural scenic spots as well as newly opened up places, sight naming in Tianzifang shows important **functional characteristics**. The sight names clearly display idealized sceneries of scenic spots with some being related to temporal or spatial characteristics and others picturing Tianzifang in a desired future state. Examples for such idealized sceneries are “Dawn on Taikang Road in Spring” or “Sunset Glow on the Red Building”. These sight names refer to historical sight names as they have been defined for the “Ten Views of the West Lake”. For example, instead of “Dawn on Su Causeway in Spring” (Su di chunxiao 苏堤春晓), they include a scenic spot named “Dawn on Taikang Road in Spring”. And the name “Sunset Glow on the Red Building” has been chosen after the famous “Sunset Glow on Leifeng [Pagoda]” (Leifeng xizhao 雷峰夕照). By defining this sight name, a formerly residential building is transformed into a scenic spot and related to one of the most

Mother of the Western Heavens (Wangmu niangniang 王母娘娘) sees the glow of the pearl and orders her soldier to steal it. Usually locked up in the palace, the Queen Mother finally presents the pearl to her guests during her birthday celebration. When Golden Phoenix sees the glow of the pearl, Jade Dragon and Golden Phoenix hasten to the palace to claim it back. When the Queen Mother is not willing to return the pearl, Jade Dragon and Golden Phoenix start wrangling with her. Suddenly, the pearl drops and falls from the heavens down to earth. At the moment the pearl reaches earth, it turns into West Lake. Because Jade Dragon and Golden Phoenix were unwilling to part with their pearl, they turned into Yulong and Fenghuang Mountains (Yulong shan 玉龙山, Fenghuang shan 凤凰山) in the surrounding of the lake to guard it. See: Walls, Jan; Walls, Yvonne (1980): *West Lake: A Collection of Folktales*, pp. 10–14.

205 Zheng, Chenggang 郑成刚 (ed., 2005): *Minjian gushi (shang)* 民间故事 (上) [Folktales (Part one)]. *Yingxiang Zhongguo xuesheng de jingdian gushi* 影响中国学生的经典故事 [Classical stories which exert influence on Chinese students], p. 201.

206 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), pp. 80–82.

well-known sceneries in China, due to its popularity in literature and art. This example of naming shows how essential the relation to traditional elements of landscape naming is, although the real sight may be completely urban.

Another example for the relation of traditional elements of landscape naming to an urban sight is the name “Contemplating the Moon from the High Pavilion”. The *TZF Concept Plan* defines this sight name for “sky gardens on creative factories” (chuangyi gongchang kongzhong huayuan 创意工厂空中花园). The choice of the name becomes clear with depictions in the *TZF Concept Plan* as well as *TZF Comprehensive Planning* which show green open-air spaces on top of the factories, enabling an unblocked sight over Tianzifang.²⁰⁷ As mentioned above, the two-storied pavilion (*ge* 阁) is a common type of architecture in classical Chinese gardens. Here, the multi-story factories which have been transformed into artist studios and workshops are designated as *ge* and thereby directly related to the image of a traditional garden pavilion.

On one hand, the choice of a traditional garden scenery as sight name reveals that the creation of an ideal landscape with its underlying aesthetic and cultural characteristics is regarded as more important than an accurate description of material built heritage. Although the multi-story factory is not a real garden pavilion, it shares some physical (multi-story) and functional characteristics (viewing platform). The comparison to a garden pavilion additionally provides it with poetic charm (*shiqing huayi* 诗情画意). On the other hand, this naming practice can contribute to bestow a formerly unknown and unappreciated building with significance and make it become representative for an urban landscape. According to Zhao, locally defined “eight views” sets of landscape scenes which originated from the aesthetics of elites played an important role as “vehicles” for the approval of, and emotional ties to, a place as well as its promotion.²⁰⁸ Zhao has further pointed out how sight names can become collective knowledge and contribute to create a shared memory, and a “sense of place” as defined by Tuan.²⁰⁹ While landscape naming originally intended to “reveal the natural landscape”²¹⁰ and make its value known to the public, sight naming in the development plans pursues the same objective. This becomes even more important in the case of industrial buildings which have, for a long time, not been recognized as “heritage”.

207 TZF Concept Plan (2007), n. pag. TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 81.

208 Zhao, Xia 赵夏 (2006): “Wo guo de ‘ba jing’ chuantong ji qi wenhua yiyi” 我国的“八景”传统及其文化意义, p. 90.

209 Tuan, Yifu (1976): “Humanistic Geography”, in: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, p. 269.

210 Zhang, Xianliang 张先亮; Wang, Min 王敏 (2014): “Shilun ‘Xihu shi jing’ de mingming yishu” 试论“西湖十景”的命名艺术, p. 190.

5.2.3 Conservation and Improvement Measures

The designation of Tianzifang as a protected block in the conservation plans and its development into a tourist destination required a number of changes compared to its original function as a residential area. Some conditions which arose from daily life circumstances of local residents were not tolerable from the perspective of conservationists and the government. The *TZF Comprehensive Planning* evaluated this situation as found at the beginning of development. Following the plan, factors which negatively affected the “*lilong* landscape” are scattered aerial power cables, randomly installed public pipes and air-conditioning. Another aspect which was identified as greatly influencing its landscape are individual shop signs for which there was no comprehensive and consistent system.²¹¹

A great problem affecting the entire block was that *lilong* houses were in a state of obsolescence and decline.²¹² To cope with this problem, residents renovated parts of their homes and made alterations to the buildings. In many cases, such additional constructions and renovations violated regulations and did not meet security standards.²¹³ Moreover, there was no comprehensive management of public facilities, but every department individually arranged for the provision of facilities and services.²¹⁴

Because conservation in Tianzifang did not follow the typical government-led approach, it initially lacked funding and a comprehensive management system. When local development was initiated by the end of the 1990s, Dapuqiao Subdistrict Office did not have many financial resources. Following a reorganization by Luwan District upon which formerly eight subdistricts were merged into four, Dapuqiao became one of the subdistricts with the weakest economy.²¹⁵ As previously mentioned, real estate development decreased significantly as a result of the Asian financial crisis in 1997/98 which led to land originally designated for redevelopment being left unused.²¹⁶ And Luwan was one of the city districts affected by such repercussions.

The transfer of land use rights to real estate developers is a common practice of development and simultaneously an important source of revenue for Chinese municipal governments. According to Zhang, Luwan was not only the setting of

211 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 7.

212 Ibid.

213 Zhu Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 29.

214 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 8.

215 Zhu, Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 16.

216 Huang, Ye 黄晔; Qi, Guangping 戚广平 (2015): “Tianzifang lishi jiequ baohu yu zai liyong shijian zhong shang ju hunhe maodun de caichanquan wenti” 田子坊历史街区保护与再利用实践中商居混合矛盾的财产权问题, p. 67.

the first land-leasing case in Shanghai shortly after the land-leasing regulation was approved by the municipal government in 1992, but early on adopted developer-friendly policies and initiated urban renewal by means of foreign investment from Hong Kong and Taiwan. In the process, 340,000 m² of land were transformed into residential and commercial compounds of high quality.²¹⁷ These new compounds attracted white collar employees and residents with middle to high income brackets and brought with them great changes in the social structure of the Dapujiao subdistrict.²¹⁸

In respect to this situation, the head of the subdistrict office envisioned the development of the district by promoting the cultural sector.²¹⁹ A strategy was adopted whereby the subdistrict government provided rental spaces on favorable conditions for a limited period of time in order to facilitate cultural businesses to become established. In the case of Taikang Art Street, Shanghai Yilufa Cultural Development Co., Ltd. which set up a pottery and porcelain craft market in December 1999 was therefore exempted from rent payment for ten years.²²⁰ This strategy of attracting cultural businesses by reuse of the unused factories to build a characteristic art and crafts street rendered the project independent from investment by the Shanghai District Government.²²¹

The introduction of artist workshops, galleries and craft businesses was so successful that by 2004, all factory spaces had been leased out.²²² As the demand for commercial space further rose, additional businesses were set up in adjacent residential buildings, including other types of cultural industries such as boutiques and sophisticated restaurants. On the one hand, this can be regarded as a strategic move by the Tianzifang advocates, facing the threat of demolition and redevelopment of the block by the Taiwan real estate developer. The underlying assumption was that, following the SoHo model, an expansion in terms of surface area could save residential buildings as well.

217 Zhang, Tingwei (2005): "Uneven development among Shanghai's three urban districts", in: Ma, Laurence J.C.; Wu, Fulong (ed.): *Restructuring the Chinese City — Changing society, economy and space*, p. 148.

218 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): "Taikang Lu yishu jie" 泰康路艺术街, Online.

219 Zhang, Jianjun 张建君 (April 15, 2009): "Lao Zheng he ta de Tianzifang" 老郑和他的田子坊, Online.

220 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): "Taikang Lu yishu jie" 泰康路艺术街, Online.

221 Ibid.

222 Yu, Hai; Chen, Xiangming; Zhong, Xiaohua (2016): "Commercial Development from Below: The Resilience of Local Shops in Shanghai", in: Zukin, Sharon; Kasinitz, Philip; Chen, Xiangming (ed.): *Global Cities, Local Streets*, p. 68.

On the other hand, this favorable situation with increasing prominence of the area enabled inhabitants to rent out their apartments, such as the later resident mediator who let his ground-floor apartment in the same alleyway as the former factories to a fashion designer.²²³ In an interview, the mediator spoke of his motives implying that he had been laid off and needed to borrow money from his children every month to make a living.²²⁴ This first renting out of a residential housing unit marks the beginning of the functional transformation of the block.

In principle, following the “Management Regulations for Publicly Owned Housing in Cities and Towns under the Jurisdiction of Shanghai” (*Shanghai Shi chengzhen gongyou fangwu guanli tiaoli* 上海市城镇公有房屋管理条例) changes of use concerning residential buildings had to be permitted by local real estate management departments.²²⁵ Most old-style *lilong* housing in Shanghai’s central districts is state-owned housing and therefore directly managed by such departments (*zhiguan gongfang* 直管公房). This was also the case in the aforementioned example of the mediator.

A study by Yu et al. shows that by renting out his apartment, he significantly improved his financial situation. After he had renovated the room and modified it according to the needs of the shop owner for 30,000 Yuan, he received a monthly rent of 3,500 Yuan. Therefrom he himself rented an empty room from a neighbor on the upper story and still had a monthly income which equaled the seven to eight-fold amount of his monthly pension.²²⁶

After his apartment had successfully been transformed into a shop, other residents strived to follow his example and approached him for advice. In contrast to the first steps of transformation where the factory buildings were managed unitarily by the chairman of the Merchant Association,²²⁷ shop owners seeking to rent apartment spaces negotiated directly with residents. The mediator volunteered to support other residents to find suitable tenants, well-aware that the future improvement of his economic situation depended on the preservation of the block.²²⁸

The example of the mediator illustrates the high grade of self-organization by the local community. Before the establishment of the Merchant Association

223 Interview with the resident mediator, Tianzifang, June 14, 2016.

224 Ibid.

225 Yu, Hai 于海; Zhong, Xiaohua 钟晓华; Chen, Xiangming 陈向明 (2013): “Jiucheng gengxin zhong jiyu shequ mailuo de jiti chuangye — yi Shanghai Tianzifang shangjie wei li” 旧城更新中基于社区脉络的集体创业——以上海田子坊商街为例, p. 63.

226 Ibid.

227 Zhang, Jing 张靖 (March 18, 2010): “Wu Meisen: Yi ren, yi fang, yi meng” 吴梅森: 一人、一坊、一梦 [Wu Meisen: A man, a lane, a dream], Online.

228 Yu, Hai 于海; Zhong, Xiaohua 钟晓华; Chen, Xiangming 陈向明 (2013): “Jiucheng gengxin zhong jiyu shequ mailuo de jiti chuangye — yi Shanghai Tianzifang shangjie wei li” 旧城更新中基于社区脉络的集体创业——以上海田子坊商街为例, p. 63.

through the management committee, Tianzifang's different groups of stakeholders had organized themselves in a self-regulating organization named "Association for the Promotion of Tianzifang" (Tianzifang cujinhui 田子坊促进会). The District Government would entrust this committee with responsibility to carry out the management and coordination of particular projects.²²⁹ Moreover, 28 households living in ground floor housing units on Alleyway 210 contributed money for the renovation of the street, street lamps and public facilities in 2006.²³⁰

In order to transform Tianzifang into a multifunctional area as laid out in the development plans, it was necessary to improve the basic infrastructure (water, gas, electricity) of the block. At the time of the 1920s and 1930s when the majority of residential buildings was constructed, technological progress and local lifestyle differed significantly from present-day Shanghai which resulted in an urgent need to set up and supplement public utility installations. For example, residents originally satisfied their water requirements with groundwater from nearby wells and, accordingly, many houses did not have running water. Moreover, space for the installation of pipes and powerlines as well as other contemporary kitchen or bathroom installations had not been considered during construction, neither for the inner spatial layout of houses nor for the mostly narrow lanes and alleyways which further complicated the functional transformation of the block.²³¹

The evaluation of the public utility installations situation in Tianzifang in the *TZF Comprehensive Planning* therefore shows great scarcities. While the public network of water supply pipes surrounding the block included a number of pipes built in the 1990s, the water supply pipes inside the block dated back to 1974.²³² Due to the small diameter of the pipes and severe corrosion, water supply was considered insufficient. Moreover, most houses were not equipped with bathrooms and lavatories. The condition of drainpipes was similar to water supply pipes with pipe diameters and materials not meeting the current standards.²³³

In terms of the gas supply, most people used gas bottles as the pipe coverage for coal gas only amounted to about 20 percent. Where gas pipes had been installed, they were exposed on the outer walls of the buildings which had a great impact on the visual appearance of the block.²³⁴ The plan therefore suggests laying gas pipes

229 Zhu, Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 24.

230 Yung, Esther H.K.; Chan, Edwin H.W.; Xu, Ying (2014): "Sustainable Development and the Rehabilitation of a Historic Urban District — Social Sustainability in the Case of Tianzifang in Shanghai", p. 105.

231 *TZF Comprehensive Planning* (2008), p. 29.

232 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

233 *Ibid.*

234 *Ibid.*

in Taikang Road Alleyways 210, 248 and 274 in consideration of a future conversion from coal gas to natural gas and a respective choice of pipe diameter. The multifunctional role of Tianzifang is considered as well, which can be seen from the instruction to avoid the installation of gas pipes on outside walls, if at all possible, in order to ensure the conservation of its historic townscape. Gas pipes which are already installed in important conservation spots are to be moved indoors on future occasions if they affect the block's "visual appearance".²³⁵

At the time of the planning, electricity was only provided by transformers set up on the public roads surrounding the block. With the emergence of businesses and restaurants, the capacity of these power sources was severely lacking which led to problems such as tripped fuses and power outages. Due to the narrow lanes and the space between power, telecommunication and television cables not meeting the average safety standards, there were further fire hazards.²³⁶ To solve these problems, three strategies of power supply to satisfy lighting, electricity, lightning conduction, grounding, fire alarm and security alert were proposed in the planning. Accordingly, the power capacity of the surrounding public roads would be increased and led to consumers via aerial cables. While Alleyway 210 was considered wide enough to lay the cables underground; aerial cables were to be maintained and transformed in the other lanes.²³⁷

The transformation into a tourist destination further required a comprehensive lighting system, especially main entrances and touristic routes which lacked lights to guide visitors. Moreover, lighting should be used to highlight iconic spots of the landscape for example by illuminating the outline of buildings. Except for its practical purposes such as attracting visitors, lighting is also seen as integrating elements of public space into the block.²³⁸

The plan for the telecommunications system resembles the solution of power cables. In the short term, telecommunication cables in Alleyway 210 should be laid underground or redirected, while the cables on the other main and branch lanes were to be put in order but also maintained. In the long term, existing lines were to be removed, and new telecommunication installations constructed.²³⁹ On-site investigations revealed that all cables in Alleyway 210 were laid underground whereas, in actuality, they have been kept in the remaining alleyways as foreseen in the plan.

235 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 31.

236 Ibid.

237 Ibid., p. 32.

238 Ibid.

239 Ibid., p. 33.

Main problems further included a partial overcrowding of houses and a high concentration of low to moderate-income households. In addition, the increasing number of businesses and restaurants further raised water and electricity consumption while requirements for sanitation and environmental protection could not be met.²⁴⁰ The spatial layout of row houses and narrow lanes obstructed disaster prevention and maintenance of public utility installations. Besides existing installations often no longer conforming to technical specifications, they were exposed and disarranged which negatively affected the appearance of the block, or “visual landscape” (*shijue jingguan* 视觉景观) as designated in the plan.²⁴¹

The plan concluded that existing public utility installations “cannot satisfy the demands of residents’ daily life and are disproportionate to the general city standard of public facilities and services”.²⁴² Furthermore, it is stated as one of the basic planning principles for the improvement of public utility installations that the historic townscape and the characteristic *lilong* structures of the block must not be destroyed.²⁴³

After Tianzifang had been officially recognized and designated as a creative industry park, its environment and living conditions were improved. Under the project “Model Site for a Harmonious Living of Inhabitants” (*jumin hexie gongchu shifan dian* 居民和谐共处示范点) the government implemented a number of measures to improve the living conditions of residents. This project included the reparation of houses in accordance with conservation regulations. Further improvements were the installation of sanitation facilities and the renovation of public kitchens.²⁴⁴ In July 2007, a fire prevention water supply system was laid in Taikang Road Alleyway 200, 210 and 220, including fire hydrants and water sprinklers.²⁴⁵ In order to enhance the overall impression of the block, uniform air-conditioning frames and drainpipes were installed.²⁴⁶ According to Zhu, the number of households which benefitted from this project amounts to 35.²⁴⁷

A decisive step in the developmental process of Tianzifang which enabled local residents to actively take part in the transformation of Taikang Road Block was the adoption of the *ju gai fei* policy. An increasing number of residents rented out their apartments to shop owners in response to the subdistrict office’s great efforts to attract artistic and cultural businesses, a lack of free space for rent as

240 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 29.

241 Ibid.

242 Ibid.

243 Ibid.

244 Zhu Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 29.

245 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 30.

246 Zhu Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 29.

247 Ibid.

well as the already successful transformations of dwellings to non-residential use. This practice initially violated existing regulations (see chapter 5.2). Only after the decision to preserve the material built heritage of Taikang Road Block had been made, measures were taken to legalize the functional transformation of Tianzifang.

In the beginning of 2008, the District Real Estate Management Bureau requested instructions from Shanghai Municipal Housing, Land and Resources Administration Bureau 上海市房屋土地资源管理局 concerning the implementation of an examination and approval system for sublease in the Tianzifang area (关于卢湾区田子坊地区转租实行审批制的请示, 沪卢房地 [2008] 20 号). The responding document (沪房地资 [2008] 148 号) states in section one that before the subleasing of public housing in the Tianzifang area, *ju gai fei* formalities must be completed. Consequently, after the completion of these formalities, sublease of public housing is permitted. However, section two determines that a change in use of public housing is only temporary (*linshi* 临时) and that the time period needs to be fixed by contract. With the termination of the sublease contract or expiration of the fixed time period, usage is again limited to residential use.²⁴⁸

In accordance with requirements of the Municipal Bureau for the Management of Housing, Land and Resources, the functional transformation of housing in Tianzifang follows a fixed scheme for approval and proceedings. Furthermore, housing which is to be subleased has to meet certain criteria. For example, the structure and facilities of a house must be stable and secure. In terms of renovation, existing regulations of related departments such as construction, planning, fire prevention, environmental protection, etc. must also be met.²⁴⁹ Following Zhu, the Real Estate Management Bureau notified more than 80 residents who had not accomplished formalities yet at the time when the policy was implemented.²⁵⁰

While Zhu considers Tianzifang an experimental area (*shidian qu* 试点区) for the *ju gai fei* policy,²⁵¹ Yu et al. explain that changes of building use from residential to commercial are not unique to Tianzifang. With the Reform and Opening-up policy in 1978, households were allowed to open a private business in order to improve their economic situation. A prevalent example for the functional transformation of housing is the opening up of “shop windows” in walls facing the street.

248 Shanghai Municipal Housing, Land and Resources Administration Bureau 上海市房屋土地资源管理局 (2008): *Guanyu Luwan qu Tianzifang diqu zhuanzu shixing shenpizhi de pifu* 关于卢湾区田子坊地区转租实行审批制的批复 [Response concerning the implementation of an examination and approval system for sublease in Tianzifang Area, Luwan District].

249 Ibid.

250 Zhu, Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 27.

251 Ibid., p. 26.

However, Tianzifang is a unique example in Shanghai, because *ju gai fei* was jointly practiced as a form of local development.²⁵²

With the establishment of the Tianzifang Management Committee in 2008, the block became directly administered by the district government which carries out comprehensive management.²⁵³ According to Zhu, Tianzifang's organization and **management mechanism** is based on four pillars:²⁵⁴

- the joint conference (*lianxi huiyi* 联席会议)
- the management committee (*guanli weiyuanhui* 管理委员会)
- the Merchant Association (*shangjia xiehui* 商家协会)
- the property management institutions (*wuye guanli jigou* 物业管理机构)

The joint conference represents the district government and consists of its relevant departments. It assumes responsibility for planning, coordination, development progress as well as supervision and can be convened by the head of the district government or a deputy. The management committee is responsible for implementation and is composed of the director of the subdistrict office as well as members of related district government departments.²⁵⁵ While these two are mere top-down mechanisms, the Merchant Association developed from a grassroots initiative, the “Association for the Promotion of Tianzifang” (Tianzifang cujinhui 田子坊促进会), and is entrusted with project implementation, service-related tasks and mediation between different stakeholders. Property management is carried out by related departments of the district government as well and has primary functions such as to strengthen the management of building reparations, exploring management reforms for public rental housing and supplementing public facilities.²⁵⁶

Conservation has further been included into official regulations for housing renovation. In 2008, the Tianzifang Management Committee issued safety guidelines based on the “Regulations for the Temporary Alteration of Residential Occupancy to Mixed Building Use in Tianzifang Creative Industry Park” (Tianzifang chuangyi chanye yuanqu juzhu yongfang linshi gaibian wei zonghe yongfang de guiding 田子坊创意产业园区居住用房临时改变为综合用房的

252 Yu, Hai 于海; Zhong, Xiaohua 钟晓华; Chen, Xiangming 陈向明 (2013): “Jiucheng gengxin zhong jiyu shequ mailuo de jiti chuangye — yi Shanghai Tianzifang shangjie wei li” 旧城更新中基于社区脉络的集体创业——以上海田子坊商街为例, p. 63.

253 Ibid., p. 66.

254 Zhu, Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 24.

255 Ibid.

256 Ibid.

规定).²⁵⁷ According to these guidelines, housing renovation has to be carried out by a qualified work unit; including design as well as construction work.

Apart from general requirements for renovation, such as the safety of the housing structure as well as fireproof, water-resistant and eco-friendly renovation material which must be guaranteed, there are some specific regulations concerning the protection of built heritage sites. During housing renovation neither the supporting structure nor the appearance of the houses must be damaged. It is further prohibited to construct terraces or flat roofs without authorization and to add stories, insert stories or dig into the ground.²⁵⁸ In addition, related departments have to supervise construction work and conformity with laws and regulations. After renovation is terminated, the operator and the work unit need to inform the management committee which then has to check and accept the construction work. Only if the required standards are met can the business be opened.²⁵⁹

While the greater autonomy of the subdistrict office in terms of development soon led to Tianzifang's economic success, relatively uncontrolled market forces were not sufficient to solve problems such as a lack of infrastructure and regulations.²⁶⁰ When the district government established institutional structures such as the management committee to increase control, it further took on a guiding role with regard to business formats. For example, a number of regulations have been set in order to foster cultural and creative industries. Moreover, the government established an industry entering system which regulates the types of businesses allowed to operate in the block and provides guidance for business behavior.²⁶¹ Thereby, businesses which intend to open in Tianzifang are selected and must be approved before they can enter. Shop owners further must register at the District Bureau of Industry and Commerce in a detailed registration process.²⁶²

Despite these regulations, there are persistent fundamental problems such as the increases in land value and related continuously rising rents which cause funding difficulties for art studios and workshops since Tianzifang has become a prominent tourist destination. The case of Er Dongqiang Art Center is standing exemplarily for this conflict between artists' and homeowners' interests. In 2010, when the growing popularity of Tianzifang led to soaring rent prices, the government sought to solve the situation by subsidizing affected businesses. At that time,

257 Zhu, Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 33.

258 Ibid.

259 Ibid.

260 Yu, Hai; Chen, Xiangming; Zhong, Xiaohua (2016): "Commercial Development from Below: The Resilience of Local Shops in Shanghai", in: Zukin, Sharon; Kasinitz, Philip; Chen, Xiangming (ed.): *Global Cities, Local Streets*, pp. 72–73.

261 Zhu Ronglin 朱荣林 (2018): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 27.

262 Ibid., p. 31.

Er Dongqiang paid about 40 percent of the rent and the remaining amount was assumed by the management committee.²⁶³

However, when his rent increased again two years later by more than 25 percent, the government resigned from further subsidies. By that time, his initial yearly rent of 120,000 Yuan had surpassed 1 million Yuan and his art center had been reduced to less than half of the original size with the other part being occupied by a scarf company.²⁶⁴ The increasing division of spatial units is a clearly recognizable trend in Tianzifang. There are many more examples of art studios and stores which have been divided into smaller and smaller units in order to accommodate more businesses which becomes visible by several businesses sharing the same house number (see appendix A.17).

Furthermore, the most vulnerable group of stakeholders in the block are residents which are still living in Tianzifang because development directly influences their daily lives. In *TZF Comprehensive Planning*, this problem is addressed and the “participation of residents” (*jumin canyu* 居民参与) is named as one of the main aspects of management. According to the plan, participation includes an improvement of the residents’ quality of life. In turn, residents are expected to ensure an “orderly and harmonious development” of Tianzifang.²⁶⁵

While residents living on the ground floor and in some cases also the first floor who were able to sublease their apartments profited from the renewal project, other residents were excluded from such profits. An interviewee who lived on the upper stories of a privately-owned housing unit and opened a clothing store on the ground-floor said that she is quite satisfied with Tianzifang’s development. She said in an interview that she felt affected by the high number of people strolling in the lanes but has already adapted her lifestyle to the new circumstances.²⁶⁶ The owner has already retired and appreciates the chance to earn some money with her business.

Another couple living on the upper story of a *shikumen* building was not so fortunate. The building which was formerly owned by the father of the husband was confiscated and housing units redistributed with now seven households living in the house.²⁶⁷ They told this author that no businesses wanted to rent their unit because it was located on the upper story. They wanted to move to a new house because they were affected by other inhabitants on lower stories, for example their cooking vapors. They equally felt affected by the great number of people in the

263 Zhu, Geyi 诸葛漪 (2012): “Sheyingjia Er Dongqiang: Tianzifang yishu qu yi biancheng shangye qu” 摄影家尔冬强: 田子坊艺术区已变成商业区 [Photographer Er Dongqiang: Tianzifang Art District has already become a commercial district], Online.

264 Ibid.

265 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 26.

266 Interview with resident A, Shanghai, July 1, 2016.

267 Interview with residents B and C, Shanghai, July 1, 2016.

block, especially on the weekends. While the couple has inherited the house from their parents' generation, their son has bought a new house outside of the block and was not willing to live in this "old house" (*lao fangzi* 老房子).²⁶⁸ The outward migration of younger generations resulting in an overtly aging local community is a common problem in historic urban centers which occurs across the globe.

According to Zhang, the majority of the residents supported the preservation and development project. However, some residents expressed that the increasing commercialization of Tianzifang negatively affected their daily lives and tranquility as in the examples above. A third group opposed the project and resolutely demanded demolition and relocation.²⁶⁹ As the analysis has shown, the residents' opportunity to actively participate and profit from Tianzifang's conservation greatly depended on the location of their housing units. In the following, the transformation of housing into studios, shops and restaurants will be illustrated.

5.2.4 Function and Usage

In general, Tianzifang's development is characterized by a diversification of functions and forms of usage. When Tianzifang's *lilong* houses were built at the beginning of the 20th century, they followed a pattern of one household per building: "one door – one building – one household" (*yi men yi zhuang yi hu* 一门一幢一户).²⁷⁰ However, this form of distribution could not be retained due to different factors such as housing reform, population growth and urbanization, resulting in a situation where many households had to share a building. Since the 1950s, the basic pattern of usage has shifted to one or several rooms per household for private use (*duyong* 独用); the share of public spaces with other households in the same building (*gongyong* 公用).²⁷¹ While such public spaces include staircases, flat roofs or a kitchen, the equipment with sanitation facilities was still rare at the time. In Tianzifang, solely the buildings of West Jianguo Road Alleyway 155 had been constructed with such facilities.²⁷²

268 Interview with residents B and C, Shanghai, July 1, 2016.

269 Zhang, Jianjun 张建君 (April 15, 2009): "Lao Zheng he ta de Tianzifang" 老郑和他的田子坊, Weblog entry.

270 Huang, Ye 黄晔; Qi, Guangping 戚广平 (2015): "Tianzifang lishi jiequ baohu yu zai liyong shijian zhong shang ju hunhe maodun de caichanquan wenti" 田子坊历史街区保护与再利用实践中商居混合矛盾的财产权问题, p. 67.

271 Ibid.

272 Ibid.

In order to revitalize the block and reuse the unused factory buildings, a strategy was adapted to integrate additional and diverse functions as laid out in the *TZF Concept Plan*. Following this strategy, the future block is meant to be envisaged to fulfill five functions in its entirety: residential, creative, commercial, cultural and recreational/touristic. The **residential function** of Tianzifang shall be upheld to maintain Shanghai-style residential compounds in the community. Thereby, the continuation of local conditions and customs shall be promoted, and a characteristic Shanghai quality of life (*shenghuo pinzhi* 生活品质) passed on.²⁷³ The **creative function** refers to the development of a creative industry park. In particular, cultural factors such as art and creativity are considered important to foster local economic growth. With regard to this focus, Tianzifang shall supposedly provide a favorable environment for the establishment of creative workshops and businesses.²⁷⁴

Another aim is to develop the core area of Tianzifang into a characteristic **commercial space** with traditional shops (*lao zi hao* 老字号) and creative businesses. The **cultural function** refers to Tianzifang as a historic and cultural block (*lishi wenhua jiequ* 历史文化街区). With the protection of its *shikumen lilong* appearance, the block shall function as an “exhibition site for Shanghai culture” (*haipai wenhua zhanshi di* 海派文化展示地).²⁷⁵ This is emphasized by a comparison of Tianzifang as a “museum of *shikumen* buildings” (*shikumen bowuguan* 石库门博物馆).²⁷⁶ The characteristic appearance of *shikumen lilong* buildings in the block further shall enable visitors an “experience of shikumen culture” (*shikumen wenhua tiyan* 石库门文化体验).²⁷⁷

The final function envisaged in the development plans is that of Tianzifang as a **recreational space** and urban tourist destination. Similar to its commercial center, the focus is set on the core area. In addition to its creative industries, Tianzifang’s distinctive lanes shall be supplemented with entertaining and recreational businesses as well as restaurants and bars.²⁷⁸ The emphasis on these different functions and their implementation as envisaged in the development plans is analyzed in the following. Thereby, the developmental process of Tianzifang is considered as well as its present situation.

273 TZF Concept Plan (2007), p. 25.

274 Ibid., p. 21.

275 Ibid.

276 Ibid.

277 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 17.

278 Ibid.

Characteristic Craft Street - Art Street

The primary development measure initiated by Dapujiao Subdistrict Office was not directed towards the entire Block 56 but focused on its southern delimiting thoroughfare: Taikang Road. With the objective to improve the local economy, the subdistrict office decided to transform Taikang Road into a “characteristic crafts street”. In order to provide a better environment for cultural businesses, the established Taikang Road Street Market was moved indoors where it did not affect the traffic and the appearance of the road. For this purpose, the first of the empty industrial buildings, Shanghai People’s Needle Factory, underwent functional change. After a successful transformation, the new Taikang Road Food Market was opened in this former factory building.²⁷⁹

The first company to settle on the street was the Shanghai Yilufa Cultural Development Co., Ltd. 上海一路发文化发展有限公司. In December 1999, they opened a pottery and porcelain craft market with a size of 700 m².²⁸⁰ As mentioned above, the attractiveness of Taikang Road was hampered by busy traffic. Therefore, the Tianzifang advocates shifted their focus from the block boundary to development of the inner lanes and alleyways. In the following, the later chairman of the Merchant Association leased the empty factory buildings long-term and rented them out to cultural businesses willing to move there under favorable conditions.²⁸¹

The main target group for the empty factory buildings were artists who needed spacious localities for their workshops. Concentration on this target group derived from another world-famous case dealing with the reuse of abandoned industrial areas and which was later highly praised as an “urban development model”, New York’s SoHo. The name “SoHo” is the abbreviation for an industrial area in Lower Manhattan, precisely “so”-uth of “Ho”-uston Street. Here, artists invented the new residential form of “loft housing” in the 1960s in search of suitable and affordable space.²⁸²

279 “Luwan Qu zhi (1994–2003)” bianzuan weiyuanhui 《卢湾区志（1994–2003）》编纂委员会 (ed. and comp., 2008): “Taikang Lu yishu jie” 泰康路艺术街 [Taikang Art Street], in: *Luwan Qu zhi (1994–2003)* 卢湾区志 (1994–2003) [Luwan District Gazetteer (1994–2003)], p. 304.

280 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): “Taikang Lu yishu jie” 泰康路艺术街, Online.

281 Ibid.

282 For the emergence of lofts as alternative form of housing and the related changes of social and cultural values, especially concerning the status of art and artists as well as the appreciation of industrial heritage and its preservation in New York during the 1960s, see: Zukin, Sharon (1982): *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*, chap. 3.

Living in a constant state of illegality and threatened with possible eviction due to the inconformity of loft living with New York zoning and building codes, artists organized politically and, rather in public, declarations which pointed to their contributions to the cultural economy of the city. Resulting from following processes of promotion and “creative placemaking”, SoHo turned into a thriving neighborhood for middle- and upper-class residents, and since has been recognized as an “arts-driven model of urban growth”.²⁸³ Moreover, the acceptance of lofts as residential space fostered the emergence of an industrial aesthetic in the domestic realm and the appreciation of industrial buildings’ historical value.²⁸⁴ Along with a changing attitude towards preservation of historic structures triggered by the ideas of William Morris (1834–1896) and against restoration in the sense of “stylistic correction”, American preservationists started to advocate the reuse of industrial heritage.²⁸⁵

Convinced by this model and the capacities of art as “catalyst” for urban regeneration, the Tianzifang advocates decided to transform Taikang Road Alleyway 210 into an art street and lease the former industrial buildings to artists for reuse as workshops, galleries and design studios.²⁸⁶ The first artist who agreed to enter and set up his workshop in one of the former *lilong* factory buildings was Chen Yifei²⁸⁷ 陈逸飞 in 1999. His workshop was located in Taikang Road Alleyway 210

283 Shkuda, Aaron (2015): “The Artist as Developer and Advocate: Real Estate and Public Policy in SoHo, New York”, p. 1013.

284 Zukin, Sharon (1982): *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*, pp. 71, 75.

285 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

286 Interview with former Head of Dapujiao Subdistrict Office, Tianzifang, June 8, 2016.

287 Chen Yifei 陈逸飞 (1946–2005) was one of the most well-known Chinese contemporary painters and visual artists. Born as the son of a chemical engineer and a formerly Catholic nun in Ningbo, he moved to Shanghai with his family soon after his birth. Chen studied at the Shanghai College of Art and profited from his friendship to established draughtsmen while simultaneously working as an illustrator. His technical mastery enabled him to start a career in oil-painting after his graduation in 1965 and he became well-known for his portraits of Mao Zedong as well as depictions of major revolutionary events. This made him a leading painter of the Cultural Revolution despite his intellectual background and a constant threat of being criticized. By the end of the 1970s he had become a leading Chinese artist whose work was included in national exhibitions and he decided to visit the U.S. and Europe to study Western art. As one of the first Chinese artists permitted to study art in the USA, he was accepted by Hunter College where he attained a master’s degree in 1984. His solo exhibitions, among others at the Hammer Galleries, led to his international renown. In reviews of the second exhibition, his work was primarily described as “romantic realism”. It was especially his paintings of traditionally dressed beautiful women and landscapes which became well-known for being strongly nostalgic and blending romanticism with realism. When the gallery owner and industrialist Armand Hammer visited China in 1985, he presented one of Chen’s paintings (*Memory of Homeland – Two*

No. 2-3 and comprised space for sculpture, pottery, oil painting as well as fashion photography.²⁸⁸ Although originally most famed for his oil-paintings which are drawn in the style of “romantic realism”, Chen Yifei built up his own brand after returning from the USA at the beginning of the 1990s.

The brand which carries his name covers a broad range of art-related businesses and includes: YIFEI Studio (art), YIFEI Environment & Art (sculpture, installation art, art ornaments), YIFEI Media (film), YIFEI Models, Layefe (fashion), Layefe Home (homeware) and YIFEI Vision (magazines).²⁸⁹ One of his artworks which he created in this workshop at Tianzifang is *Shanghai shaonü* (上海少女, “Young Girl of Shanghai”). The sculpture displays a young graceful Shanghai girl, twisting her body and glancing over her shoulder as depicted in oil paintings of Shanghai in the 1930s and 1940s. *Shanghai shaonü* shows some characteristic features of Shanghai women at the time, such as the sleeveless *qipao*²⁹⁰ 旗袍 and sandals she wears or the birdcage she is holding in one hand as well as the fragrant fan in her other hand.²⁹¹ After its completion in 2000, the sculpture was invited to Paris and as the only sculpture from an Asian country, it was exhibited at a retrospective exhibition on modern sculpture by the French Ministry of Culture in Paris. Following the exhibition, it was further exhibited in the Louvre Museum for 60 days.²⁹²

Two other pioneering artists with their own relatedness to a location such as Tianzifang are photographer Er Dongqiang 尔冬强 and painter, as well as paper-cutting master, Li Shoubai 李守白. Er Dongqiang (1959–) originally worked on

Bridges 家乡的回忆—双桥) as a gift to Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping. Chen finally returned to Shanghai and founded a number of art-related businesses in 1990. In addition to fashion, homeware design and modeling, he started to produce films three years later. While he was still working on his movie “Barber” 理发师, Chen suddenly died from an illness in 2005. See: Shanghai Museum, Shanghai; China National Museum of Fine Arts, Beijing (1996): *Chen Yifei* 陈逸飞, pp. 158–176. “Chen Yifei” 陈逸飞, CHEN YIFEI Art Studio, Online.

288 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): “Taikang Lu yishu jie” 泰康路艺术街, Online.

289 “YiFei Brands” 逸飞品牌, CHEN YIFEI Art Studio, Online.

290 The *qipao* 旗袍, or *cheongsam*, is a tight-fitting women’s dress which originated from traditional Manchu clothing and underwent several alterations in design and style. Originally promoted by urban-dwelling women and film stars in Shanghai, it had become standard clothing for Chinese women by the 1930s. Fully showing a woman’s figure, the *qipao* symbolized an increasing level of freedom and was popular among female students and workers as well as the wives of high-ranking officials. Source: Yang, Shaorong (2004): *Traditional Chinese Clothing: Costumes, Adornments, Culture*, pp. 8, 24.

291 “Shanghai zhongxin ‘Shanghai shaonü’” 上海中心《上海少女》 [Centre in Shanghai “Young Girl of Shanghai”], CHEN YIFEI Art Studio, Online.

292 Ibid.

folk customs and culture but later turned to architectural photography. He documents modern Shanghai architecture and roads which are threatened to disappear due to urban development.²⁹³ In 2001, he set up the Er Dongqiang Art Center 尔冬强艺术中心 in Taikang Road Alleyway 210 No. 2-4. Therefore, two factory buildings, including the earlier Shanghai Food Industry Machinery Factory, were transformed which covered an area of 800 m².²⁹⁴ His art center comprised of an art studio, an exhibition hall and a café.

The art center regularly staged exhibitions including “Expansion and Extension” 扩展与延伸, the European Graphic Art Exhibition or a photographic exhibition on Er Dongqiang’s investigations in the west. The studio not only provided space for artistic but also musical events such as the “Gershwin Night” Jazz Concert.²⁹⁵ In 2002, Er Dongqiang further founded an opera salon at Tianzifang where well-known Shanghai opera artists were invited to perform on the last Saturday of every month.²⁹⁶

Li Shoubai (1962–) was born into a well-established art family in Shanghai and received his education at the Shanghai Arts and Craft College 上海市工艺美术学校. He primarily studied under renowned folk-artist and professor Lin Ximing 林曦明 (1926–) as well as paper cutting master Wang Zigan 王子淦 (1920–2000) and later developed a unique personal style.²⁹⁷ He set up his workshop in Taikang Road Alleyway 210 No. 4-2.

His company, Shoubai Art, follows the philosophy to preserve local Shanghai or “Haipai” culture which he sees as combining local with foreign culture and an important premise for the emergence of Shanghai as a cosmopolitan metropolis. The company therefore offers “Haipai” seminars and workshops to promote local urban culture.²⁹⁸ At Tianzifang, Li Shoubai pursues his work as an artist as well as engages in the transmission of immaterial cultural heritage, namely the art of Chinese paper cutting. As a famous Shanghai-style paper cutter, he was awarded “Representative Transmitter of Shanghai Intangible Cultural Heritage”.²⁹⁹

293 Kanagaratnam, Tina (June 25, 2014): “Tess Johnston & Deke Erh: Shanghai’s Art Deco Pioneers”, Shanghai Art Deco, Online.

294 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): “Taikang Lu yishu jie” 泰康路艺术街, Online.

295 Xu, Yibo 徐逸波; Chen, Haiwen 陈海汶 (ed., 2011): *Xianhuo de Shanghai longtang: Tianzifang* 鲜活的上海弄堂: 田子坊 [Vibrant Lanes in Shanghai: Tianzifang], p. 21.

296 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): “Taikang Lu yishu jie” 泰康路艺术街, Online.

297 Xu, Yibo 徐逸波; Chen, Haiwen 陈海汶 (ed., 2011): *Xianhuo de Shanghai longtang: Tianzifang* 鲜活的上海弄堂: 田子坊, p. 27.

298 “About Shoubai Art”, Shanghai Shoubai Cultural Art and Co., Ltd., Online.

299 Ibid.

Besides working as an artist and sharing great interest in local culture, Er Dongqiang and Li Shoubai personally engage in and support the preservation and transmission of this culture. While Er Dongqiang contributes to the preservation of traditional built heritage in Shanghai by photographic documentation, Li Shoubai passes on Shanghai-style paper cutting and local culture in general through his works as well as initiatives and workshops by his company. Their choice to move their art studios to Tianzifang provided further support for the block and contributed to its final preservation.

In 2001, the development of Taikang Road Art Street began to assume permanent and visible form through the establishment of important institutions as well as symbolic structures. One of the milestones of this development was the establishment of the above-mentioned Er Dongqiang Art Center. Therein, he held exhibitions and events which, according to the artist, were open to the public and free of charge.³⁰⁰ The center has been transformed into Tianzifang Art Center 田子坊艺术中心 in 2013 and regularly holds cultural and art exhibitions until today.

Chen Yifei's stainless steel sculpture "Shanghai Gate of Art" was officially completed at the end of January 2002. This street landmark in the shape of an archway crossing Taikang Road set a strong example in support of the idea of a Taikang Road Art Street, claiming the alleyway as an artistic space (see chapter 5.1.1). The artist further assumed the post of president for the Taikang Road Art Street Association 泰康路艺术街行业联谊会 which was established on the same day.³⁰¹ By the middle of 2002, there had already moved a total of 83 art stores, creative workshops and exhibition rooms into Tianzifang.³⁰² These stores offered artworks such as paintings, calligraphies or professional photographs but also craftworks, antiquarian books and antiques.

The different fates of artist workshops originating from Taikang Road Art Street can be illustrated by example of Er Dongqiang and Li Shoubai. While Li Shoubai founded his Shoubai Art company in 2004 which is still located in the original building at Taikang Road Alleyway 210, Er Dongqiang had to move his art center in 2012. The continually rising rent forced him to leave Tianzifang after 12 years. According to the owner, the building needed to be renovated and the artist's contract would not be prolonged afterwards.³⁰³ The reason for this was

300 Zhu, Geyi 诸葛漪 (2012): "Sheyingjia Er Dongqiang: Tianzifang yishu qu yi biancheng shangye qu" 摄影家尔冬强: 田子坊艺术区已变成商业区, Online.

301 Shanghai Local Gazetteers Bureau 上海市地方志办公室 (ed., 2004): "Taikang Lu yishu jie" 泰康路艺术街, Online.

302 Ibid.

303 Zhu, Geyi 诸葛漪 (2012): "Sheyingjia Er Dongqiang: Tianzifang yishu qu yi biancheng shangye qu" 摄影家尔冬强: 田子坊艺术区已变成商业区, Online.

another rent increase (see chapter 5.2.3). The building is now occupied by the scarf company “Woo” which has opened several shops in Tianzifang.

While museums were a common form of reuse in the preceding two case studies there has only been one museum established in Tianzifang so far: the Colored Glaze Art Museum 琉璃艺术博物馆. Former film actor and performing artist Yang Huishan 杨惠姗 (1952–) together with former director Zhang Yi 张毅 (1951–) from Taiwan founded and designed the museum located on Taikang Road No. 25. They established their renowned Colored Glaze Workshop 琉璃工房 in 1987 and have been honored as the “founders and pioneers of modern colored glaze art in China”.³⁰⁴ By setting up the museum, the founders aim to provide a space where visitors can directly experience and learn about colored glaze art and foster discussions and exchange between artists as well as spectators. They strive to pass on the long history of Chinese *liuli* (琉璃 “colored glaze”) which dates back to the Han dynasty.³⁰⁵

In the 1960s, the original site of the museum still accommodated the Shanghai Plastic Component Factory for Clocks and Watches. The design of the new museum retained parts of this factory’s building structure and merely added new elements.³⁰⁶ The inner and outer museum walls are built from 12,000 handmade *liuli* bricks which resemble an inscription tablet, referring to the workshop’s twenty-year long history and are illuminated in radiant colors at night.³⁰⁷ The building reflects a “Chinese style” characterized by a fusion of tradition and modernity. For example, the “Western” building structure stands in contrast to a one-ton heavy peony sculpture hung up on the outer wall (see fig. 5-20).³⁰⁸ In Chinese tradition, the peony is regarded as the “King of Flowers” or “Flower of Riches and Honor” due to its large, variegated blossoms and is associated with brightness.³⁰⁹ In terms of exhibits, the museum presents ancient Chinese colored glaze artworks as well as modern pieces by Yang Huishan and international artists.

304 Xu, Yibo 徐逸波; Chen, Haiwen 陈海汶 (ed., 2011): *Xianhuo de Shanghai longtang: Tianzifang* 鲜活的上海弄堂: 田子坊, p. 35.

305 Tang, Si-fu: “Welcome”, Liuli China Museum, Online.

306 “Shanghai liuli yishu bowuguan” 上海琉璃艺术博物馆 [Shanghai Liuli Art Museum], Liuli China Museum, Online.

307 Tang, Si-fu: “Welcome”, Liuli China Museum, Online.

308 “Liuli — yi zhong zui jiejin ai de caizhi” 琉璃 —— 一种最接近爱的材质 [Colored Glaze — a material coming closest to love], Liuli China Museum, Online.

309 Williams, C.A.S. (1974): *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs*, pp. 320–321.



Figure 5-20. Liuli China Museum.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Another location where exhibitions are regularly staged is the above-introduced Tianzifang Art Center on the second floor of the Taikang Road Alleyway 210 No. 2-2. According to the chairman of the Merchant Association, the establishment of an art center had already been considered for a long time.³¹⁰ As a public platform for artists, Tianzifang Art Center stages exhibitions on photography, calligraphy, painting, etc. Artists primarily need to apply to exhibit their works but are not charged. Simultaneously, visitors can contemplate the exhibitions free of charge.³¹¹

Former exhibitions held in the art center so far comprise of the “Joint Autumn Exhibition of Eight Artists in September” (Jiuyue qiu shi ba ren lianzhan 九月秋时八人联展 and *Xunwei Shanghai - kun yue Tianzifang* 寻味上海 - 昆悦田子坊 (“Searching for the taste of Shanghai - *Kunqu* opera delights Tianzifang”). The

310 Zhou, Sili 周思立 (March 28, 2013): “Tianzifang ni wei yishujia tigong mianfei wutai” 田子坊拟为艺术家提供免费舞台 [Tianzifang plans to provide a free platform for artists], Online.

311 “Tianzifang yishu zhongxin kaifang” 田子坊艺术中心开放 [Tianzifang Art Center opens to the public], (July 15, 2013), Shanghai Municipal Tourist Administration, Online.

joint exhibition by Nancy's Gallery 南希艺术画廊 was held in September 2015 and staged representative works of eight contemporary artists.³¹² *Xunwei Shanghai* was an exhibition in commemoration of the Shanghai *Kunqu* Opera Troupe's 40th anniversary. It was held from the end of May to the beginning of June in 2018.

Figure 5-21 shows the display of *kunqu* opera developmental history as well as traditional clothing and musical instruments in the art center. Besides *kunqu* opera exhibits, there were activities organized for the promotion of “*kunqu* opera culture”. In an event for children, they were offered the application of traditional opera facial make-up to their faces and were taught several postures on stage. Another educational event provided an introduction to this kind of opera and an insight into opera learning for visitors of all age groups.³¹³ Thereby, visitors could gain a first-hand experience of traditional Shanghai *kunqu* opera.

Moreover, “Haipai” culture is displayed by innovative and unconventional use of space. For example, in June 2018 an “aerial gallery” 空中长廊 of common characters in Wu Chinese was hung up all over the Tianzifang core area. The red banners which displayed a respective character, its pronunciation, meaning and the context when it is used, were installed along the alleyways at the level of *shikumen* door lintels (see fig. 5-22).

The gallery enables visitors to learn about common characters and expressions in Shanghainese while strolling along the characteristic *lilong* alleyways.³¹⁴ In addition to the material built heritage of *shikumen lilong* buildings, local culture has thereby been considered as an important aspect of Tianzifang's cultural heritage. As the number of “original inhabitants” (*yuanzhumin* 原住民) and the chance to listen to their Shanghai dialect declines, such initiatives may be seen as an attempt to retain and pass on the cultural aspect of the multifunctional area.

Some art companies and businesses in Tianzifang further launch initiatives to promote Chinese culture. In addition to selling culture-related products, they organize educational activities to transmit cultural knowledge. One example are the above-mentioned seminars and workshops of the Shoubai Culture & Art Company. These regularly held workshops are not limited to paper cutting, but further

312 “Jiuyue qiu shi ba ren lianzhan” 九月秋时八人联展 [Joint Autumn Exhibition of Eight Artists in September], ARTX.cn, Online.

313 Sun, Jiaqin 孙霞琴 (May 28, 2018): “Xunwei Shanghai – kun yue Tianzifang, haipai wenhua huose shengxiang!” 寻味上海 – 昆悦田子坊, 海派文化活色生香 [Searching for the taste of Shanghai – *Kunqu* opera delights Tianzifang, vivid *Haipai* culture!], Shanghai Huangpu District People's Government Information Office, Weblog entry.

314 Wang, Zitao 王子涛 (June 25, 2018): “Shanghai Tianzifang xian ‘changyong Wu yu zi’ kongzhong changlang” 上海田子坊现“常用吴语字”空中长廊 [Present aerial gallery on “common Wu Chinese characters” in Tianzifang, Shanghai], Online.



Figure 5-21. Xunwei Shanghai Exhibition.

Source: author's photo, 2018.



Figure 5-22. Aerial Gallery.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

include a variety of culture-related topics. Their fifth “Haipai Arts and Crafts” workshop in September 2014 taught participants to craft leatherware by hand.³¹⁵ In August 2016, a Shanghai-style button-making workshop was held with the support of further sponsors and accompanied by a professional lecture. As a platform for international cultural exchange, the workshop was attended by Chinese and non-Chinese participants alike.³¹⁶

Creative Industry Park

The concept of “creative industries” was introduced in 1998 by the newly elected British government which attempted to measure the value of these areas of activity and evaluate their impact on the overall economy. Following the study *Creative Nation* by the Australian government in 1994,³¹⁷ the British Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) primarily set the boundaries of such activities, including 13 areas: advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, and television and radio.

In its *Creative Industries Mapping Document* which later became influential in many other countries, the DCMS defined creative industries as:

“those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property”.³¹⁸

Furthermore, the close relationships of these industries with other sectors were recognized, including tourism, museums and galleries as well as heritage.³¹⁹ Roodhouse notes that the engagement of the government with creative activities and

315 “Leather Handcraft Workshop”, (June 1, 2016), Shanghai Shoubai Cultural Art and Co., Ltd., Online.

316 “Knottedded [sic] World and Shanghai Culture”, (August 12, 2016), Shanghai Shoubai Cultural Art and Co., Online.

317 Newbigin, John: “What is the creative economy?”, British Council, Online.

318 Department of Culture, Media and Sports (2001): *Creative Industries Mapping Documents 2001*, Foreword, p. 5.

319 Ibid.

their construction as part of the knowledge economy primarily aimed at the generation of economic revenue.³²⁰ However, this strategy of combining arts and creativity with economics subsequently became a popular cultural management practice around the globe, including China.³²¹

On an international level, creative industries have been defined by UNESCO as:

“sectors of organized activity whose principal purpose is the production or reproduction, promotion, distribution and/or commercialization of goods, services and activities of a cultural, artistic or heritage-related nature.”³²²

In addition to their close relationship with heritage as recognized by both definitions presented above, creative industries were further closely linked to urban economic development and city planning.³²³ The consideration of creativity as an important premise for urban development was fostered by works such as *The Rise of the Creative Class* by American urbanist and thinker Richard Florida in 2002. He coined the term of the “creative class”, referring to the workforce “employed in the creative sector of the economy” and being “compensated monetarily for their creative output”.³²⁴ A wide range of professions are considered part of this creative sector, including science and engineering, research and development, technology-based industries, arts, music, culture, aesthetic and design work but also knowledge-based professions such as health care, finance and law.³²⁵

Florida argued that cities relied on creativity and diversity for successful development and that those cities which attracted and facilitated the activities of this creative class are more likely to achieve high levels of innovation and growth. While city mayors were often enthusiastic about his theory, scholars pointed to insufficient empirical evidence among other points of critique.³²⁶ The creative industry concept has further been criticized for applying the term “creativity” too broadly which reveals the fundamental problem of classifying these industries. According to the *Creative Economy Report* by the United Nations Development

320 Roodhouse, Simon (2008): “Creative Industries: The Business of Definition and Cultural Management Practice”, p. 20.

321 Ibid., p. 16.

322 “Creative Industries”, UNESCO, Regional Bureau for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, Online.

323 United Nations Development Programme; UNESCO (ed., 2013): “Creative Economy Report 2013 Special Edition — Widening Local Development Pathways”, p. 20.

324 Florida, Richard (2005): *Cities and the creative class*, p. 4.

325 Ibid., p. 3.

326 United Nations Development Programme; UNESCO (ed., 2013): “Creative Economy Report 2013 Special Edition — Widening Local Development Pathways”, p. 20.

Programme and UNESCO from 2013, the use of the term can therefore vary significantly depending on its context, and classifications are often remodeled by communities so as to “suit the reality of their local context, culture and markets”.³²⁷

In mainland China, the city of Shanghai is at the forefront of creative industry development. In addition to basic conditions such as its advanced level of infrastructure and cultural diversity, Keane³²⁸ argues that close ties with Hong Kong and its progress in promoting creative industries encouraged Shanghai to adopt a formal policy, respectively. While creative industry clusters only became part of the national policy discourse in 2009,³²⁹ Shanghai founded its Creative Industry Center (Shanghai chuangyi chanye zhongxin 上海创意产业中心) responsible for the promotion of creative industry development as early as November 2004.³³⁰

Shanghai Creative Industry Center is affiliated with the Municipal Economic Committee and originally carried out the official designation of creative industry clusters (*chuangyi chanye jijuqu* 创意产业集聚区) in evaluation rounds.³³¹ By the end of 2009, Shanghai had already held five evaluation rounds and designated 81 projects as creative industry clusters.³³² In 2016, under the new categorization of “cultural and creative industry parks” (*wenhua chuangyi chanye yuanqu* 文化创意产业园区), 128 sites were identified with the majority concentrated in the city center as shown in the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN) Membership Monitoring Report of Shanghai.³³³

An important reason for the reservation of the national government vis-à-vis creative industries found by O'Connor and Gu is related to cultural policy and among other factors, the term “creative”. Associated with “bohemian” values, the “Western” notion of creativity did not comply with Chinese cultural policy objectives. The concept therefore gave rise to an ideological question of the state’s interests in fostering cultural production.³³⁴ While Chinese cultural policy started

327 United Nations Development Programme; UNESCO (ed., 2013): “Creative Economy Report 2013 Special Edition — Widening Local Development Pathways”, p. 21.

328 Keane, Michael (2007): *Created in China: The Great New Leap Forward*, pp. 106–107.

329 White, Andrew; Xu, Sujing (2012): “A critique of China’s cultural policy and the development of its cultural and creative industries; the case of Shanghai”, p. 252.

330 Zheng, Jane (2011): “‘Creative Industry Clusters’ and the ‘Entrepreneurial City’ of Shanghai”, p. 3565.

331 *Ibid.*, p. 3566.

332 Sun, Fuliang 孙福良; Zhang, Naiying 张迺英 (ed., 2010): *Chuangyi Shanghai* 创意上海 [Creative Shanghai], p. 21.

333 UNESCO Creative City (Shanghai) Promotion Office (November 30, 2017): *Report 2013–2016 Shanghai Unesco City of Design*, UNESCO Creative Cities Network Membership Monitoring Report, appendice 2.

334 Tong, Q. S.; Hung, Ruth Y. Y. (2012): “Cultural Policy between the state and the market: regulation, creativity and contradiction”, p. 270.

to acknowledge culture as a resource and driver of economic development in the 1980s, it continues to focus on the promotion of national and socialist values.³³⁵

In the “Western” context, the term “cultural industries” came up in the 1930s and 1940s and carried a negative connotation of undermining the integrity of culture which changed by the 1980s when it became used positively as “forms of cultural production and consumption” by academics and policy-makers.³³⁶ In the subsequent transition from “cultural” to “creative industries”, definition and classification debates arose about where to draw the boundaries.

Similar confusion in terms of definition and terminology came up in China as creative industries also cover cultural activities such as music, writing, film or cultural heritage.³³⁷ While the national government formally adopted the term “culture industry” (*wenhua chanye* 文化产业) in its Tenth Five Year Plan from 2001,³³⁸ Shanghai primarily continued the experimentation and promotion of creative industry clusters. The Municipal Economic and Informatization Committee identified its first batch of 18 creative industry clusters in April 2005.³³⁹ Simultaneously, the Municipal Propaganda Department accredited 15 cultural industry parks (*wenhua chanye yuanqu* 文化产业园区) in a first designation round in April 2009.³⁴⁰ By the end of 2011, Shanghai had selected a total of 89 creative industry clusters and two batches of cultural industries, amounting to a total of 52 parks.³⁴¹

An important figure for the promotion of creative industries on a local, as well as national, level is the former head of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (SASS) Economics Research Institute and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai Municipal People’s Congress 上海市人大常委会副主任, Li Wuwei 厉无畏. He fostered the inclusion of creative industries into national

335 Gu, Xin; O’Connor, Justin (2014): “Creative industry clusters in Shanghai: a success story?”, p. 3.

336 United Nations Development Programme; UNESCO (ed., 2013): “Creative Economy Report 2013 Special Edition — Widening Local Development Pathways”, p. 20.

337 Gu, Xin; O’Connor, Justin (2014): “Creative industry clusters in Shanghai: a success story?”, p. 3.

338 Ibid.

339 Shanghai Cultural and Creative Industry Promotion Leading Group Office 上海市文化创意产业推进领导小组办公室 (May 4, 2016): “Shanghai wenhua chuanyi chanye” 上海文化创意产业 [Shanghai cultural and creative industries], Shanghai Municipal People’s Government, Online.

340 Zhang, Jingxin 张靖欣 (October 31, 2014): “Shanghai 18 jia yuanqu huo cheng wenhua chuanyi chanye yuan” 上海 18 家园区获称文化创意产业园 [18 parks in Shanghai are named cultural and creative industry parks], Online.

341 Yuan, Songlu 袁松禄 (May 2, 2012): “Shanghai Shi wenhua chanye yuanqu yi da 52 ge — yuanqu huhuan geng duo chuanyi jiqun” 上海市文化产业园区已达 52 个 — 园区呼唤更多创意集群 [Shanghai cultural industry parks amount to 52 — the parks are calling for more creative clusters], Online.

policy discourse in 2009 by highlighting the need for a national policy in his position as member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (Quanguo zhengxie 全国政协).³⁴² As head of the SASS Economics Research Institute, he promoted research on the “creative economy” by introducing the field of cultural and creative industries (wenhua chuangyi chanye yanjiu 文化创意产业研究).³⁴³ Furthermore, he established the Shanghai Creative Industries Association in 2005, a platform for creative industry development in Shanghai.³⁴⁴ The development of Tianzifang from an art street to one of Shanghai's first creative industry parks was also strongly encouraged by him.³⁴⁵

The Chinese discourse resulted in the adaptation of the hybrid term “cultural and creative industries” on a national and local level.³⁴⁶ Consequently, the two formerly separated designations of “creative industry clusters” and “cultural industry parks” used in Shanghai needed to be merged. Among others, this task was carried out by the Shanghai Cultural and Creative Industry Promotion Leadership Group 上海市文化创意产业推进领导小组, established in 2010. Over a period of four years, this group unified both industry types in terms of policy, statistics and data, finance and development.³⁴⁷

Due to Shanghai's early adoption of creative industries, a number of locations had been selected as both, creative industry clusters and cultural industry parks. These sites now had to be renamed as such. In November 2014, the Cultural and Creative Industries Promotion Office standardized the first batch of 18 parks which had carried both designations so far in a process named *fanpai*³⁴⁸ (翻牌, “turning

342 White, Andrew; Xu, Sujing (2012): “A critique of China's cultural policy and the development of its cultural and creative industries; the case of Shanghai”, p. 252.

343 “Wenhua chuangyi chanye yanjiushi jianjie” 文化创意产业研究室简介 [Introduction to Cultural and Creative Industries Research Department], Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Applied Economics, Online.

344 “Xiehui jieshao” 协会介绍 [Introduction to the association], Shanghai Creative Industries Association, Online.

345 Zhang, Jianjun 张建君 (April 15, 2009): “Lao Zheng he ta de Tianzifang” 老郑和他的田子坊, Weblog entry.

346 Gu, Xin; O'Connor, Justin (2014): “Creative industry clusters in Shanghai: a success story?”, p. 4.

347 Zhang, Jingxin 张靖欣 (October 31, 2014): “Shanghai 18 jia yuanqu huo cheng wenhua chuangyi chanye yuan” 上海 18 家园区获称文化创意产业园, Online.

348 The term refers to the official tablets hung up in parks which successfully passed the evaluation procedures and were accredited the designation of “creative industry cluster” or “cultural industry park”, respectively. Such tablets usually show the official name of a site, the awarded title and the government agency responsible for its selection as well as the proclamation date.

over the tablet”).³⁴⁹ A second batch of cultural and creative industry parks was determined in December 2014 and newly selected parks from a third designation round were proclaimed in January 2016.³⁵⁰

Furthermore, the Shanghai Cultural and Creative Industry Promotion Leadership Group and the Municipal Statistics Bureau formulated a categorization standard for cultural and creative industries in 2011. The revised version of the “List of Shanghai Cultural and Creative Industries Categories” (*Shanghai Shi wenhua chuangyi chanye fenlei mulu* 上海市文化创意产业分类目录) of 2013 comprises 11 categories further divided in 30 subcategories and 185 industry branches as well as activities. The 11 main categories are: media, arts, industrial design, architectural design, fashion design, internet and information, software and computing services, consultancy, advertisement and exposition, leisure and entertainment services and industries related to culture and creativity. As found by scholars, this standard is very much related to Hong Kong’s *Baseline Study*³⁵¹ from 2003.³⁵²

By now, creative industry parks constitute an **established part of Shanghai’s economy**. From 2012 to 2016, the added value of creative design, which indicates the value generated through investment in design-related activities, was growing steadily and by the end of 2016 accounted for 7.31 percent of the total GDP.³⁵³ While its 9.31 percent-increase was lower than in 2013 (11.8 percent lower, in fact, from the previous year),³⁵⁴ the added value of creative design still shows a positive

349 Zhang, Jingxin 张靖欣 (October 31, 2014): “Shanghai 18 jia yuanqu huo cheng wenhua chuangyi chanye yuan” 上海 18 家园区获称文化创意产业园, Online.

350 Shanghai Cultural and Creative Industry Promotion Leading Group Office 上海市文化创意产业推进领导小组办公室, CPC Shanghai Municipal Committee Publicity Department 中共上海市委宣传部, Shanghai Municipal Commission of Economy and Informatization 上海市经济和信息化委员会 (December 7, 2014): *Guanyu rending di er pi Shanghai Shi wenhua chuangyi chanye yuanqu de tongzhi* 关于认定第二批上海市文化创意产业园区的通知, document no. 34, Online. Shanghai Cultural and Creative Industry Promotion Leading Group Office 上海市文化创意产业推进领导小组办公室 (January 11, 2016): *Di san pi Shanghai Shi wenhua chuangyi chanye yuanqu mingdan gongshi* 第三批上海市文化创意产业园区名单公示 [Promulgation of the list with the third batch of Shanghai’s cultural and creative industry parks], Online.

351 The full reference to this study in which Hong Kong defined its creative industries is: Centre for Cultural Policy Research (2003): *Baseline Study of Hong Kong’s Creative Industries*, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong: SAR.

352 White, Andrew; Xu, Sujing (2012): “A critique of China’s cultural policy and the development of its cultural and creative industries; the case of Shanghai”, p. 252. Keane, Michael (2009): “Creative industries in China: Four perspectives on social transformation”, p. 431.

353 UNESCO Creative City (Shanghai) Promotion Office (November 30, 2017): *Report 2013–2016 Shanghai Unesco City of Design*, UNESCO Creative Cities Network Membership Monitoring Report, appendice 1.

354 “Shanghai”, UNESCO Creative Cities Network, Online.

development. The main segments of the creative design industry are industrial design, architectural design, fashion design, software and computing services as well as internet services with software and computing services constituting the greatest segment of about 30 percent, followed by industrial and architectural design, each amounting to about 20 percent.³⁵⁵

Apart from economic benefits, **place promotion and global branding** played an important role for Shanghai's decision to foster creative industries. According to Wu, Shanghai was lagging behind other Chinese cities in its role as an artistic and innovation center, especially in comparison to Beijing, by the middle of the 1990s due to insufficient government funding and strong supervision.³⁵⁶ Striving to become a global hub, the promotion of creative and cultural industries is one of several strategies to gain greater prominence, just as the establishment of a modern cultural infrastructure by means such as the expansion and opening of cultural venues or to host high profile events.³⁵⁷

The city's efforts were recognized internationally as Shanghai was included as city of design in UNESCO's "Creative Cities Network" (UCCN) in 2010. Founded in 2004, the UCCN by now is composed of 180 members from 72 countries. As creative cities rely on creativity as the key factor for sustainable urban development, creativity and cultural industries play a central role in their development plans. The UCCN's definition of creativity thereby covers the fields of crafts and folk art, design, film, gastronomy, literature, music and media arts.³⁵⁸

The third aspect in which cultural and creative industry development proves to be favorable for Shanghai is its **urban regeneration effect**. As a pioneering city in the development of creative industries in China, Shanghai reflects the shift towards a more economic-centered cultural policy which draws on culture as a resource and "driver" of economic development.³⁵⁹ Concretely, the municipal government shifted its focus to the integration of creative design into urban renewal and industry transformation. While the first batch of creative industry parks such as Tianzifang emerged from the reuse of former industrial buildings

355 "Shanghai", UNESCO Creative Cities Network, Online.

356 Wu, Weiping (2004): "Cultural strategies in Shanghai: regenerating cosmopolitanism in an era of globalization", pp. 174–176.

357 Gu, Xin (2014): "Creative Industries, Creative Clusters and Cultural Policy in Shanghai", p. 175. Wu, Weiping (2004): "Cultural strategies in Shanghai: regenerating cosmopolitanism in an era of globalization", p. 177.

358 "Home", UNESCO Creative Cities Network, Online.

359 White, Andrew; Xu, Sujing (2012): "A critique of China's cultural policy and the development of its cultural and creative industries; the case of Shanghai", p. 249. Keane, Michael (2007): *Created in China: The Great New Leap Forward*, p. 106. Zhang, Xiaoming (2006): "From institution to industry: Reforms in cultural institutions in China", pp. 297–306.

due to their cheap rents, wide space and historical environment by artists and art-related professionals, their establishment later became an urban regeneration practice carried out by private developers as well as public/private corporations.³⁶⁰

The bank of Suzhou Creek features one of the earliest projects later integrated into urban renewal and protection. Located at Moganshan Road 50 in one of Shanghai's former industrial districts, **M50 Cultural and Creative Industry Park** is characterized by industrial buildings and warehouses of different historical periods from the 1930s to the 1990s.³⁶¹ Attracted by its location next to Suzhou Creek, artist Xue Song 薛松 was the first to move his studio to one of the factory halls in 2000.³⁶² Two years later, ShanghART (Xianggena 香格纳) which was founded in 1996 as one of the first Chinese contemporary art galleries opened a first gallery in M50.³⁶³ Afterwards, artistic talents from over 20 countries and regions engaged in visual arts and creative design moved to the area, turning it into a vibrant arts space which became originally recognized as one of the first creative industry parks in 2005.³⁶⁴

Similar to Block 56 (present-day Tianzifang), real estate developers had targeted this area to build a residential compound facing the waterfront.³⁶⁵ Finally, due to its new function as a creative hub, its traditional appearance was preserved, and the area transformed into M50 Cultural and Creative Industry Park. Other early examples oriented on urban renewal are Bridge No. 8 (Ba hao qiao 八号桥) and 1933 Old Millfun (1933 lao changfang 老场坊). In contrast to Tianzifang and M50 which primarily served as a suitable and affordable workspace for artists and only later acquired the additional function of a creative industry cluster, these clusters have been planned as comprehensive transformation projects aiming at the attraction of cultural and creative industries.

Bridge No. 8 is the designation for a complex of former factory buildings of the Shanghai Automotive Brake Company 上海汽车制动器公司 not very far from Tianzifang and first creative industry cluster realized by a real estate developer. The name is related to the overhead walkways (*tianqiao* 天桥) connecting the seven buildings on their second stories.³⁶⁶ In 2003, Luwan District Government

360 Zheng, Jane (2011): "'Creative Industry Clusters' and the 'Entrepreneurial City' of Shanghai", p. 3568.

361 Sun, Fuliang 孙福良; Zhang, Naiying 张迺英 (ed., 2010): *Chuangyi Shanghai* 创意上海, p. 79.

362 Ibid., p. 80.

363 "Space", ShanghART Gallery, Online.

364 Sun, Fuliang 孙福良; Zhang, Naiying 张迺英 (ed., 2010): *Chuangyi Shanghai* 创意上海, p. 81.

365 Ibid., p. 80.

366 Ibid., p. 23.

entrusted a real estate company with the redevelopment of the former factory site and the state-owned enterprise provided a twenty-year lease of the property.³⁶⁷

The Japanese architect Kenji Mantani with his company HMA guided the transformation and was the first to move into the new complex.³⁶⁸ In the transformation process, the building structure of the former factory buildings was maintained as well as other characteristic elements such as the original grey bricks, steel staircases or pipes.³⁶⁹ After its completion, the site further attracted advertising and media businesses³⁷⁰ and hosted a great number of events, including commercial activities of renowned national and non-Chinese brands as well as cultural and charity events.³⁷¹

1933 Old Millfun, originally Shanghai's largest abattoir dating from the Republican period, is located in Hongkou district. It was designed by a British architect, with a squared outer appearance and a round inner form, resembling a maze. The complex with a size of 32,500 m² features characteristic architectural elements such as the former cattle path, air bridges and spiral ladders.³⁷² The building's historical and artistic values were primarily acknowledged by Hongkou District Government which listed the site as an *outstanding historical building* and later confirmed by the municipal government when it was upgraded to municipal level in 2005.³⁷³

Its transformation into a creative industry park was carried out by Shanghai Creative Industry Investment Company which was found by Zheng to be highly competitive due to support from Hongkou District Government.³⁷⁴ In cooperation with scholars and experts, the site was restored to its original appearance and style by means of original materials and building techniques. The interior was adapted to modern needs and new functions where appropriate.³⁷⁵ Following its self-description, 1933 Old Millfun now provides space for a variety of functions,

367 Greenspan, Anna (2014): *Shanghai Future: Modernity Remade*, pp. 97–98.

368 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

369 *Ibid.*

370 Gu, Xin; O'Connor, Justin (2014): "Creative industry clusters in Shanghai: a success story?", p. 9.

371 Sun, Fuliang 孙福良; Zhang, Naiying 张迺英 (ed., 2010): *Chuangyi Shanghai 创意上海*, pp. 28–29.

372 "1933 Shanghai", Shanghai zhongheng qiye guanli zixun youxian gongsi, Online.

373 "Shanghai chuangyi chanye jijuqu you yao xin liangdian" 上海创意产业集聚区又耀新亮点 [Shanghai's creative industry cluster gains new merit], (August 9, 2006), Shanghai Municipal People's Government, Online.

374 Zheng, Jane (2010): "The 'Entrepreneurial State' in 'Creative Industry Cluster' Development in Shanghai", p. 160.

375 Sun, Fuliang 孙福良; Zhang, Naiying 张迺英 (ed., 2010): *Chuangyi Shanghai 创意上海*, p. 160.

including high-profile events, restaurants, art performances, high-end fashion stores and office spaces.³⁷⁶ However, Greenspan sees it as a failed cluster because much of the building remains empty and mostly hosts high-end businesses.³⁷⁷

Tianzifang and M50 are clusters which developed gradually and “organically”³⁷⁸ in contrast to the above-mentioned examples of planned clusters. Especially in the case of Tianzifang, the creative function is only one of several functions. A shared phenomenon with M50 and Bridge No. 8 is that their value was first recognized by professionals from the arts and architecture. Moreover, these professionals mostly came from non-Chinese countries or had overseas experience. As mentioned above, in its early period of creative industry development, Tianzifang covered more than 160 investors in creative and design organizations as well as cultural and art businesses from 26 countries and regions, including the USA, Australia, Canada, France, Britain, Denmark, Ireland, Japan, Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Taiwan.³⁷⁹

In the case of Tianzifang, the entering of businesses in this initial stage was regulated and priority given to entrepreneurs of foreign descent, from Greater China; while returning overseas Chinese. Thereby it was planned that Tianzifang become a gathering place for people from different countries, with different cultural backgrounds, bringing a diversity of styles to the area and an increase in the publicity of the brand.³⁸⁰ The most recent survey by this author in May 2018 has shown that while established non-Chinese businesses still exist, by now, the majority of creative, as well as touristic, businesses is operated by Chinese owners (see appendix A.17).

The pioneering role of Tianzifang as a creative cluster is further illustrated by its efforts to improve the environment for creative industries. In April 2006 Tianzifang set up the “Union for the Protection of Intellectual Property Rights” (Tianzifang zhishi chanquan baohu lianmeng 田子坊知识产权保护联盟).³⁸¹ At the time, this was the first autonomous organization for the **protection of intellectual property rights** put forward by creative industries in Shanghai. With the establishment of the union, 22 members mutually agreed on a number of restrictions

376 “1933 Shanghai”, Shanghai zhongheng qiye guanli zixun youxian gongsi, Online.

377 Greenspan, Anna (2014): *Shanghai Future: Modernity Remade*, p. 100.

378 See also: Gu, Xin; O’Connor, Justin (2014): “Creative industry clusters in Shanghai: a success story?”, p. 7.

379 Zhu, Ronglin 朱荣林 (2008): *Jiedu Tianzifang* 解读田子坊, p. 20.

380 Wen, Qing 文卿 (ed., 2007): “Tianzifang: yi jia yi fengge” 田子坊：一家一风格 [Tianzifang: One house, one style], p. 30.

381 “Shanghai shou ge you guan zhishi chanquan baohu hangye zilü zuzhi guapai” 上海首个有关知识产权保护行业自律组织挂牌 [First autonomous organization for the protection of intellectual property rights established in Shanghai], (April 25, 2006), Shanghai Municipal People’s Government, Online.

and obligations to foster and protect their creative work.³⁸² The union further aimed to offer assistance and guidance for the establishment of a management system to investigate violations of intellectual property rights and to offer related professional services.³⁸³

The protection of intellectual property rights became a key issue for Shanghai in the course of the World Expo 2010. According to Luwan district's science and technology innovation action plan to host the World Expo, innovation, entrepreneurship and creativity are seen as important development drivers and the protection of intellectual property rights as one of the major tasks. The plan also foresees the establishment of practice areas related to the exposition motto of which Tianzifang became one.³⁸⁴

This position, as the first park to set up an organization for the protection of intellectual property rights, together with its unique appearance, are named as important factors qualifying Tianzifang as a World Expo demonstration site.³⁸⁵ Such favorable conditions further contributed to the progress of **creative businesses** and in some cases, their expansion to the greater city, or, in fact, all over China. One example for such a creative business originating from Tianzifang is “Woo” 妩, a high-end Chinese accessory brand for scarves and shawls.

Inspired by a remark of Chen Yifei whereby he explained that he felt ashamed whenever he went to Paris because he never saw any luxury brands from where he came from, designer Sun Qingfeng 孙青锋 decided to establish his own brand and set up his first store in 2002.³⁸⁶ His accessories are made from high-quality cashmere and silk from areas such as Tibet, Inner Mongolia and Hangzhou. In addition to processing such traditional materials, the accessories combine Chinese cultural elements with international fashion trends. Traditional handicraft techniques such as Suzhou embroidery are used to enrich these luxury scarves and shawls with cultural content.³⁸⁷

382 “Shanghai shou ge you guan zhishi chanquan baohu hangye zilü zuzhi guapai” 上海首个有关知识产权保护行业自律组织挂牌, (April 25, 2006), Shanghai Municipal People's Government, Online.

383 Ibid.

384 Luwan District People's Government Bureau 卢湾区人民政府办公室 (September 24, 2008): *Guanyu yinfa “Luwan Qu ying Shibo keji chuangxin xingdong jihua” de tongzhi* 关于印发《卢湾区迎世博科技创新行动计划》的通知 [Circular on the publication of “Luwan District Science and Technology Innovation Action Plan to Receive the World Expo”], Shanghai Municipal People's Government, Online.

385 Ibid.

386 Ap, Tiffany (April 6, 2014): “A brand of their own”, Online.

387 Han, Qing 韩庆 (September 5, 2013): ““Woo 妩” li Zhongguo de Aimashi you duo yuan?” “Woo 妩”离中国的爱马仕有多远? [How far is “Woo 妩” from becoming the Chinese Hermès?], Online.

Since he opened the first store, the designer has expanded his business in Tianzifang to three stores in Alleyways 210 and 248, whereby the shop in Alleyway 248 covers two housing units (see appendix A.17). Furthermore, there are 50 Woo stores in 90 percent of the luxury department stores in mainland China overall.³⁸⁸ The brand also expanded to e-commerce and has opened an official online store on the influential platform Tmall.³⁸⁹ Although stores such as Woo are not the majority, the example illustrates how Tianzifang became an authentic creative industry park as the “birthplace” of successful cultural and creative businesses.

According to O’Connor and Gu, Chinese cultural and creative industry clusters combine art and production spaces with leisure elements such as restaurants, cafes and bars as well as retail elements including bookstores, design shops, etc.³⁹⁰ Yu et al. have found that of the “first generation” businesses which were set up in the area of the former factory buildings, 52 percent were engaged in art and design, 25 percent restaurants and cafes, 7 percent retail stores and 16 percent “others”.³⁹¹ This proportion changed dramatically with the increasing commercialization of Tianzifang and the conversion of formerly residential units into retail stores.

Tourist and Recreation Venue

While initially only visited by a small number of “insiders” interested in art and traditional *shikumen lilong* architecture, Tianzifang has already become one of Shanghai’s best-known tourist destinations and shopping areas.³⁹² In 2010, it was officially listed as a 3A National Tourist Attraction (国家 AAA 级旅游景区).³⁹³ Since then, individual travelers and touristic groups float into the small lanes of Taikang Road block on working days as well as the weekend.

388 “妩 Woo”, Shanghai International Fashion Centre, Online.

389 Ibid.

390 Gu, Xin; O’Connor, Justin (2014): “Creative industry clusters in Shanghai: a success story?”, p. 5.

391 Yu, Hai; Chen, Xiangming; Zhong, Xiaohua (2016): “Commercial Development from Below: The Resilience of Local Shops in Shanghai”, in: Zukin, Sharon; Kasinitz, Philip; Chen, Xiangming (ed.): *Global Cities, Local Streets*, p. 70.

392 Ibid., p. 62.

393 3A is the lowest level of National Tourist Attractions in Shanghai and comprised a total of 46 attractions in 2018. In the same year, 4A was the largest category with 52 entries while the highest level had only been awarded three times. The Oriental Pearl Tower and Shanghai Wild Animal Park were selected as 5A National Tourist Attractions in 2007 and Shanghai Science and Technology Museum in 2010. See: “3A ji jingqu minglu” 3A 级景区名录 [List of 3A National Scenic Areas], Shanghai Municipal Tourism Administration, Online.

Tianzifang's success is particularly remarkable as the former mixed-use block with industrial and residential buildings does not feature common "attractions" such as landmark buildings. As has been analyzed in chapter 5.2.2, Tianzifang's conservation plans have defined different sets of sight names to advertise the block's urban landscape. While the sight names themselves have not been used for designation (yet), some of the places they describe are advertised as "sites" on an information board in the block.

In the first period of on-site investigations by this author in 2015/2016, there had only been three information boards installed throughout the block describing the origin of Tianzifang's name and its development. By 2018, a passageway connecting the traditional Chinese courtyard with Alleyway 248 which was formerly occupied by retailers had been transformed into a touristic space offering information on the block and major "sites". There is now a model of Tianzifang installed in the center of the passageway and on the walls to its left and right are information boards (see fig. 5-23).

The boards display the development of Tianzifang, starting from the time of the former French Concession and painter Wang Yayun's establishment of Shanghai Xinhua Art School as well as the artist association which is depicted as the origin of Tianzifang being an artistic space through formulations such as having "planted the seeds for Tianzifang's artistic orientation" (wei Tianzifang zhong xia le yishu zhongzi 为田子坊种下了艺术种子) and being the "cultural gene for Shanghai's present cultural and creative industry parks" (dangjin Shanghai wenhua chuangyi chanye yuanqu de wenhua jiyin 当今上海文化创意产业园区的文化基因). Thereby, Tianzifang claims to be Shanghai's "original" creative industry park as legitimated by its historic relation to the arts.

The period between 2002 and 2006 when the block was threatened with demolition is marked as a "predicament" (*kunjing* 困境) and as a "favorable turn" (*zhuanji* 转机) but without further information on what these events actually were. On a second information board there are ten major "sites" of the block displayed, designated as Tianzifang's Ten Characteristic Landscapes (Tianzifang shi da tese jingguan 田子坊十大特色景观). These include individual buildings related to art, such as Chen Yifei's former workshop (the artist died in 2005), Tianzifang Arts Center or Shoubai Art. The former workshop of Chen Yifei which was the "birthplace" of artistic work in Tianzifang has been opened as an exhibition hall free of charge (see fig. 5-24).



Figure 5-23. Tianzifang Model and Information Boards.

Source: author's photo, 2018.



Figure 5-24. Former Workshop of Chen Yifei.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

The other “landscapes” refer to architectural and environmental characteristic places of the block including Erjing Lane, the traditional Qing dynasty dwelling or so-called “face-to-face” *shikumen* buildings. This description of Tianzifang as a scenic area by means of the term “landscape” shows how an urban block without officially protected entities is advertised as a scenic site within the city. It further shows how the concept of the landscape fosters a new understanding of vernacular architecture as cultural heritage.

As a touristic and recreational space, Tianzifang draws on its built heritage as a cultural resource. Since about two decades, Shanghai fosters the expansion of its cultural infrastructure as part of the strategy to promote its image as a global city. On the one hand, striving to become the leading metropolis in Asia, modern cultural venues, such as museums, galleries or concert halls are constructed.³⁹⁴ On the other hand, the city promotes its, mainly modern, cultural heritage. As observed by scholars and mentioned above,³⁹⁵ this development further involves a popular nostalgia for Shanghai’s “golden era” as a “cosmopolitan” and global city in the 1920s and 1930s.

While tourists come to the block in search for an “authentic” experience of local culture, this “Haipai” culture is further enjoying a revival among the local middle-income classes. On the side of this group of white-collar workers, intellectuals, artists, creative professionals, among others, there is a great demand for inspiration provided by the block’s characteristic environment.³⁹⁶ Similar to the case of Tongli, the physical landscape of Tianzifang is “enriched” with intangible heritage. One example is the above-mentioned “aerial gallery” of common characters in Wu Chinese which was installed in the block’s alleyways in 2018.

Another example is an installation on Alleyway 210 entitled “image of local *shikumen* customs in line drawing” which displays local customs and former “ways of life” in Shanghai alleyway house compounds (see fig. 5-25). Therein are shown characteristic features of *shikumen* houses such as archways and “tiger windows” as well as scenes of daily life. The line drawings address topics such as the close relationship between neighbors living in alleyway compounds (*linli guanxi*

394 Gu, Xin (2014): “Creative Industries, Creative Clusters and Cultural Policy in Shanghai”, p. 175.

395 Liang, Samuel Y. (2008): “Amnesiac Monument, Nostalgic Fashion”, pp. 47–78. Gu, Xin (2014): “Creative Industries, Creative Clusters and Cultural Policy in Shanghai”, p. 175.

396 Yao, Zigang 姚子刚; Pang, Yan 庞艳; Wang, Jieqiong 汪洁琼 (2012): “‘Haipai wenhua’ de fuxing yu lishi jiejū de zaisheng — yi Shanghai Tianzifang wei li” “海派文化”的复兴与历史街区的再生——以上海田子坊为例 [The Revival of “Haipai culture” and regeneration of historic blocks — by example of Shanghai Tianzifang], p. 142.

邻里关系), folk literature (*minjian wenxue* 民间文学), street vendors who sell local specialties or children playing in the lanes under the eyes of their parents and neighbors.

Ren has criticized the staging of *shikumen lilong* houses in the case of Xintiandi as part of a Shanghai nostalgia and a kind of amnesia of related history, as they were originally occupied by low and middle-income households and were thus turned into shopping and entertainment quarters.³⁹⁷ Tianzifang, where the building's residential function was partially maintained, emphasizes this different approach. Although the majority of its residents have already rented out their apartments to shop owners, the block draws on this romanticized depiction of local customs to raise its attractiveness.



Figure 5-25. Line Drawings of *Shikumen* Customs.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

The demand for characteristic and culture-related places, as part of a global trend, becomes clear from Tianzifang's entry in the travel guide *Lonely Planet*:

397 Ren, Xuefei (2008): "Forward to the Past: Historical Preservation in Globalizing Shanghai", p. 23.

“Tianzifang and Xintiandi are based on a similar idea – an entertainment complex housed within a warren of traditional *longtang* (弄堂; alleyways) – but when it comes to genuine charm and vibrancy, Tianzifang is the one that delivers. You do need to wade through the souvenir stalls to get to the good stuff, but this network of design studios, cafes, bars and boutiques is the perfect antidote to Shanghai’s oversized malls and intimidating skyscrapers. With some families still residing in neighbouring buildings, a community mood survives.”³⁹⁸

The entry regards Tianzifang as more “genuine” than Xintiandi and explicitly refers to a “community mood” generated by its residential function. Moreover, the block is contrasted with multi-story malls and skyscrapers which make up the usual cityscape of Shanghai and global cities in general. Coming back to the introductory remark by architect Wang Shu, Tianzifang is described as a project which contributes in maintaining the city’s memory.

Equally, shop owners make use of both images, Tianzifang as traditional *lilong* compounds as well as the image of Shanghai’s “golden era”. Firstly, these images are taken up in the design of **shopfronts**. Again, the archway as characteristic element of *shikumen* houses appears on a shopfront in Alleyway 210, installed at the entrance to a former factory building. The entrance to scarf company “Woo” is built in the style of a traditional Shanghai *shikumen* archway (see fig. 5-26).

However, it features rich ornamentation and golden letters symbolizing and representing a high status. While the above analysis has shown that Tianzifang’s *shikumen* were in plain style and such richly ornamented archways have never existed in the block, the choice of this style relates to Woo’s status as a luxury brand. On the one hand, the example shows how the archway’s traditional function to display the status is still employed. On the other hand, the construction of the archway reveals a higher estimation of *shikumen* heritage than industrial heritage which is “embellished” with traditional elements.

In contrast, the entrance to the shop and studio of artist Li Shoubai, Shoubai Art, is decorated in the style of paper-cutting (see fig. 5-27). Simultaneously, it takes up the theme of Shanghai’s colonial architecture. The part above the door lintel resembles a balcony rail in the classical style. Here, a creative approach has been chosen which relates to the profession of the artist.

398 “Tianzifang”, Lonely Planet, Online.



Figure 5-26. Entrance to Woo.



Figure 5-27. Entrance to Shoubai Art.

Source: author's photos, 2018.

Secondly, cultural heritage and Shanghai nostalgia play a role concerning the **products** offered in Tianzifang's shops. A survey by this author in May 2018 investigated which shops in Tianzifang's core area, as designated in the tourist map from 2008, are related to Chinese cultural heritage in general (indicated as "national", see appendix A.17) and which sell products related to Shanghai (indicated as "local"). The data received from this investigation shows that there are certain product groups in both categories. Products related to Chinese cultural heritage in general comprise of silk products, porcelain, tea, pottery, traditional clothing, fans, traditional make-up, jewelry and handicraft products. Product groups related to Shanghai include traditional watches, traditional make-up and fragrance, Chinese dresses (*qipao* 旗袍), silk scarves, glasses and photography.

While such products related to Chinese cultural heritage in general can be found at many tourist destinations all over China, a majority of products related to Shanghai and their presentation are reminiscent of the 1920s and 30s. For example, a shop with the name "Modern Lady" 摩登红人 which sells traditional make-up depicts young women in Chinese dresses fashionable in this period at its shop entry as well as on product packaging (see fig. 5-28). An old photograph showing Shanghai's harbor is equally indicated as dating back to the 1930's.



Figure 5-28. Modern Lady Shop Entry.

Source: author's photo, 2018.

Moreover, some relaunched **local legacy brands** such as the shoe brand Feiyue or Shanghai VIVE maintain shops in Tianzifang, drawing on its historic environment of alleyway houses. Feiyue is a canvas shoe brand which emerged in Shanghai in the 1920s and moved to France in 2006.³⁹⁹ It targets a great range of social groups and by 2018 had two stores in Tianzifang. Shanghai VIVE was established as “Shuangmei” 双妹 in 1898 offering perfume and beauty products for the local upper class.⁴⁰⁰ It was relaunched by the state-owned Shanghai Jahwa Group in 2010 and was one of the early businesses which settled in Alleyway 210.⁴⁰¹ While the name “Vive” derives from expanded stores opened in Paris in the 1930s, the brand logo, packaging and scents are equally reminiscent of this period.⁴⁰²

The survey supports the observation by O'Connor and Gu that Chinese cultural and creative industry clusters combine art and production spaces with leisure elements such as restaurants, cafés and bars as well as retail stores. Following the definition of cultural and creative industries from the 2013 Shanghai Classification

399 “Heritage”, Feiyue, Online.

400 Som, Ashok; Blanckert, Christian (2015): *The Road to Luxury: The Evolution, Markets and Strategies of Luxury Brand Management*, p. 402.

401 Ibid.

402 Ibid.

Standard for Cultural and Creative Industries 上海市文化创意产业分类目录, the number of building units in Tianzifang which are occupied by such industries amount to about 78 percent. It has further been found that businesses related to art and design are still most concentrated in Alleyway 210 and the transformed factory buildings (see appendix A.17).

In contrast, former housing units of Alleyways 247, 248 and 155 are mostly occupied by retailers. However, the number of entirely touristic businesses such as souvenir shops and fast food stands, as found in this survey, remained comparatively reasonable with about 11 percent. Touristic businesses mostly occupy units directly located at the main alleyways where most tourists are passing by. Moreover, it has been found that about 17 percent of businesses have already been established by 2008 and retained. These “original” businesses cover all alleyways of Tianzifang’s core area. While the data gathered in the survey reflects Tianzifang’s touristic and creative functions as foreseen in the conservation plans, they are much more pronounced than its residential function and presentation of cultural heritage.

Finally, the conversion of apartments into **guesthouses** (*minsu* 民宿) is a common form of reuse in Chinese (and global) urban renewal projects as the former two case studies illustrate. The opening of guesthouses has been considered for Tianzifang as well in order to enable residents living on the upper stories to rent out their apartments and participate in development.⁴⁰³ However, not only residents would benefit from this line of business, but also other stakeholders.

Tianzifang Merchant Association aims for visitors to stay longer in the block and prolong the opening hours of businesses respectively.⁴⁰⁴ The possibility of an overnight stay complements a cultural tourism scheme where visitors not only spend time in the historical buildings for shopping and recreational purposes, but also experience a stay in a traditional alleyway house and thereby what is advertised as “*shikumen* lifestyle” (*shikumen shenghuo* 石库门生活).⁴⁰⁵

Furthermore, a part of the generated revenue from the guesthouses could be used for the overall management of Tianzifang. According to an article in *Dongfang Online*, the management committee and the Merchant Association examined a model according to which a joint guesthouse management company of the Merchant Association and the management committee would be established. Apartments could thereby be leased from residents and comprehensively repaired.

403 Interview with the resident mediator, Tianzifang, June 14, 2016.

404 Zhu, Yue 祝越 (August 8, 2015): “Tianzifang: shangzhu maodun reng wei jiejie, bu zai kaolü minsu jingying” 田子坊: 商住矛盾仍未解决 不再考虑民宿经营 [Tianzifang: The conflict between commercial and residential [use] has not been solved yet, establishment of guesthouses no longer considered], Online.

405 Ibid.

Reservations, registration and other administrative procedures would be accomplished through a general service desk.⁴⁰⁶

So far, such plans have been refused by the local management committee due to spatial reasons. While the great majority of ground-floor apartments are occupied by shops and many of those second-story places with a favorable position have been opened as cafés; apartments in the upper stories are often inaccessible or too small to be transformed into a guesthouse.⁴⁰⁷ If, in the end, the transformation into guesthouses is approved by the management committee, an unavoidable consequence will certainly be a further decrease of original inhabitants and residential use of buildings in the block and consequently a decrease of local culture and community life.

5.3 Case Study Results

In contrast to the earlier two case studies which featured a great amount of preserved Ming and Qing period architecture, Tianzifang is a mixed-use block with traditional Shanghai *lilong* housing as well as former factory buildings. The block has a comparatively high integrity with built structures from different historical periods and in different architectural styles. Primarily, Tianzifang gains cultural significance from its enclosed spatial structure, delimited by outer streets and with an inner network of smaller and wider lanes. The notion of “graduated privacy” as termed by Wu equally exists for *lilong* housing with main lanes being the most public space in the block and smaller branch lanes becoming increasingly private up to the single houses which are comparatively the most private.

Moreover, the block features similar environmental elements such as historic wells and trees. While their number is much more limited than in the other two case studies due to the higher grade of urbanization in Tianzifang; they equally show relations to their environment through names. One example is the “Lane of the Two Wells” which has been named after its wells and derives significance from them. Furthermore, the trees in the traditional courtyards function as characteristic elements which is shown by the way they are integrated into the transformed recreational spaces. Other significant elements of the block are archways. In addition to the characteristic stone-framed doors of their gates, they can function as material

406 Zhu, Yue 祝越 (August 8, 2015): “Tianzifang: shangzhu maodun reng wei jiejie, bu zai kaolü minsu jingying” 田子坊: 商住矛盾仍未解决 不再考虑民宿经营, Online.

407 Interview with the resident mediator, Tianzifang, June 14, 2016.

carriers of a neighborhood's compound name. These names have a high level of cultural value as they carry a variety of implications such as auspicious meanings, moral principles, references to their environment or Chinese classics.

The genesis of the name “Tianzifang” illustrates the importance of names for places being recognized as “authentic”. In the case of Tianzifang, the name was invented and therefore primarily had to gain recognition from the public as well as the district government. In order to achieve this acceptance, the name was presented in traditional form and installed as calligraphic writing above its entrance gate. The importance of this format further becomes apparent with the establishment of the *shikumen* archway which was also written by a well-known calligrapher.

Another difference to the former two case studies is that Tianzifang does not have officially protected entities. The block is significant for its *shikumen* houses which have only recently been recognized as objects of cultural heritage. The official inscription of *shikumen lilong* construction techniques as national immaterial cultural heritage has been initiated by projects such as the creating of Tianzifang which contribute to raise an awareness for the cultural significance of vernacular architecture. The “first generation” of u-shaped alleyway houses for well-off families had a similar structure to traditional Jiangnan houses with skywells and side rooms to accommodate a multi-generational household. As a result of population increases, housing units were downsized and open spaces omitted in order to accommodate more people.

As a former mixed-use block in the periphery of the French Concession, only a few of Tianzifang's houses are related to historical figures, those being Yang Du and the painter Wang Yayun. The historical value of the block derives from its diverse architecture from different historical periods. In addition to a few Qing-period local-style houses, there are traditional *shikumen lilong* as well as new-style *lilong* houses, *lilong* factories and multi-story factory buildings. These buildings appear in different forms and architectural styles such as “face-to-face” *shikumen* or buildings which combine Western and Chinese features. *Shikumen* houses further gain artistic value from characteristics such as the “tiger windows” or *tingzijian*. Furthermore, most of the houses are south facing. As intangible heritage, the construction technique of *shikumen* provide the houses with cultural value as well as the continuation of their residential function. Finally, *shikumen* houses have social value which is related to a personal nostalgia towards “quodidian spaces”.⁴⁰⁸

Conservation of Tianzifang's built heritage is primarily carried out through continuous use. In contrast to other projects in Shanghai, conservation integrates the maintenance of the block's residential function. Due to a lack of financial

408 Liang, Samuel Y. (2008): “Amnesiac Monument, Nostalgic Fashion”, p. 47.

resources, the subdistrict office focused on culture to trigger development. Tianzifang has then been preserved through a bottom-up approach. Hereby, it is important to note that conservation has been initiated by the subdistrict office which is on the lowest level of government (bottom-up) but still a governmental body and local residents have only subsequently been mobilized. The initial intention was to set up a characteristic crafts street and artistic space. When the block was threatened with demolition, residential units were included into this strategy of expanding functions which contributed to the ultimate preservation of the block.

The Tongji University National Historically and Culturally Famous Cities Research Centre has drafted Tianzifang's general concept plan on its functional expansion and a comprehensive planning. Therein, not only the Tianzifang core area is to be protected but the entire block and its surroundings. While adaptive reuse of historical buildings and the transformation of their interior are permitted, the outward appearance of the buildings has to be preserved. *TZF Comprehensive Planning* defines basic principles such as authenticity and integrity whereby they focus on, but are not limited to, material aspects. Similar to the other case studies, conservation measures are defined for different building types which include improvement, transformation and removal. Moreover, the plans define sets of landscape scenes with sight names to promote different buildings and landscape elements as scenic spots and to enrich their cultural content with connotations.

Conservation in practice mainly comprised improvement measures such as laying cables for power, telecommunication and television in Alleyway 210 underground. Moreover, the living conditions of a number of local residents were improved by installing sanitation facilities, fire sprinklers and renovating public kitchens. Since adoption of the *ju gai fei* policy, sublease of public housing has (temporarily) been permitted and paved the way for adaptive reuse and the opening of private businesses in former *lilong* houses. With the establishment of a management committee, regulations for housing renovation were issued and an entering system for businesses established.

Following the *TZF Concept Plan*, Tianzifang shall supposedly fulfill five functions in its entirety: residential, creative, commercial, cultural and recreational/touristic. In a first step Taikang Road was transformed from a street market to a crafts street whereby the focus of Tianzifang advocates soon shifted to formerly industrial buildings inside the block. Inspired by New York's SoHo, formerly industrial spaces were rented out to artists and designers which greatly enhanced the image of the block. After Tianzifang had been officially recognized, it was declared as a cultural and creative industry park and its scope legally expanded to residential buildings which attracted private businesses and fostered its development into a tourist destination.

Although Shanghai has already been promulgated as HCF City in the second round from 1986, Tianzifang was too small and not considered significant enough to be integrated into existing heritage categories such as *historic and cultural scenic areas*. Only when smaller units were introduced in 2016 was Tianzifang officially listed as a *protected scenic block*. Its final preservation was achieved through the engagement of the Tianzifang advocates and the former head of the subdistrict office who remained persistent in his attempt to convince the district government of the block's value.⁴⁰⁹ The accomplishment of this plan was facilitated by a number of factors, such as the preparation of the World Expo, the introduction of cultural and creative industry parks to Shanghai and a growing awareness for the value of vernacular heritage leading to the government's change of mind in reaction to global trends.

While Tianzifang's built heritage could be preserved, the increasing commercialization of the block has led to conflicts between different stakeholders. Although the involvement of the district government brought some regulation, economic development is still largely determined by market forces. As a result, artists and creative businesses are threatened by exploding rents and violation of intellectual property rights. While some residents improved their economic status by renting out their apartment, others have been excluded from this benefit and disturbed by factors such as noise and overcrowding.

409 Interview with former Head of Dapujiao Subdistrict Office, Tianzifang, June 8, 2016.

6 Conclusion

The theoretical part of this study has traced the emergence of the **HCF City concept** and investigated the assessment of candidate cities as well as relevant regulations concerning conservation measures, funding and usage. Initially, the HCF City was put forward as a form of designation by promoters of China's participation in international conservation. While the selection of a first batch of cities was based on general acknowledgement, there has since developed a comprehensive system with fixed assessment criteria, a legal framework, and a set of planning, as well as conservation regulations and guidelines. One important conceptual understanding in this process was the difference between an overall HCF City and individual officially protected entities (*wenwu baohu danwei* 文物保护单位). As a result, the HCF City was narrowed down to smaller protection units, such as the historic and cultural block and HCF Streets.

The cities where the case studies investigated in the empirical part are located constitute of early examples of listed cities which have gradually been integrated into the HCF City framework. One important means to achieve this integration is the conservation plan. In all three cases, the conservation plans were drafted according to the HCF City's three conceptual tiers: the **city/town**, the **historic and cultural block** and **officially protected entities**. Incentives for local governments to list individual sites as officially protected entities are set by the assessment system. After successful listing, these sites further underlie the Cultural Relics Protection Law. In contrast to an earlier limited focus on individual officially protected entities, conservation of HCF Cities considers the close relationship of urban centers to their surrounding environment and of individual sites to their urban context.

The analysis of the conservation assessment standard for National HCF Cities revealed an increasing importance of intangible heritage and vernacular architecture (chapter 2.3). In the quantitative assessment of HCF Cities, not only the amount of preserved cultural relics is considered (one third), but also accumulations of historical buildings (one third) as well as conservation and management measures (one third). Although intangible heritage is included as an evaluation criterion, the overall quantitative assessment remains largely concentrated on material remains. Formerly neglected historical buildings are now considered on the second tier: historic and cultural blocks. Significant elements for historic and

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cultural blocks as found in the standard are **historic streets, historical buildings and historical environmental elements**. While the preservation of characteristics such as spatial structure and setting were still rejected at the time of the Liang-Chen Proposal, these are now considered significant parts of an HCF City with its protection and control areas.

Moreover, incentives are set to refrain from large-scale relocation of residents. In the indicator system for assessment of National HCF Towns/Villages, these are introduced through a criterion which measures the share of original residents in the core protection area. In reaction to global trends, the maintenance of a residential area's original function gains increasing importance for its overall authenticity. Relocation was kept low in the Pingjiang Historic Block and Tongli whereby people moved out due to economic reasons in Tianzifang; to sublease their housing units to shop owners. In Tianzifang, the maintenance of its residential function is one of the main reasons why it is perceived more authentically than related projects in Shanghai such as Xintiandi.

Cultural Significance of the HCF City/Town and Historic and Cultural Blocks

On the first and second conceptual tiers of the HCF City/Town and the historic and cultural blocks, all three cases derive cultural significance from their **spatial structure** and **historic townscape** as defined in the Planning Regulations and included in the assessment standards. While the Pingjiang Historic Block is part of a planned ancient capital city, the spatial structure of Tongli has been determined by its natural setting and division into *wei*-islands. As a mixed-use block, former industrial and residential spaces are arranged on a network of smaller and wider lanes in Tianzifang, enclosed by streets which integrate the block into the greater city. Thereby, all three cases share characteristics such as spatial hierarchy and a close relation to their environment.

Equally, the investigated areas gain significance from environmental elements and historical buildings which generate their historic townscape. **Environmental elements** are most splendid in the Pingjiang Historic Block and comprise parts of the city moat, city wall and memorial archways. Other elements which also appear in the other two cases are stone bridges, historic trees and wells. Due to its high grade of urbanization, Tianzifang has the least number of environmental elements. However, important functions of such elements have also been carried on in Tianzifang as exemplified by the archways. Originating from the residential wards of capital cities, archways have later become freestanding structures in honor of a

person's or family's commendable deeds. The names on these wards had an identity building function which was carried on, for example, in the case of Da and Xiao Liuzhi Lane of the Pingjiang Historic Block whose names derive from such an archway (see chapter 3.1.1).

In *lilong* neighborhoods, this function persists with entrance gates which equally carry a compound name. Because the basic structure and appearance of *lilong* houses in a compound is identical, compound names have a stronger identity building function than their individual housing units. The importance of compound names for the identity of a place becomes even clearer in the case of Tianzifang where it aimed at claiming the block as an artistic space. While the “Shanghai Gate of Art” by Chen Yifei was established as a material symbol for this function, the creation of the name “Tianzifang” takes up this connotation and additionally provides a relation to traditional culture.

As part of the historic townscape, **historical buildings** are significant representations of regional culture. In all three cases, they share basic design principles such as orientation, axiality and symmetry. Moreover, architectural structures are composed as *ensembles* whose individual buildings are strongly interrelated. They further illustrate the lifestyle and social practices of their historical periods such as social hierarchy and “graduated privacy”. Another shared characteristic of historical buildings in all three cases is their strong consideration of environmental impacts as reflected in architectural elements such as skywells, the elevation of courtyard-building compounds located at the rear, as well as lattice windows and doors.

This study has further found that all significant elements of historic and cultural blocks are closely related to **intangible heritage**. Such intangible aspects comprise connotations to local history and culture, literature, philosophical concepts and relations to the environment. Primarily, names can function as carriers of intangible heritage. Such names comprise block names, lane names, hall names as well as names of individual structures such as bridges. In the case of street names in the Pingjiang Historic Block, for example, they can refer to historical figures or carry literary connotations. While hall names derive from a great variety of sources, they often include Confucian virtues, auspicious meanings, aspirations or references to the environment. Moreover, names can be related to local legends, such as in the case of *Futu* in Tongli or Hu Xiangshi Lane in the Pingjiang Historic Block.

Such connotations are further embodied in ornamental and pictorial carvings. As shown in the case studies, these carvings are not limited to buildings but equally appear on other built structures such as bridges or environmental elements (e.g. archways and wells). They often derive from folk belief and show popular auspicious meanings such as the crane which symbolizes longevity. These layers of intangible

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heritage are equally important for the authenticity of residential areas. The conservation plan of the Pingjiang Historic Block has considered this layer and recommends maintaining historic street names as aspects of intangible heritage.

Cultural Significance of Officially Protected Entities

On the third conceptual tier, officially protected entities have been defined in the China Principles as significant for their historical, artistic, scientific, cultural and social values. While all architectural structures have **historical value** as representations of the material production, lifestyle and traditions of their respective historical periods, officially protected entities are often related to historical figures. The Pingjiang Historic Block features a great number of former residences of figures such as Gu Jiegang or Hong Jun and Huiyin Garden, for example, is equally related to Li Hongzhang and Cheng Xueqi. In Tongli, there are officially protected entities connected to the Southern Society including the Former Residence of Chen Qubing and Nanyuan Teahouse. Other examples are Tianfang and Red Building which are related to Jin Songcen.

Almost all officially protected entities and controlled and protected buildings in the Pingjiang Historic Block have been recorded in historical records (see appendix A.9 and A.10). Due to China's long historiographic tradition, these sources provide information on which sites have been considered significant at the time of their compilation and further enhance their historical value. In the case of Tongli, this criterion is equally significant. As shown in the analysis of historical value illustrated in appendix A.11 which contains sites listed in the *Jiaqing Gazetteer*, almost all sites before the Republican period have been included and most of the sites not included were only built after the compilation of the *Jiaqing Gazetteer*. Missing entities have further been included in the later *Tongli Town Gazetteer* from 2016.

The historical value of officially protected entities can further derive from unique elements such as the opera stage in the Quan-Jin Guild Hall or sets of wooden carvings in Chongben and Jiayin Halls. Only a few entities are related to important events, because most structures are residential buildings. However, due to their relation to historical figures, some entities also have social value as they are places for commemoration. Lize Girls' School in Tongli, for example, has commemorative value related to the protests against the 21 Demands.

The analysis of cultural significance has shown that sites in Suzhou and Tongli have high **artistic value** associated with their gardens or garden related elements. Sites where a garden or parts of it have been preserved are listed on the highest

protection levels. This derives from their cultural meaning and close relation to Chinese painting techniques. Artistic value is further gained from architectural elements and ornamentation. In comparison to historical buildings, officially protected entities often feature rare elements such as landscape architecture, *yuanyang* or *shamao* halls, inscribed archways and fine carvings. Some sites also have immovable artistic works such as the lakeside rocks in the Couple's Garden Retreat and Tuisi Garden.

In terms of **scientific value**, officially protected entities in the Pingjiang Historic Block mostly follow a north-south orientation while entities in Tongli can also have east-west or west-east orientations depending on the setting. Entities with high scientific value are laid out in specific forms such as the Couple's Garden Retreat which follows *yin* and *yang* principles or Wuben Hall in the shape of a crane lying prone. Moreover, they show rare construction techniques such as wooden column bases used in the Ming dynasty or materials such as imported bricks for Republican buildings.

Finally, officially protected entities have **cultural value**. Great mansions not only have hall names but also names for individual buildings in their residential part as well as adjacent garden. In comparison to historical buildings, the hall and building names of listed entities are often related to Chinese classics or literary works as well as the official ranks and honorable deeds of ancestors or mansion owners. In addition to these names which appear in the form of inscriptions on archways or horizontal wooden boards, decorative carvings show popular literary scenes such as in the cases of Chongben Hall and Jiayin Hall in Tongli which feature sets from the *Dream of the Red Chamber* or the *Story of the Western Wing*. Ornamental and pictorial patterns can further derive from Buddhist and Taoist tradition such as the "Eight Immortals" as well as popular motives from folk belief.

The analysis of cultural significance in the three case studies has shown that in addition to material remains, the significance of cultural heritage derives from a close connection of built structures to their environment and a close relation to culture as expressed in connotations. Decoration and ornamentation on their carriers differ among social strata, ranging from auspicious symbols and folk belief to classical literature and philosophy. The evaluation of individual sites according to criteria defined in the China Principles has shown that heritage related to classical culture is valued the highest; a bias which has already been revealed in the *Critical Heritage Studies* context. While the Principles therefore enable the protection of outstanding structures, more common historical buildings need to be included in local conservation plans on a regional and municipal level.

Conservation Measures and Management

On a national level, conservation regulations and guidelines such as the Chinese Cultural Relics Protection Law and the China Principles have been formulated in close relation to the Venice Charter (see chapter 2.4). Consequently, architectural conservation interventions such as reconstruction, rebuilding and relocation of sites are prohibited except for cases of “special circumstances”. Such “special circumstances” refer to natural threats or development projects of national importance.

While, on a national level, these regulations and guidelines oppose reconstruction, rebuilding and relocation, the case studies have shown that these interventions had been carried out on the local level in the Pingjiang Historic Block before these regulations were issued as well as afterwards. In the early examples of the Couple’s Garden Retreat and the Quan-Jin Guild Hall, their main halls have been reconstructed. As already mentioned, these halls are a decisive part of the building complex with other buildings being arranged according to this hall. Petzet has noted that reconstruction may be justified within historic complexes and *ensembles* which would be reduced or impaired by a “gap” (see chapter 2.4).¹ Due to the close interrelatedness of structures in Chinese architecture, the missing main halls were not only a loss of material fabric but also a loss in terms of form and design. In the conservation process, the maintenance of this intangible aspect was preferred to authenticity in material and substance.

Another example where intervention was justified by intangible aspects is the relocation of the well in the western garden of the Couple’s Garden Retreat. Here, both gardens are designed according to the cosmological binary principles of *yin* and *yang* with a pond in the eastern garden which corresponds to the well in the western garden. The well therefore derives its credibility not primarily from its material or substantial attributes but its philosophical meaning as the counterpart to the pond.

The relocation of Ding Mansion could further be justified by the fact that its historical environment had already been altered and it was difficult to preserve the buildings *in situ* due to the adjacent multi-story buildings of Changfa Mall. As has been mentioned in chapter 2.4, the China Principles allow relocation if “historic remains have become isolated and have lost their historic context”.² Still, tourism

1 Petzet, Michael (2013): “Conservation of Monuments and Sites — International Principles in Theory and Practice”, “Denkmalpflege — Internationale Grundsätze in Theorie und Praxis”, p. 80.

2 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 85.

development objectives played a decisive role for the above-mentioned interventions and must be taken into account. While the Couple's Garden Retreat and the Quan-Jin Guild Hall were opened for tourism purposes, Ding Mansion was moved to the site of the former Pingjiang Road Farm Produce Market to improve the block's townscape.

In the case of Tongli, several sites on higher listing levels have been "enhanced" with cultural content as well as physical structures in order to expand the visiting area. In Tuisi Garden, a former granary was transformed into a *guihua* parlor in order to complete views of the Four Seasons which is a popular theme in Chinese landscape painting. Following the same objective to open the site as a tourist destination, additional structures of landscape architecture have been constructed in the garden of Gengle Hall. Although most interventions can be justified by conservation purposes, tourism development provided the main impetus.

The most extensive rebuilding has been done at the Pearl Pagoda Site. While only little material heritage has been preserved of the former Chen Family Mansion, the site was enriched with intangible heritage and the legend of the Pearl Pagoda thereby claimed as local heritage. In addition to its strong focus on tourism development, Tongli has to compete with a number of other water towns in the region which have a similar historic townscape. In addition to different branding activities, the "enrichment" with cultural content is one means to stand out from other locations.

Another shared characteristic for the promotion of local heritage found in all three urban cases is the definition of landscape scene sets, following the tradition to compile "eight views" sets of outstanding landscape scenes which originated from literati culture. While Tongli has historically defined sets, only four of these scenes have been preserved which may be a reason why they are not extensively promoted. In the case of Tianzifang there have been several sets defined with cultural and partially poetic sight names in the development plans in order to promote its non-exceptional built heritage. However, these sight names have not (yet) been used in practice.

The Pingjiang Historic Block is the only case where the sight names have been practically used. Primarily, a group of local volunteers drafted a brochure on eight of the "Twelve Views of Pingjiang" to introduce the places to tourists. Recently, the Pingjiang Historic Block Company also launched initiatives to make them better known by local people as well as tourists. The example shows that the designation of sight names for a selection of representative places acknowledged for their historical and cultural significance constitutes an important aspect for the formation of local heritage. The city of Hangzhou is another example where public assessment meetings have been initiated to define new scenic spots. The city has

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defined a new set of the “Ten Views of the West Lake” (Xihu shi jing 西湖十景) named the “New Ten Views of the West Lake” (Xin Xihu shi jing 新西湖十景) in the 1980s and a “Third Review of the Ten West Lake Views” (Sanping Xihu shi jing 三评西湖十景) in 2007.³

Forms of Use

In the Planning Regulations of 2005, the conservation measure determined for immovable cultural relics is *xiushan*, a broad term which can range from maintenance to major restoration. The case studies have shown that officially protected entities on higher listing levels are usually restored with the objective to open them up for tourism or as museums. This form of use is determined in the Cultural Relics Protection Law. The China Principles further state that public access to the site should be provided and that officially protected entities should be used in a rational manner (see chapter 2.4). At the Pingjiang Historic Block this has been considered and museums are accessible without entrance tickets. In contrast, Tongli requires a comprehensive ticket not only to access its sites but the historic town as such. However, five to seven percent of the yearly income generated from tourism are reinvested for the preservation of the historic town.

In the HCF City concept, historical buildings are valued for their outward appearance which generate the historic townscape. The Planning Regulations therefore define that their interiors may be improved and adapted for modern usage. Their new functions are similar in all three case studies and they may be opened as guesthouses, restaurants or shops. In contrast to officially protected entities where the government usually has the property rights, residents holding the right of use for historical buildings primarily draw on their building as economic resource. In Tianzifang as well as in the other two cases, these buildings are the main resource for residents to participate in local development.

While all three cases are former residential areas, their revitalization included a **diversification of functions**. Thereby, built heritage sites in the Pingjiang Historic Block take on the greatest variety of functions. Museums are not only opened for tourism but provide spaces for *kunqu* and *pingtan* practices by the local community or are used for school opening ceremonies as in the case of the Zhuangyuan Museum. Another example where a controlled and protected building is used for social purposes is the elderly home in Weidao Guan Qian No. 27.

3 Zhang, Xianliang 张先亮; Wang, Min 王敏 (2014): “Shilun ‘Xihu shi jing’ de mingming yishu” 试论“西湖十景”的命名艺术 [Some viewpoints on the art of naming in the “Ten Views of the West Lake”], p. 191.

In Tongli, the historic town is planned to carry on its residential function which shall be integrated with touristic use. While living conditions have been improved for local residents, buildings treated by the government are exclusively used for touristic purposes. Although tourism development provides employment for younger people, they usually move to new houses in the residential districts outside of the historic town where life is more convenient.

Tianzifang equally developed from a mixed-use block with residential and industrial units to further become a creative and cultural industry park as well as a tourist destination. While commercial and touristic use dominate in the block, its function as an artistic space has been limited to certain areas. Moreover, its residential and cultural functions are much less pronounced. While the block originally had 671 households, only 60 households remained by 2016.⁴ The use of historical buildings for exhibition or educational purposes is mainly limited to the former workshop of Chen Yifei, the Liuli Museum on Taikang Road and Tianzifang Art Center.

Major case study results concerning the conservation approach, cultural significance, conservation measures and usage are illustrated below:

Table 6-1. Case Study Results.

	Suzhou Pingjiang Historic Block 平江历史街区	Tongli Ancient Water Town 同里水乡古镇	Shanghai Tianzifang 上海田子坊
<i>initiator</i>	top-down: initiated by local government	top-down: initiated by local government + international cooperation	bottom-up: initiated by Tianzifang advocates with support of conservationists, artists, shopowners
<i>conservation approach</i>	conservation project with focus on Pingjiang Road (2002); several pilot projects for the conservation of individual sites	integrated development of residential function and tourism; pilot project for HUL management approach	transformation of former industrial buildings and lilong housing into art studios, shops and restaurants

4 Interview with the resident mediator, Tianzifang, June 14, 2016.

Conclusion

	Suzhou Pingjiang Historic Block 平江历史街区	Tongli Ancient Water Town 同里水乡古镇	Shanghai Tianzifang 上海田子坊
<i>cultural significance</i>	planned ancient capital city; rich in environmental elements; great number of officially protected entities and controlled and protected buildings; historical buildings; intangible heritage	spatial structure determined by natural setting and division into <i>wei</i> -islands; environmental elements; officially protected and controlled entities; historical buildings; intangible heritage	network of smaller and wider lanes; few environmental elements; historical buildings; intangible heritage; residential function
<i>conservation measures</i>	officially protected entities mostly restored; cases of reconstruction, rebuilding and relocation justified by intangible aspects; maintenance and adaptive reuse of historical buildings; improvement of basic infrastructure and environment	officially protected entities mostly restored; in some cases construction of additional structures and rebuilding for touristic purposes; several sites “enhanced” with cultural content; maintenance and adaptive reuse of historical buildings; improvement of basic infrastructure and environment	mostly maintenance measures of <i>lilong</i> , as well as factory, buildings and adaptive reuse; improvement of basic infrastructure and environment
<i>forms of use</i>	restored officially protected entities opened as tourism or museum spaces and for community activities; museums accessible without entrance tickets;	restored officially protected entities mainly opened as tourist destinations; comprehensive ticket required;	creative and cultural industry park; tourist destination; commercial space; artistic space; limited exhibition spaces

	Suzhou Pingjiang Historic Block 平江历史街区	Tongli Ancient Water Town 同里水乡古镇	Shanghai Tianzifang 上海田子坊
<i>forms of use</i>	historical buildings opened as guest- houses, restaurants or shops	historical buildings opened as guest- houses, restaurants or shops	
<i>residential function</i>	maintained, mostly in historical buildings	maintained, mostly in historical buildings	maintained, mainly in units on the 2 nd and 3 rd stories

Source: author's draft.

Historic Urban Landscape Management Approach

The third and encapsulating question of this study concerned the applicability of UNESCO's HUL management approach in China. Primarily, the approach proceeds from a dynamic city which underwent, and thus continues to undergo, socio-economic changes. This is particularly suitable for China because many cities are subject to rapid urbanization processes and related transformations. Another strength of this approach is that the adaptation of urban heritage to social needs is seen as an opportunity. As has been shown in the case studies, historical buildings often lack sanitation facilities and other basic amenities. In order to enable its residents better living conditions, they often must be adapted to modern needs.

The HUL approach regards urban centers from the landscape perspective and as part of an historical continuum. As a result of a historic layering process, the different physical layers of the city are equally significant. From the investigated case studies, only Tianzifang preserved all physical layers from traditional dwelling houses to industrial heritage of different historical periods. In the Pingjiang Historic Block and Tongli, industrial buildings were demolished or transformed so as to resonate with the historic townscape. While Tongli's conservation plan explicitly refers to physical and intangible layers, industrial heritage is not included.

These results show that industrial heritage is still considered inferior to architecture from earlier historical periods as well as the attempt to create a uniform image of a place. The acceptance of industrial heritage is highest in Shanghai where adaptive reuse of formerly industrial architecture for cultural purposes started in the late 1990s. This is not surprising due to the city's high amount of

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modern architecture and fast reaction to global trends. In contrast, the Pingjiang Historic Block and Tongli emphasize the great amount of preserved architecture from the imperial and Republican period as part of their cultural tourism strategies. Here, the landscape perspective of HUL could foster an understanding of equally significant layers from different historical periods.

Due to the interrelatedness of Chinese architecture with its environment and rich intangible heritage, the concept of the Historic Urban Landscape can further contribute to preserve these “invisible” layers of cultural heritage. In Tongli, such intangible layers have been included in the conservation plan but are mainly preserved as part of touristic activities. In the Pingjiang Historic Block, tangible sites are also used by the local community, e.g. for *kunqu* opera and *pingtan* performances and practice. Another “invisible” layer comprises living habits of local people. While the residential function has been integrated into development in all three cases, comparatively little is done to strengthen this function. Most treated buildings in both cases did not continue their residential function (see appendix A.12–A.16) and only in the case of the Huancui Villa in Tongli was heritage integrated into a residential complex.

In terms of tools, the implementation of the HUL Recommendation in Tongli has mainly been focused on the areas of knowledge and planning. This is shown by the research cooperation with the National Research Council of Italy which aimed at the identification and a better understanding of interconnections between the city and its natural setting. In the Pingjiang Historic Block, interviews were conducted with local residents during the planning process in order to inform upon the intangible layers of cultural heritage in the block.⁵ These examples show that there is an openness concerning the introduction of new methodology in these domains.

Another aspect which has been successfully employed in the cases are funding strategies such as public-private partnerships. One example from Tongli is Lize Girls’ School where the Blossom Hill Inn Group is allowed to use buildings as part of their boutique hotel profile while taking on responsibility for their conservation. Moreover, there have been many cooperations established with museums in cases where exhibitions are staged in former mansions such as the Number One Scholar Museum in the Pingjiang Historic District. The engagement of the private sector in conservation is important for Chinese cities since the responsibility to raise funding for urban development has been transferred to local governments.

Concerning civic engagement tools, this study has found that community participation mainly remained limited to research activities and economic participation rather than active involvement in decision-making processes. Because conservation usually follows a government-led approach, local governments often see

5 Xie, Jing; Heath, Tim (2018): *Heritage-led Urban Regeneration in China*, p. 108.

their roles as guiding conservation and offering opportunities for local residents to participate in this development. By carrying out improvement of respective residential areas and providing the necessary infrastructure, residents are enabled to participate in development, for example, by opening guesthouses, restaurants as well as shops or providing services. While in the case of Tongli, tourism development offered employment and enabled, particularly younger people, to stay in the town; those residents in Tianzifang with ground-floor apartments equally improved their financial situations by becoming de-facto landlords. As HUL is not a restrictive approach but accepts changes of the urban environment as well as local knowledge and traditions, it provides a great range of opportunities to integrate the rapid development taking place in Chinese cities with conservation measures even further and thereby protect their rich and manifold cultural heritage.

Appendix

A.I Definition of Historical, Artistic and Scientific Values in the China Principles

Following the China Principles, “the fundamental significance of a heritage site resides in its inherent values”.¹ As specified in the guidelines, these “inherent values are a site’s historical, artistic and scientific values”.²

The China Principles define six criteria for the **historical value** (Comm CP 2.3.1) of a site:

- i. Important reasons led to its construction, and the site authentically reflects this historical reality.
- ii. Significant events occurred at the site or important figures were active there, and its historic setting accurately reflects these events or the activities of these people.
- iii. The site illustrates the material production, lifestyle, thought, customs, and traditions or social practices of a particular historical period.
- iv. The existence of the site can prove, correct or supplement facts documented in historical records.
- v. The historic remains contain unique or extremely rare period or type elements, or are representative of a type of site.
- vi. Stages of a site’s transformations over time are capable of being revealed.

1 China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, p. 71.

2 Ibid.

The **artistic value** (Comm CP 2.3.2) of a site is considered as deriving from:

- i. Architectural arts, including spatial composition, building style, decoration and aesthetic form.
- ii. Landscape arts, including cultural, urban and garden landscapes of famous scenic locations, as well as particular vistas comprising a landscape of ruins.
- iii. Associated sculptural and decorative arts, including carvings, statues and fixed ornamentation, frescoes and furnishings.
- iv. Immovable sculptural artistic works that are unique in period, type, subject, appearance, or artisan skills.
- v. The creative process and means of expression of the above-mentioned arts.

The **scientific value** (Comm CP 2.3.3) of a site is defined as:

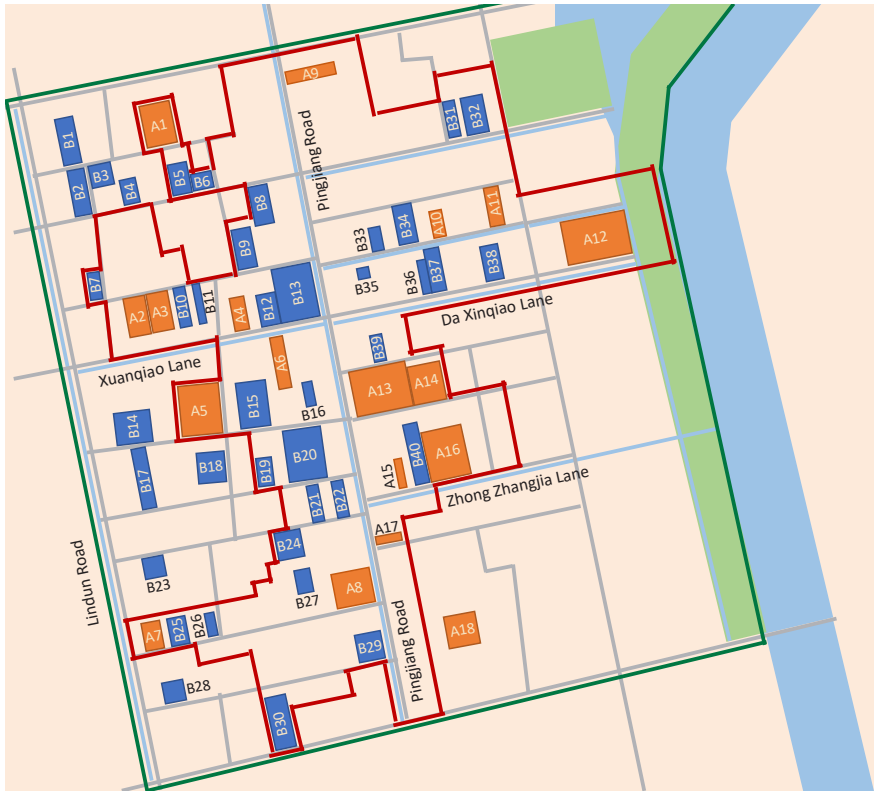
- i. Plan and design, including the selection and layout of a site, protection of the ecology, response to threats of disaster, and architectural form and structural design.
- ii. Construction, materials, and techniques, and the level of scientific and technological achievement they represented for their time, or their importance as a link in the development of science and technology.
- iii. A facility or place where scientific experiments, production or transportation, and so on, occurred.
- iv. A place where important scientific and technological information is recorded or preserved.

Source: China ICOMOS (Chinese-language document); Agnew, Neville; Demas, Martha (English-language translation ed., 2004): *Zhongguo wenwu guji baohu zhunze* 中国文物古迹保护准则, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China*, pp. 71–72.

A.2 Table of Interviews

Interviewee (position/function)	Location	Date
Blossom Hill Inn Regional General Manager	Tongli	April 25, 2016
Chief of Suzhou Planning Bureau Engineering Office	Suzhou	June 7, 2016
Deputy Chief of Construction and Management Bureau, Tongli Historic Town Conservation and Management Committee	Tongli	April 25, 2016
Deputy General Manager of Suzhou Tongli International Tourism Development Co., Ltd.	Tongli	June 22, 2016
Director of Monitoring Department, WHITRAP Suzhou	Suzhou	May 27, 2016
Former Head of Dapujiao Subdistrict Office	Shanghai	June 8, 2016
Manager of Shengping Guesthouse	Tongli	April 23, 2016
Operator of Senzhilü Guesthouse	Tongli	April 24, 2016
Operator of Xiaoxin Qiao Lane Fan Workshop	Suzhou	June 15, 2016
Owner of Jingyi Hall Guesthouse	Tongli	April 24, 2016
Ruan Yisan, urban planner and conservationist	Shanghai	May 10, 2016
Tianzifang resident mediator	Shanghai	June 14, 2016
Tianzifang resident A	Shanghai	July 1, 2016
Tianzifang residents B and C	Shanghai	July 1, 2016

A.3 Distribution of Registered Heritage Buildings in the Pingjiang Historic Block



Source: author's draft. Information from: Suzhou guihua sheji yanjiuyuan gufen youxian gongsi 苏州规划设计研究院股份有限公司 (drafted 2014): "Baohu guihua tu yi" 保护规划图一, in: *Suzhou Pingjiang lishi wenhua jiequ baohu guihua* 苏州平江历史文化街区保护规划 [Online]. Map data from © OpenStreetMap contributors, 2020, available from <https://www.openstreetmap.org/>, licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0.



A1 Donghua Qiao Lane Wang Mansion

东花桥巷汪宅

A2 Qian Mansion 钱宅

A3 Former Residence and Ancestral Hall of

Hong Jun 洪钧故居及庄祠

A4 Xuanqiao Lane Fang Mansion

悬桥巷方宅

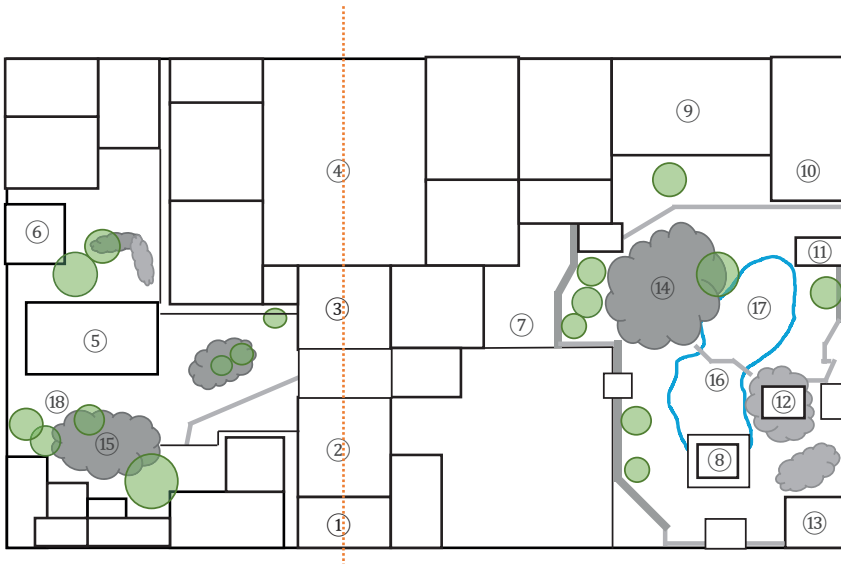
A5 Huiyin Garden 蕙荫园

A6 Former Residence of Gu Jiegang

顾颉刚故居

- A7 Former Residence of Pan Shi'en
钮家巷潘宅
- A8 Niujia Lane Fang Mansion 钮家巷方宅
- A9 Wang Family Songfen Yizhuang
汪氏诵芬义庄
- A10 Deng Family Ancestral Hall 邓氏祠堂
- A11 Da Liuzhi Lane Yang Mansion
大柳枝巷杨宅
- A12 Ou Garden 耦园
- A13 Weidao Guan Qian Pan Mansion
卫道观前潘宅
- A14 Weidao Temple 卫道观
- A15 Zhong Zhangjia Lane Shen Mansion
中张家巷沈宅
- A16 Quan-Jin Guild Hall 全晋会馆
- A17 Heming Hall Kang Mansion
鹤鸣堂康宅
- A18 Confucian Temple Hall of Changzhou
District School 长洲县学大成殿
- B1 Pan Mansion 潘宅 (Donghua Qiao Lane)
- B2 Zhou Mansion 周宅
- B3 Huaide Hall Ling Mansion 怀德堂凌宅
- B4 Zheng Mansion 郑宅
- B5 Zhu Mansion 朱宅
- B6 Hang Family Yizhuang 杭氏义庄
- B7 Tiangong Temple 天宫寺
- B8 Song Mansion 宋宅
- B9 Chen Mansion 陈宅 (Lujia Lane)
- B10 Cha Mansion 查宅
- B11 Ding Family Jiyang Yizhuang
丁氏济阳义庄
- B12 Pan Family Songlin Yizhuang
潘氏松鳞义庄
- B13 Pan Mansion 潘宅 (Xuanqiao Lane)
- B14 Han Mansion 韩宅
- B15 Former Residence of Pan Zuyin
潘祖荫故居
- B16 Xu Family Chunhui Yizhuang
徐氏春晖义庄
- B17 Delin Hall Wu Mansion 德邻堂吴宅
- B18 Former Residence of Han Chong
韩崇故居
- B19 Zhaoqing Temple 昭庆寺
- B20 Duanshan Hall Pan Mansion
端善堂潘宅
- B21 Wang Mansion 王宅 (Daru Lane)
- B22 Ding Mansion 丁宅
- B23 Former Residence of Ai Buchan
艾步蟾故居
- B24 Town God Temple of Yuanhe District
元和县城隍庙
- B25 Wang Mansion (Former Fengchi
Garden) 王宅 (顾氏凤池园)
- B26 Chen Mansion 陈宅 (Niujia Lane)
- B27 Zhenjue Convent 真觉庵
- B28 Tian Mansion 田宅
- B29 Dong Family Yizhuang 董氏义庄
- B30 Xiaoyou Hall Zhang Mansion
孝友堂张宅
- B31 Jiang Family Yizhuang 蒋氏义庄
- B32 Former Residence of Tang Na
唐纳故居
- B33 Xu Mansion 徐宅
- B34 Qingshen Hall Wang Mansion
清慎堂王宅
- B35 Former Residence of Wu Xueqian
吴学谦旧居
- B36 Former Residence of Guo Shaoyu
郭绍虞故居
- B37 Pang Mansion 庞宅
- B38 Duyou Hall Yuan Mansion
笃佑堂袁宅
- B39 Yang Mansion 杨宅
- B40 Wu Mansion 吴宅
(Zhong Zhangjia Lane)

A.4 Ground-floor Plan of the Couple's Garden Retreat



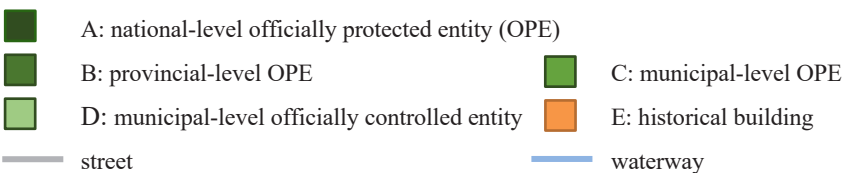
- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 小新桥巷
Xiao Xinqiao Lane | 2 门厅
Entrance Hall |
| 3 轿厅
Sedan-chair Hall | 4 载酒堂
“Carrying Wine”-Hall |
| 5 楼厅
Multi-storied Building | 6 织帘老屋
“Old House with Woven Curtains” |
| 7 藏书楼
Library Tower | 8 沈波双隐
“Twin Retreat Beneath Deep Waves” |
| 9 山水间
“Amongst the Mountains and Waters” | 10 城曲草堂
Thatched Cottage at the City Corner |
| 11 双照楼
Sun and Moonlight Tower | 12 望月亭
“Contemplating the Moon”-Pavilion |
| 13 吾爱亭
“My Love”-Pavilion | 14 听橹楼
“Listening to the Sculling of Boats”-Tower |
| 15 黄石假山
Yellowstone Mountains | 16 湖石假山
Limestone Mountains |
| 17 曲桥
Zigzag Bridge | 18 受月池
“Reception of the Moon”-Pond |

Source: Author's draft. Information from: Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China; State Bureau of Cultural Relics of the People's Republic of China (1999): *The Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, pp. 100–101.

A.5 Distribution of Registered Heritage Buildings in Tongli Historic Town



Source: author's draft. Information from: Shanghai Tongji chengshi guihua sheji yanjiuyuan 上海同济城市规划设计研究院 (ed., 2011): *Wujiang Shi Tongli lishi wenhua mingzhen baohu guihua* 吴江市同里历史文化名镇保护规划, n. pag. Map data from © OpenStreetMap contributors, 2020, available from <https://www.openstreetmap.org/>, licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0.



Appendix

A1 Tuisi Garden 退思园

B1 Lize Girls' School 丽则女学

B2 Gengle Hall 耕乐堂

B3 Former Residence of Chen Qubing
陈去病故居

B4 Tongli Town 同里镇

B5 Siben Bridge 思本桥

C1 Wuben Hall 务本堂

C2 Chongben Hall 崇本堂

C3 Jiayin Hall 嘉荫堂

C4 Fuguan Bridge 富观桥

C5 Woyun Nunnery 卧云庵

C6 Tianfang Building, Red Building
天放楼、红楼

C7 Pang Family Ancestral Hall 庞氏宗祠

C8 Former Residence of Yang Tianji
杨天骥故居

C9 Former Residence of Wang Shao'ao
王绍鏊故居

C10 Shide Hall 世德堂

C11 Qingshan Hall 庆善堂

C12 Nanyuan Teahouse 南园茶社

C13 Yude Hall 余德堂

C14 Pu'an Bridge 普安桥

C15 Zhu Family Mansion and Wuhe
Archway 朱宅及五鹤门楼

C16 Tongli Three Bridges 同里三桥

D1 Xizhai Villa 西宅别业

D2 Cheng'en Hall 承恩堂

D3 Sanxie Hall 三谢堂

D4 Shenxiu Hall 慎修堂

D5 Former Site of Water Conservancy
Department 水利同知署旧址

D6 Former Mansion of Chen Family
陈氏旧宅

D7 Residence of the Imperial Censor 侍御第

D8 Ren Family Ancestral Hall 任氏宗祠
(D9 He Family Grave 何家坟, not shown)

D10 Tailai Bridge 泰来桥

D11 Zhongyuan Bridge 中元桥

(D12 Daxing Bridge 大兴桥, not shown)

(D13 Yongshou Bridge 永寿桥, not shown)

D14 Pan Family Mansion 潘氏墙门

D15 Wujin Bridge 乌金桥

E1 Anfeng Hall 安丰堂

E2 Old House of the Cai Family 蔡家老屋

E3 Chengsi Hall 澄思堂

E4 Chongya Hall 崇雅堂

E5 Lü Family Mansion 大墙门吕宅

E6 Daoshi Dai Ren Residence
道士埭任家

E7 Wang Residence on the Ground of the
Pawnshop 典当场内王宅

E8 Dong Dai Old House of the Wang
Family 东埭王家老屋

E9 Wang Residence at Dongxi Bridge
东溪桥头王家

E10 Dunben Hall 敦本堂

E11 Dunren Hall 敦仁堂

E12 Enze Hall 恩泽堂

E13 Fanjia Dai Shifen Hall 范家埭世芬堂

E14 (Former) Residence of Fan Jingxin
范敬心宅

E15 Former Residence of Fei Gong
费巩故居

E16 Fengheng Hall 丰亨堂

E17 Former Residence of He Family
何家旧宅

E18 Hedong Hall 河东堂

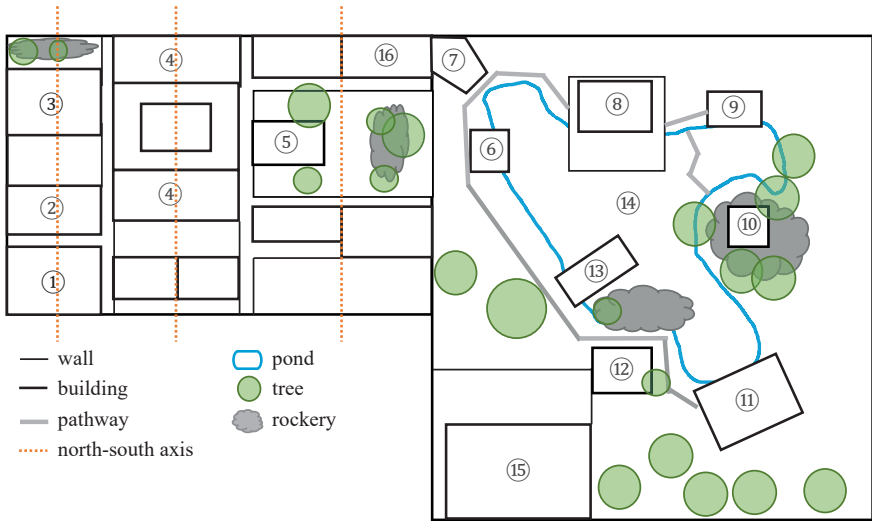
E19 Hengfu Hall 亨复堂

E20 Former Residence of Ji Cheng
计成故居

E21 Jiangjia Bridge Jishan Hall
蒋家桥积善堂

- E22 Jin Family Clinic 金氏诊所
 E23 Jingsi Hall 经筵堂
 E24 Jingyu Hall 敬余堂
 E25 Jishan Hall next to the Decayed Tree
 烂树头积善堂
 E26 Leshou Hall 乐寿堂
 E27 Lishan Hall 礼善堂
 E28 Lujia Dai Shifen Hall 陆家埭世芬堂
 E29 Maoxuan Hall 茂萱堂
 E30 Minjia Bay You Residence
 闵家湾尤家
 E31 Mofang Lane Chunhui Hall
 磨坊弄春晖堂
 E32 Pang Family Mansion 庞家墙门
 E33 New House of the Pang Family
 庞氏新宅
 E34 Qizi Wei Ren Residence 漆字圩任家
 E35 (Former) Residence of Shen Danchen
 沈丹忱宅
 E36 Shigu Hall 式谷堂
 E37 Jin Residence in front of the Govern-
 ment Bureau 司前金家
 E38 Songshi Wu Garden 松石悟园
 E39 Catholic Church 天主教堂
 E40 Tongtai Lane Furu Hall
 同泰弄福如堂
 E41 Weiqi Hall 渭起堂
 E42 Yuwen Hall 蔚文堂
 E43 Residence of the Official Recruiter
 文衡第
 E44 (Former) Residence of Wu Bairu
 吴伯如宅
 E45 Wufu Hall 五福堂
 E46 Wujia Lane Furu Hall 伍家弄福如堂
 E47 Western Lane Wensi Hall
 西弄文笥堂
 E48 Xiang Family Xigu Hall 希古堂项家
 E49 Ye Family Xigu Hall 希古堂叶家
 E50 Xiude Hall 修德堂
 E51 Yan'en Hall 延恩堂
 E52 Yan Family Chunhui Hall
 严家廊下春晖堂
 E53 (Former) Residence of Yan Wenbin
 严文彬宅
 E54 Former Residence of Ye Family
 叶家旧宅
 E55 Yigu Hall 贻谷堂
 E56 Gu Residence at Yinma Bridge
 饮马桥堍顾家
 E57 Yongde Hall 庸德堂
 E58 Yong'an Pawnshop 永安典当
 E59 You Family Lane You Residence
 尤家弄尤家
 E60 Gu Family Youyu Hall 有余堂顾家
 E61 Pan Family Youyu Hall 有余堂潘家
 E62 Yuan Family Hall 袁家厅
 E63 Former Residence of Yuan Family
 袁氏旧宅
 E64 Yunqi Hall 允綦堂
 E65 Zhengyi Hall 正谊堂
 E66 Former Residence of Zhou Family
 周氏旧居
 (E67 Damiao Bridge 大庙桥, not shown)
 (E68 Dechun Bridge 得春桥, not shown)
 (E69 Jiang Family Bridge 蒋家桥, not
 shown)
 (E70 Tang Family Bridge 汤家桥,
 not shown)
 E71 Yudai Bridge 玉带桥

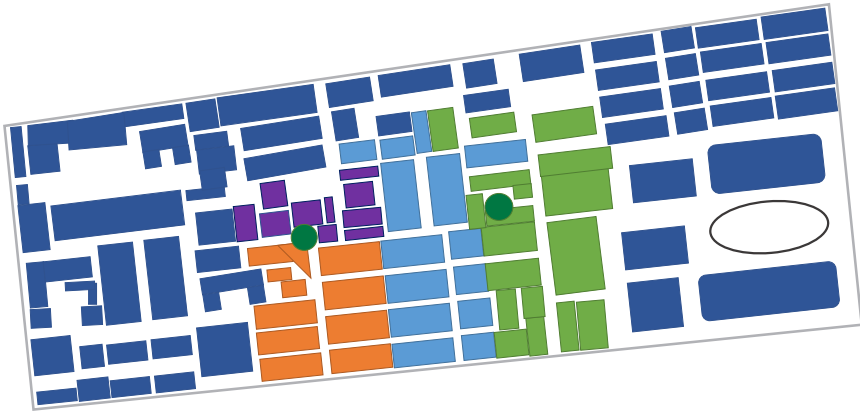
A.6 Ground-floor Plan of the Retreat and Reflection Garden



Source: author's draft. Information from: Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China; State Bureau of Cultural Relics of the People's Republic of China (1999): *The Classical Gardens of Suzhou*, pp. 102–103.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 1 门厅 | Entrance Hall |
| 2 前厅 | Front Hall |
| 3 正厅 | Main Hall |
| 4 楼 | Multi-storied Building |
| 5 旱船 | “Land Boat” |
| 6 水芡榭 | “Lotus Fragrance”-Pavilion |
| 7 揽胜阁 | “Gathering Beautiful Scenes”-Pavilion |
| 8 退思草堂 | Thatched Hall of Retreat and Reflection |
| 9 琴室 | Music Room |
| 10 眠云亭 | “Sleeping Clouds”-Pavilion |
| 11 菰雨生凉 | “Zizania Rain Brings Coolness”-Pavilion |
| 12 辛台 | Xin Terrace |
| 13 闹红一舸 | “Barge in-between Flourishing Red Lotuses” |
| 14 水池 | Pond |
| 15 桂花厅 | Guihua Parlor |
| 16 坐春望月楼 | “Contemplating the Moon in Spring”-Tower |

A.7 Ground-floor Plan of the Taikang Road Block



Source: author's draft. Information from: Shanghai Shi Luwan Qu renmin zhengfu 上海市卢湾区人民政府, Tongji daxue guojia lishi wenhua mingcheng yanjiu zhongxin 同济大学国家历史文化名城研究中心, Shanghai chuangji wenhua chuanbo youxian gongsi 上海创集文化传播有限公司 (2008): *Shanghai Shi Luwan Qu "Tianzifang" zonghe gui-hua*, p. 20.

Tianzifang core area:

- 泰康路 200/210 弄
Taikang Road Alleyway 200/210
- 泰康路 248 弄
Taikang Road Alleyway 248
- 泰康路 247 弄
Taikang Road Alleyway 247
- 建国中路 155 弄
Middle Jianguo Road Alleyway 155
- historical tree

A.8 Tianzifang Sight Names

TZF Concept Plan: “18 Beautiful Sceneries” (*Shiba shengjing* 十八胜景)¹

<i>Yifei yi yun</i> 逸飞遗韵	“Charm Left Behind by Yifei” (<i>lilong</i> factory)
<i>Zhu li chai fei</i> 竹篱柴扉	“Bamboo Fence with Wicker Gate” (traditional Qing-period dwelling)
<i>Honglou xizhao</i> 红楼夕照	“Sunset Glow on Red Building” (Red Building)
<i>Tianjing qiuyi</i> 天井秋意	“Courtyard in Autumn Scene” (<i>shikumen</i>)
<i>Lao dian xin hui</i> 老店新辉	“Old Shops in New Splendor” (Taikang Road)
<i>Qu jing tong you</i> 曲径通幽	“Winding Path Leading into Seclusion” (<i>lilong</i>)
<i>Menghuan gongchang</i> 梦幻工厂	“Dreamlike Factories” (creative park)
<i>Qilou yinxiang</i> 骑楼印象	“Street-across Building Impression” (Taikang Road)
<i>Fang shi chunxiao</i> 坊市春晓	“Dawn on Downtown Area in Spring” (downtown square)
<i>Gao ge wang yue</i> 高阁望月	“Contemplating the Moon from the High Pavilion” (sky gardens on creative factories)
<i>Xiao xiang renjia</i> 小巷人家	“Dwellings in a Small Lane” (Erjing Lane)
<i>Lifang denghuo</i> 里坊灯火	“Lights in a Neighborhood Lane” (Zhicheng Lane)

Explanatory note: While the title “18 Beautiful Sceneries” suggests the existence of 18 sight names, only 12 concrete names are given in the TZF Concept Plan. An ellipsis after the twelfth name further indicates that the set comprises more than these 12 sight names. The short terms in parantheses above have been translated from the plan by this author and explain which elements the sight names are referring to.

1 TZF Concept Plan (2007), p. 49.

TZF Comprehensive Planning: Ten scenic spots (*jingdian* 景点)²

<i>Chaimen jiu lu</i> 柴门旧庐	“Old Cottage with Wooden Gate” (Qing-period dwelling)
<i>Hong qiang lu lian</i> 红墙绿帘	“Red Walls and Green Curtains” (Red Building)
<i>Tingtang yan yi</i> 厅堂演艺	“Performing Art in a Hall” (shikumen)
<i>Lilong fangshi</i> 里弄坊市	“Lilong Commercial Area” (Western Square)
<i>Tingyuan xiao qi</i> 庭院小憩	“Taking a Short Rest in a Courtyard” (Eastern Square)
<i>Fangmen qilou</i> 坊门骑楼	“Street-across Buildings on Entrance Gates” (street-across buildings)
<i>Tianting muqiang</i> 天庭幕墙	“Curtain Walls up to the Sky” (creative factories)
<i>Chuangyi xiao xiang</i> 创意小巷	“Creative Alleyway” (Tianzifang Main Lane)
<i>Qu jing tong you</i> 曲径通幽	“Winding Path Leading into Seclusion” (Lilong alleyways)
<i>Lao jie fengqing</i> 老街风情	“Old Street Customs” (Taikang Road)

Eight cultural landscapes: *Taikang ba jing* 泰康八景³

<i>Taikang chunxiao</i> 泰康春晓	“Dawn on Taikang Road in Spring” (streets)
<i>Qu jing tong you</i> 曲径通幽	“Winding Path Leading into Seclusion” (alleyways)
<i>Fangshi fenghua</i> 坊市风华	“Magnificence of the Downtown Area” (market)
<i>Tianting xizhao</i> 天庭夕照	“Sunset Glow in the Sky” (wells)
<i>Jiu lu xin zi</i> 旧庐新姿	“Old Cottage in New Look” (houses)
<i>Lao li huisuo</i> 老里会所	“Old Neighborhood Meeting Place” (neighborhoods)
<i>Lü lian jiuwu</i> 绿帘酒屋	“Tavern with Green Curtains” (storied buildings)
<i>Da mu tian jiang</i> 大幕天降	“Great Curtain Falling from Heaven” (walls [with multimedia information boards])

2 TZF Comprehensive Planning (2008), p. 13.

3 Ibid., p. 18.

A.9 Cultural Significance of Officially Protected Entities in the Pingjiang Historic Block

The framework for the analysis of cultural significance of individual sites is based on the definition of values in the China Principles and has been expanded by this author to include two additional aspects. A criterion for artistic value is whether the site comprises a garden or elements of a garden. For cultural value, it has been considered whether sites or single buildings which are part of a site have a hall name (*tanghao* 堂号) or building name.

The tables comprise the officially protected entities as listed in the conservation plan from 2004 plus the four formerly controlled and protected buildings which have been upgraded to heritage sites in 2014 (Zhong Zhangjia Lane Shen Mansion 中张家巷沈宅, Wang Family Songfen Yizhuang 汪氏诵芬义庄, Deng Family Ancestral Hall 邓氏祠堂 and Niujia Lane Fang Mansion 钮家巷方宅).

Because the first criterion for historical value (material production, lifestyle traditions) is met by all sites, the table lists the historical period of which they are representative. The second criterion for historical value (historical records) is limited to entries in the *Pingjiang Gazetteer*. The remaining abbreviations are explained below:

NAT/INT: national/international-level site	PROV: provincial-level site
MUN: municipal-level site	B: basic
E: contains garden-related elements	R: rare
X: criterion is met	– : criterion is not met
n-s / s-n: north-south / south-north orientation	
e-w / w-e: east-west / west-east orientation	

Rare in contrast to basic architectural elements refers to exceptional architectural structures such as landscape architecture, *yuanyang* and *shamao* halls, parlors, archways or architectural style.

Rare in contrast to basic decorative elements refers to calligraphic inscriptions, exceptional carvings and other exceptional forms of decoration and ornamentation.

Rare in contrast to basic construction techniques and materials refers to elements such as wooden column bases, colored floor tiles, imported bricks, and others.

The data for this analysis is derived from the *Pingjiang Gazetteer*, information on controlled and protected buildings in the conservation plan and on-site investigation.

Historical and social value

site	historical value					social value
	material production, lifestyle, traditions	hist. records/stele inscriptions	historical figures	unique elements	important events	commemorative value
Ou Garden 耦园 (NAT/INT)	Qing	X/-	X	X	-	-
Quanjin Guild Hall 全晋会馆 (NAT/INT)	Qing	X/-	-	X	-	-
Weidao Guan Qian Pan Mansion (NAT) 卫道观前潘宅	Qing	X/-	X	X	-	-
Huiyin Garden 蕙荫园 (PROV)	Ming/ Qing	X/X	X	X	X	X
Former Residence of Pan Shi'en 钮家巷潘宅 (PROV)	Qing	X/-	X	X	-	X
Donghua Qiao Lane Wang Mansion (MUN) 东花桥巷汪宅	Qing	X/-	-	X	-	-
Weidao Temple 卫道观 (MUN)	Yuan/ Ming/ Qing	X/X	-	X	-	-
Former Residence of Gu Jiegang 顾颉刚故居 (MUN)	Qing	X/-	X	-	-	X
Former Residence and Ancestral Hall of Hong Jun (MUN) 洪钧故居及庄祠	Qing	X/X	X	X	-	X
Qian Mansion 钱宅 (MUN)	Ming/ Qing	X/-	X	-	-	X

Historical and social value

site	historical value					social value
	material production, lifestyle, traditions	hist. records/ stele inscriptions	historical figures	unique elements	important events	commemorative value
Confucian Temple Hall of Changzhou District School (MUN) 长洲县学大成殿	Qing	X/-	-	X	-	-
Heming Hall Kang Mansion (MUN) 鹤鸣堂康宅	Republic	-/-	X	-	-	-
Da Liuzhi Lane Yang Mansion 大柳枝巷杨宅 (MUN)	Qing/ Republic	-/-	-	-	-	-
Xuanqiao Lane Fang Mansion 悬桥巷方宅 (MUN)	Ming/ Qing	-/-	X	-	-	X
Zhong Zhangjia Lane Shen Mansion (MUN) 中张家巷沈宅	Republic	-/-	-	-	-	-
Wang Family Songfen Yizhuang (MUN) 汪氏诵芬义庄	Qing	X/-	X	-	-	-
Deng Family Ancestral Hall 邓氏祠堂 (MUN)	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Niujia Lane Fang Mansion (MUN) 钮家巷方宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-

Artistic value

site	artistic value			
	architectural elements B(asic), R(are)	garden or garden- related E(lements)	decoration, ornamentation B(asic), R(are)	immovable artistic works
Ou Garden 耦园 (NAT/INT)	R	X	R	X
Quanjin Guild Hall 全晋会馆 (NAT/INT)	R	E	R	–
Weidao Guan Qian Pan Mansion (NAT) 卫道观前潘宅	R	E	R	–
Huiyin Garden 蕙荫园 (PROV)	R	E	R	–
Former Residence of Pan Shi'en 钮家巷潘宅 (PROV)	R	E	R	–
Donghua Qiao Lane Wang Mansion 东花桥巷汪宅 (MUN)	R	E	R	–
Weidao Temple 卫道观 (MUN)	R	–	R	–
Former Residence of Gu Jiegang 顾颉刚故居 (MUN)	R	E	B	–
Former Residence and Ancestral Hall of Hong Jun (MUN) 洪钧故居及庄祠	B	–	R	–
Qian Mansion 钱宅 (MUN)	R	E	B	–

Artistic value

site	artistic value			
	architectural elements B(asic), R(are)	garden or garden- related E(lements)	decoration, ornamentation B(asic), R(are)	immovable artistic works
Confucian Temple Hall of Changzhou District School (MUN) 长洲县学大成殿	R	—	R	—
Heming Hall Kang Mansion 鹤鸣堂康宅 (MUN)	R	—	B	—
Da Liuzhi Lane Yang Mansion 大柳枝巷杨宅 (MUN)	R	—	R	—
Xuanqiao Lane Fang Mansion 悬桥巷方宅 (MUN)	R	—	R	—
Zhong Zhangjia Lane Shen Mansion 中张家巷沈宅 (MUN)	B	—	R	—
Wang Family Songfen Yizhuang 汪氏诵芬义庄 (MUN)	B	—	R	—
Deng Family Ancestral Hall 邓氏祠堂 (MUN)	R	E	R	—
Niujia Lane Fang Mansion 钮家巷方宅 (MUN)	R	E	R	—

Scientific and cultural value

site	scientific value		cultural value			
	orientation/symmetry/axiality	construction techniques, materials	hall name/building names	ethnic, regional, religious culture	continuation of tradition	intangible heritage
Ou Garden 耦园 (NAT/INT)	n-s/X/X	R	X/X	regional	–	X
Quanjin Guild Hall (NAT/INT) 全晋会馆	n-s/X/X	R	–/–	regional	–	X
Weidao Guan Qian Pan Mansion (NAT) 卫道观前潘宅	n-s/X/X	R	X/X	regional	–	X
Huiyin Garden 蕙荫园 (PROV)	–/X/X	R	–/X	regional	–	X
Former Residence of Pan Shi'en 钮家巷潘宅 (PROV)	n-s/X/X	R	X/–	regional	–	X
Donghua Qiao Lane Wang Mansion (MUN) 东花桥巷汪宅	n-s/X/X	R	X/–	regional	–	X
Weidao Temple 卫道观 (MUN)	n-s/X/X	R	X/X	religious	–	X
Former Residence of Gu Jiegang 顾颉刚故 (MUN)	n-s/X/X	R	X/–	regional	–	X
Former Residence and Ancestral Hall of Hong Jun (MUN) 洪钧故居及庄祠	n-s/X/X	B	X/–	regional	–	X
Qian Mansion 钱宅 (MUN)	n-s/X/X	B	–/–	regional	–	X

Scientific and cultural value

site	scientific value		cultural value			
	orientation/symmetry/axiality	construction techniques, materials	hall name/building names	ethnic, regional, religious culture	continuation of tradition	intangible heritage
Confucian Temple Hall of Changzhou District School (MUN) 长洲县学大成殿	n-s/--	R	X/-	regional	X	X
Heming Hall Kang Mansion (MUN) 鹤鸣堂康宅	e-w/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Da Liuzhi Lane Yang Mansion (MUN) 大柳枝巷杨宅	n-s/X/X	R	--	regional	-	X
Xuanqiao Lane Fang Mansion (MUN) 悬桥巷方宅	n-s/X/X	R	--	regional	-	X
Zhong Zhangjia Lane Shen Mansion (MUN) 中张家巷沈宅	n-s/X/X	R	--	regional	-	X
Wang Family Songfen Yizhuang (MUN) 汪氏诵芬义庄	e-w/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Deng Family Ancestral Hall (MUN) 邓氏祠堂	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Niujia Lane Fang Mansion (MUN) 钮家巷方宅	n-s/X/X	R	--	regional	-	X

A.10 Cultural Significance of Controlled and Protected Buildings in the Pingjiang Historic Block

Historical and social value

site	historical value					social value
	material production, lifestyle, traditions	historical records/stele inscriptions	historical figures	unique elements	important events	commemorative value
Tiangong Temple 天宮寺	Ming/ Qing	X/X	-	-	-	-
Chen Mansion (Lujia Lane) 陈宅	Ming/ Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Pan Mansion (Xuanqiao Lane) 潘宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Pan Family Songlin Yizhuang 潘氏松鳞义庄	Qing	X/X	X	-	-	-
Ding Family Jiyang Yizhuang 丁氏济阳义庄	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Delin Hall Wu Mansion 德邻堂吴宅	Ming/ Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Cha Mansion 查宅	Qing	-/-	-	-	-	-
Duanshan Hall Pan Mansion 端善堂潘宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Ding Mansion 丁宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Former Residence of Han Chong 韩崇故居	Qing	X/-	X	-	-	X

Historical and social value

site	historical value					social value
	material production, lifestyle, traditions	historical records/stele inscriptions	historical figures	unique elements	important events	commemorative value
Zhaoqing Temple 昭庆寺	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Zheng Mansion 郑宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Song Mansion 宋宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Huaide Hall Ling Mansion 怀德堂凌宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Hang Family Yizhuang 杭氏义庄	Qing	X/X	-	-	-	-
Pan Mansion 潘宅 (Donghua Qiao Lane)	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Zhu Mansion 朱宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Zhou Mansion 周宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Xu Family Chun- hui Yizhuang 徐氏春晖义庄	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Former Residence of Pan Zuyin 潘祖荫故居	Qing	X/-	X	-	-	X
Han Mansion 韩宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-

Historical and social value

site	historical value					social value
	material production, lifestyle, traditions	historical records/stele inscriptions	historical figures	unique elements	important events	
Qingshen Hall Wang Mansion 清慎堂王宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Xu Mansion 徐宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Duyou Hall Yuan Mansion 笃佑堂袁宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Pang Mansion 庞宅	Qing	X/-	X	-	-	-
Former Residence of Guo Shaoyu 郭绍虞故居	Qing	X/-	X	-	-	X
Jiang Family Yizhuang 蒋氏义庄	Qing	X/X	-	-	-	-
Former Residence of Tang Na 唐纳故居	Qing	X/-	X	-	-	X
Yang Mansion 杨宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Wu Mansion (Zhong Zhangjia Lane) 吴宅	Qing	X/-	X	-	-	-
Former Residence of Wu Xueqian 吴学谦旧居	Qing	-/-	X	-	-	X

Historical and social value

site	historical value					social value
	material production, lifestyle, traditions	historical records/stele inscriptions	historical figures	unique elements	important events	commemorative value
Wang Mansion 王宅 (Former Fengchi Garden 顾氏凤池园)	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Xiaoyou Hall Zhang Mansion 孝友堂张宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Dong Family Yizhuang 董氏义庄	Qing	X/X	-	-	-	-
Wang Mansion (Xiaojia Lane) 王宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Zhenjue Convent 真觉庵	Qing	X/X	-	-	-	-
Town God Temple of Yuanhe District 元和县城隍庙	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Former Residence of Ai Buchan 艾步蟾故居	Qing	X/-	X	-	-	X
Chen Mansion (Niujia Lane) 陈宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Tian Mansion 田宅	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-

Artistic value

site	artistic value			
	architectural elements B(asic), R(are)	garden or garden- related E(lements)	decoration, ornamentation B(asic), R(are)	immovable artistic works
Tiangong Temple 天宫寺	R	—	B	—
Chen Mansion (Lujia Lane) 陈宅	R	E	R	—
Pan Mansion (Xuanqiao Lane) 潘宅	R	—	R	—
Pan Family Songlin Yizhuang 潘氏松鳞义庄	R	—	B	—
Ding Family Jiyang Yizhuang 丁氏济阳义庄	R	—	R	—
Delin Hall Wu Mansion 德邻堂吴宅	R	—	R	—
Cha Mansion 查宅	R	—	R	—
Duanshan Hall Pan Mansion 端善堂潘宅	R	E	R	—
Ding Mansion 丁宅	R	—	R	—
Former Residence of Han Chong 韩崇故居	R	E	R	—
Zhaoqing Temple 昭庆寺	R	—	B	—
Zheng Mansion 郑宅	R	—	R	—
Song Mansion 宋宅	B	—	B	—

Artistic value

site	artistic value			
	architectural elements B(asic), R(are)	garden or garden- related E(lements)	decoration, ornamentation	immovable artistic works
Huaide Hall Ling Mansion 怀德堂凌宅	R	—	R	—
Hang Family Yizhuang 杭氏义庄	R	—	R	—
Pan Mansion (Donghua Qiao Lane) 潘宅	R	E	R	—
Zhu Mansion 朱宅	B	—	B	—
Zhou Mansion 周宅	R	—	R	—
Xu Family Chunhui Yizhuang 徐氏春晖义庄	R	—	B	—
Former Residence of Pan Zuyin 潘祖荫故居	R	—	R	—
Han Mansion 韩宅	R	E	R	—
Qingshen Hall Wang Mansion 清慎堂王宅	R	E	R	—
Xu Mansion 徐宅	R	E	R	—
Duyou Hall Yuan Mansion 笃佑堂袁宅	R	E	R	—
Pang Mansion 庞宅	R	E	R	—

Artistic value

site	artistic value			
	architectural elements B(asic), R(are)	garden or garden-related E(lements)	decoration, ornamentation	immovable artistic works
Former Residence of Guo Shaoyu 郭绍虞故居	B	—	B	—
Jiang Family Yizhuang 蒋氏义庄	B	—	R	—
Former Residence of Tang Na 唐纳故居	B	E	B	—
Yang Mansion 杨宅	B	—	R	—
Wu Mansion (Zhong Zhangjia Lane) 吴宅	R	—	R	—
Former Residence of Wu Xueqian 吴学谦旧居	B	—	R	—
Wang Mansion 王宅 (Former Fengchi Garden 顾氏凤池园)	B	—	B	—
Zhenjue Convent 真觉庵	R	—	B	—
Town God Temple of Yuanhe District 元和县城隍庙	B	—	B	—
Former Residence of Ai Buchan 艾步蟾故居	R	E	B	—
Chen Mansion (Niuja Lane) 陈宅	R	—	B	—
Tian Mansion 田宅	R	—	R	—

Scientific and cultural value

site	scientific value		cultural value			
	orientation/symmetry/axiality	construction techniques, materials	hall name/building names	ethnic, regional, religious culture	continuation of tradition	intangible heritage
Tiangong Temple 天宫寺	n-s/--	R	--	religious	-	X
Chen Mansion (Lujia Lane) 陈宅	n-s/X/X	R	--	regional	-	X
Pan Mansion (Xuanqiao Lane) 潘宅	n-s/X/X	R	--	regional	-	X
Pan Family Songlin Yizhuang 潘氏松鳞义庄	n-s/X/X	R	-/X	regional	-	X
Ding Family Jiyang Yizhuang 丁氏济阳义庄	n-s/X/X	R	-/X	regional	-	X
Delin Hall Wu Mansion 德邻堂吴宅	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Cha Mansion 查宅	n-s/X/X	R	--	regional	-	X
Duanshan Hall Pan Mansion 端善堂潘宅	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Ding Mansion 丁宅	n-s/X/X	R	--	regional	-	X
Former Residence of Han Chong 韩崇故居	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Zhaoqing Temple 昭庆寺	n-s/X/X	R		religious	-	X
Zheng Mansion 郑宅	n-s/X/X	R	--	regional	-	X
Song Mansion 宋宅	n-s/X/X	B	--	regional	-	X
Huaide Hall Ling Mansion 怀德堂凌宅	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X

Scientific and cultural value

site	scientific value		cultural value			
	orientation/symmetry/axiality	construction techniques, materials	hall name/building names	ethnic, regional, religious culture	continuation of tradition	intangible heritage
Hang Family Yizhuang 杭氏义庄	n-s/X/X	R	-/-	regional	-	X
Pan Mansion (Donghua Qiao Lane) 潘宅	n-s/X/X	R	-/-	regional	-	X
Zhu Mansion 朱宅	n-s/X/X	B	-/-	regional	-	X
Zhou Mansion 周宅	n-s/X/X	R	-/-	regional	-	X
Xu Family Chunhui Yizhuang 徐氏春晖义庄	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Former Residence of Pan Zuyin 潘祖荫故居	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Han Mansion 韩宅	n-s/X/X	R	-/-	regional	-	X
Qingshen Hall Wang Mansion 清慎堂王宅	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Xu Mansion 徐宅	n-s/X/X	R	-/-	regional	-	X
Duyou Hall Yuan Mansion 笃佑堂袁宅	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Pang Mansion 庞宅	n-s/X/X	R	-/-	regional	-	X
Former Residence of Guo Shaoyu 郭绍虞故居	n-s/X/X	B	-/X	regional	-	X
Jiang Family Yizhuang 蒋氏义庄	n-s/X/X	R	-/-	regional	-	X

Scientific and cultural value

site	scientific value		cultural value			
	orientation/symmetry/axiality	construction techniques, materials	hall name/building names	ethnic, regional, religious culture	continuation of tradition	intangible heritage
Former Residence of Tang Na 唐纳故居	n-s/X/X	B	-/-	regional	-	X
Yang Mansion 杨宅	n-s/X/X	R	-/-	regional	-	X
Wu Mansion (Zhong Zhangjia Lane) 吴宅	n-s/X/X	R	-/-	regional	-	X
Former Residence of Wu Xueqian 吴学谦旧居	n-s/X/X	R	-/-	regional	-	X
Wang Mansion 王宅 (Former Fengchi Garden 顾氏凤池园)	n-s/X/X	B	-/-	regional	-	X
Xiaoyou Hall Zhang Mansion 孝友堂张宅	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Dong Family Yizhuang 董氏义庄	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Wang Mansion 王宅 (Xiaojia Lane)	n-s/X/X	R	-/-	regional	-	X
Zhenjue Convent 真觉庵	n-s/X/X	R	X/X	religious	-	X
Town God Temple of Yuanhe District 元和县城隍庙	n-s/X/X	B	X/-	religious	-	X
Former Residence of Ai Buchan 艾步蟾故居	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Chen Mansion (Niujia Lane) 陈宅	n-s/X/X	R	-/-	regional	-	X
Tian Mansion 田宅	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X

A.II Cultural Significance of Officially Protected and Controlled Entities in Tongli Historic Town

Similar to the analysis of cultural significance of individual sites in the Pingjiang Historic Block, the framework is based on the definition of values in the China Principles and has been expanded by this author to include the criteria of garden or elements of a garden for artistic value and a hall name (*tanghao* 堂号) or building name for cultural value.

The tables comprise the officially protected and officially controlled entities as listed in Tongli's conservation plan from 2011 according to their present listing level.

Because the first criterion for historical value (material production, lifestyle traditions) is met by all sites, the table lists the historical period of which they are representative. The second criterion for historical value (historical records) is limited to entries in the *Jiaqing Gazetteer*. The remaining abbreviations are explained below:

- NAT/INT: national/international-level site
- PROV: provincial-level site
- MUN: municipal-level site
- CONT: officially controlled entity
- E: contains garden-related elements
- X: criterion is met – : criterion is not met
- B: basic R: rare
- n-s / s-n: north-south / south-north orientation
- e-w / w-e: east-west / west-east orientation

Rare in contrast to basic architectural elements refers to exceptional architectural structures such as landscape architecture, *yuanyang* and *shamao* halls, parlors, archways or architectural style.

Rare in contrast to basic decorative elements refers to calligraphic inscriptions, exceptional carvings and other exceptional forms of decoration and ornamentation.

Rare in contrast to basic construction techniques and materials refers to elements such as wooden column bases, colored floor tiles, imported bricks, and others.

The data for this analysis is derived from the *Tongli Town Gazetteer* of the years 2007 and 2016, information in the conservation plan and on-site investigation.

Historical and social value

site	historical value					social value
	material production, lifestyle, traditions	hist. records/stele inscriptions	historical figures	unique elements	important events	
Tuisi Garden 退思园 (NAT/INT)	Qing	-/X	X	X	-	-
Gengle Hall 耕乐堂 (NAT)	Ming	X/-	X	X	-	-
Lize Girls' School 丽则女学 (NAT)	Republic	-/X	X	X	X	X
Siben Bridge 思本桥 (NAT)	Song	X/-	-	X	-	-
Tongli Town 同里镇 (PROV)	Ming/ Qing	X/-	X	X	-	-
Former Residence of Chen Qubing 陈去病故居 (PROV)	Qing/ Republic	-/X	X	X	-	X
Chongben Hall 崇本堂 (PROV)	Republic	-/-	-	X	-	-
Jiayin Hall 嘉荫堂 (PROV)	Republic	-/-	-	X	-	-
Wuben Hall 务本堂 (MUN)	Qing	X/-	-	X	-	-
Fuguan Bridge 富观桥 (MUN)	Yuan	X/-	-	X	-	-
Woyun Nunnery 卧云庵 (MUN)	Ming	X/-	-	X	-	-
Tianfang Building 天放楼, Red Building 红楼 (MUN)	People's Republic/ Republic	-/X	X	-	X	X
Pang Family Ancestral Hall 庞氏宗祠 (MUN)	Republic	-/-	-	X	-	-

Historical and social value

site	historical value					social value
	material production, lifestyle, traditions	hist. records/ stele inscriptions	historical figures	unique elements	important events	
Former Residence of Yang Tianji 杨天骥故居 (MUN)	Qing	-/-	X	-	-	X
Former Residence of Wang Shao'ao 王绍鏊故居 Liugeng Hall (留耕堂) (MUN)	Qing	X/-	X	-	-	X
Shide Hall 世德堂 (MUN)	Qing	-/-	-	X	-	-
Qingshan Hall 庆善堂 (MUN)	Republic	-/-	-	-	-	-
Yude Hall 余德堂 (MUN)	Republic	-/-	-	-	-	-
Nanyuan Teahouse 南园茶社 (MUN)	Qing	-/-	X	-	-	X
Zhu Family Mansion and Wuhe Archway (MUN) 朱宅及五鹤门楼	Ming/ Qing	-/-	-	-	-	-
Pu'an Bridge 普安桥 (MUN)	Ming	X/-	-	X	-	-
Tongli Three Bridges 同里三桥 (MUN)	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Jingsi Hall 经筵堂 (MUN)	Republic	-/-	-	-	-	-
Former Site of Water Conservancy Department (MUN) 水利同知署旧址	Qing	X/-	-	X	-	-
Xizhai Villa 西宅别业 (CONT)	Ming	X/-	X	-	-	-

Historical and social value

site	historical value					social value
	material production, lifestyle, traditions	historical records/stele inscriptions	historical figures	unique elements	important events	
Cheng'en Hall 承恩堂 (CONT)	Ming/ Qing	-/-	-	-	-	-
Sanxie Hall 三谢堂 (CONT)	Ming	-/-	-	-	-	-
Shenxiu Hall 慎修堂 (CONT)	Qing	-/-	X	-	-	-
Former Mansion of Chen Family (CONT) 陈氏旧宅	Qing	X/-	X	X	-	-
Residence of the Imperial Censor 侍御第 (CONT)	Ming	X/-	X	-	-	-
Ren Family Ancestral Hall 任氏宗祠 (CONT)	Qing	-/-	-	-	-	-
He Family Grave 何家坟 (CONT)	Ming	X/-	X	X	-	X
Tailai Bridge 泰来桥 (CONT)	Qing	X/-	-	X	-	-
Zhongyuan Bridge 中元桥 (CONT)	Qing	X/-	-	-	-	-
Daxing Bridge 大兴桥 (CONT)	Republic	X/-	-	-	-	-
Yongshou Bridge 永寿桥 (CONT)	Qing	-/-	-	-	-	-
Pan Family Mansion (CONT) 潘氏墙门	Ming/ Qing	-/-	X	X	-	-
Wujin Bridge 乌金桥 (CONT)	Ming	X/-	-	X	-	X

Artistic value

site	artistic value			
	architectural elements B(asic), R(are)	garden or garden- related E(lements)	decoration, ornamentation B(asic), R(are)	immovable artistic works
Tuisi Garden 退思园 (NAT/INT)	R	X	R	X
Gengle Hall 耕乐堂 (NAT)	R	E	R	–
Lize Girls' School 丽则女学 (NAT)	R	–	R	–
Siben Bridge 思本桥 (NAT)	R	–	R	–
Tongli Town 同里镇 (PROV)	R	X	–	X
Former Residence of Chen Qubing 陈去病故居 (PROV)	R	–	B	–
Chongben Hall 崇本堂 (PROV)	R	E	R	–
Jiayin Hall 嘉荫堂 (PROV)	R	E	R	–
Wuben Hall 务本堂 (MUN)	R	E	R	–
Fuguan Bridge 富观桥 (MUN)	B	–	R	–
Woyun Nunnery 卧云庵 (MUN)	R	–	R	–
Tianfang Building, 天放楼, Red Buil- ding 红楼 (MUN)	R	–	B	–
Pang Family Ancestral Hall 庞氏宗祠 (MUN)	R	–	B	–

Artistic value

site	artistic value			
	architectural elements B(asic), R(are)	garden or garden- related E(lements)	decoration, ornamentation B(asic), R(are)	immovable artistic works
Former Residence of Yang Tianji 杨天骥故居 (MUN)	R	–	B	–
Former Residence of Wang Shao'ao 王绍鏊故居 (MUN) Liugeng Hall (留耕堂)	B	–	R	–
Shide Hall 世德堂 (MUN)	R	–	R	–
Qingshan Hall 庆善堂 (MUN)	R	–	R	–
Yude Hall 余德堂 (MUN)	R	–	R	–
Nanyuan Teahouse 南园茶社 (MUN)	B	–	B	–
Zhu Family Mansion and Wuhe Archway (MUN) 朱宅及五鹤门楼	R	–	R	–
Pu'an Bridge 普安桥 (MUN)	R	–	R	–
Tongli Three Bridges 同里三桥 (MUN)	B	–	B	–
Jingsi Hall 经筵堂 (MUN)	R	–	R	–
Former Site of Wa- ter Conservancy Department (MUN) 水利同知署旧址	R	–	R	–
Xizhai Villa 西宅别业 (CONT)	B	–	B	–

Artistic value

site	artistic value			
	architectural elements B(asic), R(are)	garden or garden- related E(lements)	decoration, ornamentation B(asic), R(are)	immovable artistic works
Cheng'en Hall 承恩堂 (CONT)	R	—	R	—
Sanxie Hall 三谢堂 (CONT)	R	—	B	—
Shenxiu Hall 慎修堂 (CONT)	B	—	B	—
Former Mansion of Chen Family (CONT) 陈氏旧宅	R	—	R	—
Residence of the Imperial Censor 侍御第 (CONT)	R	—	B	—
Ren Family Ancestral Hall 任氏宗祠 (CONT)	R	—	B	—
He Family Grave 何家坟 (CONT)	—	—	—	—
Tailai Bridge 泰来桥 (CONT)	R	—	B	—
Zhongyuan Bridge 中元桥 (CONT)	R	—	R	—
Daxing Bridge 大兴桥 (CONT)	R	—	R	—
Yongshou Bridge 永寿桥 (CONT)	R	—	R	—
Pan Family Mansion 潘氏墙门 (CONT)	R	—	B	—
Wujin Bridge 乌金桥 (CONT)	R	—	R	—

Scientific and cultural value

site	scientific value		cultural value			
	orientation/symmetry/axiality	construction techniques, materials	hall name/building names	ethnic, regional, religious culture	continuation of tradition	intangible heritage
Tuisi Garden 退思园 (NAT/INT)	e-w/X/X	R	X/X	regional	X	X
Gengle Hall 耕乐堂 (NAT)	w-e/X/X	R	X/X	regional	–	X
Lize Girls' School 丽则女学 (NAT)	–/–/–	R	–/–	regional	X	X
Siben Bridge 思本桥 (NAT)	–/–/–	R	–/–	regional	–	X
Tongli Town 同里镇 (PROV)	–/–/–	R	–/–	regional	X	X
Former Residence of Chen Qubing 陈去病故居 (PROV)	e-w/–/–	R	X/X	regional	–	X
Chongben Hall 崇本堂 (PROV)	n-s/X/X	R	X/–	regional	–	X
Jiayin Hall 嘉荫堂 (PROV)	n-s/X/X	R	X/X	regional	–	X
Wuben Hall 务本堂 (MUN)	n-s/X/X	R	X/–	regional	–	X
Fuguan Bridge 富观桥 (MUN)	–/–/–	B	–/–	regional	–	X
Woyun Nunnery 卧云庵 (MUN)	n-s/X/X	R	–/X	regional	–	X
Tianfang Building, Red Building 天放楼、红楼 (MUN)	–/–/–	B	–/X	regional	X	X
Pang Family Ancestral Hall 庞氏宗祠 (MUN)	n-s/X/X	R	–/–	regional	–	X

Scientific and cultural value

site	scientific value		cultural value			
	orientation/symmetry/axiality	construction techniques, materials	hall name/building names	ethnic, regional, religious culture	continuation of tradition	intangible heritage
Former Residence of Yang Tianji 杨天骥故居 (MUN)	n-s/X/X	R	-/-	regional	-	X
Former Residence of Wang Shao'ao 王绍鏊故居 (MUN) Liugeng Hall (留耕堂)	n-s/X/X	B	X/X	regional	-	X
Shide Hall 世德堂 (MUN)	n-s/X/X	R	X/X	regional	-	X
Qingshan Hall 庆善堂 (MUN)	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Yude Hall 余德堂 (MUN)	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Nanyuan Teahouse 南园茶社 (MUN)	s-n/X/X	B	-/-	regional	-	X
Zhu Family Mansion and Wuhe Archway (MUN) 朱宅及五鹤门楼	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Pu'an Bridge 普安桥 (MUN)	-/-/-	R	-/-	regional	-	X
Tongli Three Bridges 同里三桥 (MUN)	-/-/-	B	-/-	regional	X	X
Jingsi Hall 经筵堂 (MUN)	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Former Site of Water Conservancy Department 水利同知署旧址 (MUN)	n-s/X/X	R	X/X	regional	-	X
Xizhai Villa 西宅别业 (CONT)	n-s/X/X	B	X/-	regional	-	X
Cheng'en Hall 承恩堂 (CONT)	w-e/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Sanxie Hall 三谢堂 (CONT)	n-s/X/X	R	X/-	regional	-	X
Shenxiu Hall 慎修堂 (CONT)	n-s/X/X	B	X/-	regional	-	X

Scientific and cultural value

site	scientific value		cultural value			
	orientation/symmetry/axiality	construction techniques, materials	hall name/building names	ethnic, regional, religious culture	continuation of tradition	intangible heritage
Former Mansion of Chen Family (CONT) 陈氏旧宅	n-s/X/X	R	X/X	regional	–	X
Residence of the Imperial Censor 侍御第 (CONT)	n-s/X/X	R	–/–	regional	–	X
Ren Family Ancestral Hall 任氏宗祠 (CONT)	n-s/X/X	R	–/–	regional	–	X
He Family Grave 何家坟 (CONT)	–/–/–	R	–/–	regional	–	X
Tailai Bridge 泰来桥 (CONT)	–/–/–	R	–/–	regional	–	X
Zhongyuan Bridge 中元桥 (CONT)	–/–/–	R	–/–	regional	–	X
Daxing Bridge 大兴桥 (CONT)	–/–/–	R	–/–	regional	–	X
Yongshou Bridge 永寿桥 (CONT)	–/–/–	R	–/–	regional	–	X
Pan Family Mansion 潘氏墙门 (CONT)	e-w/X/X	R	X/–	regional	–	X
Wujin Bridge 乌金桥 (CONT)	–/–/–	R	–/–	regional	–	X

A.12 Use of Officially Protected Entities in the Pingjiang Historic Block

site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Ou Garden 耦园 (NAT/INT)	y	residential	touristic
Quanjin Guild Hall 全晋会馆 (NAT/INT)	y	commercial	touristic/ educational
Weidao Guan Qian Pan Mansion 卫道观前潘宅 (NAT)	y	residential	commercial
Huiyin Garden 蕙荫园 (PROV)	y	residential	educational
Former Residence of Pan Shi'en 钮家巷潘宅 (PROV)	y	residential	touristic/ educational/ commercial
Donghua Qiao Lane Wang Mansion 东花桥巷汪宅 (MUN)	n	residential	residential
Weidao Temple 卫道观 (MUN)	y	religious	touristic/ educational
Former Residence of Gu Jiegang 顾颉刚故居 (MUN)	n	residential	residential
Former Residence and Ancestral Hall of Hong Jun (MUN) 洪钧故居及庄祠	p	residential	residential
Qian Mansion 钱宅 (MUN)	n	residential	residential
Confucian Temple Hall of Changzhou District School (MUN) 长洲县学大成殿	y	educational	educational

Appendix

site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Heming Hall Kang Mansion 鹤鸣堂康宅 (MUN)	p	residential	commercial
Da Liuzhi Lane Yang Mansion 大柳枝巷杨宅 (MUN)	n	residential	residential
Xuanqiao Lane Fang Mansion 悬桥巷方宅 (MUN)	n	residential	residential
Zhong Zhangjia Lane Shen Mansion 中张家巷沈宅 (MUN)	y	residential	touristic/ educational
Wang Family Songfen Yizhuang 汪氏诵芬义庄 (MUN)	y	residential	commercial
Deng Family Ancestral Hall 邓氏祠堂 (MUN)	y	spiritual	educational
Niujia Lane Fang Mansion 钮家巷方宅 (MUN)	y	residential	commercial

The table displays the officially protected entities as marked on Map No. 1 of Suzhou Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block Conservation Planning (2014). The information in this table derives from the *Pingjiang Annals* and on-site investigation by this author in May 2018.

Original use refers to an entity's form of use at the time it was constructed.

A.13 Use of Controlled and Protected Buildings in the Pingjiang Historic Block

site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Tiangong Temple 天宮寺	n	residential	residential
Chen Mansion (Lujia Lane) 陈宅	n	residential	residential/ commercial
Pan Mansion (Xuanqiao Lane) 潘宅	n	residential	X
Pan Family Songlin Yizhuang 潘氏松鱗义庄	p	residential	X
Ding Family Jiyang Yizhuang 丁氏济阳义庄	n	residential	residential/ commercial
Delin Hall Wu Mansion 德邻堂吴宅	n	residential	residential
Cha Mansion 查宅	n	residential	residential
Duanshan Hall Pan Mansion 端善堂潘宅	n	residential	residential
Ding Mansion 丁宅	y	residential	touristic/ educational
Former Residence of Han Chong 韩崇故居	n	residential	residential
Zhaoqing Temple 昭庆寺	y	religious	educational
Zheng Mansion 郑宅	n	residential	residential
Song Mansion 宋宅	n	residential	residential

Appendix

site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Huaide Hall Ling Mansion 怀德堂凌宅	n	residential	residential
Hang Family Yizhuang 杭氏义庄	n	residential	residential
Pan Mansion (Donghua Qiao Lane) 潘宅	n	residential	residential/ commercial
Zhu Mansion 朱宅	n	residential	residential
Zhou Mansion 周宅	n	residential	residential
Xu Family Chunhui Yizhuang 徐氏春晖义庄	p	residential	X
Former Residence of Pan Zuyin 潘祖荫故居	y	residential	commercial
Han Mansion 韩宅	n	residential	residential
Qingshen Hall Wang Mansion 清慎堂王宅	n	residential	residential
Xu Mansion 徐宅	n	residential	residential
Duyou Hall Yuan Mansion 笃佑堂袁宅	p	residential	residential
Pang Mansion 庞宅	n	residential	commercial
Former Residence of Guo Shaoyu 郭绍虞故居	p	residential	residential
Jiang Family Yizhuang 蒋氏义庄	p	residential	residential/ commercial
Former Residence of Tang Na 唐纳故居	n	residential	residential
Yang Mansion 杨宅	p	residential	X

site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Wu Mansion (Zhong Zhangjia Lane) 吴宅	n	residential	residential
Former Residence of Wu Xueqian 吴学谦旧居	n	residential	residential
Wang Mansion (Former Fengchi Garden) 王宅 (顾氏凤池园)	n	residential	residential
Xiaoyou Hall Zhang Mansion 孝友堂张宅	n	residential	residential/ commercial
Dong Family Yizhuang 董氏义庄	y	residential	touristic/ commercial
Wang Mansion (Xiaojia Lane) 王宅	n	residential	residential/ commercial
Zhenjue Convent 真觉庵	n	residential	residential
Town God Temple of Yuanhe District 元和县城隍庙	n	residential	residential
Former Residence of Ai Buchan 艾步蟾故居	n	residential	residential
Chen Mansion (Niuja Lane) 陈宅	n	residential	X
Tian Mansion 田宅	n	residential	residential

The table covers the controlled and protected buildings as marked on Map No. 1 of Suzhou Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block Conservation Planning (2014). The information in this table derives from the *Pingjiang Annals* and on-site investigation by this author in May 2018.

Original use refers to a building's form of use at the time it was constructed. Treatment and forms of use which could not be verified on-site because the buildings were closed or inaccessible are indicated as X.

A.14 Use of Historical Buildings in the Pingjiang Historic Block

site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Donghua Qiao Lane No. 63 东华桥巷 63 号民居	y	residential	residential
Donghua Qiao Lane No. 17 (Republican building) 东华桥巷 17 号民国建筑	n	residential	residential
Donghua Qiao Lane Jiang Residence 东华桥巷 蒋宅	n	residential	residential
Donghua Qiao Lane Lin Residence 东华桥巷 林宅	X	residential	residential
Cao Huxu Lane Wang Residence 曹胡徐巷 王宅	n	residential	residential
Cao Huxu Lane No. 39 (Republican building) 曹胡徐巷 39 号民国建筑	n	residential	residential
Cao Huxu Lane No. 37 曹胡徐巷 37 号民居	n	residential	residential
Tiangong Temple Lane Gu Residence 天宫寺弄 顾宅	n	residential	residential
Lujia Lane Xue Residence 茭葭巷 薛宅	n	residential	residential/ commercial
Lujia Lane Zhu Residence 茭葭巷 祝宅	n	residential	residential/ commercial
Fojiao Jushilin 佛教居士林	y	religious	religious
Xuanqiao Lane No. 17 悬桥巷 17 号民居	p	residential	residential
Yu lu 愉庐	n	residential	residential

site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Yingxiao Lane No. 16 迎晓里 16 号民居	n	residential	residential
Yingxiao Lane Pan Residence 迎晓里 潘宅	n	residential	residential
Gu Family Garden No. 16 (Republican building) 顾家花园 16 号民国建筑	n	residential	residential
Nan Shizi Street No. 14 南石子街 14 号民居	n	residential	residential
Nan Shizi Street No. 13 南石子街 13 号民居	n	residential	residential
Nan Xianzi Lane No. 11 (Republican building) 南显子巷 11 号民国建筑	n	residential	residential
Nan Xianzi Lane No. 16 南显子巷 16 号民居	n	residential	residential
Nan Xianzi Lane No. 10 南显子巷 10 号民居	n	residential	residential
Xiaojia Lane No. 29 肖家巷 29 号民宅	X	residential	residential
Pingjiang Road No. 242 平江路 242 号民居	y	residential	commercial
Pingjiang Road Hu Residence 平江路 胡宅	X	X	X
Hu Xiangshi Lane No. 9 胡厢使巷 9 号民居	n	residential	residential
Hu Xiangshi Lane No. 16 胡厢使巷 16 号民居	y	residential	residential/ commercial
Hu Xiangshi Lane No. 17 胡厢使巷 17 号民居	y	residential	residential/ commercial
Xiaosi Hall Zhang Residence 孝思堂张宅	n	residential	residential
Pingjiang Road No. 192 平江路 192 号民国建筑	y	residential	commercial
Renmin Lane Pan Residence 人民里 潘宅	n	residential	residential

Appendix

site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Eastern Lane Jiang Residence 东弄堂 蒋宅	n	residential	residential
Da Liuzhi Lane Xue Residence 大柳枝巷 薛宅	n	residential	residential
Da Liuzhi Lane Lu Residence 大柳枝巷 陆宅	n	residential	residential
Da Liuzhi Lane No. 11 大柳枝巷 11 号民居	n	residential	residential
Da Liuzhi Lane Zhu Mansion 大柳枝巷 朱宅	n	residential	residential
Da Liuzhi Lane No. 25 大柳枝巷 25 号民居	n	residential	residential
Cang Street Min Residence 仓街闵宅	n	X	X
Xiao Liuzhi Lane Xu Residence 小柳枝巷 徐宅	p	residential	residential
Xiao Liuzhi Lane Wu Residence 小柳枝巷吴宅	p	residential	residential
Fusheng Convent 福生庵	n	religious	residential
Pingjiang Road Jingji Hall 平江路 经济堂	y	X	commercial
Former Site of Welfare Department 安济局旧址	y	governmental	residential
Da Xinqiao Lane No. 22 大新桥巷 22 号民居	p	residential	residential
Zhongshu Hall Sheng Residence 忠恕堂盛宅	p	residential	residential
Da Xinqiao Lane No. 26 大新桥巷 26 号民居	p	residential	residential
Da Xinqiao Lane No. 27 大新桥巷 27 号民居	p	residential	residential

site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Cang Street No. 116 仓街 116 号民居	n	residential	residential/ commercial
Xiao Xinqiao Lane No. 2-1 小新桥巷 2-1 号民国建筑	y	residential	educational/ commercial
Huntang Lane Ding Resi- dence 混堂巷 丁宅	y	residential	residential/ commercial
Huntang Lane Xian Resi- dence 混堂巷 苑宅	n	residential	residential
Weidao Guan Qian No. 27 (Republican building) 卫道观前 27 号民国建筑	y	residential	social
Weidao Guan Qian No. 30 卫道观前 30 号民居	n	residential	residential
Zuo Hall 佐堂	n	residential	residential
Pingjiang Road No. 86 平江路 86 号民居	y	residential	commercial
Pingjiang Road No. 78 平江路 78 号民居	y	residential	commercial
Pingjiang Road No. 77 平江路 77 号民居	X	X	X
Zhong Zhangjia Lane Cai Residence 中张家巷 蔡宅	n	residential	residential
Zhong Zhangjia Lane Ding Residence 中张家巷 丁宅	n	residential	residential
Cao'an Lane No. 5 草庵弄 5 号民居	n	residential	residential
Zhong Zhangjia Lane Yu Residence 中张家巷 俞宅	n	residential	residential
Zhong Zhangjia Lane No. 28 中张家巷 28 号民居	n	residential	residential
Zhong Zhangjia Lane No. 29 中张家巷 29 号民居	n	residential	residential

Appendix

site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Cang Street No. 57, 61 仓街 57, 61 号民居	n	residential	residential
Pingjiang Road Zhang Family Ancestral Hall 平江路 张氏祠堂	y	residential	commercial
Zhengzhang Lane No. 4 (Republican building) 郝长巷 4 号民国建筑	n	residential	residential
Jie Garden 洁园	n	residential	residential
Dongban Qiao Lane Sun Residence 东板桥巷 孙宅	n	residential	X
Zhu Yuan Pingjiang Road No. 31 筑园 平江路 31 号	y	residential	commercial
Pingjiang Road No. 25, 26 平江路 25, 26 号民居	p	residential	residential/ commercial
Cang Street No 25 (Republican building) 仓街 25 号民国建筑	n	residential	residential
Miaoxiang Convent 妙香庵	n	residential	residential

This table covers the newly discovered historical buildings from the Third National Cultural Relics Survey as marked on Map No. 2 of Suzhou Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block Conservation Planning (2014). The information on present usage derives from on-site investigation by this author in May 2018.

Original use refers to a building's form of use at the time it was constructed.

Treatment and forms of use which could not be verified on-site because the buildings were closed or inaccessible are indicated as X.

A.15 Use of Officially Protected and Controlled Entities in Tongli Historic Town

site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Tuisi Garden 退思园 (NAT/INT)	y	residential	touristic
Gengle Hall 耕乐堂 (NAT)	y	residential	touristic
Lize Girls' School 丽则女学 (NAT)	y	educational	touristic/ educational
Tongli Town 同里镇 (PROV)	–	residential/ commercial	residential/ touristic/ commercial
Former Residence of Chen Qubing 陈去病故居 (PROV)	y	residential	touristic
Chongben Hall 崇本堂 (PROV)	y	residential	touristic
Jiayin Hall 嘉荫堂 (PROV)	y	residential	touristic
Wuben Hall 务本堂 (MUN)	n	residential	residential
Fuguan Bridge 富观桥 (MUN)	n	–	–
Woyun Nunnery 卧云庵 (MUN)	n	religious	closed
Tianfang Building, Red Building 天放楼、红楼 (MUN)	y	educational	educational
Pang Family Ancestral Hall 庞氏宗祠 (MUN)	y	spiritual	touristic
Former Residence of Yang Tianji 杨天骥故居 (MUN)	n	residential	residential

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site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Former Residence of Wang Shao'ao 王绍鏊故居 (MUN) Liugeng Hall (留耕堂)	p	residential	residential/ touristic
Shide Hall 世德堂 (MUN)	y	commercial	commercial
Qingshan Hall 庆善堂 (MUN)	n	residential	residential/ commercial
Yude Hall 余德堂 (MUN)	n	residential	residential
Nanyuan Teahouse 南园茶社 (MUN)	y	commercial	touristic/ commercial
Zhu Family Mansion and Wuhe Archway (MUN) 朱宅及五鹤门楼	n	residential	residential
Pu'an Bridge 普安桥 (MUN)	n	—	—
Tongli Three Bridges 同里三桥 (MUN)	y	—	—
Jingsi Hall 经筵堂 (MUN)	y	residential	residential/ commercial
Former Site of Water Conservancy Department 水利同知署旧址 (MUN)	p	governmental	residential/ touristic/ commercial
Xizhai Villa 西宅别业 (CONT)	p	residential	residential/ commercial
Cheng'en Hall 承恩堂 (CONT)	n	residential	residential
Sanxie Hall 三谢堂 (CONT)	p	residential	residential
Shenxiu Hall 慎修堂 (CONT)	n	residential	residential
Former Mansion of Chen Family (CONT) 陈氏旧宅	y	residential	touristic

site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Residence of the Imperial Censor 侍御第 (CONT)	n	residential	residential
Ren Family Ancestral Hall 任氏宗祠 (CONT)	n	spiritual	residential
Tailai Bridge 泰来桥 (CONT)	y	–	–
Zhongyuan Bridge 中元桥 (CONT)	n	–	–
Pan Family Mansion 潘氏墙门 (CONT)	n	residential	residential
Wujin Bridge 乌金桥 (CONT)	y	–	–

The table displays the officially protected and controlled entities as listed in the Conservation Plan for Tongli Historically and Culturally Famous Town (2011). The information in this table derives from the *Tongli Town Annals* of 2007 and 2016 as well as on-site investigation by this author in May 2018. Original use refers to an entity's form of use at the time it was constructed.

A.16 Use of Historical Buildings in Tongli Historic Town

site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Anfeng Hall 安丰堂	n	residential	residential
Old House of Cai Family 蔡家老屋	n	residential	residential
Chengsi Hall 澄思堂	p	residential	residential/ commercial
Chongya Hall 崇雅堂	y	residential	residential/ commercial
Lü Family Mansion 大墙门吕宅	y	residential	commercial
Daoshi Dai Ren Residence 道士埭任家	y	residential	commercial
Wang Residence on the Pawnshop Ground 典当场内王宅	X	residential	X
Dong Dai Old House of Wang Family 东埭王家老屋	p	residential	residential
Wang Residence at Dongxi Bridge 东溪桥头王家	p	residential	residential
Dunben Hall 敦本堂	y	residential	commercial
Dunren Hall 敦仁堂	p	residential	residential
Enze Hall 恩泽堂	y	residential	in transformation
Fan Family Dai Shifan Hall 范家埭世芬堂	n	residential	residential
(Former) Residence of Fan Jingxin 范敬心宅	n	residential	residential/ commercial
Former Residence of Fei Gong 费巩故居	n	residential	residential
Fengheng Hall 丰亨堂	n	residential	residential

site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Former Residence of He Family 何家旧宅	X	residential	X
Hedong Hall 河东堂	n	residential	residential
Hengfu Hall 亨复堂	y	residential	residential/ commercial
Fomer Residence of Ji Cheng 计成故居	p	residential	residential/ commercial
Jiang Family Bridge Jishan Hall 蒋家桥积善堂	n	residential	residential
Jin Family Clinic 金氏诊所	n	residential	residential
Jingyu Hall 敬余堂	n	residential	residential
Jishan Hall at the Decayed Tree 烂树头积善堂	n	residential	residential
Leshou Hall 乐寿堂	X	residential	X
Lishan Hall 礼善堂	p	residential	residential/ commercial
Lu Family Dai Shifen Hall 陆家埭世芬堂	y	residential	residential/ commercial
Maoxuan Hall 茂萱堂	n	residential	residential
Min Family Bay You Residence 闵家湾尤家	n	residential	X
Mofang Lane Chunhui Hall 磨坊弄春晖堂	n	residential	residential
Pang Family Mansion 庞家墙门	n	residential	residential
New House of Pang Family 庞氏新宅	y	residential	commercial
Qizi Wei Ren Residence 漆字圩任家	p	residential	residential/ commercial
(Former) Residence of Shen Danchen 沈丹忱宅	y	residential	in transformation

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site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
Shigu Hall 式谷堂	n	residential	residential
Jin Residence in front of the Government Bureau 司前金家	n	residential	residential
Songshi Wu Garden 松石悟园	y	residential	touristic
Catholic Church 天主教堂	y	religious	religious
Tongtai Lane Furu Hall 同泰弄福如堂	y	residential	touristic
Weiqi Hall 渭起堂	p	residential	residential/ commercial
Yuwen Hall 蔚文堂	n	residential	residential
Residence of the Official Recruiter 文衡第	p	residential	residential/ commercial
(Former) Residence of Wu Bairu 吴伯如宅	n	residential	residential
Wufu Hall 五福堂	n	residential	residential
Wu Family Lane Furu Hall 伍家弄福如堂	y	residential	residential/ commercial
Western Lane Wensi Hall 西弄文笥堂	n	residential	residential
Xiang Family Xigu Hall 希古堂项家	p	residential	commercial
Ye Family Xigu Hall 希古堂叶家	y	residential	residential/ commercial
Xiude Hall 修德堂	y	residential	commercial
Yan'en Hall 延恩堂	n	residential	residential
Yan Family Chunhui Hall 严家廊下春晖堂	n	residential	residential

site	treated (y)es/(n)o/(p)artly	original use	use by May 2018
(Former) Residence of Yan Wenbin 严文彬宅	n	residential	residential/ commercial
Former Residence of Ye Family 叶家旧宅	n	residential	residential
Yigu Hall 贻谷堂	n	residential	residential
Gu Residence at Yinma Bridge 饮马桥槐顾家	n	residential	residential
Yongde Hall 庸德堂	p	residential	residential/ commercial
Yong'an Pawnshop 永安典当	p	commercial	residential
You Family Lane You Residence 尤家弄尤家	y	residential	residential/ commercial
Gu Family Youyu Hall 有余堂顾家	n	residential	residential
Pan Family Youyu Hall 有余堂潘家	n	residential	residential
Yuan Family Hall 袁家厅	p	residential	residential/ commercial
Former Residence of Yuan Family 袁氏旧宅	y	residential	commercial
Yunqi Hall 允綦堂	n	residential	residential/ touristic
Zhengyi Hall 正谊堂	y	residential	commercial
Former Residence of Zhou Family 周氏旧居	y	residential	commercial

The table covers the historical buildings as listed in the Conservation Plan for Tongli Historically and Culturally Famous Town (2011). The information in this table derives from the *Tongli Town Annals* of 2007 and 2016 as well as on-site investigation by this author in May 2018.

Original use refers to a building's form of use at the time it was constructed. Treatment and forms of use which could not be verified on-site because the buildings were closed or inaccessible are indicated as X.

A.17 Use of Historical Buildings in Tianzifang

The following tables show the results of a survey on Tianzifang's commercially used building units conducted by this author in May 2018.

The survey investigated four aspects: whether a business originates from the initial period of Tianzifang's formation (original), whether it is part of the creative industry (creative), whether it is related to cultural heritage (heritage-related) and whether it belongs to a non-Chinese shop owner (non-Chinese).

Where information on shops and their products remained incomplete after the survey, it has been supplemented by online research.

Original: Businesses are regarded as “original” if they are marked in the tourist map issued by Tianzifang's management committee in 2008.

Creative: The definition of “creative” is based on the Shanghai Classification Standard for Cultural and Creative Industries 上海市文化创意产业分类目录 from 2013, issued by Shanghai Statistics Bureau and Shanghai Cultural and Creative Industry Promotion Leadership Group. This standard defines eleven cultural and creative industry categories: media, arts, industrial design, architectural design, fashion creation, internet and information, software and computer services, consulting, advertisement and exhibition services, recreational and entertainment services as well as industries related to culture and creativity.

Heritage-related: Businesses are considered as “heritage-related” if they offer traditional Chinese products such as tea, fans or traditional make-up, if they use traditional motifs in their product design and if the businesses themselves are traditional Shanghai brands. It is further distinguished between products related to China (national) and such related to Shanghai (local).

Non-Chinese: The business belongs to a non-Chinese shop owner.

The tables use the following abbreviations:

F:	Business located in the front of the alleyway house
M:	Business located in the middle of the alleyway house
B:	Business located in the back of the alleyway house
2F/3F:	Business located on the second floor/third floor

F1/F2 or B1/B2:	The same business occupies the front units/back units of several adjacent houses
trad.	traditional
X	no information available
O	no house number (former factory buildings or later added constructions)

The survey has found that businesses in Tianzifang cover ten major categories which are indicated in the table by different colors:

- clothing & shoes,
- arts and crafts,
- accessories, make-up & fragrances,
- cafés, bars & restaurants,
- food products,
- design, research & development and media,
- services,
- gifts and souvenirs,
- snacks and others.

Tianzifang Alleyway 248

Buildings facing Taikang Road						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
240	F: Cinderella B: Since	F: clothing (modern) B: clothing (modern)	no yes	yes yes	no no	X no
242	F: 爱美丽 Amelie , B: closed 2F: 铭洋采耳	F: clothing (modern) 2F: ear-cleaning	no no	yes no	no national	no no
244	F: 子丑银卯 B: 如果追梦	F: silver jewellery B: handicraft products	no no	yes yes	no no	no no
246	春阳茶事	Tea drinks	no	no	national	no
250	F: 泌烟 Smoky cookies M: 王星记	F: sweets M: fans	no no	no yes	no national	no no
252	F1: 依波哟 Yiboyo B: 向阳坊	F1: yoghurt B: gifts, souvenirs	no no	no no	no X	no no
254	F2: 依波哟 Yiboyo B: 巴布朵朵 Babuduoduo	F2: yoghurt B: children's clothing (modern)	no no	no yes	no no	no no
256	F: 维多利亚羊绒 Victorai [sic] cashmere B: 天尘刺青 Tian Chen Tattoo	F: clothing (modern) B: tattoo studio	yes no	yes yes	no no	no no
258	F1: 嫵 Woo B: no name	F: scarves and shawls B: gifts, porcelain	yes no	yes no	national national	no no
260	F2: 嫵 Woo 2F: 勒弗设计 B: 三生有信	F: scarves and shawls 2F: architectural design B: postcards, maps	yes no no	yes yes yes	national no national	no no no

First row						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
1	M: 香遇 one scent one chance	M: fragrances	no	yes	national	no
	F: 馥郁, 氣味 小舖 Odor shop	F: fragrances	no	yes	no	yes
	B: 桃紫 Le violet	B: café	no	yes	no	no
2	F: Andalus B: closed	F: restaurant/bar (Moroccan kitchen)	no	yes	no	yes
3	F: 上海表	F: watches (trad.)	no	yes	local	no
	B: no name	B: notebooks, book-marks	no	yes	no	no
4	–	–	–	–	–	–
5	叁 san glasses	sunglasses	no	yes	no	no
6	F: Feiyue	F: shoes	no	yes	local	no
	B: 老大薯条 Super fries	B: french fries	no	no	no	no
7	F: 阿拉丝语 My Scarf	F: silk scarves	no	yes	national	no
	B: 蛋卷鞋	B: shoes	no	yes	national	no
	2F: 美甲 Nail Salon	2F: nail salon	no	yes	no	no
8	F: 青蘭工舍 Pureland Décor & Art	F: tile art	yes	yes	national	no
	B: 小麻花的故事	B: gifts	no	no	no	no
9	F: 相生	F: fashion (trad.)	no	yes	national	no
	B: 谢馥春	B: make-up (trad.)	no	yes	national	no
10	F: Tono's 王子殿下卷耳猫咖啡店	F: restaurant	yes	yes	no	no
	B: 無銀不嫁	B: silver jewellery	no	yes	national	no
O	老上海如珏	make-up (trad.)	no	yes	local	no
	上海女人 Shanghai woman	make-up (trad.)	no	yes	local	no

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Second row						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
11	F: no name B: Bell café & bar	F: clothing (modern) B: restaurant	no no	yes yes	no no	no no
12	F: 行者 Walkers (Pub) B: 春炉串串	F: bar B: snacks	no no	yes no	no no	no no
13	F: – B: 煎饼	F: – B: snacks	– no	– no	– no	– no
14	F: 城市山民 urban tribe B: closed	F: clothing, pottery, tea, accessories	no	yes	national	no
15	F: 以沫 emo B: 上海银坊	F: jewelry B: silver jewelry	no no	yes yes	X local	no no
16	F: 霓 Ni B: 小罐茶	F: scarves/ Qipao (trad.) B: tea	no no	yes no	national national	no no
17	F: 花开成海 B1: 口红学院 Lipstick Academy	F: scarves/ Qipao (trad.) B: lipsticks	no no	yes yes	national no	no no
18	F: 路上海 B2: 口红学院 Lipstick Academy	F: t-shirt prints B: lipsticks	no no	yes yes	national no	no no
19	F: 青社 Green Food B3: 口红学院 Lipstick Academy	F: organic food B: lipsticks	no no	no yes	no no	no no
20	三生川辣椒铺	gastronomic special- ties	no	no	no	no
O	藏珑泰极 Lapis Thai 哈逗哥 Rainbowcheese	restaurant snacks	yes no	no no	no no	yes no
O	大个子薯条 椰子蛋 钱记串串烤 吉串果 Churros 2F: 吉久田	snacks snacks snacks snacks restaurant (jap.)	no no no no no	no no no no no	no no no no no	no no no no yes

Third row						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
21	F: 吉菫の寿司海鲜饭	F: restaurant	no	no	no	yes
	B: 素描肖像吧 sketch portrait	B: on-site caricature portrait painting	no	yes	no	no
22	—	—	—	—	—	—
23	F: 臭豆腐	F: snacks	no	no	no	no
	F: 冰淇淋	F: snacks	no	no	no	no
	B: 小时候	B: candy	no	no	no	no
O	rF: 求真小屋	rF: leather-ware	no	yes	no	no
	2F: Aori Ramen	2F: restaurant	no	no	no	yes
O	吉木缘	buddh. handicraft	no	yes	national	no
O	瀛之良品	jap. specialities	no	no	no	yes
O	遇见缘	handicraft (fans, embroidery, chopsticks)	no	yes	national	no
O	鸡爪	snacks	no	no	no	no
	椰子蛋	snacks	no	no	no	no
	长沙大香肠	snacks	no	no	no	no
	银世之家 泰迪之家 Teddy beloved	silverware restaurant	no yes	yes yes	national no	no yes
	一口酸牛奶	yoghurt	no	no	no	no
O	Mieivc	department store (homeware, lifestyle) snacks snacks	no	yes	no	no
	正新鸡排	B: gifts	no	no	no	no
	泰椰蛋		no	no	no	no
	B: 无双 Unique		no	yes	X	no

“Face to face”-Shikumen						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
24	問 Wen	clothing	no	yes	no	no
25	写给阿尔吉雅的一封信 A letter for Aerjiya	handmade candy, gifts	no	yes	no	no
26	陈瑞元摄影	photography	yes	yes	national	no

“Face to face”-Shikumen						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
27	上海女人	make-up (trad.)	no	yes	local	no
28	喜物 Fancy woo	accessories	no	yes	no	no
29	F: 阿拉丝语 B: closed	F: silk scarves	no	yes	national	no
30	F1: 圍尚 Fashion scarf	F: scarves, qipao	no	yes	national	no
	B: 多杰拉姆	B: Tibetan Bar	no	yes	national	yes
31	F2: 圍尚 Fashion scarf	silk scarves	no	yes	national	no
32	路上海	printed T-shirts	no	yes	national	no
33	F: 角落亚洲 Corner Asia	F: restaurant/bar	yes	yes	no	yes
	B: Alley Coffee & Bar	B: coffee bar/bar	yes	yes	no	yes
34	F: 荷喜牛轧糖	F: nougat	no	yes	no	no
	M: 乏穆手工	M: leatherware	no	yes	no	no
	B: 林家手作	B: pottery	no	yes	national	no
	B: 裁华洋溢	B: Qipao	no	yes	local	no
35	F: 兔子威廉的英式茶屋 William Rabbit's British tea room	F: tea, porcelain	no	yes	no	yes
	B: 养容舒缓 Reflexology	B: beauty & health	no	yes	national	no
	上海老百货	make-up (trad.)	no	yes	local	no
36	石库门	leatherware	no	yes	local	no
37	F: 京扇 Jing Fan	F: fans	no	yes	national	no
	B: 松林茶园 Tea Garden	B: tea	no	yes	national	no
38	F: 太红 Tai Wine	F: Bar	yes	yes	no	yes
	B: 珉	B: clothing (trad.)	no	yes	no	no
39	F: 摩登红人 Modern Lady	F: make-up (trad.)	no	yes	local	no
	B: 周小姐的手工作坊 Miss Zhou's handicraft shop	B: handicraft products	no	yes	national	no
40	F: 青社 Green Food	F: organic food	no	no	no	no
	B: Mahakala	B: Himalaya handicraft	no	yes	national	yes
41	F: 吉祥衣家	F: clothing (trad.)	no	yes	national	no
	B: Café Dan	B: Café	yes	yes	no	yes
42	Bohemia	Restaurant/Bar	yes	yes	no	yes

Fourth and Fifth row						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
43-1	九本尊	buddh. handicraft	yes	yes	national	no
43-2	木杪	jewelry (trad.)	no	yes	national	no
44	缘来是礼 Love is a gift	purses	no	yes	no	no
44 乙	丽枝 Lychee	fruits tea	no	no	no	no
45	银色时光纪	jewelry	no	yes	national	no
46	Beara Beara London British vintage	leatherware	no	yes	no	yes
46 乙	兔子威廉的英式茶屋 William Rabbit's British tea room	tea, porcelain	no	yes	no	yes
47	空红羅 Akurah	restaurant/bar	yes	yes	no	yes
47-2	chou-chou chic 雅童儿铺	children's clothing	no	X	local	no
47-3	Jaohh	clothing	yes	yes	yes	no
48	F1: Miss Owl	jewelry	no	yes	no	yes
48-1	老上海如珏	silk scarves	no	yes	local	no
48-2	F2: Miss Owl	jewelry	no	yes	no	yes
49	F: 青蘭工舍 Pure-land Décor & Art B: 汇源坊 H-Y studjo B: no name	F: tile art B: culture-related products B: children's clothing	yes no no	yes yes yes	national national no	no no no
49-2	静缘坊	leatherware	no	yes	no	no
50	塔罗咨询 Shan Tarot	Tarot fortune telling	no	no	no	no
50-3	東景記	clothing (trad.)	no	yes	national	no

Tianzifang Alleyway 247

Buildings facing Taikang Road						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
262	F: Virgo Plus	F: clothing (modern)	no	yes	no	X
	2F: My style 造型	2F: hairdresser	no	yes	no	no
	B: 解密茶货铺	B: fruit tea	no	no	no	no
264	F: Philippe le Bac cashmere & co.	F: clothing (modern)	no	yes	no	yes
	2F: 采耳文化公馆	2F: Cleaning and Relaxing Cultural Mansion	no	no	national	no
	B: 登氏剪纸	B: paper cutting	no	yes	national	no
266	F: Dea Dea original	F: clothing (modern)	no	yes	no	X
	B: 手工糖果	B: handmade candy	no	no	no	no
268	F: METTE 羊绒世家	F: clothing (trad./modern)	no	yes	no	yes
	B: 上海银匠	B: silver jewelry	no	yes	local	no
	2F: Sky Music-box 天空音乐盒	2F: handmade music boxes	yes	yes	no	no
270	F: Luckycraft 吉祥工艺品	F: handicraft products	yes	yes	national	no
	B: 心宽如衣	B: clothing (trad.)	no	yes	national	no
272	F: Modern ogo	F: clothing, shoes (modern)	no	yes	no	X
	B: no name	B: souvenirs	no	no	no	no
274	street-across building: 采耳	ear-cleaning	no	no	national	no
276	F: 林芋美眉	F: children's clothing (modern)	no	yes	no	no
	M: 上海女人	M: make-up (trad.)	no	yes	local	no
	B: 椰蛋	B: snack stand	no	no	no	no
278	F: 围多利亚	F: clothing (trad.)	no	yes	yes	no
	B: 气味图书馆; 彭政滨的创意小馆 PZB creations	B: fragrances; design studio	no; no	yes; yes	no; no	yes; no
	2F: 铭洋采耳	2F: ear-cleaning	no	no	national	no

Buildings facing Taikang Road						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
280	F: Pureland 青兰工舍	F: tile art	yes	yes	national	no
	B: 红座 (老相机工坊)	B: camera work-shop	yes	yes	local	no
282	F: 本色专业手工 皮 艺坊	F: leatherware	no	yes	national	no
	B: 田子坊剪纸	B: paper cutting	no	yes	national	no
284	F: 石库门	F: leatherware	no	yes	local	no
	B: 气味艺术馆	B: fragrances	no	yes	no	no
286	Amanda	clothing (modern)	no	yes	no	X

First row						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
1	F: 吉祥衣家	F: clothing (trad.)	no	yes	national	no
	B: no name	B: sweets, cups	no	no	no	no
2	F: 司小糖	F: tea and biscuits	no	no	no	no
	B: 舒妍国妆	B: children's clothing (trad.)	no	yes	national	no
3	F: 囿尚 Cheongsam	F: silk scarves	no	yes	no	no
	B: no name	B: sand art	no	yes	no	no
4	F: 荷喜牛轧糖	F: nougat	no	no	no	no
	B: India Haina Art; no name	B: Henna Art; souvenirs	no no	yes no	no no	yes no
5	F: Muriel 穆里尔	F: handmade leatherware	no	yes	no	no
	B: 譚木匠	B: wooden combs	yes	yes	national	no
6	F: 熊 2	F: souvenirs	no	no	no	no
	B: 手工混沌; 私房菜	B: restaurant; restaurant	no no	no no	no no	no no
40	F: 巾艳	F: silk scarves	no	yes	national	no
	B: 老上海如玥	B: make-up (trad.)	no	yes	local	no
41	F: 萬福	F: china handi-craft	no	yes	national	no
	B: cat 私品; 嘜妹妹饰品庄	B: jewelry; cloth- ing (modern)	no; no	yes; yes	X; no	no; no
42	F: -	F: -	-	-	-	-
	B: 泥娃娃	B: pottery figures	no	yes	national	no

Appendix

First row						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
43	F: 小时代 B: 小董雕像	F: jewelry B: stone carving	no no	yes yes	no national	no no
44	F: 吾家宜品 B: 友会茶; no name	F: straw accessories B: tea; seal carving	no no; no	yes no; yes	no national; national	yes no; no
45	F: 本色专业手工皮艺坊 B: no name	F: leatherware B: shoes, bags	no no	yes X	national no	no no

Second row						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
7	F: Lady's space 女之屋 B: no name; Annie 安妮	F: jewelry B: combs, chopsticks; jewelry	yes no no	yes no yes	no national no	no no no
8	F: 弥香 B: 生姜	F: clothing (trad.) B: clothing (trad.)	no no	yes yes	national national	no no
9	F: 上海密码-复古眼镜 Shanghai Code B: 冰希黎香水艺术馆 Boitown Parfums Art Gallery	F: vintage glasses B: fragrances	yes no	yes yes	local no	no no
10	F: 我的隐秘花园 My secret garden B: 蚕丝坊 Silk house	F: jewelry B: silk products	no no	yes yes	X national	no no
11	F: 巴布朵朵 B: 十三座查档 13th block tea stall	F: children's clothing (modern) B: tea	no no	yes no	no national	no no
12	F: 印度色彩 Colours of India M: Lotus Land B: Movo gelato	F: scarves, clothing, carpets M: Indian cuisine B: Italian ice-cream	no yes no	yes no no	no no no	yes yes yes

Second row						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
34	F: 三人行鞋坊 People's square M: 叁; 茶房; 唐僧肉肉	F: caps, T-Shirts M: sun glasses; tea; specialties	no no; no; no	no yes; no; no	no no; yes; no	no no; no; no
35	F: 银	F: silver jewelry	no	yes	X	no
36	F: 幼漫潮屋 2F: 左右工作室	F: toys 2F: tattoo studio	no no	no yes	no no	no yes
37	F: no name	F: bags, jewelry	no	yes	no	no
38	F: 茶	F: coffee, tea	no	no	no	no
39	F: 宴玉	F: pearl jewelry	no	yes	national	no
31	F: 摩登红人 Modern Lady	F: make-up (trad.)	no	yes	local	no
32	田子坊管理办公室	—	—	—	—	—

Third row						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
street-across building	F: 星岛海南鸡饭 Singtao Hainanese chicken rice B: 豪 Hao	F: restaurant B: restaurant	no no	yes yes	no no	no yes
13	F: 饮品工房 B: —	F: ceramics B: —	no —	yes —	national —	no —
14	F: Muriel 穆里尔 B: -	F: bags, belts B: residential unit	no —	yes —	no —	no —
15	F: 无锡宝岛眼镜公司 B: —	F: glasses B: —	no —	no —	no —	no —
16	F: 阿拉语 2F: Scent library; 心美眼美孔	F: silk scarves 2F: fragrances; medical piercing	no no; no	yes yes; yes	national no; no	no yes; no
17	F: Yishulihua 一树梨花 B: CSD 此时此地	F: clothing (trad.) B: bags, jewelry	no no	yes yes	national X	no X
18	F: 海上制扇 M: 钱记臭豆腐; Cod wa 酷蛙	F: fans M: stinky tofu; frog snack	no no; no	yes no; no	national no; no	no no; no

Appendix

Third row						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
230	M: 复古缘; 创意工坊	M: bags, jewelry; bags (modern)	no no	X X	no no	no no
20	串珠 Wish beads	pearl jewelry (handicraft)	no	yes	national	no
21	黎秋	handmade clothing	no	yes	no	no
22	—	—	—	—	—	—
23	吸引力复古表行	jewelry, chop- sticks, pictures	no	X	national	no
24	no name	handicraft jewelry	no	yes	no	no
25	—	—	—	—	—	—
26	—	—	—	—	—	—
27	娜格格杂货铺	wooden products	no	yes	no	no
28	多杰拉姆	Tibetan bar	no	yes	no	yes
29	黎秋	clothing (handm.)	no	yes	no	no
29-2	上海 1955	watches	no	yes	local	no

Tianzifang Alleyway 155

house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
15	F: 香遇 one scent one chance	F: fragrances	no	yes	national	no
19	F: 延樂茶集	F: tea, pottery, porcelain	yes	yes	national	no
19 甲	F: 棉麻生活馆; 老上海如珏	F: children's clothing; make-up (trad.)	no no	yes yes	no local	no no
20	F: housing; 上海五香豆腐	F: snacks	no	no	no	no
21	F: housing	—	—	—	—	—
22	F: housing; 上海女人	make-up (trad.)	no	yes	local	no
23	empty	—	—	—	—	—
24	F: housing; 故事吧 Storytelling F: 现场雕刻 F: 生果家族 F: 谢馥春	F: pottery F: engraving F: juice F: make-up (trad.)	no no no no	yes yes no yes	national national no national	no no no no
25	F: 漫步者花园 Rambler Garden	F: bar	yes	yes	no	no
26	housing	—	—	—	—	—
27	housing	—	—	—	—	—
28	F: 鱼疗吧 Fish Pedicure Bar	F: bar	no	yes	no	no
29	上海睿从文化发展 有限公司 复旦大学商业人类学 教学与研究基地	Shanghai Rizome Cultural Develop- ment Co., Ltd.	no no	yes yes	national national	no no
O	F: housing; 椰子下个蛋	F: snacks	no	no	no	no
O	老上海糕点 上海老冰棍 2F: Neneka Pumpkin Car 藕耙热狗棒 巾艳	snacks snacks 2F: restaurant snacks silk scarves	no no no no no no	no no no no no yes	no no no no no national	no no no no no no
35	2F: 极光点播影院	2F: cinema	no	yes	no	no

Appendix

house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
35 临-1	F: 罗椅人家	F: Qipao	no	yes	national	no
35 临-3	F: 不溢	F: handicraft clothing	no	yes	national	no
35 临-10	F: yeah 椰一族韦仕	F: drinks	no	no	no	no
36	B: Panda	B: bar/restaurant	yes	yes	no	no
36 临-1	F: 朋友酒吧 Friends	F: bar/restaurant	no	yes	no	no
37	F: 炎龙刺青	F: tattoo/piercing	yes	yes	no	no
38	漫步者 Rambler	bar/restaurant	yes	yes	no	no
39	F: 阿東家 Haton's Shanghai home-style dishes restaurant M: Candy Lab	F: restaurant M: candy	no no	no no	no no	no no

Tianzifang Alleyway 200

house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
O	田子坊企业服务中心	services	–	–	–	–
111	大强母 Thob Chen Ma	herbal incense, tea, crafts	no	yes	national	yes
112	贺友直	art	yes	yes	national	no
113	茶米家	tea	yes	yes	national	no
114	青衣采瓷坊	porcelain	no	yes	national	no
115	name unknown	jewelry	no	X	X	no
116	momento 慕忘珠宝	jewelry	no	yes	national	no
117	田子坊画廊	–	–	–	–	–
118	盈稼坊	Miao handicraft products	yes	yes	national	no
5楼 3	Leaf Yoga	yoga studio	no	no	no	no
5楼 102	雨木古茶 tea and antique	tea, antiques	no	yes	national	no
5楼 101	Mr. Choo wooden puzzles	puzzles	no	yes	no	no
O	陶吧	pottery	no	yes	national	no

Tianzifang Alleyway 210

Buildings facing Taikang Road						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
O	嘉蘿琳	Qipao	no	yes	local	no
O	茶风暴	tea drinks	no	no	national	no
O	(former Food Market 菜市场)	–	–	–	–	–
O	可的 Kedi	convenient store	no	no	no	no
O	no name	Baozi stall (trad.)	yes	no	local	no
O	老友记 Friends noodle shop	noodle restaurant	no	no	no	no
O	F: Lyn Guo 2F: 树悦 2F: Loopsspace Shanghai 2F: 知乐琴行	F: clothing (trad.) 2F: cultural products 2F: design 2F: music classes	no no no no	yes yes yes yes	national national no national	no no yes no
220 甲	素匠泰茶 Prime's Thai Tea	tea drinks	no	no	national	no
220-7 (101 室)	無銀不嫁	silver jewelry	no	yes	national	no
O	上海旅游咨询服务	tourist information	–	–	–	–
O	XMJ lifestyle	photography/interior design	no	yes	local + national	no
O	Melbourne Lifestyle Coffee	coffee/bar	no	yes	no	yes
O	F: Mini Sou 2F: 上海浦尊国际自贸区进口葡萄酒直销中心 3F: China Ink Tattoo	F: department store (home-ware, lifestyle) 2F: wine 3F: tattoos	no no no	yes no yes	no no no	no no no

Appendix

Buildings inside Alleyway 210						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
220 乙	荷喜牛轧糖	nougat	no	no	no	no
220 乙	Yifei Group 麦点创意 M Creative Lab	art design	yes no	yes yes	yes no	no no
O	XMJ Photography 金选民摄影	photography	yes	yes	yes	no
220 丙	谢馥春 叁眼镜 San Glasses	make-up (trad.) sunglasses	no no	yes yes	national no	no no
220 丁	Piara by Elaine J	handmade jewelry	no	yes	no	no
220 戊	山水傳 Art Legend Gallery	porcelaine	no	yes	national	no
200-7 临	à Shanghai	figurines	yes	yes	no	no
210 3 号 (101 室)	红 Red	buddh. fashion	yes	yes	national	no
210 3 号 (102 室)	巾城 Scarf city	silk scarves	yes	yes	national	no
210 3 号 (103 室)	路上海	printed T-Shirts	no	yes	no	no
210 3 号 (104 室)	金粉世家	clothing (trad.)	yes	yes	national	no
210 3 号 (105 室)	Taste	coffeeshop/ interior design	no	yes	no	no
210 3 号 5 室	双妹 Shanghai Vive	fragrances, make-up (trad.)	yes	yes	local	no
210 1 甲	盛唐牡丹	clothing (trad.)	yes	yes	national	no
210 1 乙	Layefe Home	homeware	no	yes	yes	no
210 2 甲	Yifei Vision	memorial hall	yes	yes	no	no

Passageway under Tianzifang Art Center						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
O	Feiyue	shoes	no	yes	local	no
O	善生阁佛珠	buddh. pearls	no	yes	national	no
O	O ³ Design Studio	design studio	no	yes	national	no
O	张玉党	calligraphy	no	yes	national	no

Passageway under Tianzifang Art Center						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
O	广慈烘焙工坊 Huge-grace Baking Shop	baking shop	no	no	no	no
O	口红学院 Lipstick Academy	make-up	no	yes	no	no
O	鸣春涧 Ming Chunjian	art, cultural products	no	yes	national	no
O	氧气有货 Oy-Huo	delicacies	no	no	no	no

Buildings inside Alleyway 210 (continued)						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
210 3 号	lélé France	jewelry	no	yes	X	X
210 3 号	Mini Sou	department store (home-ware, lifestyle)	no	yes	no	no
210 3 号 (109 室)	气味图书馆 Scent library	fragrances	no	yes	no	yes
210 3 号 (120 室)	F: 牛理事	F: handmade leatherware	no	yes	national	no
	M: 吸吉茶 Cititee; 興隆生	M: tea drinks Baozi (food)	no no	no no	no no	no no
210 2 乙	Woo 嫵	scarves and shawls	yes	yes	national	no
210 2 丙	圣石传说 Legend of stone	jewelry	no	yes	national	no
210 2 丁	守白艺术	art coffee	yes	yes	yes	no
	咖啡烘焙 Coffee roastery lab		no	no	no	
6	F: 创意市集 hand workshop	F: handicraft	no	X	national	no
O	老上海如玥	make-up (trad.)	no	yes	national	no
7-1	木杪	jewelry	no	yes	yes	no
	猫馆 cat house	figurines	no	X	X	no
7-2	左繹首绣	shoes (trad.)	no	yes	national	no
7-3	灼灼	silk fashion	no	yes	national	no
7-4	Kommune 公社	restaurant/bar	yes	no	no	yes
7-5						

Buildings inside Alleyway 210 (continued)						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
7-6	卓玛	handicraft products	yes	yes	national	no
7-7	shan 中国伞扇之艺馆	fans	no	yes	national	no
7-9	F: 见萍 B: 三生有信	F: clothing (trad.) B: postcards	yes no	yes yes	national national	no no
O	新作の茶	tea drinks	no	no	no	no
7-11	Paper Shanghai	workspace/ social club	no	yes	no	no
7-12	Woo 嫵	scarves and shawls	yes	yes	national	no
7-13	F: 裘真手工皮具 M: 吉祥衣家	F: handmade leatherware M: clothing (trad.)	no no	yes yes	national national	no no
248 弄 51	此时此地 S.Ci.D	bags	no	X	X	X
248 弄 51	51°星球 planet (石怡集)	notebooks/gifts	yes	yes	yes	no
248 弄 51	手绘上海原创明信片	postcards	no	yes	yes	no
10-1	蝴蝶美甲店	nail care studio	no	yes	no	no
10-2	予日陶社	pottery shop	no	yes	national	no
10-3	closed	—	—	—	—	—
11	无锡宝岛眼镜公司	glasses	no	yes	no	no
11-A	真清坊	buddh. handicraft	no	yes	national	no
11-B	谭木匠	wooden handicraft products	yes	yes	national	no
11-C	零 ling	clothing (trad.)	yes	yes	national	no
12-13	臻茶林	tea	yes	yes	national	yes
14	灼灼	silk fashion	no	yes	national	no
15	凝琤	clothing (creative)	no	yes	X	no
16	NYC Gentry II Heritage	children's clothing	no	X	X	X
17	伽亦	tea store	no	yes	national	no
18	ZSQ. Jr.	children's clothing	no	X	X	X
18-1	艺和原	handmade jewelry	no	yes	national	no
19	2F: 米子家具	furniture	no	yes	no	no
20	贵和工厂店	clothing	no	X	X	X

Buildings inside Alleyway 210 (continued)						
house number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
21	三宝轩	porcelaine	yes	yes	national	no
22	艺冉时光	handmade yoghurt	no	no	no	no
23	housing	–	–	–	–	–
O	摩登红人	make-up (trad.)	no	yes	national	no
O	F: 老上海如玥	F: make-up (trad.)	no	yes	local	no
	2F: 金枪鱼海鲜饭	2F: restaurant	no	no	no	no
O	我的隐秘花园	jewelry	no	yes	X	no
	盛唐牡丹	clothing (trad.)	yes	yes	national	no
O	Guo Xu 郭许	clothing (trad.)	X	yes	national	no

Tianzifang Alleyway 210 Buildings No. 3 and No. 5

Building No. 3						
room number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
201-205	上海里巷投资咨询有限公司	consultancy	no	yes	local	no
206	苏菲摄影工作室	photography	no	yes	no	no
207	御坤（上海）文化传播有限公司	advertisement & promotion	no	yes	no	no
214-215	韩星文化传播有限公司 HS Media	advertisement & promotion	yes	yes	no	yes
217-218	上海兆妩品牌服饰有限公司	accessories (creative)	no	yes	national	no
301-303	上海雷埃浦小桥商务咨询有限公司 Petit Pont	consultancy	yes	yes	no	yes
304-305	上海艺世室内设计有限公司	design	no	yes	no	no
306-310	上海湃杰广告有限公司	advertisement & promotion	no	yes	no	no
311-313	宏武体育咨询有限公司	consultancy	no	yes	no	no
315-316	迎帆商务咨询有限公司	consultancy	no	yes	no	no
317-318	艾坻商务咨询有限公司	consultancy	no	yes	no	no
401-418	上海兆妩品牌服饰有限公司	accessories (creative)	yes	yes	national	no
504-505	上海魔魔钢结构有限公司	construction	no	no	no	no
506	上海瀚琪文化传播有限公司	advertisement & promotion	no	yes	no	no
507	上海嘉彭健康管理咨询有限公司	management/consultancy	no	yes	no	no
508	上海罡罡国际贸易有限公司	trade	no	no	no	no
509	上海嘉彭健康管理咨询有限公司	management/consultancy	no	yes	no	no
510	技博（上海）贸易有限公司	trade	no	no	no	no

Building No. 5						
room number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
100	南希艺术画廊 Nancy's Gallery	artworks	yes	yes	no	no
101	南希艺术画廊 Nancy's Gallery	artworks	yes	yes	no	no
102	Jiyang Art Research & Design Center	research/ design	no	yes	X	no
103	—	—	—	—	—	—
106	Nancy's Gallery	artworks	yes	yes	no	no
108	Lamy	pens	yes	yes	no	yes
109	—	—	—	—	—	—
110	—	—	—	—	—	—
112	南希艺术画廊 Nancy's Gallery	artworks	yes	yes	no	no
113	枫丹白露画廊	artworks	yes	yes	no	no
115	钟增雄油画工作室	artworks	no	yes	no	no
116	陈维乡土风情油画 南风画廊	artworks	no	yes	national	no
117	丰色艺术画廊 Fense Art	artworks	no	yes	no	no
118	知美居画廊	artworks	yes	yes	national	no
200	祥瑞画廊	artworks	yes	yes	national	no
201	—	—	—	—	—	—
202	傅关根油画工作室	artworks	no	yes	national	no
203	沈建强油画工作室	artworks	no	yes	national	no
204	—	—	—	—	—	—
205	曹 X 昇书画工作室	artworks	no	yes	X	no
206	上海逸凡艺术沙龙	artworks	no	yes	national	no
207	吴凡油画工作室	artworks	no	yes	national	no
208	上海逸凡艺术沙龙	artworks	no	yes	national	no
209	—	—	—	—	—	—
210	鹭德文创艺术空间 Lusi cultural creative art space	artworks	no	yes	yes	no
211	阿伟油画工作室	artworks	yes	yes	X	no
212	LMK architecture altitude	architec- tural/ landscape design	no	yes	no	no
213	何亚萍油画工作室	artworks	yes	yes	national	no

Appendix

Building No. 5						
room number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
215	刘博文油画工作室	artworks	yes	yes	X	no
216	远景艺术工作室王培	artworks	no	yes	X	no
217	宝玺原创油画工作室	artworks	no	yes	national	no
218	朱淼永 朱天红油画工作室	artworks	yes	yes	national	no
303	马福宝油画工作室	artworks	yes	yes	national	no
304	由曙亮工作室	artworks	yes	yes	national	no
305	abn impact	market research	no	yes	no	yes
306	–	–	–	–	–	–
307	–	–	–	–	–	–
308	上海莫丽建筑装饰设计有限公司	design	no	yes	X	no
309	江雅芬油画工作室	artworks	yes	yes	national	no
310	Enjoy 上海音乐节品牌策划有限公司	design	no	X	X	X
311	Gourmet Concepts 镭尔镁餐饮管理有限公司	management	no	no	no	no
X	上海守白文化艺术有限公司	artworks	yes	yes	national	no
317	破 14 画廊	artworks	no	yes	no	no
318	香港海运集团有限公司	transportation	no	no	no	no
319	Nicobar Group	consultancy/ market research	yes	yes	no	yes
321	CHI Branding & Design	design	no	yes	no	no
322	INspire Media	media	no	yes	X	X
326	–	–	–	–	–	–
401	Victor Chi Sun Design	design	no	yes	no	yes
402	Eloueen art	artworks	no	X	X	X
403	莉馥而中国民间印染服饰	clothing	yes	yes	national	no
406	上海致高建材有限公司	construction	no	no	no	no
408	a&i 上海分公司	financial services	no	yes	no	yes

Building No. 5						
room number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
409	reflex shanghai	design/ advertisement	no	yes	no	yes
417	fx Market Planning	services	no	X	no	X
418	Graceford	HR consultancy	no	yes	no	yes
419	9k Go 上海俏拉 文化传播有限公司	branding & design	yes	yes	no	no
420-1	walk 上海沃迎信息 技术有限公司	software & computing	no	yes	no	yes
420-2	孔雀资本 Peacock Capital	financial services	no	yes	no	no
422	艾皮思广告 (上海)有限公司	publication services	no	yes	no	yes
425	HR. Rousset Co., Ltd.	X	X	X	X	X
428	emeneo	learning management	yes	yes	no	yes
458	JV Creation Studio	design	X	X	X	X
421	帅器商务咨询 (上海)有限公司	services	X	X	X	X
501	上海凯铭酒业 有限公司	liquor	no	no	no	no
503	艾皮思广告 (上海)有限公司	publication ser- vices	no	yes	no	yes
504	abn impact	market research	no	yes	no	yes
506	上海社科院万勇 教授工作室	research	no	yes	no	no
507	楚政互动广告 Chuzheng Interac- tive Advertisement	internet & advertisement	no	yes	no	no
508	smart	artworks	X	X	X	X

Appendix

Building No. 5						
room number	shop name	business	original	creative	heritage-related	non-Chinese
510	上海城市记忆空间研究院	research	no	yes	local	no
517	上海羽石企业管理咨询有限公司	consultancy/ market research	no	yes	no	no
518	Yepp Group	advertisement	no	yes	no	no
519	比极影像 beaugeste photo gallery	artworks	no	yes	national	yes
520	比极广告设计 beaugeste design solution	advertisement/ design	no	yes	national	yes
521	新动态摄影	photography/ shooting training	no	yes	no	no
522	上海汇思企业形象策划有限公司	design/ promotion	no	yes	no	no
525	上海基分贸易发展有限公司	design	no	no	no	no
528	Brandsight 视线品牌	consultancy	no	yes	no	no

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With the threat and emergence of monotonous cityscapes in a rapidly urbanizing China, the pressure to preserve local characteristics has taken center stage.

Central and local governments at the beginning of the 1980s responded by prioritizing 24 cities with historical value and cultural relics. Drawing on international standards and experiences of early Chinese architects such as Liang Sicheng, the concept of “Historically and Culturally Famous Cities” begins to take shape. The study delineates three revitalized residential areas in the Jiangnan region, two of them characterized by splendid private gardens, Ming and Qing period mansions of historical figures, ceremonial archways, historic wells and trees. Strictly adhering to international conservation guidelines, the development of the Pingjiang Historic and Cultural Block in Suzhou came about in the conservation of its central road. As a pilot site for UNESCO’s Historic Urban Landscape management approach, Tongli Ancient Water Town explores its own ‘Tongli model’ for an integration of its residential and scenic areas. Contrastingly, the transformation of factory buildings and *lilong* architecture into a creative crucible in Tianzifang, Shanghai, is remarkable for its bottom-up approach.

Based on these three areas which now serve as exemplars for integrated conservation and development, the study argues and demonstrates how “Historically and Culturally Famous Cities” developed from their initial concept into a multi-layered conservation system.