

PERCEPTION, PERFORMANCE, AND POWER: SHAPING RITUAL SPACE
IN THE MAKING OF SOUTHERN SONG CHINA, 1127–1266

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study on the history of ritual and ritual space in twelfth- and thirteenth-century China. It examines the restructuring of state ritual and ritual space in response to a succession of challenges to the legitimacy of a dynasty that was declining in power. Blending ritual and urban perspectives, this study uncovers complex, multilayered and hitherto unexamined relations between ritual, politics, diplomacy, and urban space. It argues that Southern Song politics and statecraft defined by its major internal and external crises interacted closely with people's ritual perceptions and practices at multiple scales. It would suggest that "ritual space" can be a useful category for historical analysis.

The 1127 loss of northern China to the Jurchen Jin, non-Han peoples, forced the Song temporary capital to be relocated in Lin'an (present-day Hangzhou) in 1138. A pragmatic principle with the stress on local resources was developed during the restoring of suburban sacrifices for an unideal imperial city as well as in response to the incomplete sacred geography of an ununified empire. The succession problem for an heirless emperor witnessed the intertwined histories of the Altar of Gaomei and the Blessing Virtue Shrine for praying for sons in the 1140s and 1150s. Given the two selected candidates in Taizu's line, and compared with ritual officials, Gaozong showed brilliant political tactics through his ritual inaction. The 1162 peaceful transfer of power to Xiaozong brought about a unique spatial structure of the dual palaces displayed by multiple invented regular rituals, a symbol of the dynastic revival. However, Guangzong's ritual failure led to the early 1190s' imperial crisis. Street gossips turned into the widespread rumors and public opinion targeting towards the empress. In a new East Asian world order with powerful neighboring states, the Song court shaped diplomatic ritual spaces centered on Lin'an, from the Song-Jin border and local prefectures to the capital city. Upholding diplomatic parity with the Jin, the Song attempted to show cultural and military superiority through competition, and highlighted the significance of the state dignity, an intense nationalist sentiment, when conflicts arose between domestic funeral rituals and diplomatic rituals.

For my parents Jinhua Zhao and Xinpei Tian,
my grandmother Liande Shi (1931–2015),
and my wife Yifang Yehliu

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For my family, what I owe them is incalculable and more than thanks. My parents, Jinhua Zhao and Xinpei Tian, have been supported my pursuit of historical study with full love and understanding for fifteen years. I wish I could have had a chance to share the joyfulness of graduation with my dearest grandmother, Liande Shi, who passed away on June 28, 2015. My deepest gratitude goes to my wife, Yifang Yehliu, for her great patience and constant encouragement. I am looking forward to exploring the world with her and fulfilling our growing wish list.

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Introduction

Multiple Rituals

On the twenty-fifth day of the intercalary month that fell between the eleventh and twelfth months of 1126, the first year of the Jingkang 靖康 (1126–27) reign era, the capital of the Northern Song (960–1127) dynasty, Bianliang 汴梁 (present-day Kaifeng 開封), was ultimately captured at midday by the Jurchens, a Tungusic people who in 1115 established the Jin (1115–1234) dynasty in the northeastern region of today's China (Map 0.1).¹ There was a snowstorm that day. Around ten days ago, the continual heavy rain and snow this month forced the emperor to pray for the stoppage in the Imperial Palace with bare feet, a rite usually performed to respond to natural disasters.² During this ritual, Emperor Qinzong 欽宗 (r. 1126–27) might have been also wishing for the withdrawal of the Jin military forces to avoid the empire's disintegration. Last month he sent an envoy with an imperial prince, Zhao Gou 趙構 (1107–87), to seek armistice with the Jin even at the cost of territorial cession and acknowledging their superior status in diplomacy, while the Jin demanded the Yellow River as the border, much closer to Bianliang. The envoy was killed, and Zhao was persuaded not to take the risks by a general and local people en route to the Jin camp.

¹ Wang Zao 汪藻, *Jingkang yaolu jianzhu* 靖康要錄箋注 (hereafter JKYL), anno. Wang Zhiyong 王智勇 (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2008), 13.1393; Li Xinzhan 李心傳, *Jiyan yilai xinian yaolu* 建炎以來繫年要錄 (hereafter XNYL) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), 1.19; Tuotuo 脫脫, *Songshi* 宋史 (hereafter SS) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 23.434.

² JKYL, 13.1358; SS, 23.434.

The negotiation was then held in abeyance.³ On the eve of the Jurchens' attacking the city, Qinzong took greetings and encouragement to the Song soldiers on the city-walls several times during freezing weather. All these ritual enactments were in vain. As the Jin were attacking on the city, the angry, defeated Song soldiers with city dwellers rushed into the residence for foreign envoys, and killed the Jin chief envoy.⁴ But the fall of Kaifeng was inevitable.



Map 0.1: East Asia in 1200

Source: Robert Tignor et al. eds., *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart*, vol. 2 (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), 378.

³ *JYKL*, 12.1239, 1242; *SS*, 23.432. The Song envoy who insisting on going to Jin was killed by local people in a temple where Lord Cui (*Cui fujun* 崔府君) was revered. This incident that saved Zhao Gao from being taken as hostage became a myth along with the cult of Lord Cui as evidence of the imperial legitimacy since the early Southern Song. For a discussion of this incident and the mythicization, see Deng Xiaonan 鄧小南, "Guanyu 'nima du Kangwang'關於泥馬渡康王," in Deng Xiaonan, *Langrun xueshi conggao* 朗潤學史叢稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 95–111. In this myth, Zhao Gou got rid of the Jin's pursuit by riding a white horse concerned with the Temple of Lord Cui, and finally reached the south after crossing rivers. The construction of the White Horse Temple (*Baima miao* 白馬廟) has been considered as a product of the mythification of Gaozong's legitimacy at the time. For a brief introduction to the archaeological discovery of the White Horse Temple in Hangzhou in 2003, see Du Zhengxian 杜正賢, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu: Yi kaogu wei zhongxin* 南宋都城臨安研究: 以考古為中心 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2016), 338–42.

⁴ *JYKL*, 13.1404, 1408; *SS*, 23.434.

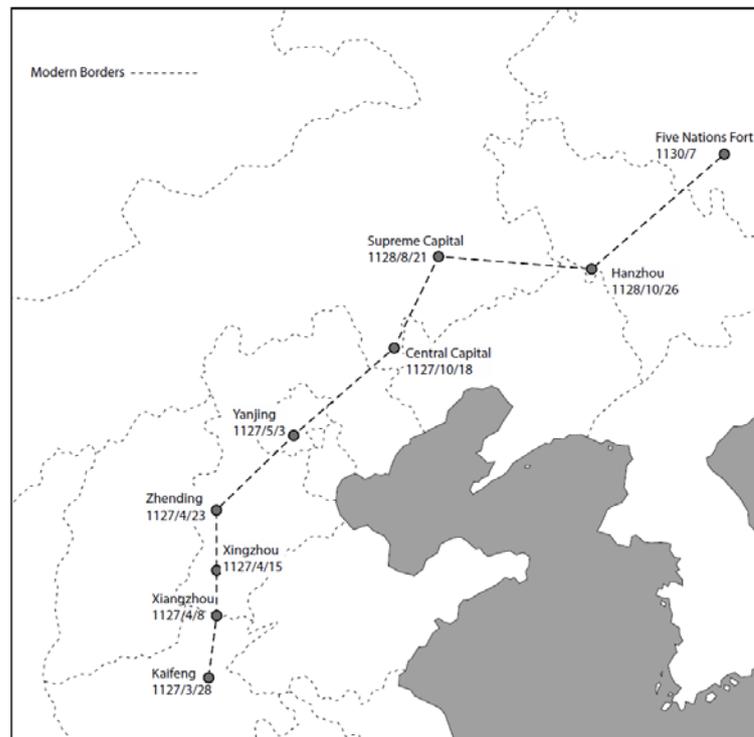
The second Song-Jin war ended in a humiliating defeat to the Song that exerted a profound impact upon the legitimacy of Song China. Qinzong and his father Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–26), the retired emperor, were taken captive and transported to the far north the next year, together with thousands of imperial clan members, officials, attendants, concubines, servants, and craftsmen, as well as a train of booty—countless imperial treasures, carriages, and ritual vessels.⁵ The plunder and transportation of sacrificial vessels and imperial carriages not only displayed the Jurchens’ success in forcing the Song into submission, but also conveyed a message that the Song emperor had been deprived of his legitimate qualification and authority for worship as the Son of Heaven. Such a visualized ritual scene indicated the transfer of power to the Jin according to the theory of the Mandate of Heaven.

For the Song captives transported to the Jin (Map 0.2), the physical and mental sufferings just began. Conditions were very difficult; in one of the seven convoys, twenty-eight percent died and abandoned along the route.⁶ They were also involved in many ironical rites on the way, the emperors treated as envoy. The most humiliating ritual was the one held at the shrine dedicated to Wanyan Aguda 完顏阿骨打 (r. 1115–23), the founder and first emperor of the Jin dynasty. Except for the two emperors and empresses, all other Song captives were forced to “bare their upper bodies and wrap a sheep skin around their waists,” presented as offerings during a ritual of surrender mixed with Jurchen and Chinese customs. One empress was said to

⁵ SS, 23.436; also see John W. Chaffee, *Branches of Heaven: A History of the Imperial Clan of Sung China* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999), 114. For the detailed information, see Xu Mengxin 徐夢莘, *Sanchao beimeng huibian* 三朝北盟會編 (hereafter SCBM) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 77.584, 78.587, 79.594, 81.609; *JKYL*, 16.1741, 1749; Anonymous, *Kaifengfu zhuang* 開封府狀, in Que’an 確庵 and Nai’an 耐庵, *Jingkang baishi jianzheng* 靖康禪史箋証, anno. Cui Wenyin 崔文印 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988); Kegong 可恭 (Jin), *Songfu ji* 宋俘記, in *Jingkang baishi jianzheng*. Patricia Ebrey notices the similar enactment of transportation by the Khitans after they captured the capital city of the Later Jin in 947. Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2014), 476. Also note that the water clocks at the Bright Hall, imperial carriages, sacrificial vessels, and the scores of musical compositions for ritual were included. Tuotuo 脫脫, *Liaoshi* 遼史 (hereafter LS) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 4.60.

⁶ Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong*, 476–86.

have committed self-suicide by throwing herself into a river after the rite; the Song emperors were granted humiliating lordly titles next day.⁷ The first-person accounts of the hardships and humiliation were recorded and/or brought back by those who had been released or returned to the Southern Song by other means. The traumatic memories might have been circulated among a small number of people, but were primarily tabooed.



Map 0.2: Huizong and Qinzong's route in captivity
Source: Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong*, 479.

Not in Bianliang then, Zhao Gou, the ninth son of Huizong, fled southward with his armies after learning of the fall of the capital city. During the course of his escape, the imperial prince conducted a hasty enthronement ceremony in Yingtian Prefecture (Yingtian fu 應天府, present-day Shangqiu 商丘) on the first day of the fifth month of 1127. Under increasing pressure from his attending officials longing for the continuity of the dynasty, Zhao thus became the first emperor of the Southern Song dynasty,

⁷ Anonymous, *Shenyin yu* 呻吟語, in *Jingkang baishi jianzheng*, 209; Tuotuo 脫脫, *Jinshi* 宋史 (hereafter JS) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 3.59; Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong*, 492–93.

known as Gaozong高宗 (r. 1127–62) by his posthumous temple name (*miaohao*廟號). But it should be noted that the ritual was performed without any standard ritual vessels; the altar for sacrificing Supreme Heaven, temporarily set up to the east of the prefectural seat, apparently did not conform to a prescribe place of the southern suburban altar.⁸

The new emperor's escape did not end. The pursuing Jin troops forced the Song exiled court to flee even farther southward. It was not until 1138 that the new regime was relocated itself in Hangzhou杭州, then renamed as Lin'an臨安 (lit. "temporary peace," present-day Hangzhou) and promoted to the temporary capital city, "*xingzai* 行在" or "*xingzaisuo* 行在所" (lit. "traveling palace").⁹ From 1128 to 1138, Gaozong did not perform any major state ritual in Hangzhou, in part because of his frequent moves among multiple cities.

The above-mentioned varieties of rites, whether conventional or unconventional, performed within a state or abroad, and witnessed in public or held privately (or heard from others), illustrated the interactions between state ritual, the emperorship, and the imperial legitimation. Correspondingly, these interrelations required appropriate and decipherable representations in specific time and places. Several examples show that the ritual result instead of the procedure was sometimes given priority to, regardless of the misuse or absence of ritual. Song officials seemed to have no fierce opposition

⁸ XNYL, 5.131–32; SS, 24.442–43.

⁹ As the largest and most prosperous city in the world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and one of China's most beautiful cities, Hangzhou boasts the numerous and detailed contemporary descriptions, including the longest chapter of Marco Polo's travel account, and has been a research subject for several preeminent twentieth-century sinologists like Étienne Balazs and Jacques Gernet as well as many current scholars. Jacques Gernet, *Daily Life in China on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion, 1250–1275* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970); Nancy S. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 144–47. Hangzhou seems to be more familiar to Western readers because Marco Polo in his travel account praised it "the finest and most splendid city in the world." Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, trans. Ronald Latham (Penguin Classics, 1958), 227. In Marco Polo's account of his travels in China, "Quinsai" referring to Hangzhou is derived from "*xingzai*" or "*xingzaisuo*." Paul D. Buell and Francesca Fiaschetti, *Historical Dictionary of the Mongol World Empire* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), 244.

to the enactments. Given the necessity of a standardized ritual system in legitimizing a new regime in Chinese imperial history, Lin'an's special status of a capital city and the complicated contexts of the Southern Song under the shadow of the Jingkang calamity are a good departure for exploring the process of making a revived dynasty.

Why Southern Song Lin'an?

From the mid-eighth to the mid-thirteenth centuries, China experienced great changes in many aspects, such as the revolutions in agriculture, manufacturing, and trade networks, as well as the expansion of the civil service examination system, and the emergence of commercial printing.¹⁰ More than this, scholars have realized that the Song (960–1279) dynasty is a crucial period in both Chinese history and global history. This empire was not known for its strong military power, compared to its neighboring nomadic empires at the time, and more diplomatically passive, compared to the previous Tang Empire. However, its political success, economic progress, cultural brilliance, and technological breakthrough made Song China “a regional engine of Afro-Eurasian prosperity.”¹¹ This Tang-Song period was also equally crucial in the history of Chinese cities, given the rapid urbanization in South China and the transition from a closed capital to an open city from the mid-tenth century onwards.¹² In the late 1120s, this long era of China's stability and splendor yielded to the turmoil caused by the invasions of its northern nomadic tribes.

¹⁰ Paul Jakov Smith, “Introduction: The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors, 907–1279,” *The Cambridge History of China Volume 5 Part One: The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors, 907–1279*, eds. Denis Twitchett and Paul Jakov Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1–37; John W. Chaffee, “Introduction: Reflections on the Sung,” in *The Cambridge History of China Volume 5 Part Two: Sung China, 960–1279*, eds. John W. Chaffee and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1–18; Richard von Glahn, *The Economic History of China: From Antiquity to the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 208–278.

¹¹ Jeremy Adelman et al., *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart: A History of the World from the Beginnings of Humankind to the Present* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), 376.

¹² Richard von Glahn, *The Economic History of China: From Antiquity to the Nineteenth Century*, 216, 249–52; Shiba Yoshinobu 斯波義信, *Sōdai kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū* 宋代江南經濟史の研究 (Kyoto: Tokyo Daigaku Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1988); Shiba Yoshinobu, *The Diversity of the Socio-Economy in Song China, 960–1279* (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 2011); Yang Kuan 楊寬, *Zhongguo gudai ducheng zhidushi yanjiu* 中國古代都城制度史研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003), 235–310.

Focusing on Lin'an, my dissertation examines the restructuring of Chinese state ritual and ritual space in response to challenges to the legitimacy of a "divided" dynasty from the early twelfth to the mid-thirteenth centuries.¹³ I am particularly interested in the following three questions: How did the Southern Song situate state rituals in the dynasty's new political, social and geographical locale? How did a "provisional" court or government respond ritually to internal and external challenges? And how did ritual and ritual space shape city dwellers' views and practices towards the world they were living in?

Three major considerations determine the choice of Southern Song Lin'an. First, the geographic and topographic particularities of Lin'an are the key to understanding not only the evolvement of Lin'an from a prefecture-level city to a capital city, but the ritual enactments in and of the perceived space as well. Located between the Qiantang River (Qiantang jiang 錢塘江) and the West Lake (Xi hu 西湖), from the early Sui 隋 (581–618) dynasty when the city was founded to the Mongol Yuan 元 (1271–1368) period, Hangzhou had been expanded many times, but the outer city with a long, narrow shape had not been changed much (Figure 0.1).¹⁴ Though twenty-eight percent as large as Kaifeng (53 sq. km), the population density of Lin'an (21 thousand–35 thousand people per sq. km) was more than twice that of Kaifeng, and is comparable to that of municipal areas of today's Tokyo or Shanghai.¹⁵ The high population density thus made it quite difficult for the urban construction. More importantly, the urban layout, including the narrow, densely populated urban space and the location of the Imperial City in the southernmost of the city, did not fit into

¹³ The Northern Song and the Khitan Liao called each other in diplomatic documents by the notion of the Northern and Southern dynasties. The Southern Song and the Jurchen Jin did not follow this way of the Song-Liao interactions, but from the Song's standpoint, their longing for a unified empire and regaining the lost territories occupied by the Jin enabled them to realize that the Song at that time was to some extent still in an era of division.

¹⁴ Du Zhengxian, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu*, 27–32.

¹⁵ Bao Weimin 包偉民, *Songdai chengshi yanjiu* 宋代城市研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 72, 357–66.

the ideal pattern of an imperial Chinese capital city. Several questions then arise: How did this urban layout, which might have been dynamically altered, exert effects on the spatial arrangement of state ritual in politics, society, and diplomacy? What kinds of approaches did the Song imperial court adopt to reconcile the tensions? Who would be involved in the ritual negotiations and enactments, and what about their roles?

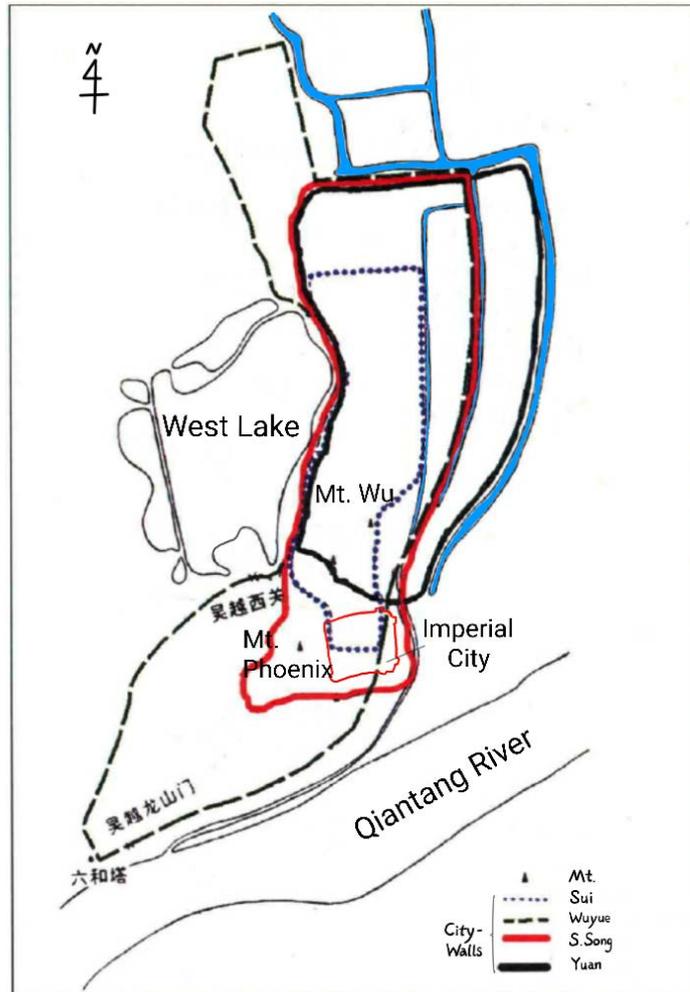


Figure 0.1: Hangzhou through history
Source: Based on Du Zhengxian, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu*, 28, 64.

The second consideration is associated with the temporariness both Lin'an and the Southern Song assumed. The city played a role of the temporary capital in the course of almost the entire dynastic history. The Jurchen armies once occupied Lin'an for several months during their southward invasion of the Yangtze River Delta since

late 1129. As the first Chinese emperor that had to take to the sea to avoid capture, Gaozong eventually returned to and stayed in Lin'an after the withdrawal of the Jin forces.¹⁶ Aside from the emperor's own will and his final decisions, the site selection of a capital city could be also seen as a compromise between the hardliners and the conservative. The emperor, on the one hand, was highly expected to recover the lost northern territories, particularly Kaifeng, the former capital occupied by the Jin. In this regard, Jiankang建康 (present-day Nanjing南京) would have been considered more appropriate, for it was located closer to Kaifeng. On the other hand, in order to escape the potential Jin's pursuit, Gaozong and the Song imperial court had to make preparations for evasion at any time, especially in the early years of the Southern Song. As such, the temporariness reflected an expression of envisioning a unified empire as well as a practical attitude in the face of reality.

That the emperorship might have also been of temporariness was another major crisis over the imperial legitimacy. It was widely accepted at the time that, like the effort of regaining the territories conquered by the Jin, the return of the emperor from captivity in the far north of the Jin territory was purported to be the other most important achievement of a legitimate Southern Song empire. The existence of Huizong or Qinzong, thus, could have been utilized to challenge the emperor's rule, as two military officers of the Imperial Guard did in 1129—launching a mutiny and forcing Gaozong to abdicate by means of this excuse.¹⁷ After the mutiny was crushed, that the emperor had been heirless for long caused the concern of the heir apparent, which pointed to the authority of the sitting emperor. These issues are reminiscent of the usurper Wang Mang王莽 (r. 9–23), who was seeking to consolidate his rule by

¹⁶ Tao Jingshen, "The Move to the South and the Reign of Kao-tsung (1127–1162)," in *The Cambridge History of China Volume 5 Part One: The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors, 907–1279*, 654–55.

¹⁷ Tao, "The Move to the South and the Reign of Kao-tsung (1127–1162)," 650–51.

reviving ancient ritual and remoulding urban space. Likewise, Gaozong's abdication in 1162 brought about a series of new rituals centered on the retired emperor. Did these rituals produce new ritual spaces and social relations? If so, what would they mean to different people like the emperor, officials, literati, and ordinary people? Could these help us better understand the establishment of the legitimacy of the Southern Song? In addition, how did the subsequent rulers deal with this ritual legacy in the urban settings?

The third consideration is to place Lin'an in the larger contexts of Chinese, East Asian, and global history. From the mid-eighth century onwards and after Tang Chang'an, Southern Song Lin'an was the first pre-modern Chinese global city where the empire's political center and the economic center converged. In the meantime, such a phenomenon appeared for the first time during the southward shifting of the centre of gravity of the Chinese economy in the Tang-Song period.¹⁸ Therefore, scholars can reconsider the Tang-Song transitions in Chinese, East Asian, and global history through the lens of the particularities of Lin'an. For example, the peripheral location of Lin'an might have invalidated it as the center of the imperial sacred geography for a unified empire, a major source of the concept of grand unity in imperial China that has been exerting increasing influence in today's China.¹⁹ So how

¹⁸ Richard von Glahn, *The Economic History of China*, 249; Angus Maddison, *Chinese Economic Performance in the Long Run, 960–2030 AD* (Paris: OECD, 2007), 16. Also see Zhang Jiaju 張家駒, *Liang Song jingji zhongxin nanyi* 兩宋經濟重心南移 (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1957); Du Yu 杜瑜, *Zhongguo jingji zhongxin nanyi: Tang Song jian jingji fazhan de diqu chayi* 中國經濟重心南移：唐宋間經濟發展的地區差異 (Taipei: Wunan tushu chuban gongsi, 2005); Liang Gengyao 梁庚堯, *Zhongguo shehuishi* 中國社會史 (Taipei: Taida chuban zhongxin, 2014), 183–202.

¹⁹ Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, *Zhai zi zhongguo: Chongjian youguan "Zhongguo" de lishi lunshu* 宅茲中國：重建有關「中國」的歷史論述 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 41–65; for the English translation, see Ge Zhaoguang, Here in "China" I Dwell: Reconstructing Historical Discourses of China for Our Time, trans. Jesse Field and Qin Fang (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 29–52. For the latest discussion on nationalist consciousness of "China" in the Song, see Nicolas Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation: Song China and the Forging of an East Asian World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). For the trenchant and thorough critiques of China's mainland Neo-Confucians' growing political appeal to the state ideology of "tianxia" or "All-under-Heaven" including the thought of grand unity in recent years, see Ge Zhaoguang, "Dui 'tianxia' de xiangxiang: Yige wutuobang xiangxiang beihou de zhengzhi, sixiang yu xueshu 對「天下」的想像：一個烏托邦想像背後的政治、思想與學術," *Sixiang* 思想 vol. 29, ed. Sixiang bianji weiyuanhui (Taipei: Lianjing, 2015): 1–56; Ge Zhaoguang, "Yixiang

did the Song adjust and cope with this spatial incompleteness? In diplomacy, what were the similarities and differences between the East Asian world order in the Song-Jin period and that in the Song-Liao period, and how were they reflected in space and the process of shaping diplomatic space? In other words, how did the Song envision, perceive, and realize the new picture and new order of the empire or the world in Lin'an and/or through Lin'an? And what kinds of roles did state ritual play? Moreover, scholars have noted that the origin of nationalist "China" consciousness could be traced to the Song dynasty. Understanding spatial appropriations of ritual in state ideology and diplomacy, offers a fresh perspective into the meaning, the nature, and the politics of ritual space in pre-modern and even modern China, and the studies on Lin'an yield global and comparative perspectives on the history of ritual space in other parts of the world.

Historiography and Sources

The purpose of this research is not to provide comprehensive historical narratives of the history of Lin'an²⁰; rather, I try to establish an analytical framework of ritual space in Chinese history and reconsider several key concepts like ritual, space, and Chinese and East Asian world order. Below I will examine urban and ritual studies in the context of historiographical developments and with analysis of the topics, methods, and sources, and also ponder how to bridge the two fields from a perspective of ritual

tiankai: Jinnian lai dalu Xinruxue de zhengzhi suqiu 異想天開——近年來大陸新儒學的政治訴求," *Sixiang* vol. 33, ed. Sixiang bianji weiyuanhui (Taipei: Lianjing, 2017): 241–84.

²⁰ For the important studies of the Song capitals, see Gernet, *Daily Life in China*; Zheng Shoupeng 鄭壽鵬, *Songdai Kaifengfu yanjiu* 宋代開封府研究 (Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan, 1980); Lin Zhengqiu 林正秋, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an* 南宋都城臨安 (Hangzhou: Xileng yinshe, 1986); Zhou Baozhu 周寶珠, *Songdai Dongjing yanjiu* 宋代東京研究 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 1992); Lin Zhengqiu, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu* 南宋都城臨安研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 2006); Kubota Kazuo 久保田和男, *Sōdai kaifū no kenkyū* 宋代開封の研究 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 2007); Xu Jijun 徐吉軍, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an* 南宋都城臨安 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2008). For the historiographic review of studies on Song urban history, see Yang Zhenli 楊貞莉, "Jin ershi wu nian lai Songdai chengshishi yanjiu huigu (1980–2005) 近二十五年來宋代城市史研究回顧 (1980–2005)," *Taiwan shida lishi xuebao* 台灣師大歷史學報, 35 (2006): 221–50; Yao Yonghui 姚永輝, "Chengshishi shiye xia de Nan Song Lin'an yanjiu (1920–2013) 城市史視野下的南宋臨安研究 (1920–2013)," *Shilin* 史林 5 (2014): 169–78.

space.²¹

Urban Studies

Four major approaches are usually applied to studies on cities in middle period China, from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries. Focusing on urban economics, the economic approach examines urbanization, economic growth, and their reflection on urban spatial structure through micro-level analysis of a single city and macro-level analysis of a regional urban system. For the Tang-Song cities, economic historians like the pioneering scholars Katō Shigeshi 加藤繁 and Quan Hansheng 全漢昇 since the early 1930s have noticed “significant phenomena,” such as the collapse of the ward (*fang* 坊) system, the open main streets, businesses free from a spatial restriction, and the prevalence of shops, taverns, and entertainment areas like *wazi* 瓦子 (lit. “bricks”), of the urban economic development in the Tang-Song period—“some emerged for the first time only in the Song.”²² Influenced by socio-economic historian Tao Xisheng 陶希聖 and the first director of the Institute of History and Philology (Academia Sinica) Fu Ssu-nien 傅斯年, Quan disproved the Chinese

²¹ I will review the scholarship of specific topics such as the imperial sacred geography and East Asian world order in corresponding chapters.

²² Katō Shigeshi 加藤繁, “Sōdai ni okeru toshi no hattatsu ni tsuite 宋代都市の発展,” in Katō Shigeshi, *Shina keizaishi kōshō* 支那經濟史考證 vol.1 (Tokyo: Tōyō bunko, 1952), 299–346. Originally published in *Kuwabara Hakushi kanreki kinen Tōyō shi ronsō* 桑原博士還曆記念東洋史論叢, ed. Tōyōshi ronsō 東洋史論叢 (Kyoto: Kōbundō Shobō, 1931), 93–140. Note that Northern Song Kaifeng is the author’s primary focus. In this paper, Katō concludes, “Among these, some emerged for the first time only in the Sung. Examples are the collapse of the city ward system; private houses having entrances opening directly onto the main streets; the market system progressively sinking into complete collapse; shops and businesses being able to set up any place within or without the city wall and to be opened directly onto the main streets; the establishment of wa-tzu as places of recreation and entertainment marked by concentrations of theaters; and taverns (or wine houses) rising to two and three stories and dominating main streets.” For the English translation, see Frederick W. Mote, “The Transformation of Nanking, 1350–1400,” in *The City in Late Imperial China*, G. William Skinner, ed. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1977), 125. For an introduction to Katō Shigeshi’s study of Song China’s urbanism, see Frederick W. Mote, “The Transformation of Nanking, 1350–1400,” 125–26. Also note that as early as 1934 Chen Wangdao 陳望道 translated Katō’s work in Chinese and introduced it into China. Katō Shigeshi, “Songdai dushi de fada 宋代都市の發達,” Chen Wangdao 陳望道, trans., in *Xin Zhonghua* 新中華 2.21 (1934): 35–46, 22 (1934): 37–48. Though Quan Hansheng had the social approach to studying urban night life in the Song in one of his earliest published articles on Song cities, thereafter, his research into Chinese cities concentrated on economic issues. Quan Hansheng 全漢昇, “Songdai dushi de yeshenghuo 宋代都市的夜生活,” *Shihuo* 食貨 1.1 (1934): 23–8; Quan Hansheng, *Zhongguo jingjishi yanjiu* 中國經濟史研究 (Hong Kong: Xinya yanjiusuo, 1976; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011).

Marxist historians' argument that traditional Chinese society stagnated from the third century to the nineteenth centuries.²³ Moreover, the economic approach was greatly influenced by the Tang- Song transition model, or the Naitō hypothesis, first proposed by Japanese historian Naitō Konan 内藤湖南 in the early 1920s, and developed in the early 1950s by Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定 focusing more on the economic transition like large-scale cities, the developed transportation system, and prosperous economic exchanges.²⁴ The introduction of the Naitō hypothesis into Western academia in the mid-1950s, along with the rise of econometric history at that time, captured Western scholars' attention to Chinese urban economic growth.²⁵ Chinese cities from the second half of the eighth century to the thirteenth century experienced what Mark

²³ For a detailed discussion on Quan Hansheng's studies on Chinese economic history, see Liang Gengyao, "Lishi wei tingzhi: Cong Zhongguo shehuishi fanqi lunzheng kan Quan Hansheng de Tang Song jingjishi yanjiu 歷史未停滯: 從中國社會史分期論爭看全漢昇的唐宋經濟史研究," *Taida lishi xuebao* 臺大歷史學報, 35 (2005): 1–53.

²⁴ Naitō argued that a number of significant political, social, cultural, economic, and intellectual changes had taken place during the three hundred years of the Tang-Song period. For the economic aspect, Naitō generally touched on monetary policy. Naitō Konan, "Gaikatsuteki Tōsō jidai kan 概括的唐宋時代觀," *Rekishi to chiri* 歷史と地理 9.5 (1922): 1–12. For Naitō's periodization of the modern era (*kinsei* 近世) in Chinese history in his early works, see Naitō Konan, *Shina ron* 支那論 (Tokyo: Bunkaidō Shoten, 1914), 8. For Naitō's comprehensive discourses on the significance of the Tang-Song period, see Naitō Konan, *Chūgoku kinsei shi* 中國近世史 (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1947), particularly for the first chapter. For an introduction to Naitō Konan and the Japanese scholarship during his time, see Joshua A. Fogel, *Politics and Sinology: The Case of Naito Konan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Qian Wanyue 錢婉約, *Neiteng Hunan yanjiu* 內藤湖南研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), particularly for Chapter Four. Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定, *Tōyōteki kinsei* 東洋的近世 (Tokyo: Kyōku taimusu sha, 1950); Miyazaki Ichisada, "Asiashi-ronko jō 亞洲史論考上," in Miyazaki Ichisada, *Miyazaki Ichisada zenshu* 宮崎市定全集, vol.2 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1992). For a detailed discussion on the Tang-Song transition, see Zhang Guangda 張廣達, "Neiteng Hunan de Tang-Song biange shuo jiqi yingxiang 內藤湖南的唐宋變革說及其影響," in Zhang Guangda, *Shijia, shixue yu xiandai xueshu* 史家、史學與現代學術 (Guilin: Guangxi shifandaxue chubanshe, 2008), 57–133; Lau Nap-in 柳立言, "Hewei 'Tang-Song biange'?何謂 '唐宋變革' ?" *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 1 (2006): 125–71.

²⁵ In 1955, Miyakawa Hisayuki first named the Tang-Song transition as "the Naitō hypothesis" and introduced it and relevant Japanese scholars' studies to the Western academia. Miyakawa Hisayuki 宮川尚志, "An Outline of the Naitō Hypothesis and its Effects on Japanese Studies of China," *Far Eastern Quarterly* 14.4 (1955): 533–52. Under the impact of the Japanese scholarship, Western scholars began to respond to the Tang-Song transition in many respects. James T. C. Liu and Peter J. Gloas, eds., *Change in Sung China: Innovation or Renovation?* (Lexington, Mass: D. C. Heath and Company, 1969). Among them, Étienne Balazs drew a different conclusion, after comparing Chinese cities with medieval towns in Europe. In Balazs's view, the urban development in Song China might have been overestimated, given the absence of charters, a system of jurisprudence, a code of civil law, civic liberty, secure privileges, and autonomy in the administration. Apparently, the definition and criteria of city or town used by Balazs's are European-centered. Étienne Balazs, "Urban Developments," in *Change in Sung China: Innovation or Renovation?*, 15–19; originally from Étienne Balazs, "Chinese Towns," in Étienne Balazs, *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy*, ed., Arthur F. Wright, trans. H. M. Wright (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1964), 68–78.

Elvin calls “the medieval urban revolution.”²⁶ Besides, the promotion of urban economic history is also ascribed to China’s rapid economic development and urbanization especially since the 1990s.

Compared to the long-term, cross-dynastic changes highlighted in the Tang-Song transition model, from the late 1960s onwards, scholars began to think about the temporal and spatial changes of Chinese cities from a regional perspective, which could be considered a geographic approach. In *The City in Late Imperial China*, William Skinner critiques the ideal types of cities created by sociologists like Marx Weber, though acknowledging the value of their “hierarchical typology” for studies of Chinese urban systems. According to his economic hierarchy of local systems, Chinese cities can be divided into eight categories: central metropolis, regional metropolis, regional city, greater city, local city, central market town, intermediate market town, and standard market town. Dividing agrarian China into nine “physiographic macroregions” in terms of geomorphological features (particularly basins and river systems), Skinner provides regional systems analysis of spatial patterns in China for exploring the relevance of core-periphery structure to social-cultural variables.²⁷ His model and theory has a significant impact on Chinese urban history. Different from the conventional understanding of China’s territory by administrative divisions, Skinner’s spatial patterns allow scholars to examine the influence of commercial trade,

²⁶ Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973). For a general introduction to the medieval urban revolution, see G. William Skinner, “Introduction: Urban Development in Imperial China,” in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. William Skinner (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977): 23–26; also see Ning Xin 寧欣 and Chen Tao 陳濤, “‘Zhongshiji chengshi geming’ lunshuo de tichu he yiyi: Jiyu ‘Tang Song biange lun’ de kaocha ‘中世紀城市革命’ 論說的提出和意義——基於‘唐宋變革論’的考察,” *Shixue lilun yanjiu* 史學理論研究 1 (2010), 125–34; Nin Xin, “Tang Song chengshi jingji shehui yanjiu de jidian xiangfa 唐宋城市經濟社會研究的幾點想法,” in Nin Xin, *Tang Song ducheng shehui jiegou yanjiu: Dui chengshi jingji yu shehui de guanzhu* 唐宋都城社會結構研究——對城市經濟與社會的關注 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2009), 12–17.

²⁷ G. William Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China*, 3–31, 211–351.

population density, and labor division on multiple levels and in varying degrees.²⁸ Revising the model, Shiba Yoshinobu 斯波義信 discusses comprehensively the urban economic development of the lower Yangtze River region in the Song by adopting a perspective of the ecosystem.²⁹

The socio-cultural approach first reflects a conspicuous feature of the Song urban treatises—descriptions of the prosperity of urban life. It is no exaggeration to say that the contemporary authors must have used this approach in recording their urban observations and experiences. Like hospitable hosts, they would have been impatient to introduce cities they were living in and show you round places, while sometimes they would have encouraged you to idle as a flâneur and to explore diverse urban areas by yourself, and would have become complacent when you got lost. In recent years, however, scholars have realized acute nostalgia to the splendid, imperial past embodied in the surviving corpus of these Song narratives. One example is concerned with the historical writing of one of the urban treatises, the *Dongjing menghua lu* 東京夢華錄 (Record of a Dream of Splendor in the Eastern Capital) completed in 1148 by Meng Yuan 孟元老, a refugee fleeing from Kaifeng to wartime Hangzhou during the early twelfth century. The dreamlike past recalled in his words, the tone of which was also typified by the way of secular life, his work became very popular, bringing about a series of works centered on Lin'an: the *Ducheng jisheng* 都城紀勝 (1235), the *Xihu laoren fansheng lu* 西湖老人繁勝錄 (the mid-thirteenth century), the *Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄 (ca. 1274) by Wu Zimu 吳自牧, and the *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事 (ca. 1280) by

²⁸ For a discussion of China's scholars' responses to Skinner's model and theory, see Ren Fang 任放, "Shi Jianya moshi yu Zhongguo jindaishi yanjiu 施堅雅模式與中國近代史研究," *Jindaishi yanjiu* 近代史研究 4 (2004): 90–122, particularly, 103–105.

²⁹ Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*.

Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–98).³⁰ For the latter two written in the aftermath of the Mongol conquest of the Southern Song, the authors might have referred to the *Menghua lu* and shared the similar feelings with Meng by emphasizing the characters—“dreaming” and “old”—in the titles.³¹ As a literary genre, the urban treatises with emotion are different from local gazetteers used for reference by court and local officials. In this regard, given their records in detail, the three earliest extant local gazetteers on Southern Song Lin’an, together with the urban treatises, can help scholars further explore the urban life of Lin’an and capture the mentality of the times.³²

Application of the socio-cultural approach in studies of Song urban life could be traced to Chinese and Japanese scholars’ works in the 1930s.³³ But by the late 1970s,

³⁰ Ronald Egan, “Songdai wenxian zhong de ducheng mianmian guan 宋代文獻中的都城面面觀,” trans. Zhao Siyin 趙嗣胤, in *Dushi fanhua: yiqian wubian nian lai de Dongya chengshi shenghuoshi* 都市繁華——一千五百年來的東亞城市生活史, ed. IAHS Fudan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), 93–109. For an introduction to the *Dongjing menghua lu* to the Western academia, see Stephen H. West, “The Interpretation of a Dream: The Sources, Evaluation, and Influence of the Dongjing Meng Hua Lu.” *T’oung Pao*, 71 (1985): 63–108. Meng Yuanlao 孟元老, *Dongjing menghua lu jianzhu* 東京夢華錄箋注 (hereafter MHL), anno. Yi Yongwen 伊永文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006).

³¹ Wu Zimu 吳自牧, *Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄 (hereafter MLL) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1980); Zhou Mi 周密, *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事 (hereafter WLJS), in *Quansong biji* 全宋筆記 (hereafter QSB), 8th ser., vol.2, (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2017).

³² Zhou Cong 周淙 et al., *Qiandao Lin’an zhi* 乾道臨安志 (hereafter QDLAZ), in *Nan Song Lin’an liang zhi* 南宋臨安兩志 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1987); Zhao Yuchou 趙與憲 and Chen Renyu 陳仁玉 et al., *Chunyou Lin’an zhi* 淳祐臨安志 (hereafter CYLAZ), in *Nan Song Lin’an liang zhi* 南宋臨安兩志; Qian Shuoyou 潛說友 et al., *Xianchun Lin’an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 (hereafter XCLAZ), Song Yuan fangzhi congkan edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990). The editor and compiler of *CYLAZ* has long been mistakenly considered Shi E 施譔. Gu Hongyi 顧宏義, *Songchao fangzhi kao* 宋朝方志考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), 104–106. For studies on how to read, use, and interpret the sources of imperial Chinese local gazetteers, see Joseph R. Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers in Imperial China, 1100–1700* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015); also see James M. Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in The History of Difangzhi Writing,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 56.2 (1996): 405–42; Peter K. Bol, “The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61.1 (2001): 37–76.

³³ Otake Fumio 小竹文夫, “Nansō no toshi seikatsu 南宋の都市生活,” *Shina kenkyū* 支那研究, 13 (1927): 217–29; Otake Fumio, trans. Cen Jiawu 岑家梧, “Nan Song zhi dushi shenghuo 南宋之都市生活,” *Xiandai shixue* 現代史學, 2.1, 2 (1934); Quan Hansheng, “Songdai dushi de yeshenghuo”; Quan Hansheng, “Songdai Dongjing dui Hangzhou dushi wenming de yingxiang 宋代東京對杭州都市文明的影響,” *Shihuo*, 2.3 (1935): 31–34; Sun Zhengrong 孫正容, “Nan Song Lin’an dushi shenghuo kao 南宋臨安都市生活考,” *Wenlan xuebao* 文瀾學報, 1 (1935): 1–22. For the most important urban treatises like *MHL* and *MLL*, the first publication with brief annotations was in the late 1960s, and systematic textual studies by Japanese scholars started in the 1970s. Meng Yuanlao, anno. Deng Zhicheng 鄧之誠, *Dongjing menghua lu zhu* 東京夢華錄注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957). Note that Deng’s annotated book might have a very limited influence at that time due to the political movements in mainland China. For the Japanese scholar’s works, see Umehara Kaoru 梅原郁 ed., *Tōkei muka*

there had been a few introductory studies of Song urban life in scholarship, probably in part because the primary sources were then not easily accessible to scholars.³⁴ Jacques Gernet's *Daily Life in China: On the Eve of the Mongol Invasion, 1250–1276*, first published in French in 1959, should be noted.³⁵ This monograph has proved to be a milestone in modern studies of Southern Song Lin'an; no successor has been published so far. In this book, Gernet touches on the economic "modernism," but more important, he explores thirteenth-century Chinese "social life, art, amusements, institutions and technology," such as the way of life of the Song people (mostly urban dwellers) from birth to death including their housing, clothing, cooking, recreation, and seasonal activities (like festival events and the cult of varied deities). Gernet referred to a wide range of primary sources like "daily jottings, collections of anecdotes, tales" and "local gazetteers," heavily relying on the urban treatises like *MLL* and *WLJS* as well as Marco Polo's travel accounts.³⁶ Given the specific time period he focuses, the selected urban treatises, though completed in almost the same period, might not have been consistent with the reality as discussed above.

In the late 1970s and the 1980s, scholars began to pay much more attention to the social and cultural aspects of Song cities. The transition first appeared in Hong Kong, Taiwan and mainland China. For instance, Pang Dexin 龐德新 probed the urban life

roku muryō roku tō goi sakuin 東京夢華錄夢梁錄等語彙索引 (Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku jimbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1979); Meng Yuanlao, trans. and anno., Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高 and Umehara Kaoru, *Tōkei muka roku* 東京夢華錄 (Kyoto: Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1983); Wu Zimu, trans. and anno., Umehara Kaoru, *Muryōroku: Nansō Rin'an hanjōki* 夢梁錄：南宋臨安繁昌記 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2000).

³⁴ Fei Haiji 費海璣, "Nan Song Lin'an shenghuo jianji 南宋臨安生活簡介," *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌, 19.1 (1959): 11–13; Fei Haiji, "Bei Song Bianjiang shenghuo jilue 北宋汴京生活紀略," *Dalu zazhi*, 21.4 (1960): 11–13; Edward A. Kracke, Jr., "Sung K'ai-feng: Pragmatic Metropolis and Formalistic Capital," in *Crisis and Prosperity in Sung China*, ed. John W. Haeger (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1975), 49–76; Michael Harold Finegan, "Urbanism in Sung China: Selected Topics on the Society and Economy of Chinese Cities in a Premodern Period," (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1976).

³⁵ Jacques Gernet, *Daily Life in China: On the Eve of the Mongol Invasion, 1250–1276*, trans. H. M. Wright (Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 1962). Originally published in France, Jacques Gernet, *La vie quotidienne en Chine, à la veille de l'invasion Mongole, 1250–1276* (Paris: Hachette, 1959).

³⁶ Gernet, *Daily Life in China*, 18–19, 55–56.

of the Song capitals by draw on folk literature materials like *huaben* 話本 (story scripts) and *ni huaben* 擬話本 (imitation story scripts), women's urban life taken into account.³⁷ Liang Gengyao's 梁庚堯 research on Song cities demonstrate his shifting focus from economic history to social or socio-economic history during the 1980s.³⁸ In mainland China, historians widely referred to the Song urban treatises as well as the local gazetteers and *biji* 筆記 (lit. "brush notes," a literary genre that flourished during the Song).³⁹ Since the 1990s, the interaction of the economic and socio-cultural approaches and the use of varieties of historical sources have enabled scholars to investigate diverse urban themes in the Song: market towns in urban systems,⁴⁰ literati's social activities in cities,⁴¹ energy use, environment, and climate change,⁴²

³⁷ Pang Dexin 龐德新, *Songdai liangjing shimin shenghuo* 宋代兩京市民生活 (Hong Kong: Longmen shudian, 1974).

³⁸ Liang Gengyao, "Nan Song chengshi de fazhan 南宋城市的發展," *Shihuo* 食貨, 10.10, 11 (1981); "Song-Yuan shidai de Suzhou 宋元時代的蘇州," *Guoli Taiwan daxue wenshizhe xuebao* 國立臺灣大學文史哲學報, 31 (1982); "Nan Song de shizhen 南宋的市鎮," *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究, 3.2 (1985); "Nan Song guanhu yu shiren de chengju 南宋官戶與士人的城居," *Xin shixue* 新史學, 1.2 (1990); "Nan Song chengshi de shehui jiegou 南宋城市的社會結構," *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌, 81.4-6 (1990). All these articles are included in Liang's two-volume monograph, see Liang Gengyao, *Songdai shehui jingjishi lunji* 宋代社會經濟史論集 (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 1997).

³⁹ Lin Zhengqiu, "Nan Song shiqi Hangzhou de jingji he wenhua 南宋時期杭州的經濟和文化," *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究, 12 (1979): 41-52; Lin, "Hangzhou Nan Song huanggong chutan 杭州南宋皇宮初探," *Zhongguo difangshi zhi* 中國地方史志, 1 (1982): 37-43; Lin, "Nan Song Hangzhou wenhua fazhan de lishi tedian 南宋杭州文化發展的歷史特點," *Hangzhou shifan xueyuan xuebao* 杭州師範學院學報, (1987); Chen Zhen 陳振, "Shiyi shiji qianhou de Kaifeng 十一世紀前後的開封," *Zhongzhou xuekan* 中州學刊 (1982); Xu Jijun 徐吉軍, "Lun Nan Song Lin'an de shehui shenghuo fangshi 論南宋臨安的社會生活方式," *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化, 6 (1988).

⁴⁰ Fu Zongwen 傅宗文, *Songdai caoshizhen yanjiu* 宋代草市鎮研究 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1991).

⁴¹ Liang Gengyao, "Nan Song guanhu yu shiren de chengju," in Liang Gengyao, *Songdai shehui jingjishi lunji*, vol.II, (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua, 1997), 165-218; Ihara Hirosh 伊原弘, "Sōdai no Sessei ni okeru toshino shitaiфу宋代の浙西における都市士大夫," *Shukan toyo gaku* 集刊東洋學, 45 (1981): 44-62; Liang Gengyao, "Shiren zai chengshi: Nan Song xuexiao yu keju wenhua jiazhi de zhanxian 士人在城市: 南宋學校與科舉文化價值的展現," in *Disanjie guoji hanxue huiyi lunwenji lishizu: jingjishi, dushi wenhua yu wuzhi wenhua* 第三屆國際漢學會議論文集歷史組: 經濟史、都市文化與物質文化 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 2002), 265-362; Liu Xiangguang 劉祥光, *Songdai richang shenghuo zhong de busuan yu guiguai* 宋代日常生活中的卜算與鬼怪 (Taipei: Zhengda chubanshe, 2013).

⁴² Cheng Suiying 程遂營, *Tang Song Kaifeng shengtai huanjing yanjiu* 唐宋開封生態環境研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2002); Cheng Suiying, "Bei Song Dongjing de muchai he ranliao gongying: jiantan Zhongguo gudai ducheng de muchai he ranliao 北宋東京的木材和燃料供應——兼談中國古代都城的木材和燃料供應," *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社會科學戰線 5 (2004): 112-15; Cheng Minsheng 程民生, *Bei Song Kaifeng qixiang biannian shi* 北宋開封氣象編年史 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2012).

medicine and public health,⁴³ social welfare,⁴⁴ crime and urban security,⁴⁵ wartime cities,⁴⁶ cuisine and food culture,⁴⁷ immigrants and their influence,⁴⁸ urban images in textual and visual materials,⁴⁹ urban landscape⁵⁰, gender⁵¹, and senses,⁵² etc.

The fourth is the urban planning approach in a broad sense. In a narrow sense, it

⁴³ Liang Gengyao, “Nan Song chengshi de gonggong weisheng wenti 南宋城市的公共衛生問題,” *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊, 70.1 (1999): 119–63; Yu Xiaoman 余小滿, “Songdai chengshi de fangyi zhidu 宋代城市的防疫制度,” *Gansu shehui kexue* 甘肅社會科學, 4 (2010): 210–14; Liang Qizi 梁其姿, *Miandui jibing: Chuantong Zhongguo shehui de yiliao guannian yu zuzhi* 面對疾病：傳統中國社會的醫療觀念與組織 (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2012), chapter 6; Christian de Pee, “Urban Acupuncture Care and Ideology in the Writing of the City in Eleventh-Century China,” in *Ancient and Modern Practices of Citizenship in Asia and the West: Care of the Self*, ed. Gregory Bracken (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press), 171–92.

⁴⁴ Sanmenxia shi wenwu gongzuodui 三門峽市文物工作隊, *Bei Song shanzhou louze yuan* 北宋陝州漏澤園 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999); Chen Guocan 陳國燦, “Nan Song jiangnan chengshi de gonggong shiyelü shehui baozhang 南宋江南城市的公共事業與社會保障,” *Xueshu yuekan* 學術月刊, (2002): 73–78.

⁴⁵ Brian E. McKnight, *Law and Order in Sung China* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Kubota Kazuo, “宋都開封の治安制度と都市構,” *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌 104.7 (1995): 74–97; Yang Ruijun 楊瑞軍, “Bei Song Dongjing zhian yanjiu 北宋東京治安研究” PhD diss., Shouda shifan daxue, 2012.

⁴⁶ Wang Cengyu 王曾瑜, “Bei Song mo Kaifeng de xianluo, jienan he kangzheng 北宋末開封的陷落、劫難和抗爭,” *Hebei daxue xuebao* 30.3 (2005): 1–4; Leung Wai Kei 梁偉基, “Weicheng gaoji: Jinbing tieti xia de Kaifeng 圍城告急：金兵鐵蹄下的開封,” *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 中國文化研究所學報 53 (2011): 57–86.

⁴⁷ Lin Liping 林立平, “Tang Song shiqi chengshi yinshiye shulun 唐宋時期城市飲食業述論,” in *Lishi wenxian yu chuantong wenhua* 歷史文獻與傳統文化, vol. III (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1994), 74–103; Nakano Junko 中野醇子, *Sodai no ryori to shokuhin* 宋代的料理と食品 (Kyoto: Hōyū shoten, 2000).

⁴⁸ Cheng Minsheng, “Bianjing wenming dui Nan Song Hangzhou de yingxiang 汴京文明對南宋杭州的影響,” *Henan daxue xuebao* 河南大學學報 32.4 (1992): 15–19; Wu Songdi 吳松弟, “Nan Song yinmin yu Lin’an wenhua 南宋移民與臨安文化,” *Lishi yanjiu*, 5 (2006): 35–50.

⁴⁹ For this theme, the *Qingming shanghe tu* (the Qingming Scroll) is a major research subject, see Zhou Baozhu, *Qingming shanghe tu yu qingming shanghexue* 清明上河圖與清明上河學 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 1997); Ihara Hirosh ed., “*Seimei jōkazu o yomu* 「清明上河圖」をよむ” (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 1999); Liaoningsheng bowuguan 遼寧省博物館 ed., *Qingming shanghetu yanjiu wenxian huibian* 《清明上河圖》研究文獻彙編 (Shenyang: Wanjuan chuban gongsi, 2007); Cao Xingyuan 曹星原, *Tongzhou gongji: Qingming shanghe tu yu Bei Song shehui de chogntu tuoxie* 同舟共濟：《清明上河圖》與北宋社會的衝突妥協 (Taipei: Shitou chuban gufen youxian gongsi, 2011). From the perspectives of visual culture and urban image, see Patricia Ebrey, “Portrait Sculptures in Imperial Ancestral Rites in Song China,” *T’oung Pao* 83 (1997): 42–92; Patricia Ebrey, “Taking Out the Grand Carriage: Imperial Spectacle and the Visual Culture of Northern Song Kaifeng,” *Asia Major* 12.1 (1999): 33–65; Bao Weimin, *Songdai chengshi yanjiu*, 324–53.

⁵⁰ Stephen H. West, “Spectacle, Ritual, and Social Relations: The Son of Heaven, Citizens, and Created Space in Imperial Gardens in the Northern Song” in *Baroque Garden Cultures: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2005), 291–321; Stephen H. West, “Body and Imagination in Urban Gardens of Song and Yuan,” in *Gardens and Imagination: Cultural History and Agency*, ed. Michel Conan, (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 2008), 41–64; Benjamin B. Ridgway, “Two Halls of Hangzhou Local Gazetteers and the Grading of Geography for a Song Dynasty City,” *Frontiers of Literary Studies in China*, 8.2 (2014): 225–52.

⁵¹ Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, *Sui Tang Chang’an: Xingbie, jiyi ji qita* 隋唐長安：性別、記憶及其他 (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 2009); Ronald Egan, “Songdai wenxian zhong de ducheng mianmian guan.”

⁵² Joseph Sui Ching Lam et al. eds., *Senses of the City: Perceptions of Hangzhou and Southern Song China, 1127–1279* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2017).

is concerned with urban historians' explorations of planning ideas and practices and reconstruction of urban layout.⁵³ But these efforts are not independent of archaeology, architectural history, cartography, and art history.⁵⁴ Take the Song capital cities as an example. The urban excavations, the architectural reconstruction of palaces and temples, and the interpretations of images or symbols on the Qingming Scroll and of maps engraved on stone stelae or preserved in gazetteers all contribute to the study of urban morphology, such as the positioning of a specific place and the restoring of urban landscape, from the spatial perspective.⁵⁵ This approach has been also applied

⁵³ See Yang Kuan, *Zhongguo gudai ducheng zhidu shi*; Seo Tatsuhiko 妹尾達彦, *Chōan no toshi keikaku* 長安の都市計画 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2001); Liu Wei 劉未, "Nan Song Lin'an cheng fuyuan yanjiu 南宋臨安城復原研究," PhD diss., Beijing daxue, 2011; Sagawa Eiji 佐川英治, *Chūgoku kodai tojō no sekkei to shisō: Enkyū saishi no rekishiteki tenkai* 中国古代都城の設計と思想: 円丘祭祀の歴史的展開 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2016).

⁵⁴ In the 1980s, earlier studies of urban planning issues concerning the Song capitals were largely conducted by architectural historians and archaeologists, see Dong Jianhong 董鑾泓, "Cong Sui-Tang Chang'an cheng Song Dongjing cheng kan woguo yixie ducheng buju de bianqian 從隋唐長安城宋東京城看我國一些都城布局的變遷," *Kejishi wenji* 科技史文集, vol. 5 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue chubanshe, 1980), 116–23; He Yeju 賀業鉅, "Tang Song shifang guihua zhidu yanbian tantao 唐宋市坊規劃制度演變探討," *Jianzhu xuebao* 建築學報, 2 (1980): 43–49; He Yeju, *Zhongguo gudai chengshi guihuashi luncong* 中國古代城市規劃史論叢 (Beijing: Jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1986); Xu Pinfang 徐蘋芳, "Bei Song Kaifeng Daxiangguosi pingmian fuyuantu shuocha 北宋開封大相國寺平面復原圖說察," in *Wenwu chubanshe chengli sanshi zhounian jinian wenwu yu kaogu lunji* 文物出版社成立三十週年紀念文物與考古論集, ed. Wenwu chubanshe bianjibu (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1986), 357–67; Su Bai 宿白, "Tang Song chengzhi leixing chutan 唐宋城址類型初探," in *Jinian Beijing daxue kaogu zhuanye sanshi zhounian lunwenji* 紀念北京大學考古專業三十週年論文集 ed. Beijing daxue kaoguxi 北京大學考古系 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990).

⁵⁵ For the archaeological finds in Hangzhou in recent years, see Hangzhoushi wenwu kaogu suo 杭州市文物考古所, ed., *Nan Song taimiao yizhi* 南宋太廟遺址 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007); *Nan Song Gongshengrenlie huanghou zhai yizhi* 南宋恭聖仁烈皇后宅遺址 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2008); *Nan Song yujie yizhi* 南宋御街遺址 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2013); *Nan Song Lin'an fuzhi yu fuxue yizhi* 南宋臨安府治與府學遺址 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2013); Tang Junjie 唐俊傑 and Du Zhengxian 杜正賢, *Nan Song Lin'an cheng kaogu* 南宋臨安城考古 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2008); Du Zhengxian, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu: Yi kaogu wei zhongxin*. For a latest general introduction to the architectural history of the Southern Song, see Guo Daihuan 郭黛姮, *Nan Song jianzhu shi* 南宋建築史 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014). For the urban studies by analyzing visual materials like paintings and maps, see Ihara Hirosh, "TōSō jidai no Sessei ni okeru toshino hensen: Sō Heikōzu kaidoku sagyō 唐宋時代の浙西における都市の変遷——宋平江図解説作業," *Chūō Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyō*, 24 (1979): 39–75. Ihara Hirosh, "Konan ni okeru toshi narino hensen: Sō Heikōzu kaiseki sagyō 江南における都市形態の変遷——宋平江図解析作業," in *Sōdai no shakai to bunka* 宋代の社会と文化, ed. Sōdai no shakai to bunka (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1983), 103–38; Liu Yuanlin 劉淵臨, "Bianjing chengtū yu Qingming shanghe tu 汴京城圖與《清明上河圖》," *Sichuan daxue xuebao* 四川大學學報 2 (1992): 99–104; Hu Bangbo, "Cartography in Chinese Administrative Gazetteers of the Song Dynasty (A.D. 960–1279)." PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1994; Que Weimin, "Nan Song xingzai Lin'anfu de ditu zaixian: Lishi dituxue ge'an yanjiu 南宋行在臨安府的地圖再現: 歷史地圖學個案研究," *Lishi dili* 歷史地理 12 (1995): 247–59; Que Weimin 闕維民, *Hangzhou chengchi ji Xihu lishi tushuo* 杭州城池暨西湖歷史圖說 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 2000); Patricia Ebrey, "Huizong's Kaifeng Building Projects," in *Seimei jōkazu to Kisō no jidai: Soshite kagayaki no zanshō* 清明上河圖と徽宗の時代—そして輝きの殘照, ed. Ihara Hiroshi (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2012), 119–45; Jiang Qingqing 姜青青, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi songban Jingcheng situ fuyuan yanjiu* 《咸淳臨安志》宋版“京城四圖”復原研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015).

on the morphological evolution of Chinese cities in a long-term perspective and in the comparative studies of cities within East Asian or world contexts.⁵⁶

These four approaches reveal common and respective limitations. Space, the subject or context of Chinese urban history, is usually taken for granted as physical space with the premise of the architectural utilization. In this sense, Henri Lefebvre's spatial analysis and his insight into differential space can be a remedy for reflection. His "spatial triad"—spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space corresponding to perceived, conceived, and live space—involves understanding and leveraging space to people's perceptions and performances.⁵⁷ His method of rhythm-analysis aims to explore the everydayness of social space as a time-space product.⁵⁸ Lefebvre and other preeminent scholars like Michel de Certeau, David Harvey, Saskia Sassen and Edward Soja developed and used "space" as an analytical and critical tool for urban studies.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ See Dong Jianhong, "Sui-Tang Chang'an cheng yu Bei Song Dongjing (Bianliang) cheng de bijiao yanjiu 隋唐長安城與北宋東京（汴梁）城的比較研究," *Taiwan daxue jianzhu yu chengxiang yanjiu xuebao* 臺灣大學建築與城鄉研究學報 6 (1997): 65–72; Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*; Yinong Xu, *The Chinese City in Space and Time: The Development of Urban Form in Suzhou* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000); Seo Tatsuhiko, "Ducheng yu wangquan liyi: Genju Zhongguo lidai ducheng fuyuantu 都城與王權禮儀：根據中國歷代都城復原圖," Huang Kuanzhong ed., *Jidiao yu bianzou: Qi zhi ershi shiji de Zhongguo* 基調與變奏：七至二十世紀的中國, vol. 1 (Taipei: Zhengda lishi xuexi deng chuban, 2008), 71–99; Cheng Yinong 成一農, *Gudai chengshi xingtai yanjiu fangfa xintan* 古代城市形態研究方法新探 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2009); Cheng Yinong, *Kongjian yu xingtai: san zhi qi shiji Zhongguo lishi chengshi dili yanjiu* 空間與形態：三至七世紀中國歷史城市地理研究 (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 2012); Han Guanghui 韓光輝, *Song Liao Jin Yuan jianzhi chengshi yanjiu* 宋遼金元建制城市研究 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2011).

⁵⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1991) (originally published in 1974), 33–45.

⁵⁸ Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (London: Continuum, 2004). Recent studies on Tang-Song cities have noticed the topics of urban experience and senses that are associated with lived space. In this regard, literature materials like poetry and tales as well as private historical writings have been widely used in urban studies. See Seo Tatsuhiko, "Tangdai houqi de Chang'an yu chuanqi xiaoshuo: Yi Liwa zhuan de fenxi wei zhongxin 唐代後期的長安與傳奇小說——以〈李娃傳〉的分析為中心," in *Riben zhongqingnian xuezhe lun Zhongguoshi Liuchao Sui Tang juan* 日本中青年學者論中國史·六朝隋唐卷, ed. Liu Junwen 劉俊文 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 509–53; 朱玉麒 Zhu Yulin, "Tang Song ducheng xiaoshuo de dili kongjian bianqian 唐宋都城小說的地理空間變遷," in *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 vol. 11, ed. Rong Xinjiang (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2005), 525–42; Linda Rui Feng, *City of Marvel and Transformation: Chang'an and Narratives of Experience in Tang Dynasty China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016); Joseph Sui Ching Lam et al. eds., *Senses of the City*.

⁵⁹ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984); Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press,

Return to the above-mentioned approaches applied to Chinese historical cities. Economic and geographic approaches are more concerned with structure instead of agent and agency, and might have overestimated the economic functions of cities. On the contrary, social-cultural approach focuses on human activities, but usually views space being static, and thus, spatial changes that people experience and their influence are often neglected. The urban planning approach emphasizes the role of space, but it does not give adequate attention to the differences between the real and the conceived, let alone the live space reflecting people's mentality.⁶⁰ The past fifteen years saw a spatial turn in Song political history under the influence of the appeal to new political history, the new interest in information flow, the use of new technology like GIS. The notion of "political space" proposed by Hirata Shigeki 平田茂樹 suggests a political approach to studying the relations between politics and urban space, and also helps scholars to reflect upon other approaches.⁶¹

1991); Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); David Harvey, *Spaces of Capital: Towards A Critical Geography* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001).

⁶⁰ Lived spaces need to be taken more seriously, in part because the premodern lived world in urban dwellers' views might have been distinct from today's world that we usually perceive. In other words, the "supernatural" urban spaces revealed by Hong Mai (1123–1202) in the *Yijianzhi* 夷堅志 had an ontological dimension to city dwellers. For example, in an entry entitled "Wang Li's Embers-roasted Ducks (*Wang Li aoya* 王立燠鴨)" in the *Yijianzhi*, Wang Li, who was selling embers-roasted ducks, mentioned that he was not a mortal: "In the city of Lin'an today, three people out of every ten are my kind. Some are officials, some Buddhist monks, some Daoist priests, some merchants, some singsong girls. We are found among every calling and livelihood. In our dealings with ordinary people and our comings and goings we are just like everyone else, and we cause no harm to anybody. The fact is, ordinary people cannot tell that we are different. (今臨安城中人，以十分言之，三分皆我輩也。或官員，或僧。或道士，或商販，或倡女，色色有之。與人交關，往還不殊，略不為人害，人自不能別耳。)" Hong Mai 洪邁, "Dingzhi" 丁志 4, *Yijianzhi* 夷堅志 (hereafter YJZ) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 571; the English translation from Egan, "The Chimerical City: Song Dynasty Capitals in Song Dynasty Sources" (manuscript), 18. For a discussion of the convergence of the supernatural and the mundane in cities, see Ronald Egan, "Songdai wenzhan zhong de ducheng mianmian guan," 106–108.

⁶¹ Hirata Shigeki 平田茂樹, "Songdai chengshi yanjiu de xianzhuang yu keti: Cong Songdai zhengzhi kongjian yanjiu de jiaodu kaocha 宋代城市研究的現狀與客體：從宋代政治空間研究的角度考察," in *Zhong Ri gudai chengshi yanjiu* 中日古代城市研究, eds. Nakamura Keiji 中村圭爾 and Xin Deyong 辛德勇 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004), 107–27; Hirata Shigeki, "Jiedu Songdai de zhengzhi kongjian 解讀宋代的政治空間," in *Zhong Ri xuezhe lun Zhongguo gudai chengshi shehui* 中日學者論中國古代城市社會, eds. Inoue Toru 井上徹 and Yang Zhenhong 楊振紅 (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 2007), 233–71; Hirata Shigeki, "Songdai zhengzhishi yanjiu de xin de kennengxing: Yi zhengzhi kongjian he jiaoliu wei xiansuo 宋代政治史研究的新的可能性——以政治空間和交流為線索," in Hirata Shigeki et al., eds, *Songdai shehui de kongjian yu jiaoliu* 宋代社會的空間與交流 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 2008), 13–21; Hirata Shigeki, *Songdai zhengzhi jiegou yanjiu* 宋代政治結構研究, trans. Zhu Gang 朱剛 et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010); Hirata

Ritual Studies

In studying political space, scholars touch on another type of space, ritual space.⁶² David Kertzer has provided an illuminating insight about political ritual, arguing that rituals as symbolic behavior play a key role in politics to reinforce power, legitimacy, group solidarity or national cohesion.⁶³ His instructive questions and perspectives on the political importance of ritual help reconsider Chinese ritual studies.

How ritual helps build political organizations; how ritual is employed to create political legitimacy; how ritual helps create political solidarity in the absence of political consensus; and, how ritual molds people's understandings of the political universe. ... how political competitors struggle for power through ritual, how ritual is employed in both defusing and inciting political conflict, and how ritual serves revolution and revolutionary regimes. ... what all this has to do with the nature of political life. How important is ritual in politics

Shigeki, *Sōdai seiji kōzō kenkyū* 宋代政治構造研究 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 2012). As Kubota Kazuo proposes, "Since there is an abundance of materials on capital cities, scholars are beginning to discuss political space. Compared to the capitals of other dynasties (e.g., the Tang), the Song capitals have been analyzed and studied mostly as a commercial space, so their functions as political space need to be further explored." Kubota Kazuo, "The Study of Song Urban History in Japan since the 1980s," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 38 (2008): 222. For a discussion on political space and commercial space in Northern Song Kaifeng, see Christian De Pee, "Purchase on Power: Imperial Space and Commercial Space in Song-Dynasty Kaifeng, 960–1127," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53.1-2 (2010): 149–84.

⁶² For example, Hirata Shigeki discusses the *tangxie* 堂謝 rite of expressing gratitude to the Emperor performed at the hall of Dutang 都堂, head office of the Department of State Affairs as well as other rites held at the same hall, such as the rite of greeting or submitting memorials towards the grand councilors that were important for personnel management. Shigeki, "Jiedu Songdai de zhengzhi kongjian," 266–69. The Dutang was not only a political space but a ritual space. For further examination of political space in the Song capitals, Shigeki suggests that historians need to draw upon the archaeological finds as well as the specific historical sources like the treatises on regional administration (*dilizhi* 地理志), rituals (*lizhi* 禮志) and imperial carriages and dress (*yufuzhi* 輿服志) in the *Songshi* and the treatises on rituals, ritual regulations (*yizhi* 儀制) and administrative territorial issues (*fangyu* 方域) in the *Song huiyao*. Shigeki, "Songdai chengshi yanjiu de xianzhuang yu keti," 127. For an exploration of the female-staffed Palace Domestic Service (*Shangshu neisheng* 尚書內省) and its spatial structure, see Deng Xiaonan, "Yanying zhijian: Songdai shangshu neisheng guankui 掩映之間——宋代尚書內省管窺," *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 27.2 (2009): 5–41.

⁶³ David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988). Kertzer suggests that schematic thinking is a key feature in political rites since it repetitively influenced people's cognition. As for the ritual function of solidarity, he opines, "Ritual builds solidarity without requiring the sharing of beliefs. Solidarity is produced by people acting together, not by people thinking together." Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, 76. Kertzer provides a great many examples, but he did not arrange them in a coherent way. The optional selection of examples does not well correspond to the construction of his theoretical framework. Therefore, readers can hardly see the historical changes, let alone their historical significance. In this sense, it is high time that historians should make their contributions to ritual studies that have been largely influenced by sociologists and anthropologists.

today?⁶⁴

Kertzer's research can inspire historians to comprehend the relations between power and politics in imperial China from a perspective of political ritual and space. Like Kertzer has pointed out, Chinese state ritual did offer symbolism that was essential in politics. However, given the blurring line between politics and state ritual in imperial China, the functional approach of ritual proposed by Kertzer may not be completely suitable, in part because ritual could have served both as means and purpose in ancient Chinese perceptions, different from what we understand ritual today. In this regard, ritual space can be an independent and self-consistent analytical unit. Below I will discuss the relations between ritual and space in history and historiography, and based on this, try to bridge urban studies and ritual studies by ritual space as a category for historical analysis.

Any scholar in the study of Chinese ritual always encounters such problems of how to define the term "ritual" (or *li*禮 in Chinese) and how to decode its connotation and extension. As a key concept in Chinese politics, society and culture, *li* is too abstract to determine what it refers to without specific contexts. Different from what we think of it today, the ancient Chinese viewed *li* in its ontological, instrumental and expressive dimensions. *Li* including ritual essence, performance, text, vessel, and institution served as powerful vehicles to promote imperial legitimacy, foster socio-cultural values, maintain diplomatic relations, and correct personal conduct. Rituals were not simply representations, but integral parts of politics, culture, society, diplomacy, and cosmology. More complicatedly, the Chinese character "*li*" does not have an equivalent translation in English that in different situations the word can be translated in different ways as, for example, "ritual, ceremony, propriety, etiquette,

⁶⁴ Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, 14.

moral conduct, or correctness.”⁶⁵ Furthermore, a myth that needs to be dispelled is the stereotype of and bias against Chinese ritual that could be traced to the eighteenth-century Western missionaries and diplomats in Qing China and, to some degree, still echo in today’s academia, i.e. the tedious and unchanging ritual as one of the best examples of the perception of traditional China as a stagnant civilization.

This dissertation primarily deals with state rituals involving the emperorship and political legitimacy, notwithstanding that the complexity of ritual will be taken into account and discussed. The term “rite” is taken as a general reference to a ceremony or sacrifice as a whole, while the term “ritual” is used to depict and emphasize a dynamic process normally having multiple procedures or refers to a ritual system.

The term “state ritual” needs to be further explained. The historical origin of *li* could be traced back to the late Neolithic Period.⁶⁶ In the late the Spring and Autumn (770–476 BCE) period, Confucius told his students that he was able to talk about the Xia and Shang rituals.⁶⁷ It is generally believed that the Duke of Zhou deliberately established ritual for governance in the Western Zhou西周 (1046–771 BCE).⁶⁸ The first unified empire in Chinese history was created by the Qin in 221 BCE, but the prototype of Confucianized state ritual system had not been built until the middle of the second century due to the promotion of Confucianism to imperial ideology. From the fifth to the eighth centuries, the framework of the state ritual system gradually came into being, consisting of rites in five categories (*wuli*五禮)—the auspicious rites

⁶⁵ Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University, 2009), 147.

⁶⁶ Yang Zhigang 楊志剛, *Zhongguo liyi zhidu yanjiu* 中國禮儀制度研究 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2000): 12–13. For discussion of the origin of “*li*,” also see Chen Shuguo 陳戌國, *Xian Qin lizhi yanjiu* 先秦禮制研究 (Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991): 9–14; Jessica Rawson, “Ancient Chinese Ritual as Seen in the Material World,” in *State and Court Ritual in China*, ed. Joseph McDermott (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 20–49.

⁶⁷ He Yan 何晏 comm., and Xing Bing 邢昺 subcomm., *Lunyu zhushu* 論語注疏, Shisanjing zhushu edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 3.2466.

⁶⁸ Yang, *Zhongguo liyi zhidu yanjiu*, 76–88.

(*jili*吉禮) like communication with ancestors or the gods of Heaven and Earth, the felicitous rites (*jiali*嘉禮) concerned with the imperial family, the military rites (*junli*軍禮), the guest rites (*binli*賓禮) on foreign relations, and the funerary rites (*xiongli*凶禮), based on the broad framework offered in the *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhouli*周禮), one of the three Confucian ritual classics.⁶⁹ The auspicious rites bearing cosmological meanings were considered to be closely associated with the imperial legitimacy. The emperor needed to participate in person in and perform some of the most important auspicious rituals, during which the emperor's identity was turned into and stressed as the Son of Heaven gaining legitimized power from the Supreme Heaven.⁷⁰ Also note that state ritual was different from court ritual. The former referred to the ritual “compiled and performed by officials and emperors for the dynasty and its ruling family,” while the latter the ritual “not codified in the codes of state ritual but actually performed at the court for and by the emperor, members of his family, and even his officials privately.”⁷¹

The ritual issues in the Tang-Song period, a critical stage of Chinese ritual history, have been always attracting ritual scholars' attention.⁷² Compiled in the early

⁶⁹ Peng Lin 彭林, *San li yanjiu rumen* 三禮研究入門 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2012), 2–3; Gan Huaizhen 甘懷真, “Xi Han jiaosili de chengli 西漢郊祀禮的成立,” in Gan Huaizhen, *Huangquan, liyi yu jingdian quanshi: Zhongguo gudai zhengzhishi yanjiu* 皇權、禮儀與經典詮釋: 中國古代政治史研究 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2008), 26–58; Liang Mancang 梁滿倉, *Wei-Jin Nanbeichao wuli zhidu kaolun* 魏晉南北朝五禮制度考論 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2009). For an introduction to the contents, structures, origins, authorship, commentaries, editions and translations of the three Confucian ritual classics, see Michael Loewe ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, 1993), 24–32, 234–43, 293–97.

⁷⁰ For a study on the system of Chinese state rituals performed by the emperor, see Kaneko Shūichi 金子修一, *Chūgoku kodai kōtei saishi no kenkyū* 中國古代皇帝祭祀の研究 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006).

⁷¹ Joseph P. McDermott, “Introduction,” in *State and Court Ritual in China*, 2.

⁷² For reviews of the historiography of Sui-Tang ritual studies, see Gan Huaizhen, “Lizhi 禮制,” in *Ershi shiji Tang yanjiu* 二十世紀唐研究, ed. Hu Ji 胡戟 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2002), 178–92; Zhu Yi 朱溢, “Sui Tang lizhishi yanjiu de huigu he sikao 隋唐禮制史研究的回顧和思考,” *Shilin* 5 (2011): 178–87. For the general introduction to the ritual history from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries, see Wu Liyu 吳麗娛 ed., *Li yu Zhongguo gudai shehui (Sui Tang Wudai Song Yuan juan)* 禮與中國古代社會 (隋唐五代宋元卷) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2016); Chen Shuguo, *Zhongguo lizhishi (Sui Tang Wudai juan)* 中國禮制

730s, the *Da Tang kaiyuan li* 大唐開元禮 (hereafter *Kaiyuanli* or KYL), is the earliest complete extant Chinese state ritual code, considered the synthesis of Han-Tang state rituals; it profoundly influenced not merely the making of Tang-Song ritual books but also politics, society, and religion as well as other East Asian societies.⁷³ Over the past decade, scholars have seen a strong increase in ritual studies on the Tang-Song period in Chinese scholarship: the compilation and annotation of Song ritual classics and the treatise of ritual in the *Songshi*, the interaction of state ritual and religion including popular religion, the relations between ritual and politics, the disputes over major sacrifices, ritual and diplomatic exchanges, etc.⁷⁴

史·隋唐五代卷 (Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998); Chen Shuguo, *Zhongguo lizhishi* (*Song Liao Jin Xia juan*) 中國禮制史·宋遼金夏卷 (Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001).

⁷³ Zhang Wenchang 張文昌, *Zhili yi jiao tianxia* 制禮以教天下 (Taipei: Taida chuban zhongxin, 2012), 24–26, 45–59; Wu Liyu, ed., *Li yu Zhongguo gudai shehui*, 68–105; Wu Liyu, “Lizhi biange yu zhongwan Tang shehui zhengzhi 禮制變革與中晚唐社會政治,” in *Zhongwan Tang shehui yu zhengzhi yanjiu* 中晚唐社會與政治研究, ed. Wang Zhengjian 王正建 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2006), 108–267. Xiao Song 蕭嵩 et al. eds., *Da Tang kaiyuan li* 大唐開元禮 (Dai Tō kaiganrei) (hereafter *Kaiyuanli*, or KYL), Gongshantang edition (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1972).

⁷⁴ For the most important Chinese monographs in recent years, see Gan Huaizhen, *Huangquan, liyi yu jingdian quanshi: Zhongguo gudai zhengzhishi yanjiu* 皇權、禮儀與經典詮釋：中國古代政治史研究 (Taipei: Taiwan daxue chuban zhongxin, 2004; Shanghai: Shanghai huadong daxue chubanshe, 2008); Pi Qingsheng 皮慶生, *Songdai minzhong cishen xinyang yanjiu* 宋代民眾祠神信仰研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008); Lei Wen 雷聞, *Jiaomiao zhiwai: Sui Tang guojia jisi yu zongjiao* 郊廟之外：隋唐國家祭祀與宗教 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2009); Shen Ruiwen 沈睿文, *Tangling de buju: Kongjian yu zhixu* 唐陵的佈局：空間與秩序 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2009); Wu Liyu, *Zhongji zhi dian: Zhongguo sangzang zhidu yanjiu* 終極之典——中古喪葬制度研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012); Zhang Wenchang, *Zhili yi jiao tianxia* (2012); Yu Xin 余欣 ed., *Zhongguo shidai de liyi, zongjiao yu zhidu* 中古時代的禮儀宗教與制度 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012); Wu Yu 吳羽, *Tang Song daojiao yu shisu liyi hudong yanjiu* 唐宋道教與世俗禮儀互動研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2013); Zhu Yi, *Shi bangguo zhi shenqi: Tang zhi Bei Song jili bianqian yanjiu* 事邦國之神祇：唐至北宋古禮變遷研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014); Li Hui 李輝, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu* 宋金交聘制度研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014); Wang Zhenping 王貞平, *Tangdai binli yanjiu Yazhou shiyu zhong de waijiao xinxi chuandi* 唐代賓禮研究：亞洲視域中的外交信息傳遞 (Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju, 2017). Zhu Yi and Sun Yinggang 孫英剛 have published many important papers about Tang-Song rituals. See Zhu Yi, “Cong jiaoqi zhi zheng dao tiandi fenhe zhizheng: Tang zhi Bei Song shiqi jiaosi zhushenwei de bianhua 從郊祀之爭到天地合分之爭——唐至北宋時期郊祀主神位的變化,” *Hanxue yanjiu* 27.2 (2009): 267–302; Zhu Yi, “Tang Song shiqi taimiao miaoshu de bianqian 唐宋時期太廟廟數的變遷,” *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 2 (2010): 123–60; Zhu Yi, “Sui-Tang lizhishi yanjiu de huigu he sikao” 5 (2011); Zhu Yi, “Tang zhi Bei Song shiqi de taimiao dixia liyi 唐至北宋時期的太廟禘祫禮儀,” *Fudan xuebao* 復旦學報 1 (2012): 75–84; Sun Yinggang, “Xiangxiang zhong de zhenshi: Sui-Tang Chang’an de mingjie xinyang he chengshi kongjian 想像中的真實：隋唐長安的冥界信仰和城市空間,” in *Tang yanjiu* vol. 15 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2009): 137–69; Sun Yinggang, “Shenwen shidai: Zhongguo zhishi, xinyang yu zhengzhi shijie zhi guanlianxing 神文時代：中古知識、信仰與政治世界之關聯性,” *Xueshu yuekan* 學術月刊 10 (2013): 133–47. For the annotation of the “Ritual Treatises” in the *Song Official History*, see Tang Qinfu 湯勤福 and Wang Zhiyue 王志躍, *Songshi lizhi bianzheng* 宋史禮志辯證 (Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 2012). The compilation and annotation of *Yili jingzhuantongjie xujuan jili* by Yang Fu 楊復 allow scholars to examine ritual perceptions of Zhu Xi and students of his school. See Lin Qingzhang 林慶彰, Ye Chunfang 葉純芳 and

However, a systematic understanding of how ritual contributes to Chinese urban history is still lacking.⁷⁵ The main focus of previous studies on Neo-Confucianism has unconsciously led to a man-made rupture in Song ritual history: the Northern Song state rituals and the Southern Song family rituals. The assumed discontinuity or dichotomy of Song state ritual would tend towards an illusion of the twelfth-century

Hashimoto Hidemi 橋本秀美 eds., *Yang Fu zaixiu yili jingzhuan tongjie xujuan jili* 楊復再脩儀禮經傳通解續卷祭禮 (Taipei: Zhongyanyuan wenzhesuo, 2011). However, few studies in English literature respond to the ongoing changes in ritual studies. From the mid-1980s to the late 1990s, Western scholars noticed the importance of state ritual in Chinese studies, but such a theme has not been paid adequate attention for recent years. Below I will list several relevant important Western scholars' works: Howard Wechsler, *Offering of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the legitimation of the Tang Dynasty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) (particularly, the second and fourth chapters); Dieter Kuhn, ed., *Burial in Song China* (Heidelberg: Würzburger Sinologische Schriften, 1994); Angela Zito, *Of Body and Brush: Grand Sacrifice as Text-Performance in Eighteenth Century China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Patricia Ebrey, "Portrait Sculptures in Imperial Ancestral Rites" (1997); Joseph P. McDermott, ed., *State and Court Ritual in China* (1999); Martin Kern, ed., *Text and Ritual in Early China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005); Benjamin A. Elman and Martin Kern, eds., *Statecraft and Classical Learning: The "Rituals of Zhou" in East Asian History* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010). Joseph Lam discusses the relations between court ritual and court music in the Southern Song by using the concept of "musikspace." See Joseph S. C. Lam, "Music, Sound, and Site: A Case Study from Southern Song China (1127–1275)," in *New Perspectives on the Research of Chinese Culture*, eds. Pei-kai Cheng and Ka Wai Fan (Singapore: Springer, 2013), 99–118. Besides, note that Deng Guangming in one of his incomplete manuscripts has noticed a regular meeting in a short period of time among a group of bureaucrats frustrated in politics in the mid-Northern Song. Deng Guangming 鄧廣銘, "Bei Song zhongye yiqun shiyi guanliao de jucan hui (incomplete manuscript) 北宋中葉一群失意官僚的聚餐會 (未完成稿)," in Deng Guangming, *Deng Guangming quanji* 鄧廣銘全集 vol. 7 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2005), 386–89.

⁷⁵ For comparative urban studies on "the nature of the ceremonial center" between early Chinese cities and other cities in East Asia, Southeast Asia, Western Asia and Africa, see Paul Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters: A Preliminary Enquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1971), 225–476. Yang Kuan could be one of the first scholars that acutely noticed and carefully discussed the ritual factor in the urban planning of Chinese historical capital cities. Yang Kuan, *Zhongguo gudai ducheng zhidushi yanjiu*. For recent studies on Southern Song Lin'an from a ritual space perspective, see Zhao Siyin, "Nan Song Lin'an yanjiu: Lifa shiye xia de gudai ducheng 南宋臨安研究——禮法視野下的古代都城," MA thesis, Fudan University, 2011; Zhao Siyin, "Nan Song qianzhongqi Lin'an liyi kongjian chutan 南宋前中期臨安禮儀空間初探," in *Zhongguo Chengshishi yanjiu lunwenji* 中國城市史研究論文集 ed. Bao Weimin (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2016), 412–37; Zhu Yi, "Lin'an yu Nan Song de guojia jisi liyi: Zhuzhong yu kongjian yinsu de tantao 臨安與南宋的國家祭祀禮儀——著重於空間因素的探討," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 88.1 (2017): 145–204. Such relations have been touched on in studies on the Ming-Qing and the Republican periods, see Susan Naquin and Chun-fang Yu eds., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Huang Jinxing 黃進興, *You ru shengyu: quanli, xinyang yu zhengdangxing* 優入聖域——權力、信仰與正當性 (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua, 1994; new edition, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010); Huang Jinxing, *Huangdi, rusheng yu kongmiao* 皇帝、儒生與孔廟 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2013); Chen Xiyuan 陳熙遠, "Cong Zhongyang dao defang: Xiannong xinyang de bujian yu tanmiao tixi de bengjie 從中央到地方：先農信仰的佈建與壇廟體系的崩解," published in The Fourth International Conference on Sinology, Taipei: Academia Sinica, June 2012; Chen Xiyuan, "Wangfan yu tan-miao zhijian: Cong Shanghai sanxun hui kan guanfang sidian yu minjian xinyang de jiaojie yu hudong 往返於壇·廟之間——從上海三巡會看官方祀典與民間信仰的交接與互動," published in The International Conference on City Life in East Asia over the Past 1500 Years, Shanghai: Fudan University, March 2009; Lai Delin 賴德霖, *Minguo lizhi jianzhu yu Zhongshan jinian* 民國禮制建築與中山紀念 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chuanshe, 2012).

ritual secularization.⁷⁶ More than this, the auspicious rites are excessively highlighted among state ritual. On the other side, the institutional and philological approaches have long dominated Chinese ritual studies; however, such approaches have failed to address the political and social contexts of ritual, as well as the discrepancies between ritual books, regulations, and performances, let alone the correlated thoughts or intentions expressed within the urban settings and behind the actions. In addition, the factor of ritual has been largely downplayed in understanding the reconciliation between the geographical particularity of a capital city and the spatial restructuring of state rituals.

Ritual Space as a Useful Category for Historical Analysis

Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 (1890–1969), one of the most preeminent and innovative historians on Chinese history in the past century, in his magnum opus *Draft Essays on the Origins of Sui and Tang institutions*, discusses state ritual in detail in the first chapter following a short introduction. This chapter is the longest in the book, attached with a section entitled “Architecture in Capital Cities (*ducheng jianzhu* 都城建築).” Though analyzing ritual and spatial issues, Chen actually aims to explore the cultural and racial origins of the Sui and Tang dynasties. For urban space, he concentrates solely on the geographical positions of a palace and a market.⁷⁷ Chen was primarily concerned with the themes of culture and ethnicity; however, his research has showcased his acute awareness of the significance of ritual and (ritual) space in understanding major issues of a dynasty. Regarding his approach, the

⁷⁶ Confucian ritual was largely aimed at aristocrats and literati before the tenth century. It is generally held that reinterpretation of Confucianism and rewriting family rituals in the Southern Song secularized aristocratic rites and promoted them to the ordinary people.

⁷⁷ Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, *Sui Tang zhidu yuanyuan luelun gao* 隋唐制度淵源略論稿 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2001), 6–90; Song Dexi 宋德熹, *Chen Yinke Zhonggu shixue tanyan: Yi Sui Tang zhidu yuanyuan luelun gao wei li* 陳寅恪中古史學探研——以《隋唐制度淵源略論稿》為例 (Banqiao: Daoxiang, 2004), 15–39, particularly 27–35.

questions we would be able to frame and further ask could be: How do we think of the interactions between ritual and multilayered urban space in middle period China, and how to conceptualize ritual space in Chinese urban history by borrowing Lefebvre's "spatial triad" and other concepts or theoretical frameworks? In this section, I would suggest that ritual space can be a useful category for historical analysis and can lead to new Chinese urban and ritual history.

"Ritual space" refers to the specific locale(s) where rites are held. It was not necessarily a single location; rather, it could involve a combination of places that might have been geographically far apart from each other but had ritual connections. For example, during the winter solstice rite, the Song emperor conducted sacrifices in several days by following a regular route—from the Temple of Spectacular Numina (*Jingling gong* 景靈宮), a Daoist temple where the Song emperor's portraits were restored, to the Imperial Ancestral Shrine (*Taimiao* 太廟) and finally to the Round Altar (*Yuantan* 圓壇) located in the southern suburb of the capital for the sacrifice to Supreme Heaven. This combination illustrates the spatial network of sites or locales within the state ritual system, and the representational ritual space saw a meaningful identity transformation to the ruler from a filial emperor to the legitimate Son of Heaven. As Lefebvre points out, to analyze society via social space, we need to "eliminate the simplistic model of a one-to-one or 'punctual' correspondence between social actions and social locations, between spatial functions and spatial forms."⁷⁸ The spatial relations would have not only formulated the order of ritual enactments, but also prioritized ritual buildings to be restored in the early Southern Song as well as the site selection, which might have been conceived by ritual classics, principles, regulations, or precedents.

⁷⁸ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 34.

A careful analysis of ritual space cannot be separated from its urban texture; a more dynamic approach needs to be adopted to historicize the development of ritual spaces in city. Given when, how, and why ritual spaces were constructed and/or connected, historians can avoid a fallacy of anachronism or a stereotype of seeing them isolated and static. The visible and invisible forces that shaped certain ritual spaces and their networks, thus, could be further pondered. As shown in the Song sources, urban geography and environment were the two major factors for the site selection of ritual space in Lin'an. The urban spatial features and changes, together with geomantic discourses, often brought about frequent transfers of ritual spaces inside and outside the city.⁷⁹ The Song court actually developed a pragmatic principle during planning and negotiating the arrangement of ritual space to reconcile the tensions between the ideal model and the urban texture.⁸⁰

More important, ritual space is by no means confined to a locale scale. Building on Lefebvre's work, economic geographers in recent years have been studying on the production of geographical scale to examine the reflexivity of space, or space at multiple scales, from local, regional, national, macroregional to global. Therefore, for subjects like capital and labor, this analytical and theoretical framework enable scholars to further investigate their translocal connections as well as the international, transnational, or supranational connections.⁸¹ It can also allow historians to think of multiscale urban space even in pre-modern times, given the "modernity" of the Song. For example, it seems that the imagined imperial sacred geography and a new multi-state East Asian world order in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries quite fit

⁷⁹ Liu Xiangguang, "Songdai fengshui wenhua de kuozhan," 31–32.

⁸⁰ Zhao Siyin, "Nan Song qianzhongqi Lin'an liyi kongjian chutan," 424–31; also see Chapter 1.

⁸¹ Neil Brenner, "The Limits to Scale? Methodological Reflections on Scalar Structuration," *Progress in Human Geography* 25.4 (2001): 591–614; Saskia Sassen ed., *Global Networks, Linked Cities* (London: Routledge, 2002); Noel Castree et. al. eds., *Spaces of Work: Global Capitalism and the Geographies of Labour* (London: Sage, 2004); Saskia Sassen ed., *Deciphering the Global: Its Scales, Spaces and Subjects* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

into the framework, representing ritual spaces of Lin'an, Lin'an as ritual space, and Lin'an centered in a transnational ritual sphere.⁸² Accordingly, the ritual linking could have been the product of the exercise of power, internally and externally, and the convergence of perceptions.

Ritual spaces are mostly identified, standardized, and represented in ritual books and state ritual systems, but it cannot be overemphasized that the discrepancies between textual records and practical ritual enactments need to be taken seriously at all times.⁸³ The real problem facing historians is the fact that the compilation, revision or enactment of ritual codes was normally too late to keep up with updated ritual practices. In other words, ritual performance, function, and space might not have been always matched to each other as regulated in ritual books. Even for ritual books, those following the *Kaiyuanli* model featured by ritual integrity and ritual standardization, somewhat like statutory law, could only provide regular yet rigid principles or procedures, whereas those referring to the model of *Da Tang jiaosi lu* 大唐郊祀錄 (hereafter *Jiaosilu*, or JSL), somewhat like case law, incorporated practical precedents to be referenced. Completed in the early thirteenth century, the only extant Southern Song state ritual books, the *Ritual Book of the Revival Period* (*Zhongxing lishu* 中興禮書) and the *Compilation for a Continuation of the Ritual Book of the Revival Period* (*Zhongxing lishu xubian* 中興禮書續編), though compiled to legitimize the revival period (*zhongxing* 中興), abided by the *Jiaosilu* model, and therefore, the recorded detailed materials of ritual negotiations help investigate the

⁸² After Song was defeated by the Khitan Empire and the Jurchen Empire, a quasi-modern international order emerged in East Asia since the eleventh century, distinct from the traditional China-centered tribute system and worldview. The Song court developed foreign relations based upon notions of diplomatic parity with its powerful neighbors.

⁸³ For a detailed and insightful discussion of the interactions between ritual ceremonies and ritual books, see Shen Wenzhuo 沈文倬, "Luelun lidian de shixing he Yili shuben de zhuanzuo 略論禮典的實行和《儀禮》書本的撰作," in Shen Wenzhuo, *Daoan wencun* 荊閣文存 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 2006), 1–58.

interactions between conceived space and perceived space.⁸⁴

Space possesses ritual essence via participants such as performers and observers. For public state ritual, the special importance must have been first of all decipherable relatively to the general audience. From this angle, perceptions and practices of the emperor, officials, literati, and the urban dwellers defined the nature of ritual space through the gestures in ceremonies, the use of symbolic objects, the understanding of ritual essence and precedents, the political appeals, and the urban life experience. The ritual experiences, to some extent, facilitated the sharing of some common values or ideas extended from the ritual essence. In some cases, people could have even imagined ritual space beyond its original scope or the local scale. In other words, the ritual networking depended on local places, but they were not the only determinant. The synchronic experience formed by ritual became the basis for a group of people to envision a common or shared space with others, enabling the cross-boundary ritual network, whether the boundaries would be city-walls, prefectural boundaries, state borders, or edges of the lost territories. At that ritual moment, a multi-scalar lived space emerged. In addition, another way of giving meaning to a space can be ritual failure or ritual dysfunction. But both have not been taken seriously in the existing historiography. As such, the internal and external challenges to the Southern Song imperial legitimacy, including those innovative rites created in response to the crises, will open up new realms for investigation.

Ritual space can be a useful category for historical analysis. It can be used to shed new light on Chinese urban history and political history, ritual and cultural

⁸⁴ Wang Jing 王涇 ed., *Da Tang jiaosi lu* 大唐郊祀錄 (Dai Tō kōshiroku) (hereafter JSL), Shiyuan congshu edition (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1972). For the making of Southern Song state ritual books, see Zhang Wenchang, *Zhili yi jiao tianxia*, 133–228. The Song Ministry of Rites and Court of Imperial Sacrifices eds., *Zhongxing lishu* 中興禮書 (hereafter ZXLS), Xuxiu Siku quanshu edition; Ye Zonglu 葉宗魯 et al., *Zhongxing lishu xubian* 中興禮書續編 (hereafter ZXLSXB), Xuxiu Siku quanshu edition.

studies, and international relations in general, and on Song history in particular.⁸⁵ Scholars can study not only the history of ritual spaces but also the history of representations including the verbal and non-verbal signs, production and symbolisms, along with that of their relationships—with each other, with practice, and with ideology. History not only involves the trajectories of ritual spaces but also, and in particular, their interconnections, interactions, displacements, and distortions in political, social, cultural and diplomatic contexts and on multiple scale levels. In doing so, we can further think about to which extent ritual space can offer meaningful frameworks for examining such multilayered and hitherto unexamined relations. Catherine Bell once put forward a useful concept of “ritualization” to establish a connection between ritual and society. In Bell’s view, “ritual practices are a type of sociocultural medium that is capable of grounding human attitudes, worldviews, and institutions in a vision of the nature of things in general.”⁸⁶ Integrating ritual into urban studies, scholars can better understand how ritual became spatialized, routinized, and institutionalized, and how urban space came to be ritualized, politicized, and even contested. Besides, using the category of ritual space, scholars can also consider or reconsider Lefebvre’s rhythm analytical project and his conjecture of the relations between representational spaces and representations of space to the East.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Seo Tatsuhiko, “Ducheng yu wangquan liyi: Genju Zhongguo lidai ducheng fuyuantu,” 71–99. Note that Seo mainly aims at a particular category of state rituals, the auspicious rite.

⁸⁶ Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 190.

⁸⁷ “It is not at all clear a priori that it can legitimately be generalized. Whether the East, specifically China, has experienced a contrast between representations of space and representational spaces is doubtful in the extreme. It is indeed quite possible that the Chinese characters combine two functions in an inextricable way, that on the one hand they convey the order of the world (space-time), while on the other hand they lay hold of that concrete (practical and social) space-time wherein symbolisms hold sway, where works of art are created, and where buildings, palaces and temples are built. I shall return to this question later—although, lacking adequate knowledge of the Orient, I shall offer no definite answer to it.” Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 42. For Lefebvre’s rhythm analytical project, it seems that a scale of body space could be included in the multiple scales. “The living body can and must consider itself as an interaction of organs situated inside it, where each organ has its own rhythm but is subject to a spatio-temporal whole [globalité]. Furthermore, this human body is the site and place of interaction between the biological, the physiological (nature) and the social (often called the cultural), where each of these levels, each of these dimensions, has its own specificity, therefore its space-time: its

Chapter 1 reconstructs the processes of building and arranging temples, shrines, and altars in Lin'an for the restoration of imperial suburban sacrifices. It explores how the use of ritual space linked to the establishment of the new regime's legitimacy. The geographical and topographical particularities of Lin'an did not conform to the ideal urban cosmological pattern of an imperial city that was formed in the second century. State rituals held in Lin'an were largely affected by spatial factors on the locale scale. The chapter elucidates how Song literati and officials perceived and responded to the tension between ideals and realities. It demonstrates that the Song imperial court developed a pragmatic principle to reconcile the tension by (re)building or not building certain altars and temples and adjusting them within the framework of suburban rites. The shift of ritual foci, inside and outside the city, from the Tianqing Temple to the Huizhao Cloister and then to the Round Altar indicated a tendency to return to ritual precedents in the Northern Song rather than traditional ritual classics.

Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 deal with the interrelated ritual activities that occurred before and after the abdication of Gaozong and the imperial succession passing to Xiaozong. The significance of Gaozong's decision and the resulting unique spatial structure of the dual palaces, seen as symbols of the revived dynasty at the time, has been largely underestimated and even overlooked in understanding Southern Song politics, the twelfth-century dynastic revival, and Chinese urban history. Chapter 2 uncovers the intertwined histories of two sacrifices of praying for sons for an heirless emperor by revisiting and contextualizing the transfer of rule from Gaozong to Xiaozong. In the early Southern Song, challenges to Gaozong's legitimacy caused officials' incessant concerns over the issue of imperial succession. The histories of the Altar of Gaomei and the Blessing Virtue Shrine, both built and restored to pray for

rhythm. ... Our *scale* determines our location, our place in the space-time of the universe." Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, 81–82.

sons of the emperor, reveal the boundaries of political forces, public and private spheres, and interpretations of classic texts, ritual codes and ancestral imperial instructions in the urban settings that were all changing over time. My study shows a more complicated picture regarding Gaozong's unborn son, revising the existing analysis that the emperor selected and adopted two princes within Taizu's lineage and delayed in making a decision of the heir apparent in case of political speculation. Previous studies portray Gaozong as a dissipated, cowardly and shameless emperor, but this chapter would suggest that, the emperor showed brilliant political tactics and succeeded in establishing a great reputation during his lifetime by performing or not performing certain rituals as well as his compromise, forbearance, and careful calculation.

The new invented ritual tradition with regular visits to the retired emperor facilitated a unique spatial structure, the dual palaces situated in the south and the north of the capital city—a visible and tangible political legacy of Gaozong. Focusing on ritual dysfunction and ritual failure, Chapter 3 investigates the rise and decline of this unique spatial structure, which was maintained and represented by routinized, institutionalized, and spatialized rituals. Praised by officials and witnessed by urban dwellers in the Imperial Street, Xiaozong's frequent visits to the retired emperor finally earned him a reputation as filial exemplar. The mechanism of the dual palaces was inseparable from the elements of authority, obedience and compromise. However, dual imperial power hardly coexisted with reciprocity in keeping the balance of the ruler/minister and father/son relationships. As historical contexts changed, the imperial crisis between the emperor and the retired emperor emerged in 1192 and peaked in 1194 when Emperor Guangzong refused to visit his dying father Xiaozong. Guangzong's refusal to follow the ritual routines resulted in rumors circulating around

the capital as well as great anxieties among officials and literati. A careful analysis of historical sources of the biography of Empress Li in the *Songshi* for the first time reveals the role of urban dwellers in this crisis, demonstrating how street gossips turned into the widespread rumors and public opinion targeting towards the sitting empress. The imperial crisis ended with Guangzong's abdication by force; the collapse of dual palaces in 1194 marked the end of the dynastic revival of the Southern Song.

The fourth and fifth chapters examine how Song China coped with its external pressure by shaping Lin'an as a ritual center in Southern Song China as well as in twelfth- and thirteenth-century East Asia. Chapter 4 discusses how the Southern Song court in rituals responded to the incomplete imperial sacred geography, a serious challenge to the imagination of a unified empire. On the eve of the birth of Imperial China, the sacred geography of Middle Kingdom, a combination of the most sacred mountains and rivers, began to be regarded as a symbol of unification or a unified empire. Since the late 1120s, the Song had lost its northern territories as well as majority of the sacred mountains and rivers. The situation placed the Song court in ritual predicaments, given that only the southern sacred mountains and rivers then remained within the Song territory. Drawing upon the extant historical sources of a variety of relevant rituals—regular sacrifices to mountains and river and rainmaking ritual, this chapter explores how the Southern Song reconceptualized the ideal model, reconstructed the sacrifices in Lin'an, and redelineated ritual obligations. Hundreds of ritual prayers in the *Zhongxing lishu*, a Southern Song state ritual book, and the Song literati's collected works are systematically studied and contextualized for the first time in scholarship. This chapter will also ponder the role of the temporary capital city and how it was linked to these accessible and inaccessible sacred mountains and

rivers that, in the meantime, were also rapidly integrated into popular religion.

Chapter 5 probes how the Song court treated foreign envoys and managed its interconnections with different neighboring states by utilizing guest or diplomatic rites and shaping its ritual space at multiscale levels. After the Song was defeated by the Khitan Liao and the Jurchen Jin, quasi-modern international relations emerged in East Asia since the eleventh century, distinct from the traditional China-centered tribute system and worldview. The Song court had to develop foreign relations based upon the notion of diplomatic parity with its powerful neighbors. This chapter starts with an investigation of the features of the twelfth-century East Asian world order based on the model of Song-Jin diplomatic exchanges, along with a comparison to the Song-Liao model. It then details how the Southern Song court arranged the post houses for foreign envoys and regulated their foreign relations, how the Jin missions were engaged in ritual activities from the Song-Jin border, the Huai River, and local prefectures to the capital city, and more important, how the Song emperor, ministers, envoys and commissioners, ritual officials, eunuchs, and ordinary people viewed and participated in these rituals, particularly when conflicts arose between internal funeral ritual and external diplomatic ritual.

ONE
“Everything Settled in Great Haste”:
Shaping Suburban Rites, 1130–1170

The fall of Bianliang led to the humiliating northward transportation of the two emperors and thousands of imperial clan members, officials, concubines and palace attendants at the end of the third month of 1127. Not in Bianliang, Zhao Gou, a younger brother of the captive reigning emperor, hurriedly fled down to Yingtian Prefecture where, one month later, he came to the Song throne through a hasty rite. Five months later, under the Jurchen increasing military pressure, the interim court was forced to flee further south, crossing the Huai River (Huaihe淮河), to Yangzhou 揚州 situated on the north bank of the Yangtze River.¹ The city then became *xingzai* for the temporary residence of Emperor Gaozong.

However, political turmoil would have unexpectedly burst under the chaotic circumstances. In fact, compared to the evasion of the Jurchens’ pursuit, for the new emperor, how to avoid the occurrence of a court or an army coup and to maintain internal stability seemed to have been more urgent. Taking into account safety considerations, as he arrived in Yangzhou, Gaozong implemented precautionary yet quite abnormal measures. He ordered the commanders of the Three Capital Guards (*sanya guanjun* 三衙管軍) to be stationed in his residence, an unprecedented practice contrary to the imperial ancestral instructions. More than this, the new emperor also

¹ XNYL, 10.261, 269; SS, 24.449–50.

issued an edict prohibiting any meeting between eunuchs and generals. In this regard, Gaozong did abide by the ancestral regulations that strict precautions must have been taken against military officers.² The emperor's cautiousness as well as the self-contradictory and unconventional enactments made a vivid self-portrayal with deep concern about the unstable imperial legitimacy.

On the Winter Solstice in the eleventh month of 1128, in the south of the city Gaozong for the first time accomplished the southern suburban sacrifice to Supreme Heaven, one of the most important state rituals for a dynasty or an imperial ruler.³ The efficacy of such a rite as an essential way of sustaining the legitimacy of imperial power or holding onto Heaven's Mandate was normally considered to be contingent on the recognized governance as well as the proper ritual performance.⁴ Apparently, he could have had no chance to show the results of his successful governing, let alone the whole empire was on the verge of disintegration. Also, the new emperor could not have immediately offered a remedy for his predecessors' misrule. For the latter part, Gaozong seemed to have attempted to prove and display his authority by performing an appropriate state ritual. About two months earlier, ritual vessels, sacrificial dress, musical instrument, and ceremonial implements such as flags and weapons were

² XNYL, 10.269; SS, 24.450. For a detailed study on the system of the Song Three Capital Guards, see Fan Xuehui 范學輝, *Songdai sanya guanjun zhidu yanjiu* 宋代三衙管軍制度研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2015). For a discussion of the imperial ancestral instructions of taking precautions against military officers, see Deng Xiaonan, *Zuzong zhifa: Bei Song qianqi zhengzhi shulue* 祖宗之法: 北宋前期政治述略 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2006), 184–280. Also note that Emperor Taizu 太祖 (r. 960–76), the first emperor of the Song, launched a peaceful mutiny to seize power of the Later Zhou (951–60) when serving as the chief central government agency in charge of military protection of the palace and the capital city. Lau Nap-yin and Huang K'uan-chung, "Founding and Consolidation of the Sung Dynasty Under T'ai-tsu (960–976), T'ai-tsung (976–997), and Chen-tsung (997–1022)," in *The Cambridge History of China Volume 5 Part One*, 210–13.

³ XNYL, 18.429; SS, 25.458.

⁴ Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, 12–13, 24.

recorded to have been transported from Bianliang to Yangzhou; the honor guards consisted of one thousand two hundred people.⁵

As discussed in the introduction, almost all imperial carriages and ritual vessels in Bianliang had been burnt or transported to the Jin.⁶ Even if there might have been any left, in terms of reasonable inferences, they were more likely to be a very small number, and most must not have satisfied the requirements. In addition, given the Jin forces and local bandits along the route, it is doubtful whether these ritual stuffs would have been taken to Yangzhou intactly. Much worse, inside the southern city-gate, the sacrificial site did not fulfill the requirement of a prescribed place in the southern suburb.⁷ The ritual displacement would have made the rite considered incorrect, unorthodox, or even immoral, and thus could have severely downplayed the imperial legitimacy. The Song officials seemed to have recognized the seriousness and later purported to attribute it to the situation of “everything settled in great haste (*shushi caochuang* 庶事草創),” a phrase that developed into an epitome of the court’s flexible strategy on ritual reconstruction.⁸

⁵ Wang Yinglin 王應麟, *Yu Hai* 玉海 (hereafter YH) (Kyoto: Chūbun Shuppansha, 1977), 80.38a; SS, 99.2434.

⁶ Li Xinzhan, *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji* 建炎以來朝野雜記 (hereafter CYZJ) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), jiaji 3.92.

⁷ SS, 99.2434.

⁸ CYZJ, jiaji 3.92; SS, 99.2434. The 1128 suburban sacrifice was said to have followed the sacrifices conducted during the Yuanfeng 元豐 (1078–85) period that the sacrifices to Supreme Heaven and to the Imperial God of Earth were separate. There had been constant disputes in the second half of the Northern Song whether the two gods should have been sacrificed together or separately and only in the southern suburb or in the northern suburb as well. For a discussion of these disputes, see Zhu Yi, “Cong jiaoqiu zhi zheng dao tiandi fenhe zhizheng,” 267–302. Recent studies suggest that the disputes were associated with factional politics. Ding Jianjun 丁建軍 and Jiang Yun 江雲, “Fugu yu gexin de cuowei: Dui Bei Song tiandi fenji yu heji zhi zheng de zai tantao 復古與革新的錯位: 對北宋天地分祭與合祭之爭的再探討,” *Wenshizhe* 文史哲 5 (2017): 65–74. Four rites in the reign of Huizong were held to make offerings to both gods that were thought to be closer to the meaning of Confucian ritual classics. Even so, Gaozong and the ritual officials decided to return to the Yuanfeng precedents rather than those in the late Northern Song, in part because of the Jin plunder of Song ritual books and the Song’s ritual delinking to the calamitous period. For a discussion about state ritual chaos before 1142, see Takahashi Hiroomi, “Nansō no kōtei saishi to Rin’an 南宋の皇帝祭祀と臨安,” *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 69.4 (2011): 614–28. But

The above-mentioned examples convey the significance of Confucianized state ritual in establishing a new regime and maintaining social stability, in particular during a time of political turbulence. Gaozong's stay in Yangzhou witnessed the Song court's initial application of a pragmatic approach to dealing with ritual and urban space. The questions arise: Why did Gaozong finally choose Hangzhou as the capital? Why, how and to what extent did the urban planning of Lin'an in practice embody its spatial features? And what did these enactments mean to the contemporaries? This chapter aims at the interactions between ritual space, urban cosmology, and legitimacy. Focusing on the first half of the Southern Song, it explores the relocation of the Song in Lin'an, and reconstructs the processes of building and arranging temples, shrines, and altars in and around Lin'an for (re)shaping the suburban ritual system, a vehicle of political justification and legitimation. It also elucidates the intertwined processes of ritual spatialization and spatial ritualization through analysis of ritual negotiations and urban practices that have been largely overlooked in Chinese urban history.

Ritual, Legitimacy, and Urban Space

Since the middle of the second century, the state ritual system became closely associated with the imperial institution that came into being in the third century BCE, and so with the source, exercise and representation of imperial power. Legitimacy was a function both of the preservation of the ancient ways and an orderly social order shown in rites. Ritual thus helped rulers to exercise authority over others by reaffirming their legitimacy. As powerful as ritual was in achieving general social

note that urban space of Lin'an or Hangzhou is not Takahashi's main focus.

order, early Confucian scholars normally ascribed the harmonious social order to the efforts of emperor's exemplary ritual practices. The function of legitimacy then could be measured by the effect ritual had on the individual ritual actor. Since Chinese ritual is not merely a set of standards, regulations and institutions, but theories, ideology, and moral reasoning, the connections between state ritual and legitimacy were firmly established after the three classics on ritual were all set down in their final form and Confucianism became the main imperial ideology in the Han dynasty. The Chinese emperor acted as "intermediary between heavenly favor and human labors."⁹

Apart from ritual classics and state ritual codes, the worldview of ritual was visually integrated and embodied in the urban infrastructure with an emphasis on a strong tendency towards revivalism and moralism. Formed as early as the Eastern Han (25 AD–220 AD) and accentuating the ancient righteous ways of maintaining the Mandate of Heaven, the ideal Chinese royal city (*wangcheng* 王城) featured the principle of grid planning and the Chinese urban cosmology.¹⁰ As described in "Records on the Examination of Craftsmanship (*Kaogong ji* 考工記)" in the *Rites of Zhou*, a state capital was expected to possess many fundamental features that gave an imperial city its own image (Figure 1.1):

He (craftsman) makes a square nine *li*¹¹ 里 on each side; each side has three gates. Within the capital are nine north-south and nine east-west streets. The north-south streets are nine carriage tracks in width. On the left (as one faces south, or, to

⁹ Nancy S. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 14.

¹⁰ See Arthur Wright, "The Cosmology of the Chinese City," *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. William Skinner (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1977), 33–73; also see Nancy S. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 13–16.

¹¹ *Li* is a unit of length in traditional Chinese society. One *li* (415.8 meters) is about 0.258 mile in the Han period.

the east) is the Ancestral Temple, and to the right (west) are the Altars of Soil and Grain. In the front is the Hall of Audience and behind the markets.¹²

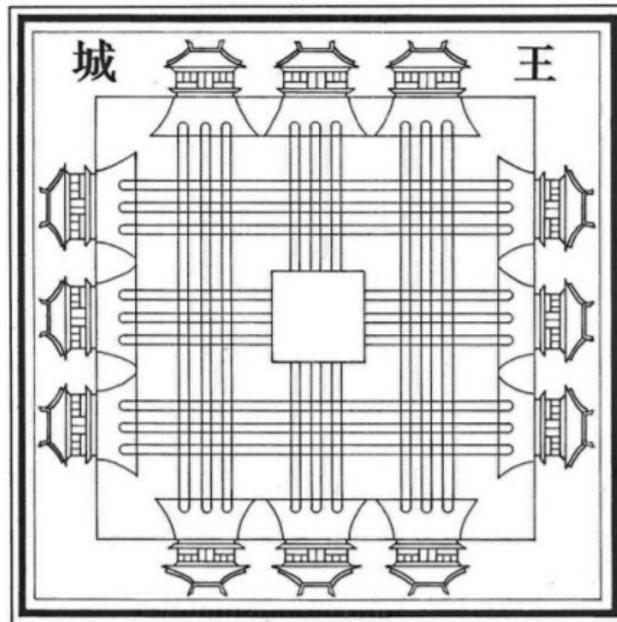


Fig. 1.1: Reconstruction of the layout of an ideal Chinese royal city
Source: Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 34.

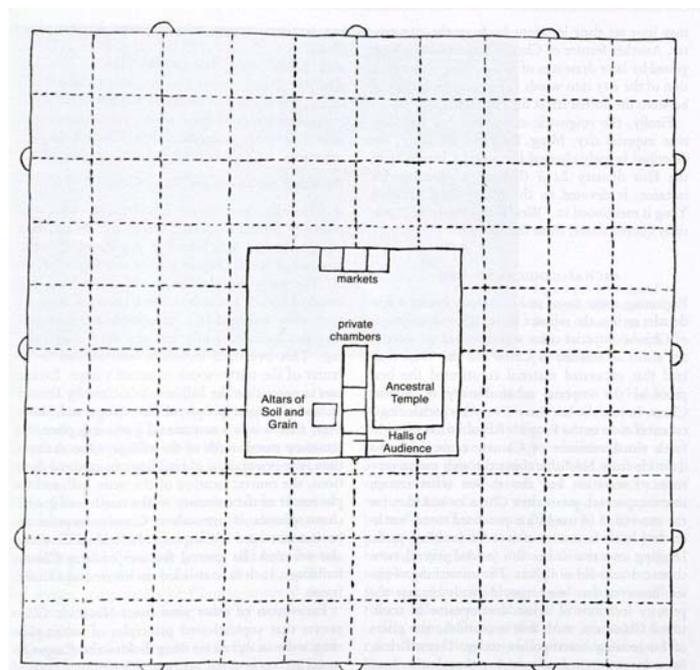


Fig. 1.2: Reconstruction of the interior of an ideal palace city
Source: Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 35.

¹² Nancy S. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 33.

The orderly image bears cosmological meaning. The three gates on the each side of the city referred to the three powers of nature: Heaven, Earth and Human; the nine longitudinal or nine latitudinal main streets represented the canonical division of China into nine provinces by the legendary ruler Da Yu大禹; and the palace city in the center corresponded to the celestial Pole Star, seen as the center of heaven that, in ancient Chinese views, was revolved around by all other stars.¹³ The interior of the palace-city followed the *Rites of Zhou* and reflected the blessings of ancestors and gods of earth on the emperor (Figure 1.2). Though hardly imitated in practice, some enigmatic components of this ideal model of grid urban planning seemed to have been always taken for granted by a ruler as the basis for an orthodox capital as well as the indisputable moral norm. The integration of altars for imperial sacrifices into the urban planning was achieved by Wang Mang, who restored the ideal of the *Rites of Zhou* to legitimize his usurpation and eventually succeeded in creating the original, cosmological paradigm of a dynastic capital in imperial China.¹⁴

¹³ Mark Edward Lewis, *The Construction of Space in Early China* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006), 239.

¹⁴ Kojima Tsuyoshi 小島毅, "Kōshi sēdo no henshen 郊祀制度の変遷," *Tōyō bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 108 (1989): 128–132; Tian Tian 田天, *Qin Han guojia jisi shigao* 秦漢國家祭祀史稿 (Beijing: Sanlian shidian, 2015), 228–243.

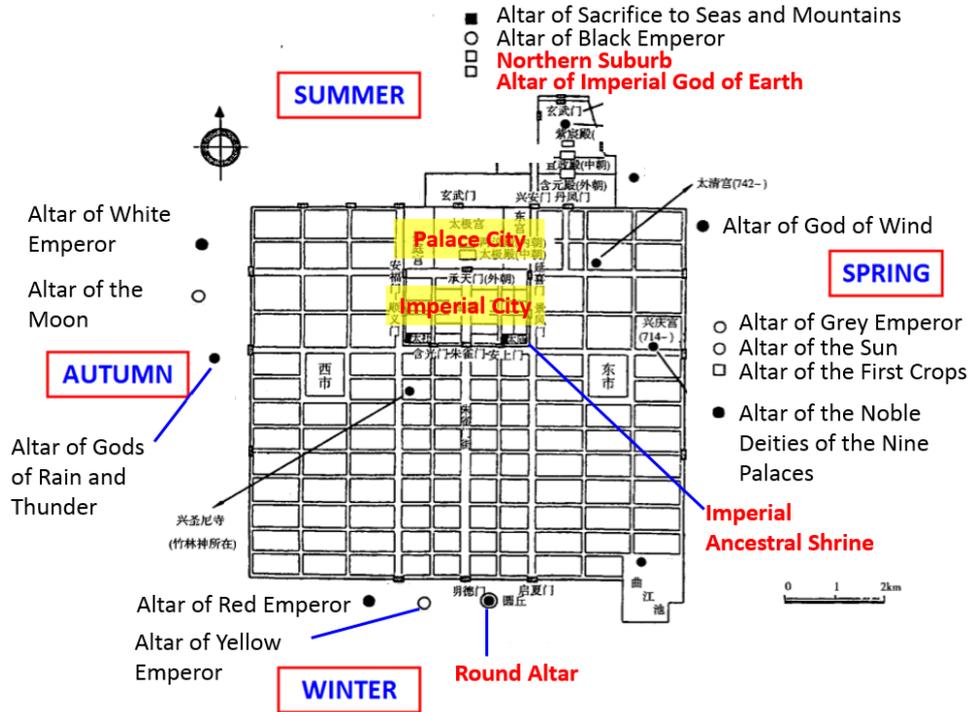


Fig. 1.3: Urban Cosmology and Tang Chang'an in the Eighth Century
Source: Based on Lei Wen, *Jiaomiao zhiwai*, 321.

The initial conception of Chinese urban cosmology was first standardized and implemented in the construction of Sui-Tang Chang'an (present-day Xi'an). Strictly speaking, the urban design of Chang'an did not conform to the ideal pattern based on Confucian ritual classics, especially given the locations of the imperial city and market; rather, it might have been seen as the product of the combination of Han-Chinese and non-Han Chinese customs.¹⁵ However, Tang Chang'an (with its previous model, Sui Daxing City) set an example of urban planning for the following dynasties. Its layout (see fig. 1.3) symbolizes the cosmic unity of circular heaven (sun, moon and other celestial bodies) and square earth (with mountains and rivers) as well as the nature in the four seasons. The Altar of the Sun is located in the east, and the

¹⁵ Chen Yinke, *Sui Tang zhidu yuanyuan luelun gao*, 69–90. For the general introduction to the urban planning and urban structure of Sui Daxing and Tang Chang'an, see Nancy S. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 94–96, 101–21; Fu Xinian 傅熹年 ed., *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi* 中國古代建築史 vol.2 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2001), 315–28.

Altar of the Moon in the west. One of the most important state rituals, the sacrifice to the Supreme God, is conducted on the Round Altar in the southern suburb due to the legacy of Wang Mang. This spatial arrangement signifies the origin of imperial power, bringing earthly and heavenly power into alignment.

Demand for the ontologically ritual symbolism became more significant over time. During the Tang-Song period, imperial sacrificial sites in and around the capital city considerably outnumbered those in the first millennium BCE as merely altars to the imperial ancestors and to soil and grain were built in the imperial city.¹⁶ The more ritual sites meant the more ritual enactments within the capital region. The locations, though spatially separate, might have been ritually connected, and more importantly, the meaning produced by the linking could have been realized by city dwellers. For instance, rites like praying for grain in the spring and praying for rain at the summer solstice as well as the southern suburban sacrifice link to the Chinese lunar calendar. The layout, therefore, implies the efforts of introducing heavenly order into society and placing urban life under a framework of the “ritual calendar.”¹⁷ In other words, everydayness of lived space derives from the ritual repetition according to the urban cosmology.

Establish a Capital: Geographic Features and Disputes on Site Selection

At the very beginning of the Southern Song, how to reestablish the empire, unite

¹⁶ Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 14.

¹⁷ See Liu Xiaofeng 劉曉峰, *Dongya de shijian: Suishi wenhua de bijiao yanjiu* 東亞的時間：歲時文化的比較研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 42–74. As for the notion of ritual calendar, Henri Lefebvre offers a critical viewpoint of “everydayness.” Lefebvre divides ritual into three categories, religious rites, rites in the broadest sense like festivals and carnivals, and political rites such as ceremonies and commemorations. According to his account, all these three rites represent everydayness that could be illuminated by what he calls “rhythmanalysis.” Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, 94.

people, and maintain social stability became crucial to the exiled Song court. The urban planning of specific ritual spaces related to major sacrifices held by the emperor was a key part of the state ritual reconstruction. All these were premised on the selection of a capital city. However, given its geographic and topographic particularities, Lin'an did not conform to the conceived urban cosmological pattern. This section provides a general background of restoring and reframing state ritual in the temporary capital, including the geographic and topographic features of Lin'an, an outline of its history prior to the twelfth century, and the disputes on the selection of a capital city in the early Southern Song.

Located on the north bank of the Qiantang River in eastern China and on the shore of the well-known scenic West Lake, Hangzhou (Map 1.1) was shaped more like “a slim waist drum (*yaogu cheng*腰鼓城),” a phrase in the Song literature that must have been widely accepted by the locals.¹⁸ The location of Hangzhou was once in a vast ocean in ancient times. According to scholars' studies, from a perspective of the *longue durée*, the formation of “Hangzhou” was no more than a recent occurrence, in parallel with the formation of the West Lake (Figure 1.4) at least 12,000 years ago.¹⁹ Canals and rivers formed the network of Hangzhou's waterways. Its drum-like contour was primarily ascribed to the impact of perennial tidewater of the Hangzhou Bay.²⁰ To the west and southwest of Hangzhou lay the main mountain ranges, Mount Tianmu (Tianmu shan天目山), that made the city's terrain sloping from the western

¹⁸ Qian Yan 錢儼, *Wuyue bei shi* 吳越備史, Sibugongkan xubian edition, 1.24b.

¹⁹ Zhu Kezhen 竺可楨, “Hangzhou Xihu shengcheng de yuanyin 杭州西湖生成的原因,” *Kexue* 科學 6.4 (1921): 381–86.

²⁰ *SS*, 97.2396–97.

and southern upland to the eastern and northern flat-land. Such a topographic feature was probably one of the main reasons for safety considerations that the court of the Wuyue 吳越 (907–78) Kingdom placed its palace city in the south, which continued to be used as palace city in the early Southern Song—a rare spatial configuration in Chinese urban history.²¹ The geographic and topographic characteristics as well as the displacement of the palace-city hardly enabled Lin'an to be an ideal capital city, compared to the Tang Chang'an model and the precedent of Northern Song Kaifeng (Map 1.2).

Hangzhou, originally known as Yuhang 餘杭, had its seat situated here in the Qin 秦 (221–207 BCE) dynasty, subordinate to Gueiji County 會稽郡 (present-day Shaoxing 紹興). From the mid-second century to the second half of the sixth century, Hangzhou was first under the direct control of Wu County 吳郡 (present-day Suzhou 蘇州) and then of Wuxing County 吳興郡 (present-day Huzhou 湖州). In the late sixth century, it was shortly included in Qiantang County 錢唐郡 and then merged with Wu and Wuxing counties to become Hangzhou in 589, for the Southern Chen 陳 (557–89) was conquered by the Sui. The county seat was at first settled in Yuhang, but shifted to Qiantang later. In the Tang, Hangzhou County was established and renamed as Yuhang County. In the Wuyue Kingdom, Hangzhou was selected as the capital city.²² Tan Qixiang first acutely pointed out that why Hangzhou eventually changed its peripheral status in the region for over nearly eight hundred years after the

²¹ Takahashi Hiroomi, “Nansō Rin'an ni okeru kūkan keitai to sono hensen 南宋臨安における空間形態とその変遷,” *Ehime daigaku hōbun gakubu ronshū. jinbun gakkahen* 愛媛大学法文学部論集・人文学科編 33 (2012): 1.

²² Lin Zhengqiu, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu*, 3–24.

Qin dynasty was because of two major factors—the shift of the county seat to Qiantang in the Sui and the its topographical changes in history.²³



Map 1.1: Southern Song Lin'an

Sources: Based on the “Map of Southern Song Lin'an” in Takahashi Hiroomi, “Nansō Rin'an ni okeru kūkan keitai to sono henshen,” 4; adapted from Guojia ditu bianzuan weiyuan hui 國家地圖編纂委員會 ed., *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guojia lishi dituji* 中華人民共和國國家歷史地圖集 vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 2012), 132–33; Du Zhengxian, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu*, 56, 64; Guo Daihuan, *Nan Song jianzhu shi*, 99; Que Weimin, *Hangzhou chengchi ji Xihu lishi tushuo*, 145; Wu Zimu, trans. and anno., Umehara Kaoru, *Muryōroku: Nansō Rin'an hanjōki*, 15; Zhu Yi, “Lin'an yu Nan Song de guojia jisi liyi,” 198.

²³ Tan Qixiang 譚其驥, “Hangzhou dushi fazhan zhi jingguo 杭州都市發展之經過,” in Tan Qixiang, *Changshui ji* 長水集 vol. 1 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1987), 420

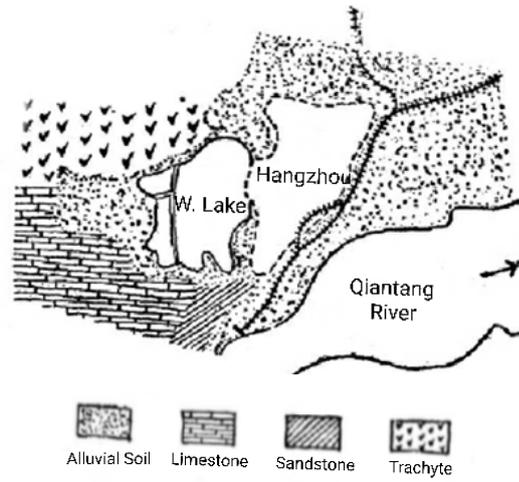
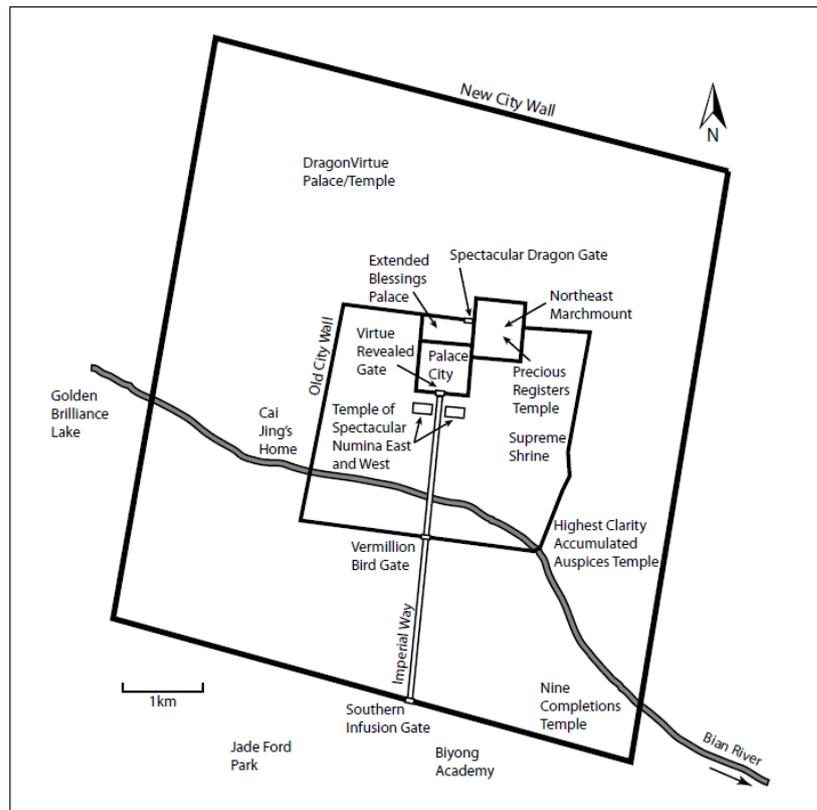
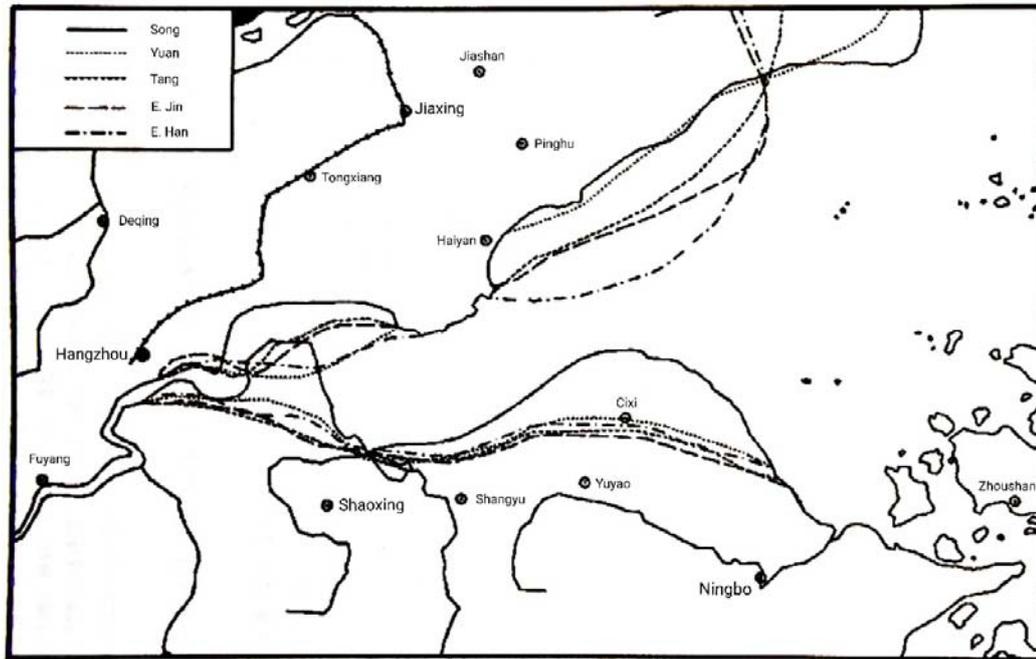


Fig. 1.4: Topography of Hangzhou
Source: Zhu Kezhen, "Hangzhou Xihu shengcheng de yuanyin," 383.



Map 1.2: Northern Song Kaifeng
Source: Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong*, 22.



Map 1.3: Shorelines of the Qiantang River from the Eastern Han to the Yuan
Source: Zhou Zhuwei, *7–10 shiji Hangzhou de jueqi yu Qiantangjiang diqu jiegou bianqian*, 39.

The rise of Hangzhou during the Tang period was also attributed to the regional economic integration that also partially resulted from the geographic and topographic impacts. The whole shoreline of Hangzhou Bay had great changes throughout history (Map 1.3); the southwestern part near Lin'an had contracted northward about twenty *li* (approx. 4.35 miles) from the fourth to the eleventh centuries.²⁴ Such changes constantly affected the regional economic structure of the Qiantang River valley, leading to the economic prosperity of Hangzhou in the Tang period. By the time, the commercial exploitation since the seventh century within the region of Hangzhou-Jiaxing-Huzhou finally established Hangzhou, replacing Yuezhou越州 (present-day Shaoxing), as the regional economic center.²⁵ Thereafter, the city saw the ensuing

²⁴ Zhang Xiugui 張修桂, "Jinshan wei ji qi fujin yidai haianxian de bianqian 金山衛及其附近一帶海岸線的變遷," *Lishi dili* 歷史地理 vol.3 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1983), 41.

²⁵ Tan Qixiang 譚其驥, "Hangzhou dushi fazhan zhi jingguo," 417–28; also see Zhou Zhuwei 周祝偉, *7–10 shiji*

waves of mass migration.²⁶ Moreover, its political influence extended particularly in the tenth century, when Qian Liu 錢鏐 (r. 907–37), the founder of the Wuyue Kingdom, selected Hangzhou as the capital in 923. Qian expanded the inner city-walls to enclose his palace that was later inherited by the Southern Song.²⁷ In the Northern Song, Hangzhou boasted its flourishing economy, becoming the nucleus of maritime trade in the Liangzhe circuit (Liangzhe lu 兩浙路); its tax on commodities ranked second only to that of Kaifeng Prefecture in 1077.²⁸ The economic prosperity was also not independent of the role of Hangzhou as the southern end of the Grand Canal excavated in the early seventh century.²⁹

If the geographic and topographic particularities might have had long-term impacts, the situations of politics and warfare in the early twelfth century were more realistic and urgent for the capital selection. As early as the days when Gaozong stayed in Yingtian Prefecture, Zong Ze 宗澤 (1060–1128), governor of Kaifeng in charge of fortifying the city, a radically patriotic military leader, requested that Gaozong should go westward and choose Chang'an as the capital for the sake of the future return to Kaifeng.³⁰ Shortly after Gaozong accomplished the enthronement and

Hangzhou de jueqi yu Qiantangjiang diqu jiegou bianqian 7–10 世紀杭州的崛起與錢塘江地區結構變遷 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2006), 51–200.

²⁶ Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 319.

²⁷ *QDLAZ*, 2.15–16.

²⁸ Xu Song 徐松 ed., *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (hereafter *SHY*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), shihuo 15.1, 16.7. The prosperous urbanity in Hangzhou was also vividly recorded by foreigners. Jōjin 成尋, *Xinjiao can Tiantai Wutaishan ji* 新校參天台五台山記, anno. Wang Liping 王麗萍 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009), 20–21.

²⁹ Quan Hansheng, *Tang Song diguo yu yunhe* 唐宋帝國與運河 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan shiyusuo, 1995); Chen Shu 陳述 ed., *Hangzhou yunhe lishi yanjiu* 杭州運河歷史研究 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2006).

³⁰ Zong Ze 宗澤, *Zong Zhongjian gong ji* 宗忠簡公集, Songji zhenben congkan edition, 1.17b–18a. Also note that Zong Ze submitted a great many of memorials, asking Gaozong to return to Kaifeng. 1.19a–50a, 2.4a–9b.

as he arrived in Yangzhou, several officials proposed the same suggestion as Zong's about the site for the future capital. Among them, Zhang Jun張浚 (1097–1164), a junior compiler in the Bureau of Military Affairs, emphasized the strategic importance of the Guanzong關中 plain in Shaanxi, but offered a plan with three areas as destinations for the emperor's reference.³¹ After Gaozong determined to flee southward, this emphasis on central China only became a vision, or a hardliner's declaration.

During Gaozong's stay in the eastern Liang Zhe circuit, to most Song officials, Hangzhou was not the first option as the new capital city. In 1127, the newly appointed grand councilor Li Gang李綱 (1083–1140) proposed a multi-capitals plan in his memorial about the ten suggestions (*shiyi*十議) in Hangzhou. Li suggested that the court establish three temporary capitals for the future imperial inspection tours (*xunxing*巡幸) and according to the priority of strategic importance, these cities were Chang'an in the west, Xiangyang襄陽 in the south and Jiankang建康 (present-day Nanjing南京) in the east.³² He held that the mobile capitals kept Jin from acquiring the information of the emperor's activities in a fixed city, prevented the internal potential threat of political factions, and could help the emperor restore and boost the popular morale during his tours.³³ Compared to Zhang Jun's scheme, Li replaced Bianliang with Jiankang, which seemed to have been a compromise given Gaozong's

³¹ *SS*, 361.11297, 447.13186–87.

³² The term “imperial inspection tour” here refers to a euphemistic expression for escape and has nothing to do with the inspection tour in ritual. As for preparations for the emperor's tour, as Li Gang mentioned, the local governors would have been responsible for safeguards and the establishment of a temporary palace for the emperor according to specific ritual standards.

³³ Li Gang 李綱, *Liang Gang quanji* 李綱全集 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2004), 58.637–38; *XNYL*, 6.161–64.

situation. As Gaozong announced his trip to Jiankang to show his determination of restoration under considerable pressure, Li was not satisfied with this announcement. He urged the emperor to leave for Xiangyang, farther southward, and implied that such an enactment would have been associated with the dynastic revival.³⁴

Some officials agreed with Li's suggestion on Xiangyang, a city that was easily guarded but hard to attack.³⁵ But most others seemed to have been more conservative than Li Gang at first. They endorsed a single capital plan and showed the preference to select Jiankang as the capital city. In their views, Jiankang could have been more secure, on the one hand, since it was farther away from Kaifeng than those options suggested by Li Gang, and conducive to fortifying the Huai River. On the other hand, the site selection of Jiankang did not abandon their ambition of regaining the lost territories, and in addition to this, as an ancient capital for several dynasties, Jiankang would have been considered more valid for the emperor's residence.³⁶ The appeal developed into powerful discourses linked to the establishment of a revived dynasty.³⁷ Even for Li Gang, in 1135 he started to support this plan, but denied the possibility of Hangzhou, due to its peripheral location and an unfavorable place for defense.³⁸

However, Gaozong remained much more cautious. During his temporary stay in Yuezhou in 1130, the emperor learnt that the Jurchens eventually withdrew their

³⁴ *XNYL*, 7..209–10.

³⁵ *XNYL*, 27.262; *SCBM*, 152.1102.

³⁶ *XNYL*, 21.459; *SCBM*, 174.1257. The option of Jiankang had been put forward as early as in the aftermath of Gaozong's enthronement. *XNYL*, 7.189, 213–14.

³⁷ *XNYL*, 102.1929.

³⁸ *XNYL*, 87.1677.

troops in the south. At first he prepared to establish the new capital in Yuezhou, but later the Imperial Secretariat (*Zhongshu sheren* 中書舍人) Hong Ni 洪擬 (1071–1145) convinced him of abandoning the plan in that Yuezhou was militarily vulnerable and also inconvenient for water transportation.³⁹ One year later, Gaozong moved to Hangzhou by adopting Hong's suggestions.⁴⁰ The negotiations and the emperor's decision again verify the superiority of Hangzhou over Yuezhou on the economy and transportation since the Northern Song. On the capital selection, Hong's thoughts might not have been representative. But his advice implied that Hangzhou had the same economic and transportation advantages as Jiankang did, while Jiankang's military and strategic significance accentuated by officials would have been its disadvantages in wartime to the conservatives. Moreover, it would have been far easier to escape into the sea from Hangzhou than Jiankang. Gaozong resisted the pressure and selected Hangzhou, further south, as temporary capital in 1138.⁴¹ From the extant materials, ritual was not taken into account during the Southern Song capital selection, but the decision based on political, economic and military considerations exerted influence on ritual activities in Lin'an linked to the reconstruction of the new regime.

Prologue to Restoring State Rituals

The establishment of the suburban sacrificial system in the Western Han was

³⁹ *XNYL*, 40.879–80.

⁴⁰ *XNYL*, 49.1021.

⁴¹ In the same year Song and Jin reached a peace treaty, which might be regarded as a positive feedback to Gaozong's conservative selection since both reached the geo-political and military equilibrium. The decision apparently did not satisfy the officials' demands and the emperor continued to face a series of challenges to his political legitimacy.

regarded as significant to the Chinese emperorship that defined itself as “All-under-Heaven (*tianxia*天下)”, for such a ritual mechanism helped construct, display, and consolidate the basic framework of the emperorship: Supreme Heaven—All-under-Heaven—Son of Heaven—subjects.⁴² Thereafter, regular enactments of the suburban sacrifices, usually every three years, according to the ritual classics, were closely combined with the emperorship and the dynastic legitimation. The first southern suburban sacrifice held by Gaozong in 1128 probably eased the doubts about the imperial legitimacy at the time; however, once the ceremony was initiated, the ritual discontinuity or the ritual absence in fact would have most likely placed the emperor in a greater legitimation crisis.

Even during the wartime, the Song officials and literati had clearly realized the significance of the state ritual system, specifically for the suburban sacrifices, in the consolidation of the state legitimacy. As early as the eleventh month of 1130, almost three years since the last southern suburban sacrifice, when Gaozong was in Yuezhou, Han Xiaozhou韓肖胄 (1075–1150), Temporary Minister of Department of Public Works (*quan shangshu gongbu shilang*權尚書工部侍郎), requested that the court resurrect the suburban sacrifices. He argued that the state was then suffering severe hardships, yet it was high time that the emperor communicate with gods to stave off and put an end to those “heavenly disasters (*tianzai*天災).” Given the financial difficulty, Han further suggested that the court apply a method for simplifying the

⁴² See Gan Huaizhen, “Qin-Han de ‘tianxia’ zhenti: yi jiaosi li gange wei zhongxin 秦漢的「天下」政體：以郊祀禮改革為中心,” *Xin shixue* 新史學, 16.4 (2005): 13–56 and Gan Huaizhen, “Zhongguo zhonggu jiaosi li de yuanliu yu tezhi 中國中古郊祀禮的源流與特質,” in *Zhongguo shidai de liyi zongjiao yu zhidu* 中古時代的禮儀、宗教與制度, ed. Yu Xin 余欣 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2012), 3–18.

suburban rites.⁴³ What Han emphasized in his memorial were two key points: One was that the performances of praying to the gods were essential and believed to have been well responded to; the other was the stress on the role of the emperor as the Son of Heaven in his own prayers for ordinary people through specific sacrifices. Return to the above-mentioned emperorship framework. In Han's view, the appropriate enactments of the Son of Heaven could have activated favorable feedback. After discussions, the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*taichangsi* 太常寺) accepted Han's proposal. More important, the court developed a pragmatic principle of "practicing for convenience (*bianyiyi* 便宜)"—multiple major sacrifices would have been conducted by turns in one place, the Heavenly Felicity Temple (*Tianqing guan* 天慶觀, hereafter Tianqing Temple) in Yuezhou, regardless of their prescribed ritual sites.⁴⁴ Such a decision was probably made out of Yuezhou's role as *xinzai* and thus, without necessity of an urban or local scalar ritual restoration.

In the early Southern Song, as Han's request and the court's response showed, the state ritual reconstruction aimed at the major sacrifices at the state level, primarily referring to the suburban sacrifices. The hierarchical state ritual system came into being in the early Sui dynasty; it comprised three-level rites, namely the major sacrifices (*dasi* 大祀), the medium sacrifices (*zhongsi* 中祀) and the minor sacrifices (*xiaosi* 小祀) from the state to the local levels. The major sacrifices in theory must have been performed by the emperor, but in practice sometimes could have been held

⁴³ *SS*, 98.2426.

⁴⁴ *XNYL*, 39.867; *SHY*, li 14.75. Not limited to state rituals, pragmatism had been widely accepted and adopted in early Southern Song politics, and as James T. C. Liu suggests, could have been associated with Confucian scholar-officials' moral conservatism. James T. C. Liu, *China Turning Inward: Intellectual-Political Changes in the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 1989), 56, 69.

by grand councilors or other senior officials. In this ritual framework, participants, offerings, dress, enactments, and procedures had specific, strict regulations.⁴⁵ In the second half of the Northern Song, there were as many as thirty major sacrifices each year that considerably exceeded the recorded number in the Tang *Kaiyuanli*.⁴⁶ At the end of 1130, the imperial court allowed several major sacrifices to be temporarily performed. However, Gaozong did not participate in all these rituals.⁴⁷ In 1133, Zheng Shiyan 鄭士彥, an official from the Bureau of Sacrifices of the Department of State Affairs, memorialized for restoring all major sacrifices, but he received no response; the situation reoccurred in 1138 as other officials had the same request.⁴⁸ For the Song court, the failure of restoring the whole major sacrifices in the early years was probably because of the incessant wars, the financial crisis, the absence of a nominal capital city, and the necessity of redefining the state rituals.⁴⁹

Previous studies have pointed out the geographic particularity that made Lin'an unorthodox as an ideal imperial capital.⁵⁰ From Yuezhou and Jiankang to Lin'an, the questions arise as to whether and to what extent the dynamic urban planning in practice embodied the spatial features. In the *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji*, Li Xinzhuan provided a detailed timetable for the restoration of ritual spaces and administrative

⁴⁵ For a detailed discussion on the Tang-Song three-level sacrifices, see Kaneko Shūichi, *Chūgoku kodai kōtei saishi no kenkyū*, 1–28; Zhu Yi, “Tang zhi Beisong shiqi de dasi, zhongsi he xiaosi 唐至北宋時期的大祀、中祀和小祀,” *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報 (Taiwan) 39.2 (2009): 287–324.

⁴⁶ SS, 98.2425–26.

⁴⁷ XNYL, 49.1030, 54.1107.

⁴⁸ ZXLS, 125.453; SHY, li 14.77–78.

⁴⁹ Note the innovative rituals created in the Southern Song like the sacrifice to fertility deities and the sacrifices to martyrs that the Song officials attempted to promote them to major sacrifices in part because of some political considerations. For a detailed discussion, see Chapter 2.

⁵⁰ Yang Kuan, *Zhongguo gudai ducheng zhidu shi yanjiu*, 362–63.

spaces from 1134 to 1157.⁵¹ His record revealed that, for restoring state rituals in Lin'an, the year of 1142 when the Song and the Jin reached a peace treaty marked a major watershed—henceforth, the Song court officially initiated the large-scale construction of ritual buildings in the city. Interestingly, as the ritual restoring order conformed to the ritual hierarchy, that is to say, those ritual spaces concerned with major sacrifices were built first, most of them for the suburban sacrifices. For those ritual buildings not on the list or to be constructed some time later, the unbuilt conceived spaces might have nullified the efficacy of corresponding sacrifices held somewhere else as inappropriate perceived spaces. The ritual reconstruction lasted for as long as twenty three years in Lin'an, ritual enactments inevitably affected.

Centralization: 1130–1137

Hangzhou was already a nominal “temporary capital” as Gaozong resided here in 1131, before being promoted to the capital and renamed Lin'an in 1138. The interval between 1131 and 1137 was the key to understanding the reconstruction of ritual space, given the hybrid status of Hangzhou as both a perceived local city and a temporarily conceived capital city. Prior to the 1131 arrival of the emperor, in order to cooperate with state rituals, the local officials usually conducted the corresponding gazing-afar sacrifices (*wangji*望祭) only in one place, the Tianqing Temple, like the above-discussed Yuezhou case. Situated in the south of Hangzhou, this Daoist temple had turned into an essential ritual center in local-level cities since Emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997–1022) ordered its construction in each prefecture in 1009 to celebrate

⁵¹ *CYZJ*, jiaji 2.74. The construction of the Altars of Soil and Grain (*taishe taiji tan* 太社太稷壇) actually started in 1143 not 1142 recorded in *CYZJ*. *XNYL*, 148.2801.

the discovered Heavenly Letters and other auspicious omens. The temple's spatial configuration imitated that of the Palace of Bright Response from Jade Purity (*yuqing zhaoying gong* 玉清昭應宮): the portrait of Holy Ancestor (*shengzu* 聖祖) was hung in the Holy Ancestor Hall and the portraits of other Daoist deities hung in other halls; the sacrifices continued from 1013 onwards.⁵² Zhenzong's efforts of making his legitimacy by Daoist rituals solidified the fundamental role of this temple in the state ritual system. That's why in the early Southern Song the major sacrifices to the gods of Heaven, Earth, and Soil and Grain were at first centralized in the Tianqing Temple, the core ritual space in Hangzhou.

The centralization of rites in one ritual space would have easily caused chaos in practice. Challenges to the ritual status of the Tianqing Temple began in 1136. Its scale became the first target. As deputy director of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*taichang shaoqin* 太常少卿) He Que 何慆 (?–1147) mentioned in his memorial, performing sacrifices in such a small place was not convenient for officials. Apart from the size, He was also concerned with the urban environment. As the temple abutted a residential quarter and a garrison camp, the daily “stinky air” (*huiqi* 穢氣) of excrement and the loud noise were thought to weaken the ritual sanctity a serious sacrifice should assume, and thus could have been considered disrespectful for those

⁵² XCLAZ, 22.3577, 14.3493. The prefecture magistrate Wang Qinruo 王欽若 (962–1025) requested for the new title of “Tianqing” which was awarded in 1019. For an outline of the history of the Tianqing Temple, see XCLAZ, 75.4027. For Emperor Zhenzong's order to build the temple, see SHY, li 5.18; Anonymous ed., *Song da zhaoling ji* 宋大詔令集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 179.647. For a discussion about the Tianqing Temple in the Song period, see Wang Shengduo 汪聖鐸, *Songdai zhengjiao guanxi yanjiu* 宋代政教關係研究 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2010), 631–42; Zhang Wenchang, *Zhili yi jiao tianxia*, 164–65. Patricia Ebrey also mentions the Daoist connections to the Tianqing Temple, see Patricia Ebrey, “Portrait Sculptures in Imperial Ancestral Rites in Song China,” *T'oung Pao* 83 (1997): 52–54.

deities.⁵³ He suggested that the rites refer to the Northern Song precedents, and be held in the Illuminated Wisdom Cloister (*Huizhao yuan* 惠照院, hereafter the Huizhao Cloister), which was located outside the city-walls.

In the [old] capital, altars and fast places for the worships of gods of Heaven and Earth as well as the Five Directional Emperors should have been built outside the four city-walls of the capital.⁵⁴

在京祭祀天地、五方帝等壇壝齋宮，並在四壁城外建置。

It seems that He did not directly challenge the principle of ritual centrality, and to some extent, he even gave tacit consent to the status quo. However, his proposal conveyed a clear message: compared to the Huizhao Cloister, the Tianqing Temple in the city did not satisfy the precedent in Northern Song Kaifeng, the meaning of the suburban sacrifices, or the ritual requirement of their locales outside the capital city. City-walls were thus considered as a ritual marker. He Que's case demonstrated that the size of space and its environment (being sanitary and quiet) could have been two main standards for a perceived appropriate ritual space, whereas for the site selection of a conceived space, the ritual meaning seemed to have been more influential.

The Song court accepted He's proposal. Unlike the Tianqing Temple inside the city, the Huizhao Cloister could have been a more appropriate place, due to its location and probably its size. Nonetheless, strictly speaking, the Huizhao Cloister still did not fit into the urban cosmology either, given the ritual centrality. It seemed that at first ritual officials of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and the government of

⁵³ *SHY*, li 14.78.

⁵⁴ *SHY*, li 14.78.

Lin'an Prefecture more likely tried to seek some other ideal sites, but the search failed, and they finally decided to promote the Huizhao Cloister to a provisional locale for the gazing-afar sacrifices.⁵⁵ The geographical and topographical particularities of the city, in this regard, had been probably taken into account during the ritual negotiations. It was the first transfer of a ritual center of Hangzhou in the early Southern Song, from the Tianqing Temple inside the city to the Huizhao Cloister outside the city.

Such a transfer impacted on the assumed ritual function of the Tianqing Temple where the worship of the Holy Ancestor was held. In the fourth month of 1137, given its destruction by fire, the Song court displaced the sacred portraits from the Tianqing Temple into the Imperial Ancestral Shrine (*Taimiao*太廟), which could have been constructed in the early 1130s.⁵⁶ The Song court seemed not to be willing to restore the ritual function or to return these portraits, even after the Tianqing Temple was renovated. Such an attitude was later criticized by the officials who insisted that the imperial court should have maintained the ritual tradition and placed the portraits back to the original places. It is unclear how the issue would have been dealt with.

This spatial transfer did not occur incidentally, as it could have had a more complicated context. In the early 1130s, a fast palace (*zhaigong*齋宮) was constructed in the Huizhao Cloister for the sacrifice to the God of Earth at the summer solstice.⁵⁷ He Que's memorial taken into account, the ritual enactment in the Huizhao Cloister probably stopped sometime between 1130 and 1136. Therefore, we could reasonably

⁵⁵ *XCLAZ*, 2.418.

⁵⁶ *SS*, 28.530, 63.1380.

⁵⁷ *SHY*, li 1.38

conjure that the Huizhao Cloister could have been completely replaced with the Tianqing Temple for the gazing-afar suburban sacrifices no later than the year of 1136. Furthermore, the ritual centralization thus probably occurred in a certain period in 1130–36, from the outside of the city to the inside for the sake of ritual pragmatism.

The first phase (Figure 1.5) presented the precedence of geographic features in the sacrificial site selection. The Song officials touched on ritual meaning, but it seemed not to have been taken seriously. One of the main reasons was that Hangzhou at the time had not yet become the imperial city. The other was concerned with the dominant ritual centralization based on pragmatic principles—almost all major rites were held in one place. But the Tianqing Temple as a ritual center encountered practical challenges in the mid-1130s. The ritual centrality, or the hybridity of sacrifices, functions and conceived spaces, led to a ritual disorder and the initiation of spatial reframing.

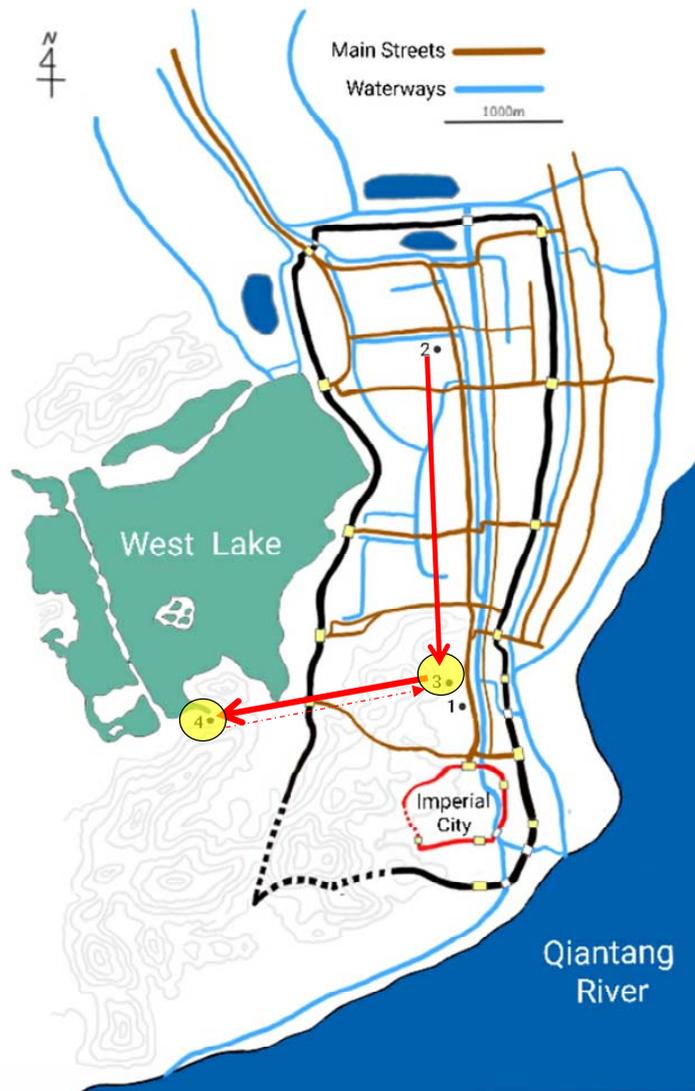


Fig. 1.5: The first phase (1130–37) of the development of a centralized ritual space for the suburban sacrifices in Hangzhou⁵⁸

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Imperial Ancestral Shrine | 2. Tianning Temple |
| 3. Tianqing Temple | 4. Huizhao Cloister |

Displacement: 1136–1158

The 1142 Song-Jin peace treaty initiated a relatively peaceful period prior to the Jin invasion launched by the usurper Wanyan Liang 完顏亮 (r. 1150–61) in 1161. The treaty did not stimulate the state ritual reconstruction in Lin'an; the previous

⁵⁸ Adapted from Guojia ditu bianzuan weiyuan hui ed., *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guojia lishi dituji* vol. 1, 132–33; Shiba, *The Diversity of Socio-economy in Song China*, 102–103.

ritual problems still existed, in part because of the issue of ritual centrality. However, the late 1140s witnessed the ongoing intertwined processes of shaping and reshaping ritual spaces. For example, in 1149, it seemed that the Song officials could have no longer tolerated the Huizhao Cloister's ritual disorder. In one memorial, after the sacrifice to the God of Earth in summer, an official complained about the crude appearance of the fast palace, the quite narrow porches, the disorderly placement of ritual vessels, and the limited space for offerings. The anonymous official had never referred to the excrement trouble, but did mention the noise problem due to a nearby garrison camp. He also indicated that presiding over different suburban rites in the Huizhao Cloister did not accord with the state ritual system and the precedents, for "there were respective altars and fast palaces in the suburbs (of Kaifeng)."⁵⁹

In his memorial, this official had an appreciation of the court's dilemma over the spatial arrangement of the sacrifices, since the present restoration would have been really hard to "totally accord with the previous ritual system (*xi ru jiuzhi* 悉如舊制)"; nevertheless he still suggested that the court find a spacious site outside Lin'an as a fast palace.⁶⁰ The official might not have noticed that the sacrifice to the Imperial God of Earth (*Huangdiqi* 皇地祇) at the Huizhao Cloister actually did not meet the "ritual system" he emphasized, by which the rite was usually held in the capital's northern suburb. His sympathetic understanding and self-contradictory perceptions reflected the tensions between the perceived and the conceived spaces. It is uncertain whether this was his personal view or the perception shared with a group of officials

⁵⁹ *SHY*, li 2.10.

⁶⁰ *SHY*, li 2.10.

and literati. But one thing for sure is that he did question the pragmatic principle that “everything should be simple due to the crudeness (因陋就简，一切阔略)” and, in this regard, he would have envisioned a more conservative yet flexible plan on reshaping ritual spaces.

The Court of Imperial Sacrifices, the Ministry of Rites, and the government of Lin’an Prefecture did not adopt his proposal this time. They first restated that the previous site selection had been carefully investigated, corresponding to the ritual system. They offered some possible measures to cope with the above-mentioned problems. For instance, as the Huizhao Cloister was close to the garrison camp, a wall should be built in its western section to block the only street between these two areas and the camp walls should be moved back for about ten feet. To solve the narrow porches problem, the dilapidated parts should be removed and renovated. During the time without rituals, the fast palace gate should be locked and the key kept by officials of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices.⁶¹ Apparently, the ritual officials insisted on the pragmatic principle. They judged the case as it stood and tried to keep the Huizhao Cloister in order by just improving its physical space instead of finding a new site.

The influence of the Huizhao Cloister as a ritual center had been increasingly weakened by other newly built ritual spaces since the mid-1140s. Such a change brought about a profound impact upon the ritual urbanscape of Lin’an. In 1142, Gaozong ordered the construction of the Altars of Soil and Grain (*Taishe taiji tan* 太

⁶¹ *SHY*, li 2.10–11.

社太稷壇) later located in the northeast of the Sightseeing Bridge (*Guanqiao* 觀橋).⁶² The relevant rites held in spring and autumn were thus transferred to these new altars, and thus the Huizhao Cloister's ritual function was partially weakened. The division of ritual function continued when the major rites such as the sacrifices to the Emperor of Responsive Birth (*ganshengdi* 感生帝), the Noble Deities of the Nine Palaces (*jiugong guishen* 九宮貴神), and the Fertility Goddess (*gaomei* 高禘) were gradually restored one after another.⁶³ By 1157, as many as thirty-six major rites had been restored. The Court of Imperial Sacrifices, therefore, had to try to distribute them into respective fast palaces and altars outside the city-walls.

The displacement process reversely accelerated the functional division of the Huizhao Cloister. For instance, the Five Directional Emperors (*wufangdi* 五方帝) used to be sacrificed in the Huizhao Cloister. After the fast palace and the altar of the Noble Deities of the Nine Palaces were constructed in the Cloister for Longevity (*Changsheng yuan* 長生院) located outside the Eastern Green Gate (*Dongqing men* 東青門), in 1149 the sacrifice to the Grey Emperor (*qingdi* 青帝) was also transferred to the same cloister.⁶⁴ Similarly, the sacrifices to the Red Emperor (*chidi* 赤帝) and the Yellow Emperor (*huangdi* 黃帝) were then to be held in the Pure Brightness Monastery (*Jingming si* 淨明寺) in the southern suburb; the sacrifice to the Black

⁶² *XCLAZ*, 3.3377.

⁶³ As the Song court identified their dynasty as the hold of the virtue of fire (*huode* 火德), the Red Emperor, one of the Five Directional Emperors, was revered as the Emperor of Responsive Birth. *SS*, 1.6, 70.1596–97, 100.2461–62. The sacrifices to the Noble Deities of the Nine Palaces were restored in 1141, and thereafter were temporarily held in the Huizhao Cloister till 1148 when the construction of the Altar of the Noble Deities of the Nine Palaces started outside the Eastern Green Gate. *ZXLS*, 129.463–64; *SS*, 103.2510; *XCLAZ*, 3.3377–78.

⁶⁴ *ZXLS*, 2.20. The Changsheng Cloister was originally built in 957 during the reign of Qian Chu 錢俶 (r. 948–78), the last king of the Wuyue Kingdom. *XCLAZ*, 81.4106.

Emperor (*heidi*黑帝) in the northern suburban Progressive Practice Monastery (*Jingjin si*精進寺).⁶⁵ Interestingly, according to the ritual system and the aforementioned distribution, the sacrifice to the Imperial God of Earth that should have been transferred into the Jingjin Temple was eventually allowed to remain in the Huizhao Cloister due to the temple's spatial limitation.⁶⁶ From this perspective, the court and the ritual officials shortly changed their previous attitudes in the same year to support the anonymous official's proposal. Their approaches to reshaping suburban rites thus converged.

The second phase saw the spatial rearrangement of the suburban sacrifices, the displacement of deities, and the division of ritual function from one centralized ritual space (i.e. the Huizhao Cloister) to the other places inside and outside the capital city (Figure 1.6). The Song court developed a flexible principle to reconcile the urban physical characteristics and the ideal cosmological pattern by building certain altars and temples and adjusting them for the suburban sacrifices. The pragmatic principle still worked in this period, and the ritual meaning was used for reference but not dominant. For example, both the Red Emperor and the Yellow Emperor seemed to be revered on the same altar. No altar or fast palace was built for the worships of the Sun and Moon that was still respectively held in the Changsheng Cloister and the Huizhao Cloister. Besides, ritual space for the Black Emperor located in the northwest might have violated the ritual system, and the same with the sacrifice to the Imperial God of Earth in the Huizhao Cloister.

⁶⁵ *XNYL*, 177.3384; *XCLAZ*, 72.4003.

⁶⁶ Note that such a rite was not transferred ever afterwards.

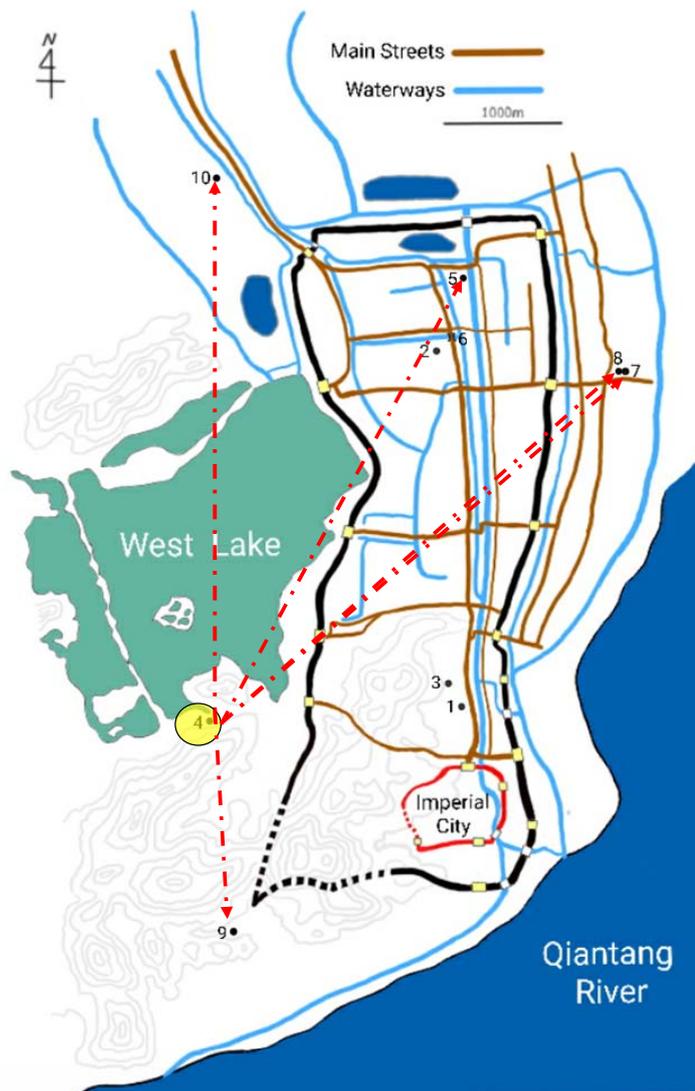


Fig. 1.6: The second phase (1136–58) of the ritual displacement in Lin'an⁶⁷

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Imperial Ancestral Shrine | 2. Tianning Temple | 3. Tianqing Temple |
| 4. Huizhao Cloister | 5. Taishe taiji Altars | 6. Guan Bridge |
| 7. Changsheng Cloister | 8. Altar of Jiugong guishen | 9. Jingming Monastery |
| 10. Jingjin Monastery | | |

Between Pragmatism and Ritualism: 1143–1170

If the second phase centered on the Huizhao Cloister saw its influence being

⁶⁷ Adapted from Guojia ditu bianzuan weiyuan hui ed., *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guojia lishi dituji* vol. 1, 132–33; Shiba, *The Diversity of Socio-economy in Song China*, 102–103; Du Zhengxian, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu*, 191.

weakened, the third phase was characterized by the emergence of the southern suburban altar for the sacrifice to the Heaven; with its growing ritual influence, that laid the foundation for the basic urban layout of ritual spaces in Lin'an. At first glance, the two phases were overlapped, but I would rather differentiate them because their spatial foci were distinct and the intertwined histories showcased two different ways of restructuring ritual space. The southern suburban sacrifice restored in the third phase was fundamental to the imperial legitimacy. Focusing on this rite helps us better understand the restoration of ritual space in the Southern Song capital.

Finding a suitable site for the southern suburban sacrifice was not an easy job in Lin'an due to its urban topography. The local prefecture government seemed to have given up the search for any site in the south suburb at the very beginning, whereas this concessive approach did not make the actions smooth in other areas. The first investigation started in the Inventive Awareness Cloister (*Miaojue yuan* 妙覺院) in the southeast outside the city, but it ended in failure in 1132.⁶⁸ The cloister's eastward orientation did not correspond to the ritual system. Another disadvantage was the long distance from the city. As no other appropriate existing temples and cloisters were found in the southeast, the local government in the end accepted Cheng Yu's 程瑀 suggestion: The officials first observed the gazing-afar sacrifice in the Heavenly Peace Temple (*Tianning guan* 天寧觀) in the north of Hangzhou.⁶⁹ Subsequently, the rite was transferred to the Tianqing Temple.

During the state ritual reconstruction, the issue about the southern suburban rite

⁶⁸ For a very short introduction to the Miaojue Cloister, see *XCLAZ*, 77.4050.

⁶⁹ *SHY*, li 2.2, 2.3.

soon aroused officials' concerns. There is no evidence showing that the Song court, the local government or ritual officials might have tried to utilize the southern suburban altar on Mount Phoenix (*Fenghuang shan* 鳳凰山), which was previously built in the Wuyue Kingdom. In the first month of 1143, the Court of Imperial Sacrifices requested that the Round Altar (*yuantan* 圓壇) should be built along with its nearby fast palace. Yang Cunzhong 楊存中 (1102–66) and Wang Huan 王暎 (?–1147) were dispatched to find an appropriate site; one month later, they found an available space in the west of the Dragon Luster Monastery (*Longhua si* 龍華寺) in the southeastern suburb. Given the geographical feature and the ritual system, they suggested that the court shorten the radius of the inner altar to ninety steps “according to the ritual system (*yi zhidu* 依制度)” and make the distances of the outer to the middle altar spheres and the middle to the inner both for twenty five steps “in terms of the geographical condition (*suidi zhi yi* 隨地之宜).”⁷⁰ The court approved the adjustments proposed by Yang and Wang, a flexible method applied to maintain the balance between ritualism and pragmatism. The new altar was erected in the eleventh month of 1143. A couple of days later, Gaozong went onto the Round Altar and performed the southern suburban sacrifices to the gods of Heaven and Earth.

The Southern Song state ritual system, like that of the Northern Song, had four major sacrifices corresponding to four seasons to the Supreme God (*Shangdi* 上帝 or *Haotian shangdi* 昊天上帝, or the Heaven). The establishment of the Round Altar had restored the tradition of the southern suburban sacrifice, but only two out of the four

⁷⁰ SHY, *fangyu* 2.17.

rites were held on the Round Altar in every spring and winter between the early 1140s and the late 1160s. The rest two rites were still performed in the fast palace of the Huizhao Cloister respectively in the summer and autumn. In 1169, Lin Li林栗 (?–1190) memorialized the awkward situation that the major sacrifices to the Supreme God took place on two sites.⁷¹ He cited the relevant precedents and stressed the nature of these rituals, criticizing the major rite of praying for rain in the summer (*xiayu*夏雩) that was inappropriately carried out in the fast palace of the Huizhao Cloister. According to his explanation, such a rite should have been practiced on the altar of praying for rain, or in the fast palace near the Round Altar, but neither had been built then. Lin further argued that the present enactments did not adhere to the ritual principle of placing such rites in a southern locale facing the sun or *yang* power (*jiuyang zhi yi*就陽之義). He proposed that all these four rites be held in the place of the Round Altar in order to “keep the old (ritual) system (*zun jiu zhi*遵舊制).”⁷² The court at first agreed with Lin’s proposal. But Vice Minister of Rites (*libu shilang*禮部侍郎) Zheng Wen鄭聞 (?–1174) disproved it, indicating that the worship of Heaven in autumn should have been performed in a roofed hall rather than on the Round Altar according to the ritual system of the Bright Hall (*mingtang*明堂). The Court of Rituals synthesized Lin’s and Zheng’s arguments at last, and decided not to build a new mound altar for rain prayers nor a new fast palace. Sticking with the pragmatic principle, they displaced the rain-making ritual in summer to the southern suburban

⁷¹ SHY, li 14.95. According to *XCLAZ*, the rite of praying for grain was once held on the Round Altar in the southern suburb in 1164 (*XCLAZ*, 3.3373.). It is unclear if it was a temporary decision or not and how long the rite might have lasted. A possible explanation could be that the arrangement of ritual space was still in process during the reign of Emperor Xiaozong.

⁷² SHY, li 14.95.

altar and transferred the worship of Heaven in autumn into the Jingming Temple near the Round Altar (Figure 1.7).⁷³

Transferring the major rite of praying for rain from the Huizhao Cloister to the Round Altar symbolized the fall of the Huizhao Cloister. The layout of ritual space in Lin'an had become stable since the late 1160s throughout the processes of shaping and reshaping the southern suburban sacrifices. A new spatial structure emerged from a single ritual center to three core ritual districts (Figure 1.8), from the south to the north, the Round Altar and its nearby fast palace in the southern suburb, the Imperial Ancestral Shrine, and the Temple of Spectacular Numina (*Jingling gong* 景靈宮). Represented during the southern suburban sacrifice held by the emperor on the Winter Solstice, the combination of three ritual spaces seemed to have returned the same pattern shaped in the reign of Zhenzong that could have been traced to another stereotype (the Palace of Great Clarity or *Taiqing gong* 太清宮, the Imperial Ancestral Shrine, and the Southern Suburban Altar) formed in the Tianbao 天寶 (742–56) period of the Tang.⁷⁴

⁷³ SHY, li 14.95.

⁷⁴ Zhu Yi, "Tang zhi Bei Song shiqi de huangdi qinjiao 唐至北宋時期的皇帝親郊," *Guoli Zhengzhi daxue lishi xuebao* 國立政治大學歷史學報, 34. 11(2010): 1–52, especially 5–12.

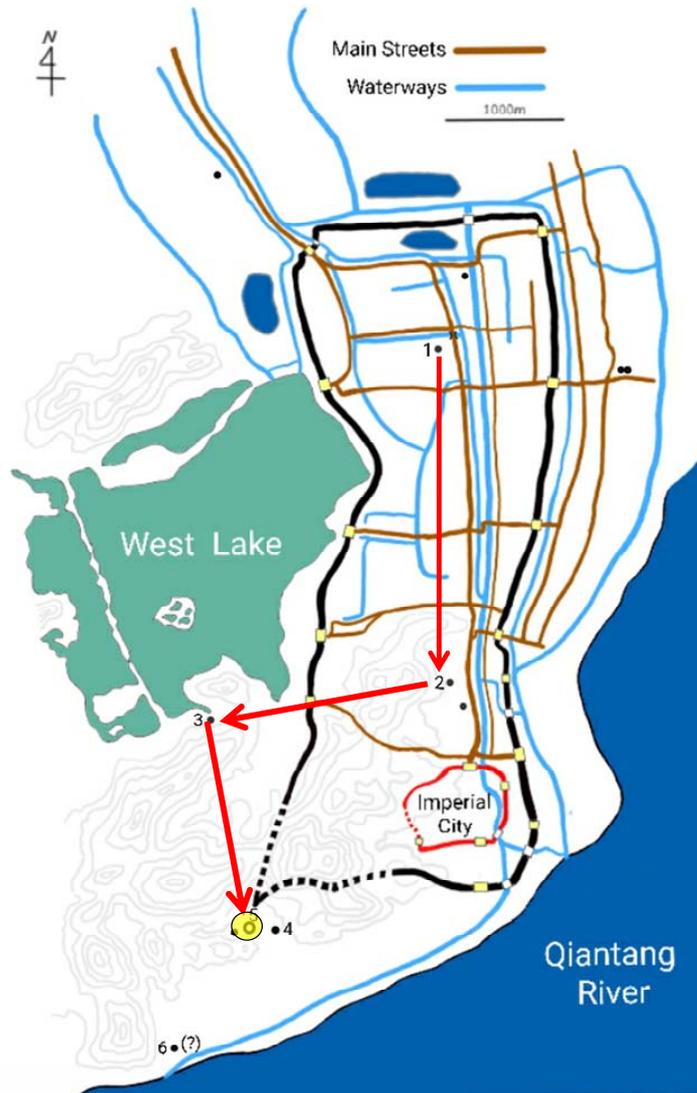


Fig. 1.7: The third phase (1143–70) of the establishment of the Round Altar in the southern suburb of Lin'an⁷⁵

- | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Tianning Temple | 2. Tianqing Temple | 3. Huizhao Cloister |
| 4. Longhua Monastery | 5. Round Altar | 6. Miaojue Cloister |

⁷⁵ Adapted from Guojia ditu bianzuan weiyuan hui ed., *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guojia lishi dituji* vol. 1, 132–33; Shiba, *The Diversity of Socio-economy in Song China*, 102–103; Du Zhengxian, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu*, 191.

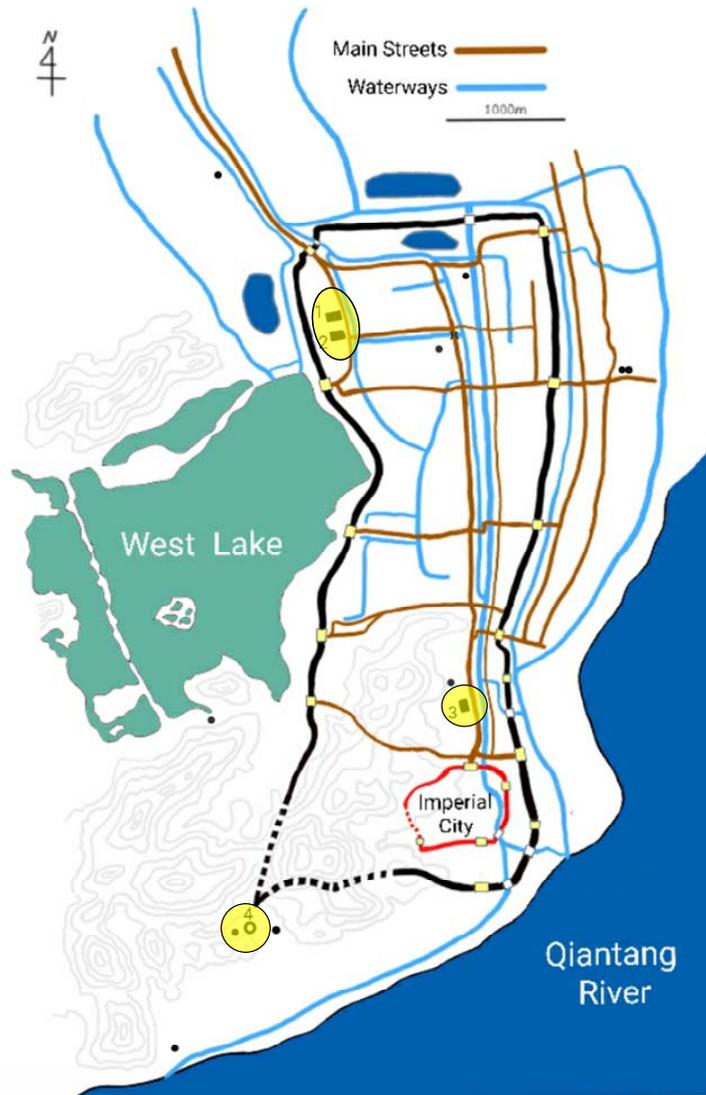


Fig. 1.8: Three core ritual districts in post-1168 Lin'an⁷⁶

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Jingling Temple | 2. Taiyi Temple |
| 3. Imperial Ancestral Shrine | 4. Round Altar |

⁷⁶ Adapted from Guojia ditu bianzuan weiyuan hui ed., *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guojia lishi dituji* vol. 1, 132–33; Shiba, *The Diversity of Socio-economy in Song China*, 102–103; Du Zhengxian, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu*, 191.

TWO
Praying for Sons of the Emperor:
Intertwined Histories of the Altar of Gaomei and the Blessing Virtue Shrine
—Revisiting the Dynastic Revival of Southern Song China

On the eleventh day of the sixth month of 1162, the last year of the Shaoxing period, a special official ceremony took place in the Imperial Palace at the foot of Mount Phoenix in the south of Lin'an. It witnessed the transfer of rule of Emperor Gaozong to his heir, Zhao Shen 趙昚 (1127–94), Gaozong's adoptive son since 1132.¹ This seemed to have been the first attempt to create a new mode of a peaceful, institutionalized imperial transfer in the Southern Song and even in the history of Imperial China. The description of the internal abdication ceremony (*neishan yi* 內禪儀) in official records and private writings conveys notable but relatively neglected details about the relations between the two emperors.²

¹ *SS*, 33.616–17. Both Lau Nap-yi and Yu Ying-shi have detailed, in-depth discussions of the relationship between Gaozong and Xiaozong. See Lau Nap-yin, “Nan Song zhengzhi chutan: Gaozong yinying xia de Xiaozong 南宋政治初探: 高宗陰影下的孝宗,” in *Zhengzhi yu quanli* 政治與權力, ed. Wang Jianwen 王健文 (Beijing: Zhongguo dabaike quanshu chubanshe, 2005), 337–68, originally from *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊, 57.3 (1986); Yu Ying-shih 余英時, *Zhuxi de lishi shijie* 朱熹的歷史世界, vol. 2 (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua, 2003), 383–587. But the internal abdication ceremony is not their main focus, and thus from a ritual and political perspective, its significance needs to be further examined.

² *CYZJ*, 510–11; *XNYL*, 200.3944–45; *SS*, 110.2642–43, *juan* 33; *ZXLS*, 179.591–92. In *ZXLS*, we see the entry of “the Internal Abdication Section (*neishan men* 內禪門),” but its content has been lost. The counterpart in the “Treatise on Ritual” of *SS* more likely comes from *ZXLS*. The section on “the Enthronement (*deng baowei* 登寶位)” includes the ritual negotiations before and after the rite. Abdication (*shanrang* 禪讓) is one of the modes of a transfer of rule within a dynasty or between two dynasties. The meaning of *shan* 禪, according to the Chu-script bamboo-slip manuscript of “The Way of Tang Yao and Yu Shun (*Tang Yu zhi dao* 唐虞之道)” found in Guodian Tomb One, refers to “(a ruler) of superior virtue bestowing (the rule) on a worthy (上德授賢之謂也).” See Sarah Allan, *Buried Ideas: Legends of Abdication and Ideal Government in Early Chinese Bamboo-slip Manuscripts* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015), 93. *Rang* 讓 is “to yield” or “to cede” and herein means to cede the throne with moral connotation of humbleness. Abdication had two basic forms. If a ruler handed the throne to his successor with a different surname, it was an “external abdication (*waishan* 外禪),” a non-hereditary transfer that would initiate a transfer of dynasty (*shandai* 禪代). If an imperial family member obtained power from his predecessor, it was named as “internal abdication (*neishan* 內禪),” mostly a hereditary transfer.

If we read these materials carefully, we can find that the seemingly smooth ceremony retained an aura of emotional tension between the retired emperor and his successor. Gaozong did not inform Zhao Shen until the edict designating the heir apparent was issued, only about two weeks prior to the event. The unexpected news must have astonished Zhao Shen. His refusal to be the emperor, presented by the verbal and body languages, does not entirely stem from etiquette and modesty.³ As early as 1129, several officials had begun to appeal to Gaozong to select the heir apparent due to the emperor's lack of a son.⁴ Such requests continued during the subsequent thirty-three years. Zhao Shen as imperial prince had been behaving more prudently and devoting himself to be an exemplary filial son, but at that moment, it still might have been too difficult for him to face the situation: He would have experienced with two fundamental changes of his identity, from an imperial prince to the heir apparent and then to the emperor, in such a short time period.⁵

The conversation between Gaozong and grand councilor Chen Kangbo 陳康伯 (1097–1165) reveals that the emperor had attempted to dispel the heir's misgivings possibly more than once, and even in the morning before the rite Gaozong still did

³ It is not clear whether there was the performance of declining in the earliest abdication ceremony. In narratives of the transfer of rule from Yao to Shun, the ritual performance is not mentioned directly. The term "rang" meaning "decline" and, in terms of Marcel Granet's interpretation, carries some ritual connotations related to a rite of expiation. See Sarah Allan, *The Heir and the Sage: Dynastic Legend in Early China* (San Francisco: Chinese Material Center, 1981), 28. Sarah Allan suggests that at the rite "Yao made a gesture of ritual abdication in which he appointed Shun his successor," even in *Hanfeizi* Shun's use of force (*bi* 逼) could be postulated a ritual gesture as well. Sarah Allan, *The Heir and the Sage*, 29–30. It is open to question if "bi" in *Hanfeizi* has the ritual implication. For Gaozong's abdication, ritual officials could have hardly discussed the ritual details in such a short period of time. It could have been a rough schedule proposed by few officers who might have witnessed Huizong's abdication in 1126.

⁴ The process resulted in the selection of Zhao Shen as the heir apparent. See John Chaffee, *Branches of Heaven: A History of the Imperial Clan of Sung China*, 179–81.

⁵ As Sarah Allan indicates, through the rite of non-hereditary succession between Yao and Shun, the identities of a ruler as emperor and a successor as minister would be transformed and exchanged. In this sense, the ceremony plays an essential role in shaping political legitimacy and mediating the conflicts between what Allan underscores the "dual roles as king and minister." Sarah Allan, *The Heir and the Sage*, 44.

not give up persuading him. However, his efforts seemed not to have worked. The would-be retired emperor thought that Zhao Shen would return to his residence even though the Eastern Palace (*Donggong* 東宮) for the crown prince was not a short distance away from the Purple Asterism Hall (*Zichen dian* 紫宸殿, hereafter Zichen Hall) where the abdication ceremony was performed (Figure 2.1).⁶ The heir was eventually present at the Zichen Hall. Following Gaozong's instructions, he fully cooperated with the ritual presider and officials, but still did not change his stance—standing and facing east and leaving the throne vacant, which might not have been one of the prescribed ritual procedures. Regardless of Gaozong's conjecture and the heir apparent's compromise, one thing is sure: Gaozong was the director and leading actor of the rite. The behavior, the conversation, and the performance in written texts all demonstrate two distinct images: one is determined and full of power, and the other is too humble and devoid of resolution.

⁶ The Eastern Palace, located in the southeast of the Imperial Palace, came into being when Zhao Shen was selected as the heir apparent. *CYZJ*, yiji 3.554; *SS*, 85.2106; Chen Suiying 陳隨應, "Nandu xinggong ji 南渡行宮記," in Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀, *Nancun chuogeng lu* 南村輟耕錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 223. Also see Zhang Jing 張勁, *Nan Song Kaifeng Lin'an huangcheng gongyuan yanjiu* 南宋開封臨安皇城宮苑研究 (Jinan: Qilu chubanshe, 2008), 143–51.

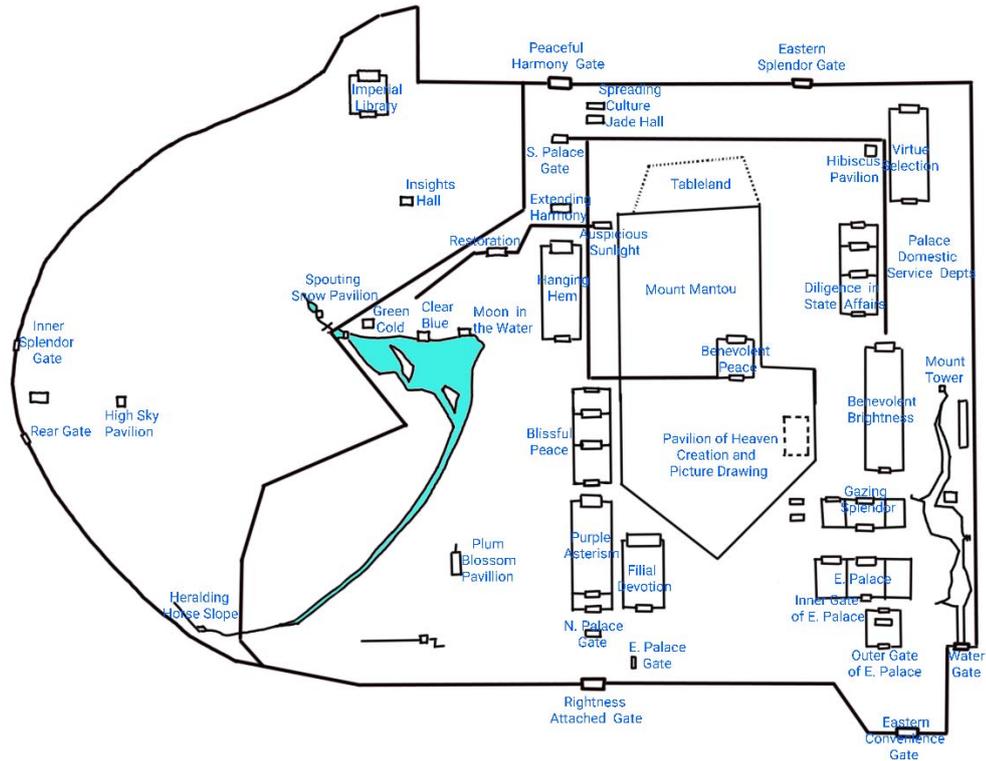


Fig. 2.1: Layout of the Palace City in Lin'an

Source: Figure S8, in Zhang Jing, *Nan Song Kaifeng Lin'an huangcheng gongyuan yanjiu*.

The succession to the throne was a critical matter throughout the imperial Chinese history. The nominal male primogeniture, or the so-called *dizhang* 嫡長 succession that the throne should have been passed to the eldest son of the legitimate empress, was in fact applied occasionally. More often there were struggles for power within the imperial palace, before the eventual heir apparent was selected, approved, and ritually endorsed. Moreover, for an emperor who attained old age or had a terminal disease but without having a designated crown prince, such a situation would inevitably have provoked an imperial crisis. To prevent these occurrences, the sitting emperor usually would not designate his successor at last minute. In this sense, it was quite abnormal that Emperor Gaozong designated the heir apparent and accomplished his abdication within two weeks. Some scholars argue that Gaozong

made such a decision because the emperor did not believe he would have his own son(s) at that time. However, such an explanation is of presentism, ignoring the processes of restoring and promoting state rituals of praying for sons of the emperor from the early 1130s to the mid-1150s.

This chapter examines this long-running crisis of the imperial succession centered on the heirless emperor in the first half of the Southern Song. It explores the contexts of the internal abdication by focusing on the restoration of two state rites, the sacrifice to Gaomei and the sacrifices to the three martyrs of the Spring and Autumn (770–403 BCE) period as well as the (re)building of their corresponding ritual spaces. The intertwined histories help to understand Gaozong's attitude and decision-making and officials' efforts in a more comprehensive way. It also attempts to revisit and rethink the dynastic revival of the Southern Song, which came into being based on the solution of the imperial succession crisis and the accomplishment of the internal abdication. Placing the two sacrifices in the political, ritual, and urban contexts, this chapter will consider the issues of how Gaozong treated the political undercurrents before his abdication, how the Song officials regarded these innovative rites during ritual negotiations, and why such a mode of power transfer mattered in the early Southern Song.

Concerns over Gaozong's Heir Apparent Selection

The early days of the Southern Song dynasty provide a broad background in understanding the source of the 1162 transfer of rule from Gaozong to Xiaozong—

the selected heir apparent.⁷ The exiled Song court suffered kinds of hardships, militarily, diplomatically, financially and institutionally, especially between 1127 and 1142.⁸ In most of these chaotic years, Gaozong tried every means to escape Jin armies, and even once took a boat out in the sea to avoid being captured.⁹ He was coming under enormous pressure from civil and military officials and members of the imperial clan requesting that the emperor should return to the Northern Song capital Bianliang or select a strategic city as temporary capital, restore the lost northern territories, and welcome Huizong and Qinzong who were held captive by Jin in the far north back to the capital city.¹⁰ In the eighth month of 1127, Chen Dong 陳東 (1086–1127), a radical student of the Imperial Academy (*taixuesheng* 太學生) with full of patriotic enthusiasm, was executed. In one of his latest memorials, Chen explicitly advised Zhao Gou “not to ascend the throne (*budang ji dawei* 不當即大位),” for Zhao would have difficulty facing Qinzong when the current captive emperor was welcomed one day.¹¹ Though Gaozong had ascended the throne and

⁷ Also note that Huizong’s 1126 abdication might have provided Gaozong a crucial precedent. In 1126, Li Gang, firmly insisting on defense, immediately went to visit Wu Min 吳敏 (1089–1132), who had better access to Huizong, the night when Prince Zhao Huan 趙桓 (1100–61) was appointed as Governor of Kaifeng (*Kaifeng mu* 開封牧). They eliminated the option of promoting the heir apparent as regent, which was regarded “regular ritual (*changli* 常禮)” and further reached an consensus that Huizong’s abdication would establish legitimacy of the new emperor and would benefit the summoning of the relief armies from other regions to fight against the Jurchen armies. See Huang Yizhou 黃以周, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian shibu* 續資治通鑑長編拾補 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), 1562, 1581; SS, 358.11241–42.

⁸ Huang Kuan-chung 黃寬重, “Li Qiong bingbian yu Nan Song chuqi de zhengju 鄺瓊兵變與南宋初期的政局,” in Huang Kuan-chung, *Nan Song junzheng yu wenxian tansuo* 南宋軍政與文獻探索 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng chuban gongsi, 1990), 51–104.

⁹ For a brief introduction of Gaozong’s escape, see Frederick W. Mote, *Imperial China 900–1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 292–96.

¹⁰ XNYL, 3.83, 85, 5.155, 6.163, 175, 177–78, 8.234. As for ritual, many officials requested that music should not be performed during state rites unless Huizong and Qinzong returned. SS, 378.11663; XNYL, 6.185, 9.245; It cannot be ignored that, compared to those who loudly advocated war or who took a more radical position, some officials requested that Gaozong should ascend the throne immediately. XNYL, 4.126.

¹¹ XNYL, 8.234. For Chen Dong’s memorial, Li Xinzhan referred to the *Zhongxing yishi* 中興遺史 written by

accomplished the rite of worship to Heaven when he stayed in Yangzhou in 1128, his regime was far from being stable and his personal authority was also faced with great challenges from within and without.¹²

The Miao-Liu mutiny in Hangzhou in 1129 was one of the greatest challenges to the new emperor and his incipient regime.¹³ Like similar occurrences in the Five Dynasties, the military officers Miao Fu 苗傅 (?–1129) and Liu Zhengyan 劉正彥 (?–1129) forced Gaozong to pass the throne to his infant son Zhao Fu 趙昀 (1127–29). Gaozong's first internal abdication was hurriedly conducted under this abnormal circumstance; it had a profound impact upon him. Less than one month later, Gaozong was restored to power when the army led by Lü Yihao 呂頤浩 (1071–1139), an executive official of the Bureau of Military Affairs, and general Zhang Jun was approaching Hangzhou. He soon announced the resumption of the reign era title of Jianyan 建炎, and three weeks later appointed his son, aged less than three, as the heir apparent.¹⁴ However, the heir apparent died in the seventh month of 1129.¹⁵

Zhao Shengzhi 趙旻之。

¹² In the eleventh month of 1128, the emperor quickly accomplished the sacrifice to Supreme God inside the southern gate of the city. See *XNYL*, 18. 287; *SS*, 99. 2434. Such a ceremony used to be seen as an essential way to legitimize the reign of a Chinese emperor in terms of the theory of the Mandate of Heaven. See Howard J. Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, 12–13, 24. However, the altar location made the rite unorthodox, as discussed in Chapter 1. To respond to a majority of the appeals, Gaozong had to state in his enthronement speech that he would “expect generals to sweep away enemies in and near the capital and get ready to welcome Huizong and Qinzong (冀清京邑，迎復兩宮。)” *XNYL*, 5.132.

¹³ Xu Bingyu 徐秉愉, “You Miao-Liu zhi bian kan Nan Song chuqi de junquan 由苗劉之變看南宋初期的君權,” *Shihuo yuekan* 食貨月刊 16.11/12 (1988): 446-459; Tao Jingshen, “The Move to the South and the Reign of Kao-tsung (1127–1162),” *The Cambridge History of China Volume 5 Part One*, 650–52.

¹⁴ *SS*. 25.463–65. Gaozong's appointment was likely to be out of his consideration of the exchange of positions of emperor and his subordinate. The next such appointment was made thirty-three years later.

¹⁵ *SS*. 25.467. His death was said to have resulted from a phobia about a terrible noise made by a maid of honor who kicked over a golden incense burner on the ground carelessly two months earlier. *SS*, 246. 8730.

The Miao-Liu mutiny, the death of Gaozong's son, and the Jurchen's persistent military strikes all aggravated people's anxiety over the absence of crown prince or a potential qualified successor. Just three days after Zhao Fu's death, the Prefectural Nominee for the Presented Scholar Examination (*Xianggong jinshi* 鄉貢進士) Li Shiyu 李時雨, the first person to mention this issue, requested that Gaozong temporarily select a person of virtue from the imperial clan as a symbolic heir apparent. The emperor was angry about the words and banished Li to his home locality.¹⁶ In his memorial, Li described the present situation "a natural disaster" (*tianhuo* 天禍) at the apex of calamity. He urged Gaozong to choose an eligible candidate not only because the Song ancestors and the Song people were expecting this action but the enemy state could have been observing the situation as well. Li also hoped that Gaozong would not follow the example of Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022–63) who did not solve the heir apparent issue for almost forty years. To the heirless emperor, Li's suggestions apparently would not have been satisfactory, since such a proposal touched on a very sensitive topic of the imperial succession, brought it out into the open, and might have forced the emperor to make a prompt decision. Particularly, when reading the words, "it would greatly endanger the state if Your Majesty, thought to be at the meridian of life, follow the example of Renzong's selection of the heir apparent (若以為陛下春秋鼎盛，未可以擬仁廟繼立之事，則是大誤國計也。)," Gaozong might have been irritated by the paradoxical implication of his becoming heirless for many years like Renzong.

¹⁶ *CYZJ*, 496; *XNYL*, 25.593–94; *SS*. 25.467. Li Xinzhan opined that Li Shiyu's memorial marked the beginning of the discussions about appointing the heir apparent of Gaozong since the Jianyan period.

Gaozong's attitude and actions did not keep officials from submitting their memorials on this issue. The situation was far more urgent than he thought. Whether and how to adopt an heir apparent, as what Li Shiyu had urged, could no longer be delayed, for it represented officials' worries about how to cast off the yoke of the Miao-Liu mutiny, continue the lineage of emperorship in wartime, and secure a smooth operation of the Imperial Ancestors' Family Instructions. But a negative interpretation could be seen as a challenge to the emperor's legitimacy.

In the fourth month of 1129 when Gaozong stayed in Yuezhou after the Juchens had retreated, a county leader Lou Yinliang 婁寅亮, who obtained *jinsi* degree in 1112, submitted a memorial to the emperor about the heir apparent selection, very carefully formulating his ideas. Lou never mentioned the term "heir apparent"; rather, he cited the precedents of Taizu 太祖 (r. 960–76) and Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022–63) and "requested Your Majesty to select a virtuous person of your son's generation among Taizu's descendants with the generation name of 'bo,' and appoint him as prince (欲望陛下於 '伯' 字行內，遴選太祖諸孫有賢德者，視秩親王)" until the birth of the emperor's son as crown prince.¹⁷ Since most clansmen in Taizong's line had died or been taken into captivity by Jin, Lou put forward a compromise proposal: On one side, to choose a candidate in Taizu's line as prince instead of the heir apparent could reduce the selection problem and satisfy the general expectation, and on the other side, the provisional prince would be replaced with Gaozong's future

¹⁷ XNYL, 45.956; SS, 26.474, 399.12132; CYZJ, 496. Lou Yinliang submitted at least two memorials on the heir apparent selection issue, and both had the similar contents. In XNYL, Li Xinzhan mistakenly dated Lou's first memorial in 1130.

Crown Prince.¹⁸ Unlike Li Shiyu's straightforwardness, Lou's advice retained the emperor's hope of having his own son(s). Gaozong was said to have been deeply touched after reading Lou's memorial. Later on, the Empress Dowager Longyou 隆祐 (1073–1131) and grand councilor Fan Zongyin 范宗尹 (1100–1136) had the similar request.¹⁹ Gaozong did not determinedly reject the proposals as he had initially done in part because the feasible scheme could break the deadlock. The emperor then ordered a clansman Zhao Lingkuang 趙令應 (1069–1143), who was then in charge of imperial clan affairs in West China, to select several of Taizu's descendants and prepared to raise them in the palace.

The selection was not easy as Gaozong seemed to have had strict requirements. There is scant evidence that the emperor could adopt this approach to delay his decision. Not satisfied with the candidates brought in the previous month, in the fifth month of 1130, Gaozong designated Zhao Lingkuang as Administrator of the Southern Office of Imperial Clan Affairs (*Zhi nanwai zongzheng shi* 知南外宗正事) and charged him with another selection of candidates in Quanzhou 泉州, since most of Taizu-branch clansmen from the satellite centers in Luoyang and the Yingtian Prefecture made it south.²⁰ In the sixth month this year, Lou Yangliang was summoned to meet the emperor at the Imperial Palace for his constructive advice made in his previous memorial. Seizing this opportunity, Lou put forward another

¹⁸ XNYL, 45.956; SS, 26.488, 399.12132. Li Shiyu actually offered somewhat similar suggestions, but he might have emphasized too much on the role of the heir apparent.

¹⁹ CYZJ, 496; SS, 33.616.

²⁰ XNYL, 44.943; CYZJ, 496.

memorial, reemphasizing what he had articulated.²¹ Some subtle changes were made this time. Lou reminded the emperor of not being misled by those ill-intentioned people.²² A week later, after seeing four or five two-to-three aged candidates that Zhao Lingkuang brought in, Gaozong told ministers that he had already let them all go home because none met the criteria, and ordered to continue the selection.²³ The emperor's cautious decision was widely acclaimed by ministers who at the same time still accentuated the virtue of picking a Taizu's descendant. As the Vice Grand Councilor (*Canzhi zhengshi* 參知政事) Zhang Shou 張守 (1084–1145) interpreted:

The abdications of Yao and Shun in favor of their successors result from their unworthy sons. Sons of Taizu were not said to be lacking in virtue, but he passed the throne to Taizong which goes far beyond the transfers of rule of Yao and Shun.²⁴

堯、舜授受，皆以其子不肖。藝祖諸子，不聞失德，而傳位太宗，過堯、舜遠甚。

Zhang talked about Taizu, not Gaozong, but his purpose would seem to be to give Gaozong historical support for having Taizu-branch clansmen as possible heirs. This support was rested on a precedent of Taizu, not that of Renzong. By praising Taizu's transfer of imperial power to Taizong as a paragon virtue that was even superior to the paradigm of Yao and Shun, Zhang implied that Gaozong could achieve the greatest virtue. This exerted a huge moral effect upon Gaozong who had explicitly promised to select candidates in Taizu's line. As a result, in the summer of 1132,

²¹ XNYL, 45.959–60; CYZI, 496.

²² SS, 399.12132–33.

²³ XNYL, 45.956

²⁴ CYZI, 497; SS 33.616.

Gaozong summoned Zhao Bocong 趙伯琮 (renamed as Zhao Shen after becoming the heir apparent) and Zhao Bohao 趙伯浩, Taizu's seventh generation grandsons, to the palace and raised them henceforth.²⁵

Restoring the Sacrifice to Gaomei

Between 1131 and 1152, the intertwined processes of constructing and restoring the Altar of Gaomei (or the Altar of Fertility, *Gaomei tan* 高禘壇) and the Blessing Virtue Shrine (*Zuode miao* 祚德廟), both for praying for sons, constituted an interesting historical phenomenon, to which little or no attention has been paid, let alone the discussion of its significance.²⁶ Gaozong's hasty enthronement in 1127 and the following arrangement of ritual spaces in Lin'an did not prevent him from unceasing challenges to his legitimacy. Previous studies have pointed out that the emperor adopted two boys from Taizu's line to eliminate voices of doubt. More than that, Gaozong did not state his position on the would-be heir apparent, in case officials ventured on a speculation. However, Gaozong's unborn son came into focus during the resurrection of the sacrifice to Gaomei and the sacrifices to the three

²⁵ *SS*, 244.8682, 246.8731. Zhao Bohao did not pass through Gaozong's test and was soon eliminated. *CYZJ*, 497; Wang Mingqing 王明清, *Huichen lu yuhua* 揮塵錄餘話, in *QSBJ* 6nd ser., vol.2 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2013), 11. Zhao Bojiu 趙伯玖 (1130–88), another candidate and Taizu's seventh generation grandson, was then summoned to and adopted in the palace since 1134. *CYZJ*, 498; his biography included in *SS* (*juan* 246). Competition for the future heir apparent again returned to the situation between the two candidates that lasted for more than two decades. Yu Ying-shih argues that the Empress Wu behind Zhao Bojiu was the greatest threat to Xiaozong's succession. Yu Ying-shih, *Zhuxi de lishi shijie*, 418.

²⁶ For a brief introduction of Gaomei and the sacrifice to Gaomei, see *YH*, 99.1880–85; also see Shen Wenzhuo, "Shuo gaomei 說高禘" in Shen Wenzhuo, *Daoan wencun*, 861–69; Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China: New Year and Other Annual Observances During the Han Dynasty, 206 B.C.–A.D. 220* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 243–61. In 1184, Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139–93), aged forty-six, took charge of the sacrifice as the Official of the Three Libations (*Sanxian guan* 三獻官) and wrote the essay, "The History of the Blessing Virtue Shrine (*Ji Zuodemiao shimo* 記祚德廟始末)," outlining the history of this shrine from the Yuanfeng 元豐 (1078–1085) period onwards. See Lu Jiuyuan, *Xiangshan ji* 象山集 (hereafter *XSJ*), Sibucongkan chubian edition, 20.5a.

martyrs.²⁷ Studies on the intertwined histories can advance our understanding of the role of Gaozong in the early Southern Song as well as the contexts of his second internal abdication.

In the beginning of 1131 Gaozong changed a new reign title of “*Shaoxing*,” literally meaning acquiring legitimacy and initiating the dynastic revival. It released a signal of restoration to public. The second search for future princes started in the fifth month this year, but the emperor had not reached his decision for about half a year. In the eleventh month, Zhao Zizhou 趙子晝 (1089–1142), who passed the presented scholar examination in 1107 and ranked top one among the examinees of the imperial clan, memorialized Gaozong and requested that he restore the sacrifice to Gaomei each year for praying for sons.²⁸ His memorial noted that

The sacrifice to Gaomei is held at the Spring Equinox each year, but it has not been held since the emperor moved toward the south. Despite the fact that it is now an eventful period and the ritual performances are not made comprehensive with regards to eliminating childlessness and praying for many sons. In order to secure the hearts of those from the four quarters, the rite should not be absent. I hope that you will order its enactment next year.²⁹

每歲春分日祀高禘，自巡幸不行。雖多故之時，禮文難遍，至於祓無子，祝多男，以係四方萬里之心，蓋不可闕。望自來歲舉行。

Unlike memorials from most other officials, Zhao made oblique references. He seemed to reconcile the one-sided discourses on selecting descendants from Taizu’s

²⁷ Note that resurrection of the sacrifices and restoration of the concerning ritual spaces were intertwined with each other as well.

²⁸ XNYL, 49.873; SS 103.2513. “Zhao Zizhou” is mistakenly recorded as “Zhao Zihua 趙子晝” in SS (*juan* 103). For the epitaph of Zhao Zizhou, see Cheng Ju 程俱, *Beishan xiao ji* 北山小集, Sibü congkan xubian edition, 33.17a–21a. His biography with the correct name is also included in SS (*juan* 247).

²⁹ XNYL, 49. 873.

line.³⁰ His request, further reduced Gaozong's concern for his vulnerable authority, and meanwhile, maintained another possibility for the emperor and thus mediated the potential conflict between the ruler and ministers so as to "maintain popular morale." More interestingly, due to his identity as the fifth generation grandson of Zhao Dezhaio 趙德昭 (951–79) who was the second son of Taizu and was said to have been hounded to death by Taizong, his memorial emphasized the role of the sacrifice to Gaomei rather than a return of the emperorship to the Taizu line.

Zhao Zizhou's request to restore the sacrifice to Gaomei touches on the issues of ritual space and ritual materiality. As Vice Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, Zhao in his memorial outlined the rite in the way that it was expected to be resumed.

The seat of the Blue-green Emperor should be situated in the middle. The secondary sacrifice is to Fuxi [one of the first mythical cultural heroes] and Gaoxin [descendant of the Yellow Emperor], followed by the seats of Jian Di [the second wife of Gaoxin] and Jiang Yuan [the principle wife of Gaoxin]. Bows, arrows, quivers and vessels and musical instruments from the imperial palace were on display. After the rite, all the offerings in front of the spiritual tablets should be withdrawn. Ritual participants will continue to perform the rite in the palace.³¹

青帝正位，配以伏羲、高辛，從以簡狄、姜嫄。弓矢、弓鞬，內出備器。禮畢，收徹三從祀神位前禮料，入禁中行禮。

Zhao did not describe the ritual procedure step by step. Rather, his description is

³⁰ Though they repetitively ensured that the selected prince or heir apparent would be replaced by Gaozong's direct son one day, most officials one-sidedly insisted that Gaozong choose an appropriate candidate from Taizu's descendants.

³¹ Ma Duanlin 馬端臨, *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (hereafter WXTK) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 85.2606.

more like an account of ritual scenery, concentrating on spatial arrangement and ritual materiality of the Altar of Gaomei itself. The seats and spiritual tablets were placed on and off the altar in terms of ritual hierarchy and sexual distinction. The bows and arrows and the quivers as masculine symbols played an important role in praying for sons. Ritual vessels, musical instruments and offerings, taken out of the palace, were arranged in accordance with the tablet position.

The meaning of the sacrifice to Gaomei was mainly based on the classic texts such as “*Yueling* 月令” in the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記), and “*Xuanniao* 玄鳥” and “*Shengmin* 生民” in the *Book of Songs* (*Shijing* 詩經) in which the ritual account and its annotations combined together the Heaven, the emperorship and the myth of the establishment of the Xia and Shang dynasties.³² The classics also clarified and standardized the ritual condition of timing, space, participants, offerings and implements. The first practice recorded explicitly in historical texts was accomplished by Emperor Wu of the Han (*Han Wudi* 漢武帝) who at the age of twenty four had his first son fourteen years later his the enthronement.³³ In general, emperor, empress, imperial concubines and officials worshipped the gods when praying for sons and expressing gratitude to them after the birth of a son.³⁴ The

³² Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 comm., and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 subcomm., *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義 (hereafter, LJZY), Shisanjing zhushu edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 15.1361–62; Mao Heng 毛亨, Zheng Xuan comm., and Kong Yingda subcomm., *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義, Shisanjing zhushu edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 17.528, 20.622–23.

³³ Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記 (hereafter SJ) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 49.1978; Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書 (hereafter HS) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 97.3948–49. The rite was said to be dated to the reign of Diku 帝嚳 (also known as Gaoxin 高辛), one of the mythological Five Emperors in remote ages and the father of Yao.

³⁴ The sacrifice to Gaomei is the main but not the only means of praying for sons in the Song. For example, during the reign of Renzong, meanwhile, the image of the Red Emperor was hung in the Imperial Palace to maximize the effect of prayer. See SS, 10.202, 103.2512. At the end of 963, the Song court started to worship the Red Emperor as the Emperor of Responsive Birth at the request of a scholar of Confucian classics Nie Chongyi

emperor himself sometimes conducted the rite, but usually sent the officials to be in charge of it.

However, the pre-Song documents rarely preserved the ritual details; in 1037 the Northern Song ritual officials complained that “we probably know that the rites were held between the Eastern Han and the Eastern Jin but have not adequate knowledge about the ceremony and its evolution (後漢至江左概見其事，而儀典委曲，不可周知。).”³⁵ The Northern Song ritual officials also gave a snort of contempt to the Southern Qi imperial concubines’ participation in the rite during the fifth century, the only extant record containing relatively more detailed information among the pre-Song texts.³⁶ Therefore, to some extent, the Northern Song officials renewed the sacrifice to Gaomei and adjusted it in terms of their understanding of the classics and the contemporary situation. In his memorial, Zhao Zizhou was undoubtedly referring to the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* 政和五禮新儀 published in 1113 in which the sacrifice to Gaomei was remade by adding the seats of Jian Di and Jiang Yuan (Figure 2.2).³⁷ Zhao’s proposal was finally approved by the court.

聶崇義 who argued that the Song emperor was the holder of the virtue of fire. Probably in the reign of Taizong, the sacrifices to the Emperor of Responsive Birth and the Red Emperor, both as major rites were categorized into two different systems. *SS*, 1.16, 100.2461; *SHY*, li 14.1.587.

³⁵ *SS*, 103.2510–11.

³⁶ *SS*, 103.2511.

³⁷ Zheng Juzhong 鄭居中 ed., *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* 政和五禮新儀, Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu edition (hereafter *Wuli xinyi*, or *WLXY*), 51.6a, 9a; *SS*, 103.2513. Also note that a large number of Tang-Song ritual books were not preserved in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, but *WLXY* was exceptional. *SHY*, chongru 4.21.

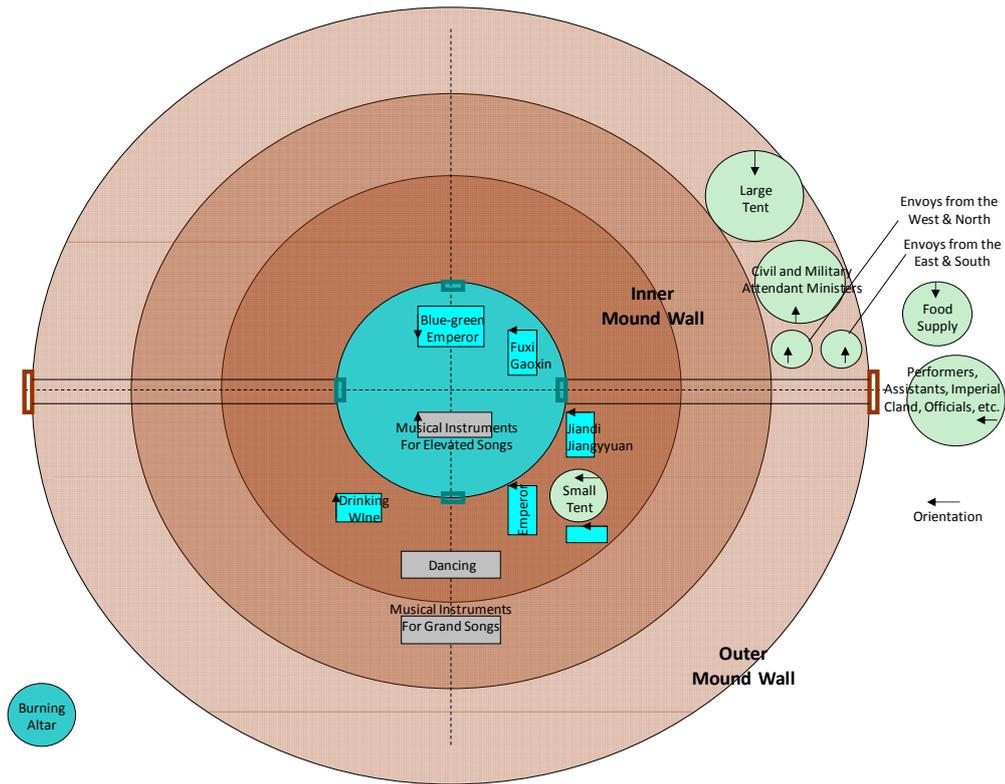


Fig. 2.2: Restoration of the layout of the Gaomei Altar based on the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*

In the second month of 1132, almost three and half months after Zhao Zizhou's request, ritual officials submitted a proposal for the ritual format of drinking wine and receiving sacrificial meat (*yinfu shouzuoyizhu* 飲福受胙儀注).³⁸ Due to Zhao's reference to the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* and the format involving the interaction between the emperor and officials, the 1132 proposal most likely embodied the ritual part conducted by the emperor himself.³⁹ This conjecture is supported by another memorial submitted by Erudite of the Ritual Academy (*taichang boshi* 太常博士) Zhao Pei 趙霈 (?–1145) in 1133, which requested Gaozong write a prayer to substitute for his own presence on the spot.⁴⁰ Gaozong did not attend the rite of Gaomei until 1147. Perhaps because he had adopted the two princes he did not show

³⁸ *YH*, 99.1884. Though I have not found details about the proposed ritual, I would suggest that the proposal belonged to the whole ritual format of the sacrifice to Gaomei for the upcoming rite.

³⁹ *WLXY*, 53.5a–6a.

⁴⁰ *YH*, 99.1884.

his eagerness for sons in public. In the meantime, officials did not urge the emperor to carry out the sacrifice in person, though their silence on this issue might also have been due in part to the court's focus on how to withstand the Jin military attack and how to properly handle the Song-Jin relationship.

Negotiations on Building the Altar of Gaomei

Strangely, according to the extant sources, neither the 1131 request nor the 1132 proposal mentioned the Altar of Gaomei, including the questions of how and where to build it that were raised a decade later. In theory, there should have been a consistent match between a rite and its corresponding space. In practice, however, as discussed in the last chapter, what we learnt from later officials' memorials was that the sacrifice to Gaomei had been held in the Tianning Temple awhile since 1132, most likely because of Zhao Zizhou's request. The ritual was probably transferred to the Tianqing Temple, along with other sacrifices to the gods of Heaven and Earth, sometime between 1132 and 1136. During this period, state rituals were in chaos in Hangzhou before 1138 prior to the city being promoted to the temporary capital. Such ritual disorder had not been eased for a couple of decades since the late 1120s and even after the state ritual reconstruction that began in 1142 in Lin'an. In the first half of the Shaoxing period, the sacrifice to Gaomei was temporarily conducted in the Huizhao Cloister after 1136.⁴¹ We can imagine how difficult it must have been for those officials involved in the ritual there, for its limited space, poor sanitary condition, environmental noise, and lack of ritual vessels. Although this sacrifice

⁴¹ XCLAZ, 3.3378. For a discussion of the central role the Huizhao Cloister played in the early Southern Song state ritual system, see Chapter 1.

was not held in an appropriate place, the Song officials and literati still seemed to have had a tacit understanding with the emperor. Such a situation did not provoke their violent reaction against the ritual inappropriateness.

The status quo changed after the Song and the Jin reached a peace agreement in early 1142.⁴² The issue of building the Altar of Gaomei came to the surface; it reflected how the emperor and officials continued to perceive and negotiate the ritual and its space in the new political and social contexts. At the end of 1142, following the Song court's decision to build important ritual spaces such as the Altar of the Soil and the suburban altars one after another, Liu Rong 劉嶸, Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, submitted a request for discussion about the site of the Altar of Gaomei. For him, the sacrifice to Gaomei took priority over the rest of rites to be restored.⁴³ A year later, Liu presented an urgent demand for the state ritual restoration, underlining again the importance and integrity of state rituals. As he pointed out, all major rites for the revived dynasty should have been completely restored without any excuse for temporary measures in great haste.⁴⁴ Directed at the established pragmatic ritual policy, Liu's proposal was at last endorsed by the court, and this stimulated further discussions on specific major sacrifices.

The Lin'an prefectural government dispatched officials to investigate appropriate sites outside the city. This investigation was destined to be a ritual adventure. The sacrifice to Gaomei had been long considered to be held in the

⁴² Also note that the military pressure was reduced, but the financial burden, social tensions, ritual disorder, and the loss of authority all were expected to be dealt with for the post-war reconstruction.

⁴³ *XCLAZ*, 3.3378; *WXTK*, 85.2607.

⁴⁴ *SHY*, *li* 14.80–81; *XNYL*, 150.2837.

southern suburb according to the Confucian classics, but the vague records did not provide any information about its accurate site.⁴⁵ In the end, an open space was selected to the southeast of the Imperial Palace.⁴⁶ The construction started in the year of 1143.⁴⁷ But we do not know when it was completed, or it might have been abandoned. A reasonable estimation is that the project could have been accomplished no later than the end of that year since the subsequent rebuilding and expansion of the altar required less than a month.⁴⁸

In 1146, the Investigating Censor (*jiancha yushi* 監察御史) Wang Zi 王鎡 (?–1148) was discontent with the environment and location of this ritual building. Wang fulfilled his responsibility by sharply criticizing the situation in his memorial.

The Altar of Gaomei is too humble and shabby to be worthy of its own title. [It is hard to imagine that] Officials went to a nearby pavilion for fasting and sacrificed offerings on such an altar just behind residences of ordinary people. When it rained, the gazing-afar sacrifice was performed and transferred to a post house near the Qiantang River. However, the long distance to the altar and the neglect of duty hardly show officials' sincerity of praying for sons for the emperor. Please order officials to examine the previous institutions and rebuild or renovate the altar. Please also order ministers to have a full discussion by taking the meaning of Jiang Yuan's obedience to Diku and the Heaven in "Shengmin" and referring to the accounts in "Yueling" of offering Gaomei the *tailao* sacrifice

⁴⁵ See Kong Yinda's commentary in *LJZY*, 15.1361; Sima Biao 司馬彪, *Hou Hanshu zhi* 後漢書志, in Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 4.3107; Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 et al. eds., *Taichang yinge li* 太常因革禮 (hereafter YGL), Congshu jicheng chubian edition, 6.30. Ouyang Xiu in *YGL* listed two explanations of the location of the Altar of Gaomei: According to the *Hou Hanshu zhi*, the altar was situated in the southern suburban in a broad sense, while the *Suishu* 隋書 specified that the altar and the southern suburban altar abutted each other in terms of the ritual system of the Northern Qi 北齊 (550–57). *YGL* followed the Northern Qi ritual regulations regarding the altar's size, but whether the site selection referred to the Northern Qi scheme was not mentioned.

⁴⁶ *XCLAZ*, 3.3378; *YH*, 99.1884.

⁴⁷ *CYZJ*, jiaji 2.74.

⁴⁸ *YH*, 99.1884; *SS*, 30.565.

[of ox, sheep and pigs] and holding the rite by the emperor himself. Your Majesty, please attend the sacrifice in person. You will definitely obtain the good fortune of numerous sacred imperial sons.⁴⁹

禘祀之壇卑陋弗稱，有司致齋於社亭之上，行事於民居之後。遇雨望祭，徙置江館。去壇既遠，事涉瀆慢，未足以彰禋潔祀為帝王求嗣之禮。乞申命攸司，攷昔制度，一新壇宇。仍命大臣取《生民》姜嫄從於帝而見於天之義，《月令》以太牢祠於高禘、天子親往之文，詳加定議。乞法駕臨祠，必獲聖嗣詵詵之福。

Wang's memorial helps to reconstruct the transfer of ritual space of the sacrifice to Gaomei between 1143 and 1146 during which officials were regularly sent off to the Altar of Gaomei with the prayers written by Gaozong. The ritual space combination was mainly comprised of the Altar of Gaomei, the nearby pavilion for abstinence, and a post house for the gazing-afar sacrifice.⁵⁰ The "humble and shabby" altar and the measure of "worship in distance," which could have been improved one way or other, still followed the principle of ritual pragmatism set in 1130.⁵¹ Of course, the neglect of maintenance, improvement and ritual solemnness, to some extent, reflects the fact that the performers might not have paid due attention to the rite, but if we read the text more carefully, Wang's ultimate purpose was not for his criticism nor to merely rebuild a more orthodox renovated altar, but to request the emperor's participation in the sacrifice. This is the key point to understand the role of the emperor in the ritual reconstruction and the political atmosphere at that time.

Let us return to Wang's memorial and further discuss it by comparing it with the

⁴⁹ WXTK, 85.2607.

⁵⁰ The River Pavilion was probably located somewhere between the Auspicious Gathering Gate (*Jiahui men* 嘉會門, hereafter the Jiahui Gate) and the Tide Awaiting Gate (*Houchao men* 候潮門, hereafter the Houchao Gate).

⁵¹ XNYL, 39. 563; SHY, li 14.75.624.

ritual officials' responses. From Wang's viewpoint, the classic text of *Shengmin* accentuated the ritual significance of the worship to Heaven and clarified the order of spirit tablets as well. As for the Ministry of Rites (*libu* 禮部) and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, they held that the *Shengmin* poem conveyed the meaning of Jiang Yuan's practice of following the sacrifice to Gaomei by Diku, which led to the birth of Hou Ji 后稷, the ancestor of the Zhou people, rather than her pregnancy due to stepping on the huge footprint of Diku.⁵² Further, although they admitted that the emperor's participation was recorded in *Yueling* of the *Book of Rites* and the Tang *Tongdian* 通典 and even in the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*, the Southern Song ritual officials still insisted that, according to the Imperial Ancestors' Precedents (*zuzong gushi* 祖宗故事), no previous Song emperors had performed such a ritual in person. But not to downplay the ritual importance, the ritual officials eventually made a compromise and suggested Vice Grand Councilors, those with the highest official ranks, would carry out the sacrifice.

With regards to the ritual enactment, Wang used the text of *Yueling* to emphasize the offerings and the emperor's role. He requested the ritual officials should consult "the previous institutions and rebuild the altar." As noted earlier, in the 1030s the Northern Song ritual officials had realized the lack of materials on the rite of sacrifice to Gaomei. After looking through the concerning state ritual precedents, which were in fact quite limited, the Southern Song ritual specialists

⁵² For the early version of Jiang Yuan's pregnancy related to Diku's footprint, see *SJ*, 4. 111. The Southern Song ritual officials stood with the Northern Song ritual officials, and despised the female involvement in the rite in Southern Qi which did not conform to the ritual meaning. Note that Southern Qi is mistakenly regarded as "Northern Qi" in *WXTK*.

concluded that “the Altar of Gaomei was located to the southeast of and outside the capital” and they did not see the current site inappropriate since, as we know, neither the Confucian classics nor the historical records indicated the exact ideal location. The ritual officials thus did not directly respond to whether it would be better to move the altar to another specific place. But their proposal necessitated a renewal of the offerings including animal sacrifices (*shenglao* 牲牢), ritual offerings (*liliao* 禮料) and baskets and trays (*biandou* 籩豆) which should “follow the ritual case of present great rites (*yi xianjin dasi lili* 依見今大祀禮例)” as well as “the Imperial Ancestors’ Precedents.” Besides, they also emphasized that the ritual enactment must have adhered to the “Jingyou ritual system (*Jingyou yizhi* 景祐儀制)” adopted in the Northern Song.⁵³

The discussions held by the Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices showcase a tendency of ritual negotiation in the early Southern Song. The ritual officials insisted on a ritual continuity with a stress on “the Imperial Ancestors’ Instructions” (*zuzong zhi fa* 祖宗之法) established in the early Northern Song.⁵⁴ The precedent of the “Jingyou ritual system” suggested by the officials initiated the sacrifice to Gaomei in the Song dynasty, but such a precedent was not completely accepted at that time. For instance, the officials observed the ritual principles such as the preparations for offerings and the procedure of drinking wine and receiving of sacrificial meat by the empress and imperial concubines in the palace, but they did

⁵³ *WXTK*, 85.2607–2608; *YH*, 99.1884; *SS*, 103.2512–13.

⁵⁴ For the detailed research on the Northern Song Imperial Ancestors’ Instructions, see Deng Xiaonan, *Zuzong zhi fa: Bei Song qianqi zhengzhi shulue* 祖宗之法：北宋前期政治述略 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2006). The Song ritual negotiations also closely interacted with the Imperial Ancestors’ Instructions.

not adopt the regulations on the altar of Gaomei like its size, which was decided in 1037.⁵⁵

The ritual negotiations implied different attitudes to this sacrifice. The memorials of Zhao Zizhou and Wang Zi were grounded on the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*, a state ritual code compiled in the reign of Huizong, whereas the ritual officials preferred the earlier precedent in practice.⁵⁶ Probably given the court's great emphasis on a pragmatic principle established in the early Southern Song, as discussed in the first chapter, the ritual officials devoted much more attention to current factors like the ritual enactment and the spatial requirement than the ritual text. In their views, the ritual meaning did not necessarily take priority in the negotiations. The officials thus had to reconcile not only the discrepancies among classic texts but the conflicts between the classics and the current practices as well.

The negotiations might have been also influenced by contemporary politics that could have especially involved most sensitive issues like the selection of Gaozong's successor. If Zhao Zizhou's request for the rite's restoration sought for the middle ground, Wang Zi's 1143 memorial no longer avoided this politically sensitive topic. Wang insisted that Gaozong should perform the rite by himself on a renewed altar to "obtain good fortune of numerous imperial sacred sons." The ritual officials did not discuss the issues of the altar's size and site or the possibility of the emperor's participation in person, but they offered a compromise by upgrading the performers'

⁵⁵ Note that the "Jingyou ritual system" in Southern Song discourses refers to the rite or ritual performance rather than the altar regulations (*tanzhi* 壇制). *SS*, 103.2512.

⁵⁶ I would suggest below that the difference reflected underlying political tensions.

official ranks and the rite's scale. They seemed to have evaded the crucial question of whether a son of Gaozong would become a major threat, as "usurper," to the two adopted descendants of Taizu.

As early as 1137, Gaozong had been conscious of the officials' sustained attention to the issue of a would-be successor. Such strong feelings, as the emperor probably worried, would have left the issue open to nonstop political speculations and factional conflicts.⁵⁷ The candidate competition was in fact thought to have been not limited to the two candidates and their proponents, given an unborn son of Gaozong that, particularly after the 1140s, would have become a powerful contestant or a point of political leverage. To put it simple, supporting a descendant of Taizu to be the heir apparent was the mainstream opinion at the time, but it was not the only voice. It was therefore more likely to have been such a historical context in which Zhao and Wang memorialized the sacrifice to Gaomei and the Song officials utilized "the Ancestors' Imperial Precedents" to decline Wang's request for Gaozong's personal participation based on the classic texts and the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*.⁵⁸ If Gaozong went to the altar and conducted the sacrifice, his performance might have conceivably sent a strong signal of his eagerness for a son that could have broken the tacit agreement between the emperor and ministers.

However, on the third day of the second month of 1147, the Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices changed their previous decision and presented a

⁵⁷ Lau Nap-yin, "Nan Song zhengzhi chutan: Gaozong yinying xia de Xiaozong," 342–43.

⁵⁸ The Imperial Ancestors' Instructions were normally used to support one's political views. See Deng Xiaonan, *Zuzong zhifa*, 530–31.

proposal concerning the format of the sacrifice to Gaomei based on the counterpart in the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*. The ritual officials requested the emperor perform the rite in person so as to “pray for auspicious fortune of numerous sons and fulfill people’s expectations (祈多男之祥，副天下之望),” despite the fact that such a ritual had never been carried out during the reigns of Huizong and Qinzong.⁵⁹ Eight days later, Gaozong arrived at the Altar of Gaomei and performed the rite for the first time as an emperor.⁶⁰ The questions arise: Why did the Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices shift their ground rapidly and reversely within nearly one year? Why did they acknowledge the rite made in the Zhenghe period rather than persist in the Jingyou ritual system, which had been seen as one of the Imperial Ancestors’ Precedents? And why did Gaozong decide to participate?

As the Song ritual officials pointed out, the location of the Altar of Gaomei did not conform to the ritual system during the discussions about Wang Zi’s memorial. Citing the 1057 precedent in the reign of Renzong, they proposed that the new altar be built to the east of the southern suburban altar. They also specified the transfer and rebuilding of the altar that should correspond to its environment, its relative position to the southern suburban altar, and the adherence to the ritual meaning of “the position of the eldest son in the east (*dongfang zhangnan zhi wei* 東方長男之位).”⁶¹ The innovative interpretation of “the eldest son in the east” suggested by

⁵⁹ *WXTK*, 85.2608.

⁶⁰ *YH*, 99.1884; *WXTK*, 85.2608.

⁶¹ *XCLAZ*, 3.3378. The discussions began in 1051. Renzong issued an order to move the Altar of Gaomei to a high and dry place. The next year, the Altar of Gaomei was rebuilt in the Temple of Worshipping Ancestors (*Fengxian si* 奉先寺) to the southeast of the Round Altar. Officials still seemed not to have been content with this spatial change. We do not have any material on the following negotiations, but what we know is that the altar was

Zheng Xiaoxian 鄭孝先, a Northern Song administrator of a prefectural school, probably borrowed from the *Book of Changes* and regarded by the Southern Song as a main feature of the 1057 precedent, was used to substantiate the request during the second round of ritual negotiations in 1146 (Figure 2.3).



Fig. 2.3: Shaping ritual spaces regarding the sacrifice to Gaomei, 1132–1147

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Tianning Temple | 2. Tianqing Temple | 3. Huizhao Cloister |
| 4. Altar of Gaomei (1143) | 5. Fasting Pavilion | 6. River Post House |
| 7. Round Altar | 8. Altar of Gaomei (1147) | |

moved once again in 1057 and the displacement still relied on the principle established in 1052. Strictly speaking, the 1057 precedent was not the outcome of the ritual negotiations in 1052, but undoubtedly, was influenced by the previous principle. *YH*, 99.1883–84.

However, Zhen's proposal was not totally adopted in 1057. It should be noted that the Ministry of Rites reached their final decision by primarily referring to the environmental concerns of the Astronomical Bureau (*sitian jian* 司天監): "The current altar located in a humid and low-lying place could be better moved to some dry, higher land to the east of the Round Altar (今其地卑溼, 宜徙圜丘東高爽地)."⁶² Despite a consensus over the altar's orientation between Zheng Xiaoxian and the Astronomical Bureau, the final displacement of the altar to the southeast of the Round Altar was most likely determined by the topography of Kaifeng, in other words, the latter's suggestion.⁶³ The Southern Song officials reviewed and referred to the 1057 precedent, but they intentionally selected Zheng's viewpoint. More than this, they did not seem to care about if such a ritual preference would have been a misuse or a misunderstanding of the so-called "Imperial Ancestors' Precedents."

The reason the Southern Song ritual officials accepted the Zheng's argument, I would suggest, is that they intended to highlight the term "the eldest son," as an implication of the same problem for both Renzong and Gaozong. The 1051 and 1057 negotiations over the Altar of Gaomei reflected the officials' anxieties about the successor of forty-seven-year-old Emperor Renzong who had not had a son since 1041.⁶⁴ Similarly, Gaozong was forty years old in 1146 and had had no offspring for seventeen years. There is scant evidence showing if there were any other suggestions put forward during the negotiations. The existing historical accounts demonstrate

⁶² Li Tao 李燾, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 (hereafter XCB) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), 185.4479.

⁶³ XCB, 185.4479.

⁶⁴ SS, 245.8708.

that the principle of the eldest was apparently a majority decision. We can draw a safe conclusion that the Southern Song ritual officials' selection of evidence introduced flexibility to the Ancestors' Imperial Precedents, since quite a lot of officials might have not given up placing their hope on the unborn child or the would-be eldest son of the emperor. More importantly, the 1146 displacement of the Altar of Gaomei closer to the Round Altar paved the way for the ritual performance by Gaozong himself and could have once again strengthened the emperor's and officials' resolve.⁶⁵ It is also noteworthy that the political tension was still more likely to be palpable. The ritual officials did not request the emperor's personal participation in this sacrifice until the initiation of another round of negotiations regarding the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* in the ninth month of the same year.⁶⁶

The Song ritual officials actually did not change their position suddenly at the beginning of 1147. As I mentioned, there was no one voice among them. The decision made by the Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices in the sixth month of 1146 could have been considered no more than a compromise. A few months before the Ministry of Rites claimed to adopt the principle of the Jingyou ritual system, the ritual negotiations, as follow-up disputes, mainly focused on the site selection and the layout of the Altar of Gaomei, which had not been specified in the discussions prior to 1142.⁶⁷ The ritual officials originally intended to downplay

⁶⁵ Note that by the end of this year Gaozong performed the first southern suburban sacrifice, the most important imperial rite, after Lin'an was selected as the temporary capital. The relation between the southern suburban sacrifice and the sacrifice to Gaomei needs to be further examined. *SS*, 30.566.

⁶⁶ *YH*, 99.1884.

⁶⁷ The negotiation must have taken place no later than the end of the sixth month since the construction of a new altar started on the twenty-seventh day of the sixth month and was accomplished on the fourth day of the eighth

the emperor's role or help him maintain a low profile in the sacrifice to Gaomei. They borrowed the ritual precedent in the reign of Renzong and supported the proposals of (re)building the Altar of Gaomei so as to avoid the conflicts between Gaozong's unborn son and his two adopted sons. However, they did not expect that the constant compromise and adjustment based on ritual pragmatism increased the demand of those royalists, who kept requesting the emperor to perform the rite himself and gambling on this unborn child. The imperial court at last had to take a step back, returning to and selecting the ritual regulations in the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* compiled in the reign of Huizong.

Rebuilding the Blessing Virtue Shrine

Apart from the sacrifice to Gaomei, rebuilding the Blessing Virtue Shrine in the capital was used as another vehicle for praying for princes that also expressed the growing concern for the emperor's successor. Interestingly, it was not a coincidence that proposals relating to the Altar of Gaomei and the Blessing Virtue Shrine emerged and continued to arise approximately at the same time. The two processes reached the culmination in their reconstruction but with different endings. This section will first examine the discussion of rebuilding the Blessing Virtue Shrine during the Shaoxing period, and then compare it with that of the Altar of Gaomei to explore how ritual space was created by the power of ritual and people's perceptions of rites in a larger historical context of Gaozong's second abdication.

The Blessing Virtue Shrine was the product of a ritual invention during the

month.

reign of Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067–85). In 1084, the director of the Construction Bureau Wu Chuhou 吳處厚 (? –1091) made a request for building the Shrine of Cheng Ying 程嬰 and Gongsun Chujiu 公孫杵臼 who saved the only male orphan of the Zhao aristocratic family in the aftermath of a political persecution and the extermination of his entire family in the Spring and Autumn period.⁶⁸ After reading the accounts in *Shiji*, Wu in his memorial gave prominence to the fact that “The lineages of the Song imperial clan and the state could not be preserved without the major contribution of the two loyal and righteous men (趙宗之續，國統之繼，皆自二人為之也).”⁶⁹ As Wu creatively interpreted, the sacrifices to Cheng and Gongsun would have pacified their posthumous malicious ghosts (*ligui* 厲鬼) and thus could help Shenzong prevent the occurrence of a similar situation of Renzong who had not had his successor until his death. Henceforth, subsequent requests would usually trace the history of this shrine to the precedent created by Wu Chuhou. In the fifth month of the same year, the Song court entitled Cheng and Gongsun marquises and the shrine was allowed to be established in Jiangzhou 絳州 (present-day *Xinjiangn* 新絳).

Prior to Wu’s proposal, the local sacrifices among the Hedong Zhao clan in fact had taken place no later than the eighth century.⁷⁰ Even in the early 960s, Emperor Taizu had issued an imperial edict ordering the guarding of the tombs of Cheng Ying

⁶⁸ For Wu Chuhou’s memorial, see Wu Chuhou 吳處厚, *Qingxiang zaji* 青箱雜記, *Quan Song biji* 1st ser., vol.10, (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chuban she, 2003), 249–51; *XCB*, 312.7577–78. For the accounts in *Shiji*, see *SJ*, *juan* 39 and *juan* 43.

⁶⁹ Wu, *Qingxiang zaji*, 251.

⁷⁰ See Zhang Shoujie’s 張守節 commentaries, *SJ*, 43.1785.

and Gongsun Chujiu after discussing with officials about the sacrifices to meritorious ministers and martyrs of previous dynasties.⁷¹ Nevertheless, Wu's interpretation mattered, because his endeavor promoted the local rite to a state level, successfully combining together the sacrifice, the dynastic fate and the fortune of the emperorship for the first time. In 1100, Han Jue 韓厥, a minor character, was incorporate in the sacrifice as an accompanying deity (*congsi* 從祀) in the shrine, given his contribution to protecting the orphan; Han was entitled marquise four years later.⁷²

In the early Shaoxing period, the rise of the sacrifices to Chen Ying and Gongsun Chujiu, concomitant with officials' increasing worries about Gaozong's successor, was a prelude to waves of the requests for restoring the sacrifices of praying for imperial sons. Like Taizu, Gaozong ordered local officials to make the sacrifices to sage emperors and meritorious ministers and martyrs during his first suburban rite in 1127.⁷³ In the tenth month of 1132, seven months later after the ritual officials' submission of the annotations of the sacrifice to Gaomei, Li Yuan 李愿, Vice Director of the Equipment Bureau of the Department of State Affairs (*shangshu jiabu yuanwai lang* 尚書駕部員外郎), requested the establishment of the spirit tablets of Chen Ying and Gongsun Chujiu in Hangzhou for the gazing-afar sacrifices in the spring and autumn.⁷⁴ His explanations illustrated two points. One

⁷¹ *SS*, 105.2559.

⁷² *SHY*, li 20.27; *XCLAZ*, 13.3490.

⁷³ *SHY*, li 21.5.

⁷⁴ *SHY*, li 21.5; *ZXLS*, 152.514.

was about its ritual effectiveness in that Shenzong would have had many sons after this sort of shrine was built. In this regard, the implication was similar to Zhao Zizou's proposal that Gaozong needed to take more seriously the issue of his own sons. The other pointed to the fact that the old shrine in Jiangzhou then occupied by the Jurchens was inaccessible. The ritual therefore had to be held as the gazing-afar sacrifices until one day the Song would be able to recover their lost territories. In the eleventh month, the Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices accepted Li's suggestion. None of historical materials refers to its site in Hangzhou, but the sacrifices more likely took place somewhere in a ritual space with other rites, given the aforementioned ritual chaotic situation.

In the middle of the Shaoxing period, the sacrifice to the three pre-Qin martyrs experienced several considerable changes—the ritual space displacement from a local area to the temporary capital, the promotion of the sacrifices and spirit tablets to the ones with higher ranks in the state ritual system, and the main focus upon the ritual function of praying for descendants. The memorial submitted by Secretariat Drafter Zhu Yi 朱翌 (1097–1167) on the third day of the eighth month of 1141 is essential for an understanding of the beginning of these changes.⁷⁵ Zhu first traced the origin of the rite. When thinking of its history over the course of a thousand years, he sighed with deep emotion and reminded the emperor that it was time to make appropriate return. He then criticized the current inappropriate rite without sacrificing to Han Jue, and finally made a request:

⁷⁵ *ZXLS*, 152.515. The Blessing Virtue Shrine was mistakenly recorded on the day when Zhu Yi presented his memorial. *SS*, 29.550.

Please select a place in the temporary capital and build a provisional shrine which will attract common people to burn joss sticks and make donations to the shrine. Their prayers will help Your Majesty have hundreds of sons, which is also my great wish.⁷⁶

乞于行在所卜地，權創祠宇，使百姓日修香幣，仰祝吾君則百斯男，亦臣子之大願。

In his memorial Zhu Yi did not offer any suggestions for the orientation or location of the shrine. As no one had information about the shrine in the Zhao Village in Taiping County Jiangzhou, then outside the the Southern Song territory, the rebuilding might have been irrelevant to the urban settings of Lin'an.⁷⁷ Moreover, the rite itself did not follow any so-called precedents or classical texts. The only local document about this ritual was likely to have been lost or destroyed in the wartime. In such circumstances, Zhu's request deserves our attention for it shows how people at that time endeavored to deal with problems of the state ritual reconstruction. Zhu avoided endless quibbling over the issue of a specific site, whereas he adopted a flexible principle of the site divination. More importantly, he proposed a strategy of rebuilding the shrine for attracting prayers, underscoring the role of ordinary people in praying for Gaozong's sons. His proposal, for the first time, directly connected the sacrifice to the issue of having imperial sons that could have potentially touched on the sensitive problem of succession. In response to Zhu's memorial, on the twenty sixth day in the same month, the Ministry of Rites suggested that the Lin'an Prefecture take charge of the site selection and the sacrifice

⁷⁶ *ZXLS*, 152.515.

⁷⁷ *MLL*, 14.125.

be brought into the category of minor sacrifices in the state ritual system.

The suggestions were later approved, but the promotion of the sacrifice to a minor sacrifice was quite a contrast to the officials' high-sounding words such as what Li Yuan stated that Chen Ying and Gongsun Chujiu "made the greatest contribution" to the imperial clan and the state. What does such a contrast between the ritual significance and the ritual scale indicate? Does it mean that the ritual officials did not pay much attention to the matter? What attitudes did they have? If we take into consideration the fact that the Song officials frequently requested restoring the sacrifice and rebuilding the shrine during the state ritual restoration, we might understand how these ritual officials perceived and reacted to such performances.

In 1143, Wang Chaoyi 王朝倚 from Jianzhou 建州 (present-day *Jianou* 建甌) first requested for the sacrifices to the three martyrs of Chen, Gongsun, and Han.⁷⁸ His request indicated that there had been no eponymously-named ritual space for the sacrifices to Chen and Gongsun since 1141. The shrine had not been built until 1143. This time, it was situated near the Qiantang Gate (Qiantang men 錢塘門) and not far from the Temple of Spectacular Numina. However, when the construction of the Court of Judicial Review (*dalisi* 大理寺) began on this site, the shrine was demolished and the sacrifice took place temporarily in the Original Perfection Temple (*Yuanzhen guan* 元真觀) located to the west of the Examination Compound

⁷⁸ *XSJ*, 20.16a.

of the Ministry of Rites (*libu gongyuan* 禮部貢院).⁷⁹ The urban construction project in the early 1140s showcased that the imperial court did not take the Blessing Virtue Shrine seriously. The apparent and chief reason was that the ritual was seen as a minor sacrifice at the lowest level of the hierarchy of state rituals.

The ritual neglect had not changed for the subsequent two years. In 1145, another official from Jianzhou named Zhou Chunnian 周椿年 pointed out the awkwardness of the current situation: “Since it is time of peace now due to the dynastic revival of the regime, all rites without written records are restored, except that Chen Ying and Gongsun Chujiu have not been sacrificed to in a specific shrine (今中興基業已底太平，中外祀典無文咸秩，獨程嬰、公孫杵臼未有行廟血食。).” He further suggested that the Lin’an Prefecture choose “a high and well-lit place (*gaoming zhi di* 高明之地)”, build the shrine, and hold the sacrifice in the spring and autumn.⁸⁰ The Court of Imperial Sacrifices acknowledged that the officials hitherto performed the gazing-afar sacrifice twice a year. They agreed with Zhou and requested that the Lin’an Prefecture again rebuild the shrine in a more appropriate place. Obviously, this was not an urgent demand. Seeing the lack of progress, in early 1146, Hu Jun 胡駿 and Deng Maozuo 鄧懋佐 both made their requests for a new shrine.⁸¹ In Deng’s memorial, rebuilding the shrine in Lin’an and granting new titles to the three martyrs were reckoned an effort to restore “the ancestors’ old rite

⁷⁹ See XSJ, 20.16; Huang Zhen 黃震, *Huang shi ri chao* 黃氏日抄 (hereafter HSRC), Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu edition, 42.15a. For the site of the Court of Judicial Review, see XCLAZ, 6. 3409 and XNYL, 161.3055; for the site of the Original Perfection Temple, see XCLAZ, 75. 4028; for the site of the Examination Compound of the Ministry of Rites, see XCLAZ, 12. 3471.

⁸⁰ ZXLS, 152.515.

⁸¹ XNYL, 155.2932; ZXLS, 152.515–16.

(*zuzong jiudian* 祖宗舊典).”

After three-month ritual negotiations, the Ministry of Rites accepted Deng’s advice, granted new titles to the three martyrs by attaching extra characters with glorious meaning to their previous ones, and once again imposed demands upon the Lin’an Prefecture of taking charge of the construction project. The shrine was not completed until 1152 after the palace censor Lin Danai 林大鼐, a *jinshi* degree holder who also came from Fujian 福建, put in a request in the second month of this year for rebuilding the shrine, granting them the higher-ranking duke titles, dispatching officials to conduct the rite in four seasons, and promoting the sacrifice to a medium sacrifice.⁸² Lin’s suggestions premised that the shrine would have become a place for the medium rite. Given the rise of the sacrifice to Gaomei since the late 1140s, the Song court would have had no reason to reject all these requests.

The new shrine was built on a current vacant site of the previous Cloister of Purity and Abstinence (*Jingjie yuan* 淨戒院) to the south of the Grand Unity Temple (*Taiyi gong* 太一宮) (Figure 2.4). The construction relied upon the abandoned foundation, halls and corridors.⁸³ In the third month of 1152, other officials continued expressing their support for the promotion of the ritual to a medium sacrifice. The Ministry of Rites eventually made the decisions: Each of the three martyrs would have been granted a two-character duke title and the sacrifice should

⁸² *ZXLS*, 152.516; *XNYL*, 163.3092. Lin’s memorial was mistakenly recorded in 1153 in *XCLAZ* (13.3490).

⁸³ *QDLAZ*, 8; Anonymous, *Songshi quanwen* 宋史全文 (hereafter *SSQW*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2016), 22.1757.

follow the ritual practice of middle rites in spring and autumn.⁸⁴ In the beginning of the seventh month, the imperial edict confirmed the title granting and the promotion. One and a half months later, the rite of placement of the spirit tablets took place in the new shrine.

In response to waves of officials' requests for building the Blessing Virtue Shrine and restoring the sacrifices to the three martyrs between 1141 and 1152, the Ministry of Rites did not take positive action like the way they did for the Altar of Gaomei. The Song court did not put pressure on the Lin'an Prefecture either. Compared to other officials' reiteration of the ritual significance of this invented sacrifice, the ritual officials did not place great emphasis on this issue. They made a compromise in the end, in part because of their concern about an overemphasis on the sacrifice that would have made it a potential threat to the present adoptive princes. Such requests, on the other side, could not have been completely ignored. The flexible measures in this sense were taken to prevent further discussions of the issues concerning the heir apparent and the succession to the throne.

⁸⁴ ZXLS, 152.516.



Fig. 2.4: Rebuilding the Blessing Virtue Shrine, 1143–1152

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Blessing Virtue Shrine (1143) | 2. Court of Judicial Review |
| 3. Examination Compound of the Ministry of Rites | |
| 4. Yuanzhen Temple with the hall of the sacrifices to the three martyrs | |
| 5. Temple of Spectacular Numina | 6. Grand Unity Temple |
| 7. Jingjie Cloister | 8. Blessing Virtue Shrine (1152) |

Histories of the Two Sacrifices: Further Comparisons

The histories of restoring the sacrifice to Gaomei and the sacrifices to Chen Ying, Gongsun Chujiu and Han Jue, or three “national” martyrs, were intertwined with each other during the first half of the Shaoxing reign era. The parallel timing of the requests for construction and restoration is no coincidence. The two rituals shared the same historical contexts of the state ritual reconstruction, officials’ concerns about the imperial succession, and the urban texture of the temporary capital city. Nevertheless, negotiations of the rites and ritual spaces demonstrate their differences in perception and practice.

Confucian classics were normally utilized as the basis for understanding and discussing about Chinese state rituals, especially for those deep rooted in long ritual traditions. Whether a sacrifice had classical grounds and whether the relevant texts

were many or few both affected not only how the ritual meaning would be defined, but also how the rite would be performed and the ritual space selected. Since no classic text referred to the sacrifices to the three martyrs, the ritual restoration including the construction of the ritual space became difficult and had to rely on other sources or fragmented information like the accounts in *Shiji*. For the sacrifice to Gaomei, as it was supported by ancient classics such as the *Book of Rites* and the *Book of Songs*, though their interpretations differed in some ways, the emphases on the sacred heredity and the emperor's personal enactment helped to create powerful discourses. Despite little information about its location, one thing was clear and limited the scope of options, i.e., that the ritual space should be located in the capital's southern suburb. Even the creative borrowing from the 1057 precedent related to *the Book of Changes* was still within this framework.

Ritual codes played an essential role in ritual negotiation and decision-making. The selected textual evidence reflected discussants' preferences and motives. In the early Shaoxing period, the Song officials like Zhao Zizhou requested the restoration of the sacrifice to Gaomei by referring to the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*. In 1146, after negotiations over fifteen years, ritual officials eventually decided that this rite should follow the counterpart in the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* rather than the Northern Song Jingyou ritual system. Among the extant state ritual books prior to the Southern Song, the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* is the only one that details the sacrifice to Gaomei, but this was not the main reason for the court's final decision. If one reads the relevant records in the *Songshi* and the *Yuhai*, one would realize that the accounts in the

Zhenghe wuli xinyi had earlier sources that might have derived from earlier ritual books, which could have been lost or incomplete but still existed in the Shaoxing period. The principle of adhering to the Jingyou system established by the Ministry of Rites also illustrates that the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* did not take priority at the very beginning. Though the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* had never been put into practice, its highlight of the emperor's role and the details of the ritual performances formed an important ground for officials to insist on their requests and political expectations.

Due to limits of ritual regulations, discussions about a space associated with a regular ritual, e.g. the Altar of Gaomei, primarily concentrated on its spatial arrangement including where and how many offerings, vessels, and music instruments were placed on and off a altar, or in a hall. In contrast, the sacrifices to the three martyrs were at first restored as the gazing-afar sacrifices, held in a place remote from its original, prescribed site. Without its records in previous ritual books, the Song officials were unable to submit more specific requests, but repeatedly stressed the two issues, namely, rebuilding the shrine and restoring the ritual. The section entitled "Rite of the Sacrifice to the Blessing Virtue Shrine (*Ji Zuodemiao yi* 祭祚德廟儀)" in the *Zhongxing lishu* is the result of the ritual negotiations from 1132 to 1152.⁸⁵ Such a rite, different from the one performed in a local village in Jiangzhou, was made and recorded in detail in an official state ritual book for the first time. More interestingly, the regulations of spatial arrangement for this sacrifice referred to the counterpart regarding the Altar of Gaomei in the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*;

⁸⁵ ZXLS, 152. 514-17.

for this new ritual, the Southern Song ritual officials made the appropriate adjustments, such as reducing the number and kinds of offerings and vessels.

Song officials normally in their memorials traced the historical developments of the two sacrifices and intensified their discourses by citing the related examples. Ritual officials, however, were more concerned with the Song Imperial Ancestral Precedents and expected the negotiations would have maintained the dynastic ritual consistency. To deal with immediate problems, they showed less interest in ancient ritual meanings. Rather, to be more precise, they preferred the Song ritual precedents that could have expressed or been compatible with the corresponding ritual meanings. In general, ritual officials would first review the earliest concerning precedent in the Song dynasty, and then referred to the other precedents and regulations in ritual books or other central government archives in comparison with the conditions of the ritual activity under discussion.

As for the sacrifice to Gaomei, the Song ritual officials would rather borrow the earliest precedent in the Jingyou period notwithstanding the fact that the 1037 rite did not completely satisfy the ritual meaning in terms of classic texts. After the ritual negotiations, the ritual regulations made in the late Northern Song were adopted, a result of compromise or reconciliation between the radicals and the conservatives and out of political considerations at the time. For the Blessing Virtue Shrine, no reference to its proposed site in the capital city forced ritual officials to consult the precedent of the Shrine of Honoring Loyalty (*Jingzhong miao* 旌忠廟), a local shrine in Fuqiang 伏羌 (present-day Gangu 甘谷) that had been built, transferred, and

rebuilt during the Shaoxing period and in the northwestern frontier of Southern Song China.⁸⁶

Ritual ranking scales and performers also exerted influence on a rite and its locale as well as its histories. For example, officials' insistence urged the Ministry of Rites to gradually promote the ritual ranking of the sacrifices to the three martyrs. For the sacrifice to Gaomei, the continuous emphasis on the connection between the emperor and the Altar of Gaomei led to the changes of ritual performers from senior officials to grand councilors and to the emperor himself in the end. Due to lack of a catalyst for the emperor's participation, the sacrifices to the three martyrs was still on the margins of the state ritual system, despite that officials and literati tried to create close relations between the ritual and the imperial clan and to some extent they actually succeeded in promoting it to a medium sacrifice. More interestingly or even ironically, what we see is that the Blessing Virtue Shrine enjoyed a much longer history, compared to the Altar of Gao where a major sacrifice was held. The Altar of Gaomei had never been used since Gaozong abdicated in the early 1160s. In 1184, Lu Jiuyuan, aged forty-six, participated in the sacrifices to the three martyrs as the Officiant of the Three Libations (*sanxian guan* 三獻官), and subsequently wrote an essay, "The History of the Blessing Virtue Shrine," outlining the history of the shrine since the Yuanfeng 元豐 (1078–85) reign period.⁸⁷

The Blessing Virtue Shrine remained operative through the end of the Mongol Yuan dynasty partly because that the shrine very likely became a center of popular

⁸⁶ XCLAZ, 72. 4002; SHY, li 21.5.

⁸⁷ XSI, 20.5a.

belief. It could have attracted ordinary people to burn joss sticks and pray for their own sons. The development of the shrine also benefited from its ideal and more convenient location in the northwest of Lin'an.⁸⁸ On the contrary, the Altar of Gaomei quickly fell into disuse. Since it was located outside the city and not open to the public and the emperor was not active in practice, after Gaozong's personal performance in the second month of 1147, neither he nor other his successors conducted the sacrifice to Gaomei by themselves. The last record of the Altar of Gaomei in extant historical sources is shown in a memorial of Editor (*Jiaoshu lang* 校書郎) Dong Deyuan 董德元 (1097–64) who in 1153 suggested that the altar should have been divided into two, one for the sacrifice to Gaomei and the other for the worship of the Blue-Green Emperor.⁸⁹ But his proposal was refused by ritual officials in the end.

An unprecedented phenomenon emerged during the transition between the Northern Song and the Southern Song: the exiled court launched a huge, nationwide campaign to build shrines entitled with specific characters like “loyalty” and “virtue”, and granted them official titles, with the goal of promoting the values of loyalty and justice.⁹⁰ Requests for rebuilding the Blessing Virtue Shrine were also influenced by this movement. For example, regardless of the character “virtue” in its title, the

⁸⁸ Tian Rucheng 田汝成, *Xihu youlan zhi* 西湖遊覽志, Yingyin Wenyuan ge siku quanshu edition, 21.12a.

⁸⁹ *YH*, 99.1885.

⁹⁰ Yang Junfeng 楊俊峰, “Cifeng yu quanzhong: Liang Song zhi ji de Jingzhong miao 賜封與勸忠: 兩宋之際的旌忠廟,” *Lishi renleixue* 歷史人類學 10.2 (2012): 33–62; Yang Junfeng, “Tang Song zhi jian de guojia yu cisi: Jian lun cisi de ‘zhongxin hua’ 唐宋之間的國家與祠祀: 兼論祠祀的‘中心化’,” PhD diss., National Taiwan University, 2009.

shrine fell into the category of “Shrines of Loyalty.”⁹¹ In contrast to most of figures revered in other shrines, the three martyrs did not live in the Song dynasty, and were not cited for any meritorious deeds against the Khitan Liao and the Jurchen Jin. They were worshipped for their loyalty to the Zhao aristocratic family with symbolic connections to the imperial Song clan, and commemorated of their enactments of safeguarding the only descendant of the Zhao family at all costs, even at the cost of their lives. Promoting loyalty and praying for sons both represented the court’s efforts to reestablish its legitimacy in times of hardship. The latter even revealed the inside political tension in the context of increasing concerns about the emperor’s successor.

In 1148, a year after Gaozong performed the sacrifice to Gaomei himself, the Song court decided to promote another interrelated rite, the sacrifice to the Red Emperor, from a minor sacrifice up to a major one. The result of negotiations evinced that Song officials tried almost every possible way to pray for the emperor’s sons, since the Song emperors and their ancestors were believed to have been born by having responses to the Red Emperor and the devout sacrifices to the Red Emperor to have brought numerous sons to the previous Song emperors.⁹² Even in 1162, before Gaozong’s abdication, previous grand councilor Tang Situi 汤思退 (1117–64) insisted that the emperor would have his own son(s).⁹³ As Lau Nap-yin points out, Gaozong never gave up expecting his own son(s) and did not recognized

⁹¹ *MLL*, 14.125.

⁹² *SS*, 100.2463.

⁹³ *XNYL*, 184.3558–59; *CYZI*, yiji 1.506.

Zhao Shen as prince until 1160, twenty-eight years after he was adopted and raised in the palace. The negotiations of rites and ritual spaces, which resulted in and from the aforementioned differences, turned out to be discourses and practices for requests and compromises, by the emperor, officials, and ordinary people, and between power of ritual space based on the ritual meanings and precedents and power *in* ritual space in political and daily contexts.

The Emperorship Reconsidered: Brief Discussion on the Dynastic Revival

From his enthronement to abdication, Gaozong was always at the center of questions about his emperorship and the legitimacy of his regime. Before the death of Qinzong, he was normally considered to be a provisional emperor and a temporary symbol of the Song imperial clan for the solidarity of various forces. Such an argument culminated in the Miao-Liu mutiny. After the mutiny and during the long Song-Jin war, the challenges never stopped, nor did officials' incessant concerns over the issue of selecting the heir apparent. Gaozong finally appointed Zhao Shen as the crown prince, but over three decades after he was brought into the Imperial Palace in 1132. Thereafter, the emperor soon abdicated the throne in favor of his adoptive son. These two events apparently have some close relations. Both share a central problem of the imperial succession, an integral and essential part of the emperorship. Previous studies explained the reasons why Gaozong did not decide the heir apparent earlier, arguing that the major reason could have been his hope for

a son of his own.⁹⁴ This paradoxical conjecture has not been studied yet. It is noteworthy that Gaozong never expressed such an expectation in public; in contrast, he was more willing to maintain the competition between the two candidates for his further observation and for fear of officials' speculations.

The Song officials' hopes did not merely rest on the two candidates. In fact, the emperor's unborn son was expected to be a third option, an expectation that appeared as early as the beginning of the Shaoxing reign era. In the following years, Gaozong's future sons became highlighted in the intertwined histories of restoring the sacrifice to Gaomei and the sacrifices to the three martyrs. The ritual negotiations and practices of building and rebuilding the Altar of Gaomei and the Bless Virtue Shrine in Hangzhou (later Lin'an) indicate the increasing political tension on imperial succession behind the scenes. In the process, ritual officials had to cautiously deal with this sensitive issue, revising their opinions over and over again, and eventually made a series of compromises.

The intertwined histories provide us with an opportunity to glimpse the role of the hidden emperor and to comprehend the emperorship from a ritual perspective. Gaozong seemed to have had no relevant performance on the surface, but it does not mean that he was avoiding this issue. Gaozong once acknowledged without mincing words that he had had no heirs for twenty-nine years.⁹⁵ During the Jianyan period, the emperor had agreed to follow the precedent of Renzong. Gaozong's promise to return the imperial power back to the Taizu's line was widely regarded as a virtuous act, an

⁹⁴ Lau Nap-yin, "Nan Song zhengzhi chutan: Gaozong yinying xia de Xiaozong," 342.

⁹⁵ *CYZI*, yiji 1.498.

important factor supporting the legitimacy of his reign. In other words, even if he had his own son one day, he would have to solve this thorny problem. Since Gaozong was heirless then, the positive ritual performance would have broken his commitment. By removing the two highest ranking officials who seemed to intervene in his decision in 1138, Gaozong indicated that only the emperor could decide the heir apparent.⁹⁶ Meanwhile, the emperor never excluded any other possibilities in public. He did not give an order to cease the sacrifices for praying for his own sons. Especially for the sacrifice to Gaomei, Gaozong almost never attended this major rite but wrote prayers for it every year. We do not know what he wrote, but it could have been possible that the emperor was reminded of the hope in his writing before the sacrifice. For an outsider, Gaozong neither supported nor objected to these rites. Such a vague position made others hardly guess his intentions, and thus made it possible to delay the final decision of his abdication.

The theme of “the dynastic revival” was always mentioned throughout the reign of Gaozong.⁹⁷ In the Southern Song, there had been different approaches to periodizing the dynastic revival, but all regarded Emperor Gaozong as the pivotal figure initiating the restoration.⁹⁸ As early as the fourth month of 1127, Empress

⁹⁶ *CYZJ*, yiji 1.500–501; Lau Nap-yin, “Nan Song zhengzhi chutan: Gaozong yinying xia de Xiaozong,” 341–42.

⁹⁷ For discussions on the Southern Song dynastic revival from a perspective of art history or visual and material culture, see Julia K. Murray, “The Role of Art in the Southern Song Dynastic Revival,” *Bulletin of Sung Yüan Studies* 18 (1986): 41–59; Julia K. Murray “Sung Kao-Tsung as Artist and Patron: The Theme of Dynastic Revival,” in *Artists and Patrons: Some Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting*, ed. Chu-ting Li (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989), 27–35; Hsu Ya-Hwei 許雅惠, “Nan Song jinshi shoucang yu zhongxing qingjie 南宋金石收藏與中興情結,” *Guoli Taiwan daxue meishushi yanjiu jikan* 國立臺灣大學美術史研究集刊 31 (2011): 1–60.

⁹⁸ Discussants had different periodization models since they lived in different time periods. To be brief, the Southern Song dynastic revival could have referred to the reign of Gaozong (e.g. *Zhongxing rili* 中興日曆 by Wang Boyan 汪伯彥, *Zhongxing shengtong* 中興聖統 presented in 1150, etc.), the reigns of Gaozong and Xiaozong (e.g. *Zhongxing liangchao shengzheng* 中興兩朝聖政), the reigns of Gaozong, Xiaozong and

Yuanyou 元祐 (later on Longyou) endorsed Gaozong for his future succession in her open letter, making an analogy between Gaozong's emperorship and the revival of the Eastern Han.⁹⁹ One month later, Gaozong himself in his enthronement speech announced his mission of the dynastic revival.¹⁰⁰ The altar for the sacrifice to Supreme Heaven in 1128 was named the "Altar of Receiving the Mandate of Heaven for the Dynastic Revival (*Zhongxing shouming zhi tan* 中興受命之壇)."¹⁰¹ For ordinary people, they might have viewed Gaozong's completion of the enthronement rite a proof of his legitimacy as the beginning of the dynastic revival.¹⁰² For ministers and other officials, to regain the lost territories had been long expected to lay a sound foundation for the dynastic revival, especially in the first half of the Southern Song. To Gaozong, as discussed in the first section of this chapter, he was suffering from challenges to his legitimacy in many respects, and meanwhile, had been probably racking his brains trying to survive these crises. In 1132, he complained to Lü Yihao about his thinking of the establishment of a dynasty and the dynastic revival. In his view, both were different but equally difficult.¹⁰³ For another example, Gaozong once asked examinees in the 1148 palace examination that how a dynastic revival started in a vulnerable status like the early Eastern Jin and the late Tang and developed into the

Guangzong (e.g. *Zhongxing sanchao tonglue* 中興三朝通略 by Xiong He 熊禾, *Zhongxing sanchao shengxun* 中興三朝聖訓 presented by Shi Qingchen 施清臣, etc.), and the reigns from Gaozong to Ningzong (e.g. *Zhongxing sichao guoshi* 中興四朝國史 by Shi Songzhi 史嵩之).

⁹⁹ XNYL, 4.121.

¹⁰⁰ XNYL, 5.132.

¹⁰¹ XNYL, 5.133

¹⁰² See Li Xinzhan's annotation in the very beginning of XNYL (1.1).

¹⁰³ XNYL, 60.673.

situation like the revival of the Eastern Han.¹⁰⁴

The idea of emperorship (or kingship) and the theory of dynastic succession, correlated with each other, are the two most important parts of political philosophy in ancient Chinese thought that involve power and political legitimacy. They rely on the notions of a changing mandate of heaven and a dynastic cycle that came into being during the Western Zhou dynasty, from the eleventh century BCE to the eighth century BCE, when the Zhou founders sought to legitimize their own rule after they overthrew the previous Shang dynasty. Abdication is one of the modes of a transfer of rule within a dynasty or between two dynasties.¹⁰⁵ Abdication contains reference to moral ethics in light of Chinese traditional political thoughts.¹⁰⁶

Internal abdication as hereditary succession is not relevant to dynastic change, but it shows political complexity in Chinese history. Unlike the previous scholars such as Gan Bao in the Eastern Jin and Song literati, Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613–82), one of the greatest intellectuals in the late Ming and the early Qing dynasties, regarded the transfer of rule from King Wulin of Zhao 趙武靈王 (340–295 BCE) to Crown Prince Zhao He 趙何 (310–267 BCE) in the Warring States period as the

¹⁰⁴ XNYL, 157.2983. For a latest discussion on how the image of the Southern Song dynastic revival and its relations to Gaozong were constructed by officials' and the emperor's discourses centered on the precedent of the dynastic revival of Emperor Guangwu of the Eastern Han, see He Yuhong 何玉紅, "Zhongxing xingxiang de goujian: Guangwu gushi yu Song Gaozong zhengzhi 中興形象的構建: 光武故事與宋高宗政治," *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究 4 (2017): 123–40.

¹⁰⁵ The other is revolution, more radical than the external abdication.

¹⁰⁶ Gan Bao 干寶, "Lun Jinwu di geming 論晉武帝革命," in *Wenxuan* 文選, ed. Zhaoming taizi 昭明太子, Chongke Song Chunxi edition (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1959), 49.3a. Sarah Allan provides insights into the understanding of accounts of the transfers of rule from Yao to Shun and Shun to Yu and the foundation of the Three Dynasties (Xia-Shang-Zhou). She points out an inherent contradiction between the principles of rule by virtue and rule by inheritance shown in the texts in various transformations between heir and sage, king and minister, minister and recluse, regent and rebel. The role of these legends is to reconcile such a conflict embodied in the theory of the dynastic cycle. See *The Heir and The Sage*.

beginning of internal abdication since it demonstrated the ruler's own will.¹⁰⁷ Prior to the case of King Wulin of Zhao, Yuri Pines considered the abdication between King Kuai of Yan 燕王噲 (?–314 BCE) to the minister Zizhi 子之(?–314 BCE) affected by a Qi persuader Su Dai 蘇代 a turning point after which the advocacy of abdication was questionable and no longer reliable.¹⁰⁸ However, the failed abdication did not prevent rulers such as the Qin First Emperor and Emperor Ai of Han from seeking to acquire virtuous reputation of Yao and Shun by taking advantage of the internal abdication.

No internal abdication occurred during the Qin and Han periods, but the new ideas about abdication that emerged in this time period exerted a profound influence on subsequent transfers of rule. The Northern and Southern Dynasties are another peak period after the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods, witnessing seven historical events of internal abdication.¹⁰⁹ The Tang and Song dynasties witnessed the last peak period, from the early seventh to the late twelfth centuries, for internal abdication.¹¹⁰ Seen from the history of internal abdication in Imperial China, only Emperor Gaozong in the Southern Song could have been considered the ruler who deliberately established a mode of peaceful imperial succession successfully inherited by his successor.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Gu Yanwu 顧炎武, *Rizhiliu Jishi* 日知錄集釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), 831–32.

¹⁰⁸ Yuri Pines, “Disputers of Abdication: Zhanguo Egalitarianism and the Sovereign’s Power,” *T’oung Pao* 91.4-5 (2005): 243–300.

¹⁰⁹ Andrew Eisenberg, *Kingship in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

¹¹⁰ The Tang experienced the transfers for six times and the Song five times, more than any other dynasties.

¹¹¹ As Lau Nap-in has noticed, such a mode of irenic transfer of imperial power in Chinese history shares somewhat similarities with the emergence of the Cloistered Rule (*Insei*) in medieval Japan, though their contexts

Dynasties were doomed to a cycle of decline, but they could arrest this and revive their fortunes by initiating the “dynastic revival” based on decisive military victory, strong economic resurgence, or expectant political progress such as an internal abdication.¹¹² The dynastic revival was usually used by a new ruler to win support and bolster legitimacy. A good example is Gaozong’s second abdication that succeeded in reversing the negative attitudes to his emperorship and legitimacy. The enactment also helped to portray him as the founder of the Southern Song dynastic revival. I would suggest that Gaozong’s decision of abdication was made after his careful consideration.¹¹³ Quite effective, his schedule produced the desired and positive result. Gaozong’s peaceful transfer of imperial power not only drew loud applause, dispelled doubts, and established his historical position, but also created a new tradition or a new model for the following rulers.¹¹⁴ More than these, in terms of his long-term observation on Zhao Shen (later Xiaozong), Gaozong might have been very sure that he would still have had his powerful influence on his adoptive son after the abdication.

are quite different.

¹¹² Lien-sheng Yang, “Toward a Study of Dynastic Configurations in Chinese History,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17. 3/4 (1954): 329–45, esp. 331–32. Yang argues that the achievement of a “complete restoration” was very difficult in Chinese history and the only exception is probably the Eastern Han. Also note that from Yang’s perspective, the situation of “partial security” (*pian’an* 偏安) of Southern Song China was a survival rather than a revival.

¹¹³ XNYL, 200.3945–46; Lü Zhong 呂中, *Leibian huangchao zhongxing dashiji jiangyi* 類編皇朝中興大事記講義 (hereafter ZXDSJ) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2014), 658; Yu Ying-shih, *Zhuxi de lishi shijie*, 433–34.

¹¹⁴ Deng Xiaonan points out that Gaozong was portrayed by officials as the exemplar strictly adhering to the Imperial Ancestors’ Instructions formed in the Northern Song. The Instructions also might sometimes restrict the emperor, but in practice they were normally used in a more flexible way. Deng Xiaonan, *Zuzong zhi fa*, 470–71. As he clearly stated, Gaozong followed the Instructions of Renzong in particular. See ZXDSJ, 565. I would further argue that Gaozong’s abdication to some extent displays his determination to establish new imperial instructions of the Southern Song. The new paradigm thus could have matched one of the achievements of making a revived dynasty.

Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1162–89) made a promise in his enthronement edict that he would “follow the way of Yao (*xun Yao zhi dao* 循堯之道).”¹¹⁵ The new emperor soon held the rite of granting an honorific title to the retired emperor on the twenty-second day of the sixth month of 1162, and entitled Gaozong “Irradiant Yao and Eternal Sage (*guang Yao shou sheng* 光堯壽聖).”¹¹⁶ Interestingly, Song officials no longer referred to the dynastic revival concerning Emperor Guangwu of the Eastern Han; rather, they shaped Gaozong as the embodiment of Yao, a mythical virtuous emperor who ceded the throne to the worthiest Shun rather than his own son.¹¹⁷ To the contemporaries, the relationship between Gaozong and Xiaozong like “father Yao and son Shun (*fu Yao zi Shun* 父堯子舜)” became a political and moral symbol or metaphor of family and state harmony in the Southern Song.

The relationship was represented and maintained by a series of invented rites that will be further discussed in the next chapter. During the reign of Lizong 理宗 (r. 1124–64) when Song scholar-officials reflected on the history of the early Southern Song, they analyzed the reasons for causing weak state power, and criticized the serious military, social and political drawbacks in the dynastic revival; however, they made a positive evaluation of the dynastic revival ruled by Gaozong and Xiaozong, and opined that Gaozong’s political legacy was inherited by Xiaozong whose reign reached the summit of the dynastic revival.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Zhou Bida 周必大, *Wenzhong ji* 文忠集, Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu edition, 121.10a.

¹¹⁶ *ZXLS*, 181.598.

¹¹⁷ The abdication of Gaozong is a hereditary transfer, while the abdication of Yao can be viewed as a non-hereditary transfer. To be strict, they are two different forms of abdication.

¹¹⁸ *ZXDSJ*, 442–45.

Conclusion

The Jurchens' domination of the northern half of Chinese territories in the 1120s brought about the selection of Lin'an as the temporary capital after the exiled court was relocated in the south. The new regime since its birth had been always facing constant challenges to its legitimacy. Ritual reconstruction was one of its efforts to reestablish the lost authority. The question of Gaozong's legitimacy had appeared before his 1128 enthronement; the succession problem surfaced in 1129.¹¹⁹ The prevailing opinion held that Gaozong should prioritize his task of welcoming the two captive emperors from the far north. Many officials soon offered a provisional plan expecting the then heirless emperor to choose a descendant in Taizu's line as a candidate for the would-be heir apparent. The Renzong's case as a precedent was usually proposed for references in dealing with the succession problem.¹²⁰ In 1142 when the Song and the Jin reached a peace agreement, Gaozong presided over a grand ritual of welcoming his repatriated mother together with the coffins of Emperor Huizong and Empress Xing (1106–39), Gaozong's first wife. What the handscroll (Figure 2.5) did not show was probably an implication of a possible return of Qinzong, a real threat to Gaozong's imperial power. This major crisis that defined Southern Song politics—over emperorship and ritual reconstruction—were profoundly affected

¹¹⁹ One of the efforts of legitimizing Gaozong's enthronement was to connect it with the two characters of the reign era of Jingkang, implying that the Prince of Kang (*Kangwang* 康王) Zhao Gou would have become the Song emperor in the twelfth month of 1127. Cai Tao 蔡條, *Tieweishan cong'an* 鐵圍山叢談 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 1.2. Such an interpretation could have also been made or reemphasized in the Shaoxing period.

¹²⁰ Fan Rugui 范如圭 (1102–60) was actively engaged in submitting memorials on the Renzong's arrangement for the selection of the heir apparent. Li Jingde 黎靖德 ed., *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994), 127.3056.

by ritual perceptions and practices of the Song emperor, officials, literati, and urban dwellers in the temporary capital city.



Fig. 2.5: Welcoming the Imperial Carriage (anon., Southern Song), handscroll, ink and color on silk. 26.7×142.2 cm. Shanghai Museum.

Source: Plate 15, in Julia K. Murray, *Mirror of Morality*.

This chapter has revisited the early period of the dynastic revival. From its examination of the restoration of two shrines, the Altar of Gaomei and the Blessed Virtue Shrine, and two corresponding sacrifices for praying for sons, it has delineated the historical contexts of the imperial succession of Emperor Gaozong and the rise of the internal abdication ceremony. The intertwined histories of restoring ritual and ritual space revealed the boundaries of political forces, public and private spheres, and interpretations of classic texts, ritual codes and ancestral imperial instructions in the urban settings that were changing over time. By carefully analyzing how Gaozong and officials dealt with the successor problem through ritual, this chapter investigated different approaches adopted by the Song officials in negotiating and facilitating the invented rituals, and also explored the hidden role that Gaozong played during this process. From ritual and ritual space perspectives, my study has demonstrated a more complicated picture of the early Southern Song regarding Gaozong's unborn son, and based on which I would suggest that Emperor Gaozong showed brilliant political tactics and succeeded in establishing a great reputation of a co-founder of the Song

dynastic revival by performing or not performing certain rituals as well as his compromise, forbearance, and careful calculation.¹²¹

¹²¹ Hong Mai 洪邁, *Rongzhai suibi* 容齋隨筆 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 354; Zhao Yi 趙翼, *Nianer shi zha ji jiaozheng* 廿二史劄記校證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 282. Note that Gaozong has always been considered a dissipated, cowardly and shameless emperor in Mainland China. For the recent interpretation of Gaozong's abdication by a revisionist approach, See Zhu Ruixi 朱瑞熙, "Guanyu Song Gaozong de pingjia wenti 關於宋高宗的評價問題," *Nan Song shi ji Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu* 南宋史及南宋都城臨安研究, ed. He Zhongli (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2009), 1–12; Li Yumin 李裕民, "Nan Song shi Zhongxing? Hai shi maiguo?: Nan Song shi xiejie 南宋是中興? 還是賣國? ——南宋史新解," *Nan Song shi ji Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu*, 12–27; He Zhongli 何忠禮, "Luelun Song Gaozong de 'shanwei' 略論宋高宗的 '禪位'," in *Huiyin yongzhu: Xugui jiaoshou jinian wenji* 徽音永著: 徐規教授紀念文集, eds. Zhejiang daxue lishi xi 浙江大學歷史系 et. al. (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2012), 377–83. Among the Western scholars Julia Murray is one of the earliest who in the mid-1980s reevaluated the role of Gaozong from the perspective of art history. She argues that it was Gaozong's successful strategy by using cultural and artistic media to restore the power and preserve the imperial legitimacy. See Julia K. Murray, "The Role of Art in the Southern Song Dynastic Revival," 41–59; Julia K. Murray, "Sung Kao-tsung, Ma Ho-chih, and the Mao Shih Scrolls: Illustration of the Classic of Poetry," PhD diss., Princeton University, 1981.

THREE

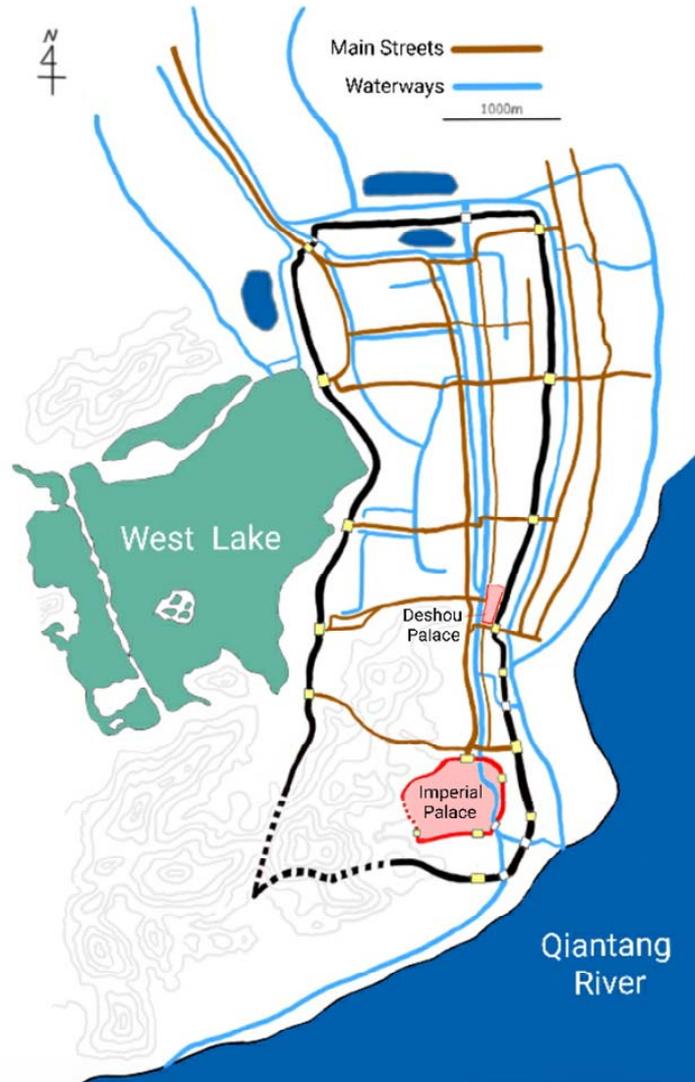
The Rise and Decline of the Dual Palaces: Imperial Crisis and Responses to Ritual Failure

The abdication of Emperor Gaozong in the sixth month of the thirty-second year of the Shaoxing period (1162) marked the emergence of a new mode of the transfer of imperial power in the Southern Song. The retired emperor left the Imperial Palace where he lived for twenty-five years. Gaozong nominally retired from the throne and started his retirement in the Palace of Virtue and Longevity (*Deshou gong* 德壽宮, hereafter the Deshou Palace). Among the twenty-six retired emperors in Chinese history, the first two rulers of the Southern Song, Gaozong and his adoptive son Xiaozong, residing outside the Palace City are exceptional. But the significance of this unique spatial structure between the reigning emperor and the retired emperor has been largely underestimated in understanding Song politics and the dynastic revival as well as Chinese urban history.

Located in the southeast of Lin'an, the Deshou Palace was another political center in addition to the southern Imperial Palace. Due to their relative positions, the Deshou Palace was also known as the Northern Palace (*beinei* 北內 or *beigong* 北宮) in the contemporary literature.¹ Urban dwellers in the city witnessed regular rituals performed by officials and the emperor between the dual palaces (*nanbeinei* 南北內)

¹ The author named the Northern Palace “the Eastern Palace (*Dongnei* 東內)” in the *Chaoye yiji* probably given its location in the city. Anonymous, *Chaoye yiji* 朝野遺記 (hereafter CYYJ), Xuehai leibian edition, 4b.

(Map 3.1).² The ritual and political stability broke down after Guangzong abandoned all the rites and refused to visit his father Xiaozong in the late twelfth century. The ritual dysfunction or failure in 1191–1194 led to a severe imperial crisis that involved almost all people living in the temporary capital.



Map 3.1: The Southern Song Dual Palaces

² The dual palaces or *nanbeinei* was a contemporary common perception, see the entry of “the dual palaces (*nanbeinei*)” *CYZJ*, yiji 3.553–54. Also see the entry of “the dual palaces in the temporary capital (*xingdu nanbeinei* 行都南北内)” in Yue Ke 岳珂, *Ting shi* 程史 (hereafter TS) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 2.13–14. Jacques Gernet described the Imperial Palace in detail based on Marco Polo’s account, but he does not mention the Northern Palace. Jacques Gernet, *Daily Life in China on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion 1250–1276*, translated by H. M. Wright (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962), 118–21.

Yu Ying-shih, a preeminent sinologist in North America, has examined this political crisis from the perspectives of psychohistory and political culture, and provides his insights into the discussion of an “imperial absolute” (*huangji* 皇極), the exercise of power of both the emperor and his closest ministers or palace eunuchs.³ However, Yu’s study has failed to address the spatial and ritual features of the dual palaces, which could help us better understand the imperial crisis and the mechanism of this unique spatial structure as well as Song political history and Chinese urban history. From urban and ritual perspectives, the following questions arise: What sort of roles did the Deshou Palace play during the process from Gaozong’s abdication to what Yu summarizes as the Xiaozong’s arrangement in his late years? How did the dual palaces actually function in the capital city? What were the views of officials and ordinary people about the duality of imperial power and its spatial representation, and how did they respond during the imperial crisis in the reign of Guangzong?

Assembling fragmentary pieces of historical sources, this chapter places the dual palaces in Lin’an within political, ritual, and social contexts in the second half of the twelfth century. It investigates how this spatial and political structure was created, represented, and maintained and how it disintegrated through the lens of attitudes and actions of the Song emperors, officials, literati, and urban dwellers. It also carefully analyzes relevant historical sources of the biography of a Southern Song empress, reconsidering the empress’s role in the ritual failure, through which I try to listen to the voices of ordinary people that were severely marginalized in the

³ Yu Ying-shih, *Zhuxi de lishi shijie*, 383–587.

imperial Chinese official histories.

The Deshou Palace: A Brief History and Reflection

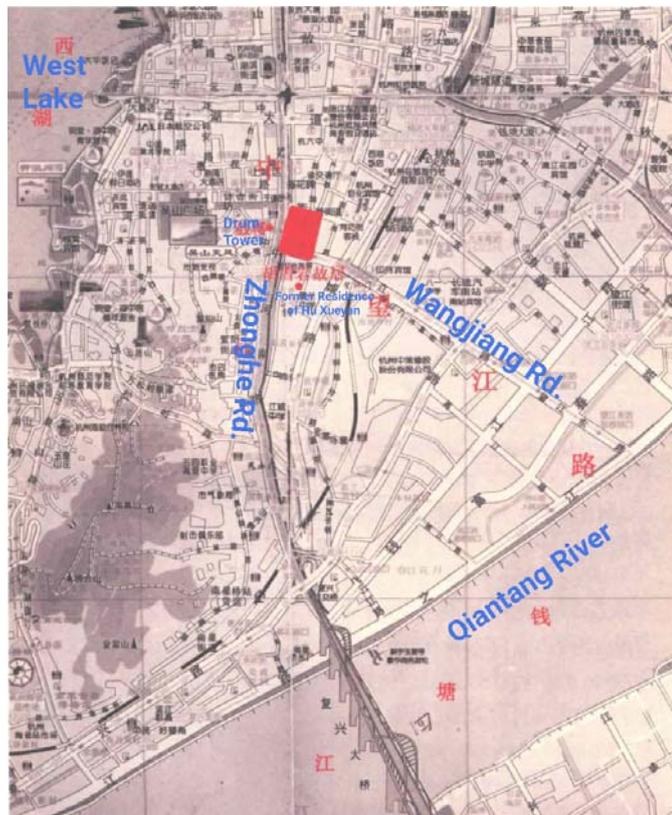
As a visible political legacy of Emperor Gaozong, the Northern Palace (Map 3.2) with various names witnessed the residence of two retired emperors, two empress dowagers and one grand empress dowager over successive periods of time.⁴ How does the palace help us to understand the convergence of political culture and ritual ceremonies on it? Historians have outlined its establishment and development grounded on the textual records and archaeological evidence, but a few issues about the palace centered in Gaozong's non-hereditary abdication need to be contextualized, explored and reconsidered.

The scope of the Deshou Palace (Figure 3.1) has been broadly verified by the recent four archaeological discoveries conducted by the Hangzhou Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology in 2001, 2005–2006, 2007, and 2018 (Figure 3.2).⁵ The excavations of the portions of the eastern, southern and western palace walls basically accord with scholars' previous inference on the basis of transmitted texts. The palace extends eastward towards the vicinity of the east city-wall (present Zhi jixiang lane 直吉祥巷), southward towards the street from the Bridge of Viewing Deities (*Wangxian qiao* 望仙橋, present Wangjiang Road 望江路) and westward towards the east bank of the Salt Bridge Canal (*Yanqiao yunhe* 鹽橋運

⁴ SS, 85.2105. For a general introduction to the Deshou Palace or the Northern Palace, see Lin Zhengqiu, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu*, 61–67; Xu Jijun, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an*, 76–80.

⁵ Tang Junjie and Du Zhengxian, *Nan Song Lin'an cheng kaogu*, 26–35; Du Zhengxian, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu: Yi kaogu wei zhongxin*, 103–110; Yao Yingkang 姚穎康, “Nan Song Deshou gong kaogu baochu zuixin chengguo! Yisi xiao Xihu yijiao bei faxian 南宋德壽宮考古爆出最新成果! 疑似小西湖一角被發現,” *Zhejiang xinwen* 浙江新聞, last modified August 15, 2018, <https://zj.zjol.com.cn/news.html?id=1008956>.

河, present Zhonghe Road 中河路), one of the four main rivers in Lin'an.⁶ Archaeologists have not found any remains of the northern wall yet. No solid evidence can prove the site of the northern boundary of the palace that still remains controversial.⁷ Recent studies suggest that the northern wall could be close to the Dharma Transmission Monastery (*Chuanfa si* 傳法寺) according to *SHY* and Song officials' accounts.⁸



Map 3.2: Sketch Map of the Deshou Palace in Today's Hangzhou
Source: Du Zhengxian, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu*, 106.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁷ In the past scholars generally believed that the boundary reached today's Plum Monument alley (*meihua bei* 梅花碑). Their main evidence is from the description of a hibiscus stone (*furong shi* 芙蓉石) in the back garden of the Northern Palace in a Ming tourist guidebook, the *Xihu youlan zhi*. For the disputes about the scope of the Deshou Palace between Lin Zhengqiu and Guo Junlun, see Guo Junlun 郭俊綸, "Hangzhou Nan Song Deshou gong kao 杭州南宋德壽宮考," *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社會科學戰線 3 (1979): 211–12; Lin Zhengqiu, "Nan Song Hangzhou Deshou gong dizhi ji fanwei kaosuo 南宋杭州德壽宮地址及範圍考索," in *Gudai Hangzhou yanjiu* 古代杭州研究, eds. Lin Zhengqiu et al. (Hangzhou: Hangzhou shifan xueyuan, 1981), 112–21; Guo Junlun, "Zhiyuan 'Feilai feng' zhi mi: jian da Lin Zhengqiu tongzhi 芝園 '飛來峰' 之謎: 兼答林正秋同志," *Zhejiang xuekan* 浙江學刊 3 (1981): 47–48.

⁸ Liu Wei 劉未, "Nan Song Deshou gongzhi kao 南宋德壽宮址考," *Zhejiang xuekan* 浙江學刊 3 (2016): 44.



Fig. 3.1: The Deshou Palace
Source: Adapted from Liu, “Nan Song Deshou gongzhi kao,” 46.



Fig. 3.2: Archeological dig site of the Deshou Palace (2018)
Source: Zhejiang xinwen, August 15, 2018.

From an archaeological perspective, scholars not merely confirm the accuracy of the written records, but also find out more details out of the texts. The walls, covered with bricks, are made of clay and rubble. It is already 140 meters (460 feet) long from the junction of the east and south walls, bolstered by a heap of stones, to the western end of the excavated south wall relics (Figure 3.3).⁹ The size of this place can be imagined. The masonry of the walkways featured by the cake-style bricks (*xianggao zhuan* 香糕磚) resembles that of the Imperial Street, implying its connection with the royal family.¹⁰ The drain near the south wall indicates that the palace had its own drainage. The remains of the ditch, the sluice gate (Figure 3.4),

⁹ Tang Junjie and Du Zhengxian, *Nan Song Lin'an cheng kaogu*, 34. According to Zhang Jing's estimation, the length of the southern wall could be as long as 233 meters (764 feet). Zhang Jing 張勁, *Nan Song Kaifeng Lin'an huangcheng gongyuan yanjiu* 南宋開封臨安皇城宮苑研究 (Jinan: Qilu chubanshe, 2008), 173.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 27, 32.

the pond, and the precipitating tank found in the west and northwest of the palace conform to the record that the palace boasted a large pond in its garden and was portrayed as a mosaic miniature of Hangzhou scenic landscape.¹¹



Fig. 3.3: South wall relics of the Deshou Palace
Source: Du Zhengxian, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu*, 104.



Fig. 3.4: Relics of a sluice gate in the Deshou Palace
Source: Du Zhengxian, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu*, 109.

The archaeological finds provide us with the detailed information supplementary to the textual records, but the biggest problem is that, though the possible scope of the Deshou Palace could be inferred through the excavations, they rarely give more clues about its evolution, let alone the broader contexts. The Deshou Palace had been expanded several times during the reigns of Gaozong and Xiaozong; however, chronostratigraphy hardly tells us what came into being first or later in the same Southern Song stratum. In other words, even if the excavated relics

¹¹ WLJS, 7.96–97.

coexisted in almost the same period, we can only say that as a whole they represented the place in that period. The uncertainty of the northern wall as a result of expansion is a clear proof. Even for the southern wall in nearly the same location with little change, what archaeologists have discovered most likely show the place in the middle and late Southern Song rather than in its heyday when Gaozong as retired emperor was living there.¹²

The history of the Deshou Palace begins with the abdication of Emperor Gaozong in 1162; however, its prehistory is not irrelevant and helps us better understand the shape of the dual palaces. Below are the three major questions we need to answer. Why would Gaozong choose to dwell in this place which used to be the residence of Qin Gui 秦檜 (1091–1155), a Southern Song chief councilor who was later widely blamed for his betrayal of the state? What is the connection between the Deshou Palace and Gaozong's abdication? And what is the significance of the Northern Palace and how do we understand it?

We would better start to think about the question of why the would-be retired emperor did not select a site in other areas of the city. Shiba Yoshinobu identifies the three main districts in Lin'an inhabited by ministers, generals, and senior officials and imperial clans.¹³ The north of the city, centered on the Temple of Spectacular Numina and the Examination Compound of the Ministry of Rites, was a cultural and ritual center where wealthy merchants and versatile artists resided as well.¹⁴ In part

¹² For example, the rear garden of the Deshou Palace had been extended in 1167. *WLJS*, 7.96.

¹³ Shiba, *Sōdai kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 347.

¹⁴ Shiba, *Sōdai kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 348.

because of the increasing ritual importance of this area, between 1143 and 1151 the mansions of Liu Guangshi 劉光世 (1089–42) and Han Shizhong 韓世忠 (1089–51) with which Gaozong originally rewarded the two generals were requisitioned one after another for the expansion of a huge complex of the Temple of Spectacular Numina (Figure 3.5). The requisition might have made it difficult for the emperor to find adequate space elsewhere to build his palace.¹⁵ The southwestern area between the Surging Gold Gate (*Yongjin men* 湧金門) and the Gate of Clear Ripples (*Qingbo men* 清波門) was a home to imperial clans, especially to princes, empresses, and empress dowagers, perhaps not a proper place for the retired emperor because it was too close to the urban financial hub.¹⁶ The southeast section, opposite the southwest and between the Advocating Newness Gate (*Chongxin men* 崇新門) and the New Gate (*Xin men* 新門), as Shiba argues, seemed much safer.¹⁷

Preparing for his retirement life, Gaozong showed interest in the mansion of grand councilor Qin Gui that could have been understandable. Qin's residence possessed an ideal location in the southeast of Lin'an—near a recreation district and in the vicinity of the junction of the north-south (the Imperial Street and the Salt Bridge Canal) and east-west (from the Chongxin Gate to the Yongjin Gate) economic axes of the capital city. This also in part explains why Gaozong previously rewarded the mansion (*cidi* 賜第) to Qin Gui who at that time worked very closely

¹⁵ This is the realistic reason, and another possible reason is that the location was far from the political center of the Imperial Palace.

¹⁶ Chaffee, *Branches of Heaven*, 146–47.

¹⁷ Shiba, *Sōdai kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 347.

with the emperor.¹⁸ Moreover, this place was not far from the Imperial Palace.¹⁹ Qin's mansion became available by the end of the Shaoxing period, as it had already been confiscated since the death of Qin Gui in 1155.

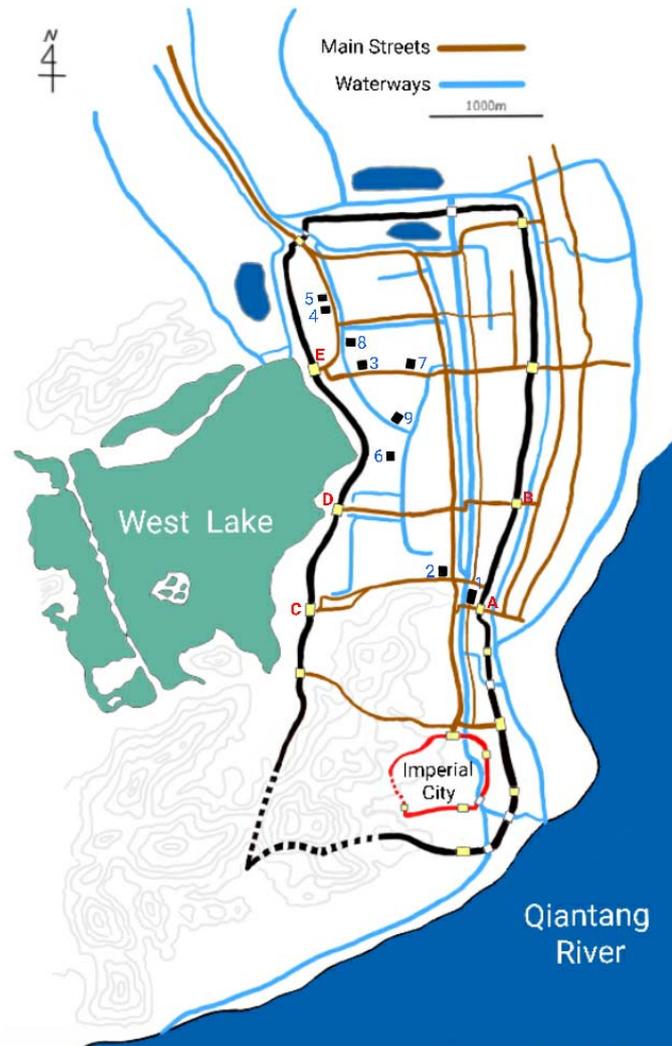


Fig. 3.5: The mansion of Qin Gui and the mansions of the generals

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Mansion of Qin Gui | 2. Mansion of Zhang Jun | 3. Mansion of Yue Fei |
| 4. Mansion of Han Shizhong (origin) | 5. Mansion of Liu Guangshi (origin) | |
| 6. Mansion of Yang Yizhong 楊沂中 | 7. Mansion of Han Shizhong (1152) | |
| 8. Mansion of Liu Guangshi | 9. Mansion of Han Shizhong | |

¹⁸ According to Yue Ke's explanation, Qin Gui requested that Gaozong would give him this place as a reward for his new residence since Qin learnt from a geomancer that the place was a symbol of prosperity. *TS*, 2.13.

¹⁹ *XNYL*, 169.3217. Google Maps assumes it takes about 22 minutes on foot from the intersection of present Wansong Ridge 萬松嶺 Road and Fenghuang shanjiao 鳳凰山腳 Road (i.e. the place of the Northern Gate of the Palace City) to the Museum of Hangzhou Local Gazetteers (the southwestern area of the Deshou Palace), for about 1.7 kilometers (1.06 miles).

A. Xin Gate

B. Chongxin Gate

C. Qingbo Gate

D. Yongjin Gate

E. Qiantang Gate

The new rewarded residence of Qin Gui was the harbinger of what a Japanese scholar Teraji Jun 寺地遵 proposes as “the political system of the twelfth year of the Shaoxing period (1142)” that came into existence after Qin Gui and Gaozong had dominated the peace negotiation with the Jin and seized military power from four generals.²⁰ When the military system of Three Capital Guards (*sanya* 三衛) had disintegrated in the endless wars and economic turmoil in the early Southern Song, the Song emperor had to rely on local generals whose power in theory should have been greatly weakened and brought under control the way Emperor Taizu used to achieve in the early Northern Song.²¹ However, the rise of military generals and expansion of their power, reaching the climax of the Miao-Liu mutiny and the betrayal of Vice Supreme Commandant (*fu tongzhi guan* 副統制官) Li Qiong 郾瓊 (1104–53) and his army in the 1130s, led to the vigilance and criticism of official scholars.²² In order to eliminate the threat of powerful generals and pave the way for the negotiated peace talk with the Jurchens, Gaozong and Qin Gui imitated Taizu’s way of implementing a centralized policy of the military affairs by means of

²⁰ Teraji Jun 寺地遵, *Nansō shoki seijishi kenkyū* 南宋初期政治史研究 (Hiroshima: Keisuisha, 1988). For an introduction to the peace negotiations between 1138 and 1142, see Tao Jingshen, “The Move to the South and the Reign of Kao-tsung (1127–1162),” *The Cambridge History of China Volume 5 Part One*, 677–84. For Gaozong’s sweeping military powers, see Tao Jingshen, “The Move to the South and the Reign of Kao-tsung (1127–1162),” 667–72.

²¹ For the reconstruction and development of Three Capital Guards in the reign of Gaozong, see Liang Weiji 梁偉基, “Song Gaozong shiqi Sanya de chongjian yu fazhan 宋高宗時期三衛的重建與發展,” *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 中國文化研究所學報 49 (2009): 333–62. The misfortunes in the Jingkan period made many Song officials and literati regard the late Northern Song and the early Southern Song as the era of warlords, similar to the late Tang and the Five Dynasties. See Ye Shi 葉適, *Ye Shi ji* 葉適集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), 789.

²² Hu Yin 胡寅, *Feiran ji* 斐然集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), 347.

appointing Han Shizhong, Zhang Jun 張俊 (1086–1154) and Yue Fei 岳飛 (1103–42) as Military Affairs Commissioners (*shumishi* 樞密使) in 1141, thus depriving them of direct command over their personal troops. In exchange for the concessions, Emperor Gaozong rewarded them with mansions, forcing them to settle in the capital and preventing them from developing their own forces.²³ Thereafter, within nine months, first Han Shizhong underwent a malicious slander, and then Yue Fei was imprisoned and executed for the so-called treason.²⁴ As for Han Shizhong and Liu Guangshi who was dismissed as early as 1137, the court took over their mansions in the name of temple construction or expansion shortly after they passed away.²⁵ Zhang Jun was not framed. Owing to his acute sense of political affairs, Zhang handed over his military power of his own accord and echoed Qin Gui's views. His mansion was near Qin's, while all mansions of Liu, Han and Yue were located in the northwest of the city, far from the imperial palace.

The Deshou Palace's prehistory implies its geopolitical and ritual significance. The mansion of Qin Gui and the Imperial Palace had already constituted a somewhat quasi structure of "dual palaces," spatially representing the 1142 political system. On the first day of the fourth month of 1145, Qin Gui as Left Grand Councilor was rewarded by Gaozong with a mansion near the Wangxian Bridge.²⁶ Two days later,

²³ *SS*, 365.11394.

²⁴ *XNYL*, 141.2649–50; Huang Kuanchung, "Cong hai Han dao sha Yue: Nan Song shou bingquan de bian zou 從害韓到殺岳：南宋收兵權的變奏," *Songshi yanjiu ji* 宋史研究集 vol. 22 (Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan, 1992), 113–40. For a recent review of nationalism in studies on Yue Fei and Southern Song history in Mainland China, See Jiang Peng 姜鵬, "Rang Yue Fei huigui lishi 讓岳飛回歸歷史," *Shanghai Book Review* 上海書評 (*Oriental Morning Post* 東方早報), August 11, 2013, <http://www.dfdaily.com/html/1170/2013/8/11/1050690.shtml>.

²⁵ *XNYL*, 109. 2048, 123.2290.

²⁶ *XNYL*, 153.2894. Prior to this event, as early as 1132 the Song court ordered the Fiscal Commission

Qin and his family moved into this newly built residence, guided by imperial music. The impressive performance of court musicians gave wide publicity to his residence, thanks to the banquet arranged by the emperor. The ceremony culminated in the emperor's innumerable, sumptuous bestowals.²⁷ The emperor's another visit to Qin's residence two months later illustrated its importance.²⁸ The next day Zhang Cheng 張澄 (?–1153), the prefect of Lin'an, submitted a memorial to the court including those officials who had contributed to the renovation of Qin's mansion.²⁹ The project was completed in three months. Gaozong personally inscribed a tablet for this renovated building with six characters, "Pavilion of Communication with Heaven by Eternal Virtue (*yide getian zhi ge* 一德格天之閣)," a declaration of his close relationship with Qin Gui.³⁰ In short time the official permission for the erection of a family shrine in the mansion were granted, along with the making of ritual vessels by following the regulations in the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*.³¹ After Qin died in the tenth month of 1155, the political and ritual privileges were deprived and not inherited by his son.

(*zhuanyun si* 轉運司) of the Liangzhe circuit to establish the Lattice and Trellis Factory (*bochang* 箔場) dealing with the mansion of Qin Gui, who then in Shaoxing had been appointed as Right Grand Councilor since 1131 and went to Hangzhou with the emperor one year later. *SS*, 473.13749-50. When the court promoted Hangzhou to the temporary capital in 1138, *bochang* as a provisional institution continued to function, playing an essential role in the arrangements for mansion rewards until Qin Gui's death in 1155. Lu You 陸游, *Laoxue an biji* 老學庵筆記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 32.

²⁷ The bestowals included ten thousand bolts of tough silver silk, ten thousand strings of coins, ten thousand bolts of varicolored silk, six hundred and eighty pieces of gold and silver vessels and embroidered curtains, and one thousand and four hundred sprays of flowers. *XNYL*, 153.2894.

²⁸ *XNYL*, 153.2899.

²⁹ *XNYL*, 153.2900. The *Linqun yeji* cited by Li Xinzhan describes that Qin Gui ordered to build a splendid mansion for his residence and large quantities of timber and earth were consumed for the construction.

³⁰ *XNYL*, 154.2912.

³¹ *XNYL*, 155.2929; *YH*, 69.1365.

It is unclear if Gaozong had thought about abdication soon after Qin Gui's death, but his decision on abdication was probably concerned with the construction of the Deshou Palace. The palace was built on the twenty-sixth day of the fifth month of 1162.³² The construction might contain the expansion and renovation of the original building in line with an emperor's residence. It seems odd that Gaozong did not name the new palace immediately after it was constructed until the third day of the next month as he appointed Xiaozong the Crown Prince the next day and completed the internal abdication a week later.³³ In the imperial edict drafted by Hong Zun 洪遵 (1120–74) and issued one day prior to the ceremony, Gaozong explicitly mentioned that “I will be named the retired emperor and move to the Deshou Palace (朕稱太上皇帝，遷德壽宮).”³⁴ This edict suggests that the emperor must have previously discussed about the transfer of imperial power with his trusted officials and they might be preparing for the relevant affairs in the fourth month.

The Deshou Palace was similar to the size and layout of the Imperial Palace. The Deshou Palace was divided into two main areas, the place of residence in the south composed of two palaces for the retired emperor and his wife and the imperial garden in the north.³⁵ The tablets of the main hall of Gaozong's palace as well as the Deshou Palace were both inscribed by Xiaozong himself.³⁶ The rituals between the

³² Xiong Ke 熊克, *Zhongxing xiaoji* 中興小紀 (hereafter ZXXJ) (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1985), 40.489.

³³ ZXXJL, 40.489; SS, 32.611.

³⁴ XNYL, 200.3942–3943.

³⁵ For descriptions of the layout and landscape of the imperial garden in the Deshou Palace, see CYZJ, yiji 3.553–54; MLL, 8.63–64.

³⁶ XCLAZ, 2.3369.

dual palaces, which will be discussed in the following section, were generally performed at the main hall. The change of the tablets witnessed the arrival of a new owner, and sometimes embodied political hybridity that the retired emperor, the empress dowager, the grand empress dowager and the palace eunuchs were all living in the Northern Palace.³⁷ Guangzong insisted on staying in the Imperial Palace after he was forced to abdicate in 1192; in 1206 the Palace of Longevity and Benevolence (*Shouci gong* 壽慈宮) was destroyed by fire, and the grand empress dowager had to move in the Imperial Palace.³⁸ The Northern Palace thereafter became deserted; during the reign era of Xianchun 咸淳 (1265–74) it was split into two areas: a temple for the worship of the Emperor of Responsive Birth in the north, and a residential area occupying the south.³⁹

Power of Repetition: The Dual Palaces Rituals

The dual palaces emerged in Lin'an in 1162. The emperor was then living in the south of the temporary capital, while the retired emperor's residence lay to the north of the Palace City. Such a situation, two centers of political power in one capital city, seemed to have been abnormal. It was reminiscent of a spatial metaphor, as

³⁷ The palace was entitled "Double Luster (*chonghua* 重華)" after Xiaozong moved here. Empress Wu, Gaozong's second wife, was then allowed to stay in her palace, and its tablet was renamed as "Palace of Benevolence and Blessing (*Cifu gong* 慈福宮)." *MLL*, 8.64; *CYZJ* yiji 2.526. When Xiaozong passed away, the Chonghua Palace was designated "the Cifu Palace" for Empress Wu, while Xiaozong's third wife, Empress Xie, moved in the previous Cifu Palace, which was then entitled "Longevity and Benevolence (*shouci* 壽慈)." *CYZJ*, yiji 2.526.

³⁸ *SS*, 154.3599; Anonymous, *Xubian liangchao gangmu beiyao* 續編兩朝綱目備要 (hereafter *GMBY*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), 9.159.

³⁹ *XCLAZ*, 13.3485; *MLL*, 8.64, 8.71. Palace of Ancestral Yang was also a Daoist temple then, and during the reign of Yuan Renzong it was administered by a Daoist master Du Daojian 杜道堅 (123–1318). *MLL*, 8.71–72. For a brief biography of Du Daojian in English, see Fabrizio Pregadio ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, vol.1 (NY: Routledge), 383–84.

Confucius argued, that “There are not two suns in the sky, nor two sovereigns [over the people] on the earth (天無二日，土無二王).”⁴⁰ This section explores how this unique spatial structure of the dual palaces was represented and maintained in the reign of Xiaozong by routinized, institutionalized, and spatialized rituals.

The entries about the retired emperor first appeared in the *Zhongxing lishu*, a Southern Song state ritual code, in which the sitting emperor and the retired emperor formed the basis of the section of the felicitous rites, one of the five categories of Confucian rites.⁴¹ The interactions of the dual imperial power were textualized in this ritual book that provided typical and concrete examples for the following rulers and ritual officials. This ritual section starts with the issues about the empress dowager and then records the rites related to the retired emperor, the emperor, and officials, generally compiled in terms of categories, chronology, and the seniority in the imperial clan. Among them, a series of rites centered on the relations between the emperor and the retired emperor were evidently underscored and thus, I would suggest, could be regarded as the dual palaces rituals.

One of the most conspicuous rites was the emperor’s regular visits to the retired emperor. Its formation was detailed in the *Zhongxing lishu* as a starting point of the routinization and institutionalization of the dual palaces rituals. Supplemented by

⁴⁰ *LJZY*, 18.1392; A steward of Liu Taigong 劉太公 (ca. 272–197 BCE), the father of Liu Bang 劉邦 (r. 202–195 BCE), once referred to the Confucius’s expression and reminded Liu Bang, who visited his father every five days in a humble way, that he should behave like an emperor. See *SS*, 8.382.

⁴¹ The auspicious rite is a comprehensive complex, containing the succession to the throne, the drinking and dining etiquette, the capping and wedding ceremonies, and the congratulatory ceremonies. The rites regulated performers from the emperor to the ordinary people. Almost all rituals not categorized into other four rites are placed in this category. Pi Qingsheng 皮慶生, “Nan Song liyi zhidu 南宋禮儀制度,” in *Nan Song quanshi* 南宋全史 vol. 4, eds. Miao Shumei 苗書梅, Ge Jinfang 葛金芳 et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012), 274.

other materials like the *Songhuiyao jigao* and the *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu*, further discussion on this process can be possible. As discussed in Chapter 2, Xiaozong showed an excessively deferential, cautious manner on the day of the 1162 internal abdication ceremony. After the enthronement rite, dressed in a reddish brown robe, the new emperor Xiaozong escorted his adoptive father to the Peaceful Harmony Gate (*Hening men* 和寧門, hereafter the Hening Gate) with his hands on Gaozong's carriage. It was recorded that Xiaozong intended to go all the way to the Deshou Palace, but Gaozong stopped him. The retired emperor could not help exalting Xiaozong, "I have entrusted to the right person, and I have no regret. (吾付託得人, 斯無憾矣)" Shortly the officials accompanied the new emperor back to his residence.⁴²

Gaozong's repeated stress in public on his qualified successor put huge pressure on Xiaozong. The new emperor had to continue to escalate the rites in scale and frequency through his public performances, attempting to shape, maintain and convey the image of his filial piety. After Gaozong's departure, Xiaozong immediately ordered officials to prepare for his first visit to the retired emperor. The next day, the eleventh day of the sixth month, Xiaozong issued an imperial edict, probably his first official order, that he would go to visit Gaozong in the Deshou Palace on the twelfth day of that month. The emperor also ordered the implementation of security measures at the gates of the Deshou Palace, the same as

⁴² XNYL, 200.3945.

those for the Imperial City and the Palace City.⁴³ On the same day, Vice Director of the Ministry of Rites Huang Zhong 黃中 (1096–1180) submitted a draft of the ritual details and suggested that the emperor carry out the regular visits on the lunar New Year's day, the Winter Solstice, and the first and the fifteenth days of each month. The proposal was ratified by Xiaozong.⁴⁴ In Huang Zhong's initial schedule, the regular rites seemed to have put the emperor in a position of a minister as implied in phrases like "having an audience (with the emperor) (*chaojian* 朝見)." Huang's proposal is noteworthy because it presents how ritual officials defined the relations between the two emperors in ritual when there were no precedents in the Northern Song for reference. Meanwhile, the Postern Office (*gemen si* 閣門司) was ordered to ensure everything in order before and after the first visit, and was also notified that ministers, officials, and Imperial Procession Guards were allowed to take their umbrellas or other rainwear if it would rain.⁴⁵

On the eleventh day of the sixth month of 1162, an unexpected heavy rain ruined Xiaozong's schedule. But he still insisted on visiting Gaozong. Officials accompanied the emperor, but were exempt from their ritual duties. The planned rite had to be replaced by a provincial private family rite without the officials' participation, which later became the regular procedure.⁴⁶ To rapidly readjust his plan, Xiaozong issued an edict the next day and expressed his growing anxiety.

⁴³ *SHY, zhiguan* 34.36.

⁴⁴ *ZXLS*, 180.595.

⁴⁵ *ZXLS*, 180.596; *SHY, zhiguan* 35.10, 35.22.

⁴⁶ *XNYL*, 200.3946; *SS*, 110.2644.

In order to practice the morning and evening rite [namely, the rite of taking care of one's parents], I would like to visit the Deshou Palace one time each day. Yesterday, in the face of the retired emperor, I received his edict stating that, "(If you perform the rite this way) I am afraid that thousands of state affairs would be neglected. You may ask your subordinate officials [to practice the rite for you]. I will not grant your request. Please assign ritual officials to reschedule the rite." As the rites on the first and fifteenth days [per month] of previous dynasties were too rough, I will not accept such rites.⁴⁷

朕欲每日一朝德壽宮，以修晨昏之禮。昨日面奉太上皇帝聖旨，謂：“恐廢萬機，勞煩群下，不蒙賜許。可委禮官重定其期。”如前代朔望，甚為疏闊，朕不敢取。

The edict reveals the discussion about the regular visits between Xiaozong and Gaozong in the Deshou Palace. During the meeting, Xiaozong suggested a new, radical plan of daily visits, trying to express his utmost respect for the retired emperor. He might have taken this chance to sound Gaozong out about his attitude. Gaozong declined Xiaozong's request, but did not state his position on the ritual schedule. In this edict the emperor again voiced his concern about the low ritual frequency, and in fact, vetoed Huang's initial plan.

Two days later, Huang Zhong on behalf of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices quickly responded to Xiaozong's concern and put forward their revised plan that apart from the lunar New Year's Day and the Winter Solstice, the emperor needed to visit the retired emperor every five days (equivalent to six times per month), following the precedent of Emperor Gaozu of the Western Han.⁴⁸ Gaozong declined it again; perhaps he thought that the regular visits per month should be further

⁴⁷ ZXLS, 180.596.

⁴⁸ ZXLS, 180.596; SJ, 8.382.

curtailed. On the twenty-second day of this month, Xiaozong finally accepted the rectified proposal negotiated and submitted by the Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices at the request of the emperor. According to the new rules, the emperor would visit the retired emperor on the first, the eighth, the fifteenth, and the twenty-third days every month and, on the eighth and the twenty-third days he should perform a private family rite.⁴⁹ Thereafter, through the ritual negotiations, the framework of the regular visits to the Northern Palace was established and would be maintained for about three decades.

The regular visits placed the dual palaces in a routinized, institutionalized ritual system which spatially connected the two emperors together. In theory, Xiaozong and Gaozong should have had a ruler/minister or superior/inferior relationship, but it was nominal in practice, in part because the Song people exalted the two emperors as contemporary Yao and Shun or “two suns in the sky.” More than that, under the circumstances, Xiaozong made great efforts to present and reinforce his positive image of a filial son. The final version of the rituals of the dual palaces was designed to reconcile the ruler/minister and father/son relationships. If we take a close look at the negotiations, they were actually all under Gaozong’s control. Xiaozong tried to display more active involvement, showing his filial piety, but because he could not guess Gaozong’s intentions and instead made his very earlier proposal too extreme, his follow-up actions had to meet Gaozong’s requirements.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ *ZXLS*, 180.596. In general, the emperor conducted the private rites to the empress dowager inside the palace, which were not witnessed by officials. The arrangement apparently was affected by the traditional gender division, that is, “men rule the outside; women rule the inside.”

⁵⁰ Presumably Xiaozong would let Gaozong know the result of each negotiation and see his feedback. No more

The dual palaces rituals were not limited to the emperor and the retired emperor. The requirements for ministers and officials were of no exception. According to the *Zhongxing lishu*, some of them accompanied the emperor during the regular visits, and some, no matter they were civil or military officials, must have visited the retired emperor themselves on the second and sixteenth days each month.⁵¹ All the rituals involving ministers and officials highlighted another ruler/minister relationship centered on the Northern Palace. Of course, the ritual system was not rigid. It left room for adjusting a date to make it more appropriate regarding the circumstances such as the special weather conditions, the retired emperor's birthday, and imperial funeral rites.⁵²

Other rituals also aimed at solidifying the structure of the dual palaces. Among them, the rite of granting an honorific title and presenting the investiture book and seal to the retired emperor (*Fengshang taishang huangdi zunhao cebao* 奉上太上皇帝尊號冊寶) was remarkable in many ways. First, to reflect the retired emperor's character, achievements and authority, this Southern Song ritual was first such to be negotiated, created, performed and recorded systematically in Chinese history.⁵³ It

sources concerned with the negotiations exist, but it is hard to imagine that the final version could be put into practice without Gaozong's agreement.

⁵¹ *ZXLS*, 180.596–97. Note that Xiaozong separated the emperor's regular visits from the officials'.

⁵² *ZXLS*, 180.597.

⁵³ For the ritual negotiations and procedures between 1162 and 1185, see *ZXLS*, juan 181–juan 188; *ZXLSXB*, juan 14–juan 22. Previously, Qinzong granted an honorific title to the retired emperor in the end of 1126 after Huizong's hurried abdication, but the rite was probably too rough to become a precedent. *SS*, 110.2642; *JKYL*, 1.68; Wang Zao, *Fu xi ji* 浮溪集, Sibü congkan chubian edition, 13.1a–2a; Yang Zhongliang 楊仲良, *Tongjian changbian jishi benmo* 通鑑長編紀事本末, Guangya shuju edition, 146.10b–11a. In Chinese history, the first record about this sort of ritual is probably Empress Hu's 胡皇后 accepting an honorific title for the empress dowager in 565. Empress Hu was wife of Emperor Wucheng 武成帝 (r. 561–65) of Northern Qi, and after her husband abdication, received the honorific title from ministers and the eight-year-old new emperor. The rite could have been made temporarily and very rough. See Li Baiyao 李百藥, *Bei Qi shu* 北齊書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972), 8.101. The first recorded rite of granting an honorific title to the retired emperor took

could have been triggered in the circumstances of the inner abdication, the sacrifice to Heaven in the southern suburb, or the retired emperor's birthday, all covered in the *Zhongxing lishu*. Second, the ritual was made based on precedents that could make the dual palaces ritually connected. During negotiations, though the Song ritual officials chiefly relied upon the contemporary performed precedents, especially the 1142 and 1162 cases, the Tang and Northern Song ritual codes that they referred to laid a foundation for making this ritual, such as the emperor's prior proposals in the Northern Palace and the rite of issuing the investiture book and seal at the Grand Celebration Hall (*Daqing dian* 大慶殿) in the Palace City.⁵⁴ Third, the Southern Song adopted a quite flexible principle for the date selection. The ritual had to be adjusted for the unfixed date for abdication or the southern suburban sacrifice that was calculated and decided by the Astronomical Service (*taishiju* 太史局) in advance. The retired emperor's birthday seemed to have been regular, but in practice, the corresponding rite was usually postponed, and for convenience was held together with other major ceremonies on the New Year's day or Winter Solstice.⁵⁵ Fourth, similar to the rite of the emperor's accepting an honorific title, Gaozong's symbolic declining Xiaozong's first proposal followed by the emperor's second attempt was probably designed not only to express their virtue ritually, but display the retired

place in the New Year's day of the first year of the reign era of Yuanhe 元和 (806) and before the reign era name was changed. Emperor Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 805–20) of Tang performed the rite when visiting the residence of his father, who was sick and died eighteen days later. It is unclear if the ritual had been subsequently included in Tang ritual codes. Liu Xu 劉煦, *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 14.410, 414.

⁵⁴ *ZXLS*, 173.572, 181.600, 602, 182.608; *YGL*, 86.423.

⁵⁵ The ritual was scheduled on the lunar New Year's day in 1171, on which the emperor was not only in charge of the Great Court Conference (*dachao* 大朝會) but would meet the Jin envoys as well, the Song ritual officials thus made appropriate adaptations, All the gates of the dual palaces were allowed to open five *ke* 刻 (ca. seventy-two minutes) earlier. *ZXLS*, 183.612.

emperor's authority as well as the emperor/ minister relationship through the role reversal.⁵⁶

To negotiate and schedule the rite was a systematic and prudent work involving multiple administrative departments such as the Ministry of Rites, the Court of Imperial Sacrifice, the Ministry of Works (*gongbu* 工部), the Directorate for the Palace Buildings (*jiangzuo jian* 將作監), the Crafts Institute (*wensi yuan* 文思院), the Ministry of War (*bingbu* 兵部), the Office for Audience Ceremonies, the Astrological Service and the Imperial Dispensary (*yuyaoyuan* 御藥院). The lengthy negotiation, on the surface, was to confirm the ritual details such as the arrangement of participants, the making and placement of the ritual vessels and other objects, the dress code, the ritual procedures, etc.; in essence, it was needed in order to deal to

⁵⁶ As for the ritual of accepting an honorific in the Northern Song, in general, officials first made their proposals, and the emperor usually symbolically declined at first in order to show his virtue and modesty. The officials continued to make their requests and the emperor still insisted on his decline. After three or five times, the emperor finally accepted the title, and then ordered officials to write the investiture book and make the seal for the future ceremony. For a general introduction to Song emperors' accepting honorific titles and the rituals, see SS, 110.2639. The ritual of accepting an honorific title in the Northern Song was probably influenced by the counterpart in the second half of the Tang. Chen Junqiang 陳俊強, *Huang'en haodang: Huangdi tongzhi de ling yimian* 皇恩浩蕩：皇帝統治的另一面 (Taipei: Wunan tushu chuban gongsi, 2005), 132–33. In ancient times the emperor accepted an honorific title generally from senior court officials or occasionally from himself or the retired emperor. Ying Zhen was the first person in Chinese history who adopted himself the honorific title of “emperor (*huangdi* 皇帝).” Emperor Ai of Han was the first emperor adopting himself an honorific title. HS, 11.340. In 630, Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–49) of Tang accepted the honorific title of “Heavenly Khan (*Tian Kehan* 天可汗)” at the request of the northwestern neighboring ethnic peoples, but the title was used only to those tribes. JTS, 3.39–40. The rite of accepting an honorific title and its institutionalization initiated during the reign of Emperor Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705). Its frequency decreased and the title was simplified after the reign eras of Kaiyuan 開元 (713–41) and Tianbao 天寶 (742–56). The ritual was restored in the reign of Taizu in the Northern Song, suspended in the reign of Shenzong, and continued to perform in the reigns of Zhezong 哲宗 (r. 1085–1100) and Huizong. The rite never occurred after the Mongol Yuan period. See CYZJ, jiaji 3.91; SS, 110.2639–42; Qin Huitian 秦蕙田, *Wuli tongkao* 五禮通考, Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu edition, 130.1a–2a; Tosaki Tetsuhiko 戸崎哲彦, “Kodai Chūgoku no kunshugō to songō: Songō no kigen to songō seido no seiritsu o chūshin ni 古代中国の君主号と「尊号」: 「尊号」の起源と尊号制度の成立を中心に,” *Hikone ronsō* 彦根論叢 269 (1991): 57–86. Note that Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–62) of Tang was granted an honorific title by the retired emperor, Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713–56), in 757. JTS, 10.251. For a general introduction to Tang emperors' accepting honorific titles and the relevant rituals, see Chen Junqiang, *Huang'en haodang*, 115–36. Also see Tosaki Tetsuhiko's studies on the ritual system centered on the honorific title in Tang China, Tosaki Tetsuhiko, “Tōdai kōtei jūsetsu songōgi no fukugen (I): Tōdai kōtei sokui girei no fukugen ni mukatte 唐代皇帝受册尊号儀の復元 (上): 唐代皇帝即位儀礼の復元に向かって,” *Hikone ronsō* 272 (1991): 11–34; Tosaki Tetsuhiko, “Tōdai kōtei jūsetsu songōgi no fukugen (II): Tōdai kōtei sokui girei no fukugen ni mukatte 唐代皇帝受册尊号儀の復元 (下): 唐代皇帝即位儀礼の復元に向かって,” *Hikone ronsō* 273, 274 (1991): 377–400; Tosaki Tetsuhiko, “Tōdai songō seido no kōzō 唐代尊号制度の構造,” *Hikone ronsō* 278 (1992): 43–65.

deal with and balance the relationship between the dual palaces.⁵⁷ The ministers and ritual officials intended to shape Gaozong as a great founder of the Song renovation, a rare sage and a modern Yao; meanwhile, Xiaozong took this opportunity to express his “intention to repay the great kindness (*tubao daen* 圖報大恩).”⁵⁸

The emperor was also supposed to visit the Northern Palace in the sacred festival (*shengjie* 聖節) (Table 3.1), the title-conferring ritual on the crown prince, the rites of presenting the compiled official documents of the reign of the retired emperor, the banquets after major sacrifices, and sightseeing tours (*youxing* 遊幸). The sacred festival referred to the birthdays of the retired emperor, the empress dowager and the reigning emperor when the emperor was required to visit his parents for the celebrations (*shangshou* 上壽) together with the empress, the crown prince, imperial concubines, and officials.⁵⁹ The ritual requirements were first imposed in the fifth month of 1163, about a year after Gaozong’s abdication.⁶⁰ The emperor was also required to perform the rite of offering incense in the Northern Palace ten days prior to the sacred festival.⁶¹ The emperor basically followed the private family ritual for daily greetings except for the sacred festival and the banquet

⁵⁷ For example, the size of the retired emperor’s crown, ceremonial garment and pearls and jade were all carefully made in terms of the criteria of the emperor’s. *ZXLS*, 181.601.

⁵⁸ *ZXLS*, 181.598–99.

⁵⁹ For the accounts of the sacred festival in the *Songshi*, see *SS*, 112.2671–81. *ZXLS* includes four-volume records of the negotiations and procedures of the ritual at the Tianshen Festival (*Tianshen jie* 天申節), Gaozong’s birthday; the records of the Huiqing Festival (*Huiqing jie* 會慶節), Xiaozong’s birthday, were lost in *ZXLS* and *ZXLSXB* except for the entries. *ZXLS*, juan 203–juan208, *ZXLSXB*, juan 24. For a brief discussion on the sacred festivals in the Song, see Kim Songgyu 金成奎, trans. Hong Sungmin 洪性珉, “Sōdai higashiajia teiō seijitsu shōkō 宋代東アジア帝王生日小考,” *Sōdaishi kara kangaeru* 宋代史から考える (Tokyo: Kyūkosho, 2016), 112–15.

⁶⁰ The issue was first proposed in the middle of the fourth month of 1163. *ZXLS*, 205.48.

⁶¹ *WLJS*, 7.97; *SS*, 36.704.

for wine drinking (*yinfu* 飲福).⁶² The contemporaries considered the recreational sightseeing tour as a typical example of displaying the harmonious relationship between Gaozong and Xiaozong. For these ritual activities, Gaozong seemed to have taken a more dominant position, for he often issued ritual instructions to his adopted son. Showing his thoughtfulness of Xiaozong, the retired emperor would cancel or simplify these rituals out of weather conditions or other unexpected reasons. For instance, he once stopped Xiaozong from accompanying him to the Deshou Palace when they still stayed at sunset in an imperial garden outside Lin'an.⁶³

Table 3.1 Sacred Festivals of the Southern Song Emperors

| Emperor | Reign Period | Date of Birth | Name of Sacred Festival |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| Gaozong | 1127–1162 | 1107/05/20 | Tianshen 天申 |
| Xiaozong | 1162–1189 | 1128/10/22 | Huiqing 會慶 |
| Guangzong | 1189–1194 | 1147/09/04 | Chongming 重明 |
| Ningzong | 1194–1224 | 1168/10/18–20 | Tianyou 天祐→ Ruiqing 瑞慶 |
| Lizong | 1224–1264 | 1205/01/05 | Tianji 天基 |
| Duzong | 1264–1274 | 1240/04/09 | Qianhui 乾會 |
| Yingguo gong | 1274–1276 | 1271/09/28 | Tianrui 天瑞 |

Source: Kim Songgyu, "Sōdai higashiajia teiō seijitsu shōkō," 113.

The practices of the dual palaces rituals in Lin'an formed a special, dynamic ritual calendar. The repetition and proper modification of the rituals shaped the temporal and spatial integration of the dual palaces. The repeated ritual negotiations by ritual officials reinforced this unique power structure. To maintain the structure, Xiaozong fulfilled his ritual duties on schedule to express his filial piety, and

⁶² *SS*, 99.2445, 110.2645.

⁶³ *WXTK*, 252.1989.

confined himself consciously or unconsciously to the ritual symbolism and moralism. By contrast, Gaozong had a more dominant position in the dual palaces rituals, and was able to intervene to change the emperor's actions.⁶⁴ The coexistence of the moralized father/son relationship and the dislocated emperor-minister relationship in the rituals reflected the priorities of moral, ritual and political demands. Such an order does not fit in the five relationships in Confucianism in which the ruler/subject relationship always took precedence over any other relationships. The ritual space seems to provide a platform to link the family order to political order, where the hierarchical relations can be visually represented and reproduced. The Crown Prince's participation probably familiarized himself with the rituals in advance. The detailed descriptions provided by Zhou Mi of how Xiaozong attentively served Gaozong in the reign eras of Qiandao 乾道 (1165–73) and Chunxi 淳熙 (1174–83) reveal the role of the eunuchs at the dual palaces, who, as messengers, passed on information for ritual preparations.⁶⁵ Moreover, the sense of ritual from the everydayness of the dual palaces as well as the rituals might carry to the urban dwellers long-term implications and high expectations visually, acoustically and psychologically.

“Request Your Majesty to Visit the Chonghua Palace”:

The Imperial Crisis from Scholar-Officials' Perspectives

On the second day of the second month of 1189, Xiaozong made a crucial

⁶⁴ Apart from the dual palaces rituals, it seems that to some degree Gaozong was able to intervene in the rites held by Xiaozong. For example, the retired emperor issued an edict asking Xiaozong to perform the rite of conferring the empress title to his wife. *ZXLS*, 191.1. Gaozong's intervention was probably of both ritual and politics.

⁶⁵ *WLJS*, juan 7.

decision to pass the throne to the heir apparent Zhao Dun 趙惇 (1147–1200, later Guangzong) in an internal abdication ceremony similar to the Gaozong's in 1162. Like his adoptive father, Xiaozong moved into the Palace of Virtue and Longevity, then renamed as the Palace of Double Luster (*Chonghua gong* 重華宮, hereafter the Chonghua Palace) after his twenty-seven-year reign.⁶⁶ The phrase “double luster,” derived from the “Canon of Shun (*Shundian* 舜典)” in the *Book of Documents* (*Shangshu* 尚書), refers to Shun, a legendary leader and sage in ancient China, who inherited the throne of Yao and his virtue.⁶⁷ The abdication ceremony and the new name of the Northern Palace conveyed a strong signal of “following the way of Yao (*xun Yao zhi dao* 循堯之道).”⁶⁸

Xiaozong originally placed high expectations on the new emperor, who, in his view, was “extraordinarily benevolent and filial (*renxiao yanzhong* 仁孝嚴重)” and “valiant like himself (*yingwu leiji* 英武類己),” and believed that his successor would inherit the political and ritual tradition established by the first two Southern Song emperors.⁶⁹ However, Guangzong turned into a ruler who was eventually considered not qualified to play the dual role of responsible emperor and filial son as his father. At the beginning of his reign, Guangzong performed the required regular visits to Xiaozong's residence, but gradually reduced the frequency of ritual enactment and eventually refused to perform them. The ritual failure was said to have resulted from

⁶⁶ *CYZJ*, yiji 2.524–25.

⁶⁷ Kong Anguo 孔安國 comm. and Kong Yingda subcomm, *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義, Shisanjing zhushu edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 3.125.

⁶⁸ *WZJ*, 121.10a.

⁶⁹ *CYZJ*, yiji 2.521–22; *SS*, 36.693, 246.8733. Note that Song officials also held great expectations for Guangzong. *SS*, 398.12105.

his mental illness in the aftermath of an unsuccessful southern suburban sacrifice affected by an unexpected heavy rain at the Winter Solstice of 1191.

The emperor's constant absence in the dual palaces rituals precipitated an imperial crisis from 1192 to 1194. Officials and urban dwellers had mounting concern about the ritual dysfunction or failure in the temporary capital city as well as the potential political and social instability. In terms of officials' responses, the imperial crisis can be divided into three phases.⁷⁰ The tension between the dual palaces came to surface in the mid-eleventh month of 1192. Officials requested the emperor to visit the Chonghua Palace since the regular rite had not been held for quite a while. Another wave of requests occurred in 1193 between the Double Brightness Festival (*Chongming jie* 重明節) for celebrating Guangzong's birthday in the early ninth month and the Gathering Celebration Festival (*Huiqing jie* 會慶節) for Xiaozong's birthday in the late tenth month. The first two phases ended up with Guangzong's visit to his father. The third phase, from the fourth month to the sixth month of 1195, however, witnessed a growing crisis that climaxed with Guangzong's refusal either to visit his dying father or to conduct his funeral rites in the aftermath of Xiaozong's death. Focusing upon three scholar-officials, Ni Si 倪思 (1147–1220), Peng Guinian 彭龜年 (1142–1206) and Lou Yue 樓鑰 (1137–1213), this section explores how they responded to this imperial crisis in the three phases and examines how their responses can help to understand the nature and significance of the ritual failure and the dual palaces.

⁷⁰ SS, 36.704–10.

Ni Si

Among those officials who submitted memorials to the throne, we rarely hear the voices of ritual officials in the existing historical sources. Ni Si is an exception.⁷¹ In general, officials from the Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices would have been asked to discuss the ritual issues concerning principles, precedents, codes, objects, performers, procedures, and so forth. Since the imperial crisis was more associated with the ritual failure, it possibly explains why in Ni's surviving memorials ritual seemed not to have been the main focus, despite that he then served as Vice Director of the Ministry of Rites.⁷²

In the winter of 1192, Guangzong had never held a court audience nor visited his father for almost a month.⁷³ Ni Si, probably one of the very few officials who soon submitted memorials, reminded the emperor of his ritual responsibility. In a short period of time he even completed four memorials in succession when “Almost no other officials dared to admonish the emperor to perform the required rituals (中外莫敢諫).”⁷⁴ No response received, he wrote another six memorials or perhaps even more.⁷⁵ The fragments are now preserved in his official biography in the

⁷¹ Also note that You Mao 尤袤 (1127–94) as Minister of the Ministry of Rites (*libu shangshu* 禮部尚書) was very active in the second stage. *SS*, 389.11928–29.

⁷² Ni Si was promoted to this position in the sixth month of 1192. Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁, “Xianmoge xueshi teci guanglu dafu Ni gong muzhiming 顯謨閣學士特賜光祿大夫倪公墓誌銘,” *Heshan xiansheng daquan wenji* 鶴山先生大全文集 (hereafter *HSJ*), *Sibu congkan chubian* edition, 85.6b.

⁷³ *HSJ*, 85.6b. His recent visit to the Chonghua Palace took place in the mid-tenth month this year. *SS*, 36.704.

⁷⁴ *HSJ*, 85.7a.

⁷⁵ *SS*, 398.12114. Almost all his memorials have not survived. Ni Si and other officials such as Lou Yue, Zhao Yanyu 趙彥逾 (1130–1207) and Chen Fuliang 陳傅良 (1141–1201) submitted at least one joint memorial, which was probably drafted by Lou Yue and included in his *Gongkui ji*. There is another joint memorial in *GKJ*, but it does not mention any other officials' names. *ZXLSXB* probably has preserved the only extant memorial of Ni Si on the dual palaces rituals about bringing the temporary tablet of the dead (*yuzhu* 虞主) back to the Deshou Palace. Note that Ni Si indicated that the solemn rite represented Xiaozong's filial piety until the very end (庶於

Songshi and his epitaph written by a Southern Song Neo-Confucian scholar Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁 (1178–1237).

Probably responding to hearsay that the empress had discouraged Guangzong from visiting his father on the twenty-first day of the ninth month of 1193, in the classics colloquium (*jingyan* 經筵) four days later, Ni Si as Instructional Official purposefully selected an incestuous story of Lady Jiang (Wen Jiang 文姜, ?–673 BCE) and Duke Xiang of Qi (Qi Xianggong 齊襄公, r. 697–686 BCE) from the *Zuo Commentary* (*Zuozhuan* 左傳) and explained it to Guangzong, admonishing the emperor to realize the fact that the family disorder created by a wife such as “the translocation of Yin and Yang (*yinyang yiwei* 陰陽易位)” and “the alienation of her husband and son (*lijian fuzi* 離間父子)” would have serious consequences or even lead to the fall of a dynasty. He further illustrated his viewpoint with historical examples like Empress Lü (Lühou 呂后, ?–180 BCE) in the Han and Empress Wei (Weihou 韋后, ?–710) and Emperor Wu Zetian in the Tang who almost destroyed the empires.⁷⁶ Despite the lack of conclusive evidence, Ni seemed to have become aware of the role of Guangzong’s empress, whether out of speculation or a reminder. In another colloquium in the tenth month of the same year, Ni Si reminded Guangzong bluntly that if the emperor had some suspicion of his father/son relationship, it would gradually estrange him from his father. Ni’s words were

典禮隆厚，仰稱聖上始終盡孝誠). See *ZXLSXB*, 66.631–32.

⁷⁶ *SS*, 36.706, 398.12114; *HSJ*, 85.7a. Wen Jiang had an incestuous relationship with her brother Duke Xiang of Qi, and had her husband, Duke Huan of Lu (Lu Huangong 魯桓公, r. 711–694 BCE), murdered in a banquet held by Duke Xiang. For a brief introduction of Wen Jiang in English, see Lisa Ann Raphals, *Sharing the Light: Representations of Women and Virtue in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 68. For her biography in the *Lienü zhuan*, see Liu Xiang, *Exemplary Women of Early China: The Lienü zhuan of Liu Xiang*, trans. Anne Behnke Kinney, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 140–41.

recorded to have received somewhat positive feedback, for Guangzong responded deferentially.⁷⁷ But the emperor did not put it into action.

Holding different posts, Ni Si used the opportunities of face-to-face meetings to address probing questions or drop subtle hints to Guangzong on different occasions. In the first month of 1194, before he went to Jin as envoy, Ni Si raised a tentative question to Guangzong about the emperor's refusal to visit Xiaozong in case he was asked about this by the Jurchen emperor. Guangzong was said to quickly promise that he would visit the Chonghua Palace soon.⁷⁸ Ni later expected Guangzong to be a filial, diligent emperor by following the precedent of Renzong who placed one screen on which was written the four chapters in the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝經) on the right side of the throne and the other on which was written the chapter of “*Wuyi* 無逸” in the *Book of Documents* (*Shangshu* 尚書) on the left.⁷⁹ It is unclear if Ni's memorial was presented to Guangzong and how the emperor responded to it,

⁷⁷ Zhao Ruyu 趙汝愚 (1140–96), who was also on the spot, afterwards praised Ni's honesty and said that what he and other officials should have done could not compare with Ni's deed. *HSJ*, 85.7a; *SS*, 398.12114.

⁷⁸ *HSJ*, 85.7b. According to the *Songshi*, on the first day of 1194 Guangzong visited the retired emperor and empress in the Chonghua Palace. *SS*, 36.707.

⁷⁹ *HSJ*, 85.7b. The four chapters in the *Xiaojing* were “*Tianzi* 天子 (Son of Heaven)”, “*Xiaozhi* 孝治 (Governing through Filial Piety)”, “*Shengzhi* 聖治 (Sagely Rule)” and “*Guang yaodao* 廣要道 (Widening Essential Ways).” Jiang Shaoyu 江少虞, *Songchao shishi lei yuan* 宋朝事實類苑 (hereafter *SSLY*) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), 4.41. Note that the punctuation of separating the chapters' titles in the collated edition is incorrect. In the sixth month of 1031, a Northern Song Confucian scholar Sun Shi 孫奭 (962–1033) submitted to Emperor Renzong his painting based on the chapter of “*Wuyi*.” The painting was later placed in the pavilion where the classics colloquium was held. In the first month of 1035, the “*Wuyi*” was ordered by Renzong to be written on a screen. In the eleventh month of 1052, after an instructional official taught the “*Wuyi*” in the Pavilion of Becoming Talent (*Eying ge* 邇英閣) located in the north of the Palace City, a palace censor Yang Anguo 楊安國 suggested that Renzong should display the previous painting of *Wuyi* on the screen. The emperor thought the screen should be put on the left otherwise he would have been seated in front of the words of Duke of Zhou. The vice grand councilor Ding Du 丁度 (990–1053) was then asked to prepare for the painting on the right side according to the four chapters from the *Xiaojing*. Both skilled at calligraphy, Imperial Diarist Cai Xiang 蔡襄 (1012–67) was responsible for writing the texts from the *Xiaojing*, and an imperial classical tutor Wang Zhu 王洙 (997–1057) the chapter of “*Wuyi*.” The Hanlin Academician Wang Gongcheng 王拱辰 (1012–85) was requested to compose the prefaces to the two paintings, which would be written by Cai Xiang on the screens. Fifty days later, Wang Zhu and Cai Xiang accomplished their task. See Song Qi 宋祁, *Jingwen ji* 景文集, Congshu jicheng chubian edition, 61.821; Sima Guang 司馬光, *Sushui jiwén* 涑水記聞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 4.75; *XCB*, 110.2564, 116.2719, 173.4184; *SSLY*, 4.41.

but not all officials realized Ni's intention which was even interpreted from a perspective of political struggle.⁸⁰

Peng Guinian

Peng Guinian and Lou Yue were two of the officials who played a very active role in persuading the emperor to visit his father. They shared a consistent stand, but their methods and focuses were different. Peng Guinian's words and actions are analyzed first. Peng was probably the one who submitted the most memorials on the imperial crisis. In the spectrum of his performance was far more radical than most other officials' due to his personality of "loyalty and straightness (*zhongzhi* 忠直)" and his official duty as Imperial Diarist (*qiju sheren* 起居舍人) or Right Scribe (*youshi* 右史), who recorded the emperor's daily activities for inclusion in the Imperial Diary (*qijuzhu* 起居注).⁸¹ According to his biography in the *Songshi*, Peng studied with the Daoxue scholars like Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and Zhang Shi 張栻 (1133–80).⁸² He had a strong sense of social mission, though his memorials did not give much indications of the *daoxue* influence.

One of Peng's tasks was to explain why the emperor did not visit his father and sometimes even cancelled his visits when he had already made preparation in advance. By citing the Confucian classics such as the *Xiaojing*, the *Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學) and the *Shangshu* with his analyses, Peng suggested that Guangzong

⁸⁰ *HSJ*, 85.7b. The classic texts, if placed in different contexts, might have led to different interpretations. Chen Qi 陳起 as an inspector, who previously doubted that Ni could have been involved in a factional struggle, impeached him for Ni's threatening the emperor with foreign affairs and taunting the emperor in the name of the *Xiaojing*. But the impeachment of Ni Si was not sanctioned.

⁸¹ Peng Guinian 彭龜年, *Zhitang ji* 止堂集 (hereafter ZTJ), Yingyin Wenyuange Siku Quanshu edition, 4.5a; *SS*, 393.11997, 11999.

⁸² *SS*, 393.11995.

face the crux of the problem and thoroughly resolve the crisis. At first he mainly focused on the emperor. For instance, probably in the first phase or somewhat earlier, learning from the hearsay that Guangzong indulged in drinking and banquets, Peng warned him that wine would “harm human nature and corrupt morals (*shangxing baide* 傷性敗德).”⁸³ In the third month of 1193 when the emperor had not visited the Chonghua Palace for several months, he started to repeatedly explain to Guangzong that visiting the palace was a minor matter but essential for attending on his parents and thus, he should pay enough attention to the regular visits and the court audience.⁸⁴

As the crisis developed, Peng diverted his attention to those “petty men (*xiaoren* 小人)” in the palace. He first held a skeptical attitude toward Chen Yuan 陳源, who then served as Administrative Aide of the Palace Domestic Service (*neishi yaban* 內侍押班). Peng identified Chen as the prime suspect with malicious intent, since he had received severe punishment in the reign of Xiaozong but was recently reappointed and obtained an important position in the Palace City.⁸⁵ Later, in terms of his observation on Guangzong’s changing attitudes and behavior on and off the court, Peng castigated that those petty men like Chen Yuan who tried to sow dissension between Guangzong and Xiaozong were the problem.⁸⁶ When the

⁸³ *ZTJ*, 2.8a. The memorial was annotated in *ZTJ* that it was written in 1192. Since Ni Si submitted a memorial about Guangzong’s indulgence in drinking in the first month of 1193, Peng’s memorial could be written no later than the end of 1192. *HSJ*, 85.7a. In his memorial, Peng did not explicitly mention Guangzong’s absence at court and in the Chonghua Palace and thus, his memorial might be submitted in the first phase or somewhat earlier.

⁸⁴ *ZTJ*, 2.11b, 14b.

⁸⁵ *ZTJ*, 2.25a. For the biography of Chen Yuan, see *SS*, 469.13672–73.

⁸⁶ *ZTJ*, 3.4a, 7b-8a.

situation became more severe in the fourth and fifth months of 1194, Peng compared the noble men (*junzi* 君子) and the petty men and yet again expected the emperor to follow the honest advice that might have been unpleasant to his ears. More than that, for the first time he indicated that those petty men made their efforts to destroy not merely the relationship between the retired emperor and the sitting emperor, but also the relationship between the emperor and ministers.⁸⁷ The memorials of Ni Si and Peng Guinian both touched on the role of the emperor, but obviously Guangzong was not their main target. Unlike Ni's implication that the crisis might have resulted from the palace women, Peng held that the imperial power was confined to the Imperial Palace by the petty men, namely palace eunuchs who had close contact with the emperor.

Peng attempted to change the emperor's thought through his own enactments. His most radical action occurred after the emperor insisted on not visiting his dying father. Lying on the ground, Peng was constantly kowtowing in hope of the emperor acceptance of his repeated requests. His blood dyed the palace brick steps red, such a drastic action or a symbolic ritual performed to arouse the emperor's consciousness. Peng eventually earned the chance to meet and memorialize to Guangzong face to face, but the meeting ended up with another vain attempt.⁸⁸ His firm determination was also shown in his other efforts. As Right Scribe, Peng was not afraid to tell the emperor that he would fulfill his duty and record everything faithfully no matter what would happen. It was said that he had exposed several times Guangzong's

⁸⁷ *ZTJ*, 3.24a, 4.2b–3a.

⁸⁸ *SS*, 393.11997; *ZTJ*, 4.4b.

nominal excuse that the emperor was exempt from visiting the Chonghua Palace because of his following Xiaozong's edicts.⁸⁹

It should be noted that Peng used the theory of heaven's warning to try to convince the emperor.⁹⁰ During the second and third months of 1195, Peng was designated twice as ritual performer to conduct the rite of praying for rain in the Upper Tianzhu Monastery (*Shang Tianzhu si* 上天竺寺).⁹¹ His words reflected his perceptions of the dual palaces. Peng believed that the emperor's not visiting his father gave rise to the lack of rainfall over a long period in Lin'an. He illustrated his point with another example drawn from a recent disaster of sunspots found on the sun in the end of last year. The sunspots disappeared only two days later after Guangzong accomplished his visit; a timely snow then fell over the temporary capital. Peng attributed it to the emperor's performance which was quickly responded to by the Heaven.⁹² That the disaster turned into an auspicious scene rather than punishment suggested that the emperor's self-examination and appropriate measures would bring everything under control. Such harmonious status revealed that the connectedness of the Supreme Heaven and the emperor by nature.⁹³

⁸⁹ *ZTJ*, 3.17a–18a, 4.1b.

⁹⁰ For more on the theory of heaven's warning in the Song, see Kojima Tsuyoshi 小島毅, "Sōdai tenkenron no seiji rinen 宋代天譴論の政治理念," *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 107 (1988): 1–87; Hou Daoru 侯道儒, "Tianren ganying shuo zai Songdai de zhengzhi zuoyong: yi Chen Yi wei zhuzhou de taolun 天人感應說在宋代的政治作用：以程頤為主軸的討論," (*Taiwan*) *Qinghua zhongwen xuebao* (台灣) 清華中文學報 11 (2014): 213–60. Mark Elvin discusses in detail what he has called a "moral meteorology" in Qing China. Mark Elvin, "Who Was Responsible for the Weather? Moral Meteorology in Late Imperial China," *Osiris* 13 (1998), 213–37.

⁹¹ *ZTJ*, 3.20b. For more on the role of the Upper Tianzhu Monastery in Southern Song state rainmaking ritual, see Chapter 4.

⁹² *ZTJ*, 3. 21b–22a.

⁹³ *ZTJ*, 3. 13b–14a.

Peng actually blended the theory of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BCE) created in the Han and the new interpretations in the Northern Song in his memorial.⁹⁴

More important, Peng considered the dual palaces in a wider framework of state and cosmos. The disharmony between the dual palaces (*lianggong buhe* 兩宮不和) would result in the disharmony of all under heaven (*tianxia buhe* 天下不和), which further cause the disharmony of heaven and earth (*tiandi buhe* 天地不和).⁹⁵ He created a new interpretation of the falling snow in the mid-eleventh month of 1193. In general, as for a terrible drought, the emperor should go to the Tianzhu Temple and pray for rain in person. In order to make the connection between the performance of praying for rain and the rituals of the dual palaces, Peng argued that it was in the Chonghua Palace that the emperor succeeded in rainmaking. Guangzong's visit to his father equaled his praying for rain in Xiaozong's residence since the harmonious relationship between father and son harmonized the order of heaven and earth. Therefore, rainmaking in the Northern Palace had the same effect if the emperor did in the Tianzhu Temple. Otherwise, even with the help of Buddhists the ritual performance was bound to fail.⁹⁶ According to Peng's creative interpretation, the agency of the emperor became highlighted as he was able to

⁹⁴ Peng Guinian cited what Fu Bi 富弼 (1004–83) admonished to Shenzong, “cultivating virtue led to raining (*xiude zhiyu* 修德致雨),” after the emperor participated in a rainmaking rite. See *ZTJ*, 3.14a. In this sense, Peng emphasized the significance of one's inner moral character that people did not need to rely on the Heaven's judgment. Similar to many Northern Song officials and literati, Peng expected to influence domestic politics by the theory of heaven's warning. For a discussion on how the Northern Song intellectuals reinterpreted the correlative cosmology and how they used the political rhetoric to support their political appeals, see Kojima Tsuyoshi, “Sōdai tenkenron no seiji rinen”; also see Douglas Edward Skonicki, “Cosmos, State and Society: Song Dynasty Arguments Concerning the Creation of Political Order,” Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2007; Hou Daoru, 226–240, 245–48. According to his memorial, Peng did not give up Dong Zhongshu's theory. See Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, 56. 2498.

⁹⁵ *ZTJ*, 3. 22b.

⁹⁶ *ZTJ*, 3. 22a–22b.

prevent the adverse chain reactions by his appropriate ritual performance.

Lou Yue

In the crisis Lou Yue performed an active role, but one often neglected by historians, which should be carefully examined. Lou was invisible in the biography of Guangzong in the *Songshi*, and few sentences from his memorials about the crisis were included in his own biography. The very brief descriptions in the official history did not downplay his significance. At the time, Lou served as Imperial Diarist and Provisional Drafter in the Secretariat, also called Left Scribe (*zuoshi* 左史), who together with the Right Scribe recorded the emperor's words and actions.⁹⁷ Like Peng, Lou's honesty and straightforwardness made Guangzong hold him in awe and veneration.⁹⁸

In terms of his official career and other officials' evaluation, Lou Yue had a comprehensive understanding of various rites and was adept at ritual negotiation. During the reign of Xiaozong, the chief councilor once appraised him one of the best candidates for the ritual institutions.⁹⁹ He had been prepared to be promoted to Recorder of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*taichang si zhubu* 太常寺主簿) and Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices in the reign of Xiaozong, and Vice Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*taichang shaoqing* 太常少卿) in the reign of Guangzong, but was at last granted other official titles due to an mistake concerned with ritual that he made in a provincial imperial exam in his

⁹⁷ Yuan Xie 袁燮, *Jie Zhai ji* 絜齋集 (hereafter JZJ), Yingyin Wenyuan ge siku quanshu edition, 11.12a; SS, 389. 11928. The official title recorded in Lou Yue's biography in the *Songshi* is not accurate. See SS, 395.12046.

⁹⁸ SS, 395.12046.

⁹⁹ JZJ, 11.6a.

mid-twenties.¹⁰⁰ In the early days of the reign of Guangzong, Lou had a provisional position in the Ministry of Rites awhile.¹⁰¹ During the imperial crisis of the early 1190s, not as a ritual official in the strict sense, Lou Yue was actively involved in ritual affairs. His duties and knowledge of rituals allow us to investigate his perceptions of the political and ritual crisis and his reactions.

Lou's memorials feature his main focus on the ritual itself and its significance. In one memorial probably submitted in the late tenth month of 1193, he sketched the scene of a group of embarrassed officials. On the twenty-second day that month, the officials rushed to the Imperial Palace at dawn, prepared for the scheduled rite to celebrate Xiaozong's birthday, and waited for Guangzong. In the end they learned of the emperor's decision to cancel his visit. All of them were at a complete loss.¹⁰² In another memorial perhaps a couple of days later, Lou requested that the Emperor should present his father the Imperial Policy (*shengzheng* 聖政), the Imperial Genealogy (*yudie* 玉牒) and the Collected State Regulations (*huiyao* 會要) of the reign of Xiaozong. These imperial documents, which had already been compiled, should have been submitted to the Chonghua Palace. Lou was not satisfied with Guangzong's repeated delays since the latest ritual preparation and rehearsals were all in vain due to the emperor's failure to keep his appointments. Thus, Lou persisted that no matter what happened, the emperor should visit his father and perform the

¹⁰⁰ *JZJ*, 11.5a, 6a, 12a. In 1163, Lou took the provincial imperial exam held by the Ministry of Rites. The examiners thought highly of his paper, but he unconsciously did not avoid the taboo of the previous emperors, a serious mistake. Ranked the last, Lou was enrolled with the help of Vice Director of the Palace Library (*mishu shaojian* 秘書少監) Hu Quan 胡銓 (1102–80) and Administrator of Ministry of Rites Examinations (*zhi libu gong ju* 知禮部舉) Hong Zun 洪遵 (1120–74). See *JZJ*, 11.2a–2b; *SS*, 395.12045.

¹⁰¹ *JZJ*, 11.10a.

¹⁰² Lou Yue 樓鑰, *Gong kui ji* 攻媿集 (hereafter GKJ), Sibū congkan chubian edition, 23.1b.

required rite.¹⁰³ Lou much worried about the current situation of “the lack of rites,” and from his perspective, the ritual failure would most likely stimulate “people’s doubts throughout the whole state (*sihai weiyi zhi xin* 四海危疑之心),” and therefore, it was feasible to hold the rites at great expense.¹⁰⁴

In contrast to Peng Guinian’s resort to morals and emotional attachment, Lou Yue was more concerned about the ritual strategy. He used the precedent of King Wen of the Western Zhou which Peng cited as well, but did not directly question the emperor.¹⁰⁵ Rather, rhetorically, Lou pretended to make a concession in order to gain an advantage. He pointed out that the frequency of the Han regular visits was far less than the Western Zhou’s. He then highlighted the “Song Imperial Ancestors’ Family Instruction (*benchao jiafa* 本朝家法),” arguing that the Northern Song’s was close to the paradigm, whereas Xiaozong’s visits to Gaozong merely conformed to the Han criterion.¹⁰⁶ In this regard, Lou reminded Guangzong that he had no reason to refrain from the minimum of ritual obligation.

Lou Yue’s attempt to halt the ritual failure did not aim at the Imperial Palace but the Northern Palace as well. Guangzong was always defending his constant refusal to visit the retired emperor, as he told to Peng Guinian, because his father’s edicts exempted him from the rituals. In order to invalidate his excuse, Lou secretly submitted to Xiaozong a memorial before his birthday, asking him not to issue the

¹⁰³ *GKJ*, 23.3a-3b.

¹⁰⁴ *GKJ*, 23.2a, 23.8b. In his memorials Lou Yue described such a situation as “the lack of rites (eg. *que dian* 闕典, *kuang dian* 曠典, and *jinque liwen* 寢闕禮文)” with different phrases.

¹⁰⁵ *ZTJ*, 2.12a; *GKJ*, 23.2b.

¹⁰⁶ *GKJ*, 23.2b.

edict to the emperor.¹⁰⁷ It failed. Then, inspired by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–86), Lou tried to adopt Sima’s method to restore the dual palaces rituals.¹⁰⁸ He deliberately drafted and presented a memorial to the emperor and the retired emperor at the same time. In this memorial he envisaged a future harmonious scene that each day messengers would go and fro between the dual palaces, and apart from the regular visits, the emperor would also invite the retired emperor to the Imperial Palace or accompany him to an Imperial Garden.¹⁰⁹ Lou probably submitted two separate memorials to the two emperors afterwards, trying to nullify Guangzong’s excuse and hint that he had reported it to Xiaozong.¹¹⁰ The emperor eventually went to the Chonghua Palace by the end of the second phase.¹¹¹

During this imperial crisis, Lou Yue’s efforts behind the scene have rarely been noticed in previous studies. As discussed above, his methods of ritual negotiations seemed to have effectively “alleviated” the problem at the time.¹¹² Most officials then rested their hope on the emperor. Their shared premise was that Guangzong would have changed his attitude and action if they could figure out the very reasons of the ritual failure. They speculated that the emperor might have been affected by his own illness, his suspicions, the palace eunuchs, or the imperial concubines. Lou

¹⁰⁷ *GKJ*, 23.8a-8b.

¹⁰⁸ Sima Guang once submitted his memorial to both Yingzong 英宗 (r. 1063–67, Renzong’s adopted son) and Empress Dowager Cao 曹太后 (1016–79, Renzong’s second empress) at the same time, and succeeded in relieving the tension between them. For more on the part in Sima Guang’s original memorial that Lou Yue quoted, see Sima Guang, *Wenguo Wenzheng Sima gong wenji* 溫國文正司馬公文集, Sibugongkan chubian edition, 26.5b.

¹⁰⁹ *GKJ*, 23.10a.

¹¹⁰ *GKJ*, 23.3b.

¹¹¹ *JZJ*, 11.13b.

¹¹² Such efforts could have also made the gap wider between the two emperors.

Yue was one of the few officials who first sought help from the retired emperor. As Lou mentioned, his inspiration originated from Sima Guang, but it is undeniable that his effective strategy was more likely the product of his perception of seeing the dual palaces as a whole and his understanding of the power dynamics of this spatial structure.

The study of three scholar-officials' responses to the imperial crisis demonstrates that although officials differed in their positions, perspectives and policies, they shared an explicit request for the emperor as well as some similar premises of ritual, space, and power. They did not treat the dual palaces rituals equally, prioritizing the emperor's visits on the Winter Solstice and the birthday of the retired emperor.¹¹³ Such a hierarchical ritual calendar explained why the Song officials could tolerate Guangzong's non-actions for almost half a year, while becoming more sensitive before these most important days. Officials' memorials also suggested a common belief that the imperial carriage leaving the Imperial Palace was a sign of the resumption of the dual palaces rituals, and the very serious problem could be resolved by a little change of the emperor.¹¹⁴ To some degree, their interpretation of the ritual symbolism was premised on the nature and virtue of Guangzong like Yao and Shun as well as his father. The intermittent or long ritual failure thus made them increasingly frustrated. They might underestimate the fact

¹¹³ The hierarchical ritual calendar could be easily understandable since the two dates were most significant to the state and the retired emperor, whose legitimacy and authority would be splendidly represented and considerably enhanced through the rites. From Lou Yue's perspective, probably common for others, the rites on the first and the fifteenth days of each month were more important than other regular visits. *GKJ*, 23.3a.

¹¹⁴ *GKJ*, 23.1b, 23.3b-4a, 23.8b.

that the dual palaces had been embedded in urban life, and their ritual significance was displayed, confirmed and preserved by the repetition of rituals.

The existing studies usually depict the imperial crisis during the reign of Guangzong as a political struggle between the *daoxue* (or Neo-Confucian) group and the bureaucratic group.¹¹⁵ However, they have tended towards simplification and excessive interpretation. First, placing the ritual failure in the political context regardless of its ritual and spatial contexts confuses the function and purpose of the rituals.¹¹⁶ As discussed above, although officials' understandings of the rites could have their own political motives, the relationship of the two might not be that closely linked. The *daoxue* literati probably tended to regard the rites as the criterion of the emperor's practice of filial piety rather than merely a means of attacking their political opponents. Second, scholars have highlighted the role of palace functionaries (*jinxī* 近習) who were a target of the *daoxue* group and a link between

¹¹⁵ Yu Ying-shih argues that the struggle climaxed in the reign era of Shaoxi. Yu Ying-shih, *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie*, 484. Zhang Weiling's study indicates that the mid-Southern Song politics featured four main interactive factors, namely imperial power, palace functionaries, *daoxue* literati and the issue of legitimacy restoration (*huiifu* 恢復). Zhang Weiling 張維玲, *Cong Nan Song zhongqi fan jinxī zhengzheng kan daoxue shidafu dui 'huiifu' taidu de zhuanbian* (1163–1207) 從南宋中期反近習政爭看道學士大夫對‘恢復’態度的轉變 (1163–1207) (Yonghe: Huamulan wenhua chubanshe, 2010). Yu Ying-shih places the imperial crisis between 1191 and 1194 in the context of the political struggle between the *daoxue* group and the bureaucratic group from 1181 on. He analyzes in detail how palace functionaries combined with the bureaucratic group were criticized by their political opponent. Yu Ying-shih, 305–82, 484–532. Zhang does not touch on the ritual failure, but based on Yu's analysis focuses on how the *daoxue* group attacked palace functionaries (esp. Jiang Teli 姜特立) during the reign of Guangzong. Zhang Weiling, 126–34. Both Yu and Zhang opine that in the reign era of Shaoxi the bureaucratic group and palace functionaries had been integrated into one. Yu also points out that the emperor's attitude toward the two groups was largely influenced by palace functionaries. Yu Ying-shih, 331. Liu Xiangguang suggests that Peng Guinian's request for prohibiting the publication of examination essays (*shiwēn* 時文) in 1190 was the signal for the political struggle in the Shaoxi period. Liu Xiangguang 劉祥光, “Songdai de shiwēn kanben yu kaaoshi wenhua 宋代的時文刊本與考試文化,” *Taida wenshi zhexue bao* 臺大文史哲學報 75 (2011): 50–51.

¹¹⁶ From Yu Ying-shih's viewpoint, the regular visits (four times per month) in essence had a political function. The ritual was used by Gaozong to prevent Xiaozong's ambition of restoration and his personnel arrangement, while Xiaozong expected Guangzong to achieve his ambition by means of the rituals. During the imperial crisis in the reign era of Shaoxi, the *daoxue* group, who adhered to the virtue of filial piety, believed that the restored ritual would fulfill their aim to “gaining the emperor's support to practice the Way (*dejun xingdao* 得君行道),” whereas the bureaucratic group generally kept their silence on the crisis since they felt politically threatened by the restored regular visits, but could not support Guangzong against the retired emperor in public. Yu Ying-shih, *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie*, 497, 508–09, 520–21. The imperial crisis of course had the political implication, but its political use in the reign of Guangzong was overemphasized by Yu.

the emperor and the bureaucratic group, but the eunuchs who were specified in the memorials should have been taken seriously.¹¹⁷ More than that, the division of the eunuchs at the dual palaces should also be paid attention to despite limited sources on the eunuchs of the Northern Palace.¹¹⁸ Third, it might be questionable whether there was a clearly identified group of *daoxue* literati then.¹¹⁹ Regardless of the question if the term of *daoxue* has been largely used to refer to Zhu Xi's thoughts and doctrine, historians have pointed out that the *daoxue* group was not homogeneous, and at least consisted of two subdivisions centered on Liu Zheng 留正 (1129–1206) and Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126–1204), who had troubled relationship.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Yu Ying-shih highlights the significant role of Jiang Teli in the integration of palace functionaries into the bureaucratic group, but his argumentation might be based on his misunderstanding and overinterpretation of the sources about Jiang. In this sense, the role of alleged palace functionaries and the political struggle need to be carefully reconsidered. Yang Juncai 楊俊才, "Guanyu Jiang Teli zai Zhu Xi de lishi shijie zhong de dingwei wenti: Yu Ying-shih xiansheng shangque 關於姜特立在《朱熹的歷史世界》中的定位問題——與余英時先生商榷," *Zhejiang daxue xuebao* 浙江大學學報 39.1 (2009): 126–34. Yu Ying-shih focuses on palace functionaries as intermediaries between the emperor and the bureaucratic group. He does not mention the role of eunuchs, nor does Zhang Weiling. The petty men condemned by scholar-officials might include both palace functionaries and eunuchs, but it does not help explain why some officials named several eunuchs rather than others. The question could lead to another about categorization. Yu Ying-shih defines the bureaucratic group in its narrow sense. By contrast, according to Hartman's criteria, military officials, clerks, affinal kin, eunuchs and female bureaucrats could be placed into the technocratic model. Borrowing and modifying the parameters used by Yan Buke 閻步克 to identify officials in Chinese history, Hartman provides an insightful analysis of the two faces of Song governance, the Confucian literati and technocratic models corresponding to two major political groups, in terms of the six sets of parameters of noble/base, civil/military, official/clerical, palace/court, non-Chinese/Chinese and male/female. Charles Hartman, "Historical Narrative and the Two Faces of Song Dynasty Governance," presented at the Second Conference on Middle Period Chinese Humanities (Leiden University, Leiden NL, September 14–17, 2017): 23–28.

¹¹⁸ Scholars have pointed out that Xiaozong, creating an emperor-centered political environment, was arbitrary and preferred close associates like military officers and eunuchs. Zhao Weiling, *Cong Nan Song zhongqi fan jinxi zhengzheng kan daoxue shidafu dui 'huifu' taidu de zhuanbian* (1163–1207), 152; 小林晃, "Nansō kōsōcho ni okeru taijō kōtei no eikyōryoku to kōtei sokkin seiji 南宋孝宗朝における太上皇帝の影響と皇帝側近政治," *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 71.1 (2012): 84–91; Fujimoto Takeshi 藤本猛, "Bushin no seiyō: Nansō kōsōcho seiji jōkyō to kōmen shejen 武臣の清要——南宋孝宗朝の政治状況と閹門舍人," *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 63.1 (2004): 1–35; Abe Naoyuki 安倍直之, "Nansō kōsōcho no kōtei sokkinkan 南宋孝宗朝の皇帝側近官," *Shūkan tōyōgaku* 集刊東洋学 88 (2002): 83–103.

¹¹⁹ In other words, the questions are if the political interests and demands corresponded to the academic approaches and moral demands in a factional struggle and if the two groups respectively maintained remarkable consistencies in politics, morality and academics.

¹²⁰ Ge Zhaoguang, "Zhi sixiang yu zhengzhishi beijing zhi zhong: Zaidu Yu Ying-shi xiansheng de Zhu Xi de lishi shijie 置思想於政治史背景之中——再度余英時先生的《朱熹的歷史世界》," in *Wenhua yu lishi de zhuisuo: Yu Ying-shih jiaoshou bazhi shouqing lunwen ji* 文化與歷史的追索: 余英時教授八秩壽慶論文集, ed. Hoyt Tillman (Taipei: Lianjing, 2009), 405. In his memorial defending Zhu Xi who was impeached by Lin Li 林栗 in 1188, a major Zhedong scholar Ye Shi 葉適 (1150–1223) charged that the term *daoxue* was no more than a

According to the existing sources, the *daoxue* literati were the majority of the officials submitting memorials to the emperor about the regular visits, but they might not have occupied such a large proportion in reality.¹²¹ If the bureaucratic group had had combined with the palace functionaries and struggled against the *daoxue* group, how do we explain why some memorials were submitted by those non-*daoxue* officials such as Jing Tang 京鏜 (1138–1200) and Chen Kui 陳騭 (1128–1203) usually categorized as bureaucrats as well as Ni Si, who later proposed a suppression of *daoxue* in the reign of Ningzong.¹²² In addition, the two groups also cooperated on major political issues. For instance, Zhao Ruyu, Peng Guinian and Huang Shang could not manage to force Guangzong to abdicate without help from Han Tuozhou and the eunuchs of the Northern Palace, who should have been the target of the *daoxue* group.¹²³

trumped-up charge used by the petty men to denounce and impeach their opponents, which originated from the criticism of Zheng Bing 鄭丙 (1121–94) and Chen Jia 陳賈 in 1183. *YSJ*, 2.17, 19; *SS*, 429.12756–57, 434.12890. Yu Ying-shih acknowledges that the biggest conflict between the two groups was the acquisition of power and in such circumstances *daoxue* gradually became an enlarged political concept or label. Yu Ying-shih, *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie*, 320, 364. Likewise, the term “petty men” could have reflected a similar use. The alleged two groups in this sense might come into being during the process of attaching labels. Zhang Weiling, *Cong Nan Song zhongqi fan jinxi zhengzheng kan daoxue shidafu dui ‘huiifu’ taidu de zhuanbian* (1163–1207), 149.

¹²¹ *SS*, 393.12017.

¹²² Yu Ying-shih notices that according to historical sources, only two officials, Jing Tang and Chen Kui who he categorizes in the bureaucratic group, submitted their memorials, and he points out that Jing’s action was voluntary and Chen followed other ministers. Yu thus proposes a hypothesis that such a phenomenon suggests that the bureaucratic group and the *daoxue* group had distinct positions. Yu Ying-shih, *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie*, 509. However, Yu’s attempt to reconcile the two exceptions with his deduction seems to be self-contradictory. On the one hand, he argues that Chen Kui, as one of the leaders in the bureaucratic group but different from other members, could have maintained some features of literati and would have even supported his political opponent for literati’s dignity. On the other hand, Yu indicates that Jing playing an influential role in the bureaucratic group held his position consistently, since the three most active people in attacking the *daoxue* group during the prohibition of factions in the reign era of Qingyuan. Yu Ying-shih, *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie*, 365–66, 371–72. In the second month of 1196, Ye Zhu 葉翥 (1129–1209), Ni Si and Liu Dexiu 劉德秀 (1135–1207) suggested that the *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 should be prohibited and its wood block destroyed. Qiaosou 樵叟, *Qingyuan dangjin* 慶元黨禁, *Zhibuzuzhai congshu* edition, 17b–18a; Ye Shaoweng 葉紹翁, *Sichao wenjian lu* 四朝聞見錄 (hereafter WJL) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), dingji 159.

¹²³ Deng Xiaonan, *Zuzong zhi fa*, 483.

Demonstrations

The imperial crisis culminated in 1194, having a wide range of impacts on almost all people in Lin'an. After Xiaozong's death, almost no one knew what would happen to Guangzong as the emperor had already been insisting on not leaving his palace, but the political instability seemed to have caused common concerns. The politically sensitive or well-informed people had been taking various actions to avoid possible risks. "Palace functionaries and wealthy families (*jinxi jushi* 近習巨室)" hid their wealth in nearby villages. Some capital officials disappeared and some returned to their hometowns. Even the attendants around the emperor were leaving the temporary capital to stay away from trouble.¹²⁴ In the fourth month of this year, it was said that over one hundred officials threaten to resign unless Guangzong met his filial obligations.¹²⁵

This crisis must have been exerting considerable impact upon ordinary people in Lin'an. Due to the limitation of sources, how can we hear the voices of ordinary people or urban dwellers? How did they face and respond to the chaotic political situation when anxieties and speculative rumors were spreading widely in and out of the capital city?¹²⁶ And how can today's scholars contextualize their actions and evaluate public opinion represented in officials' memorials and other historical records? The Song officials' perceptions and performances have been discussed. Shifting focus on the ordinary people, this section briefly discusses how students

¹²⁴ Zhou Mi 周密, *Qidong yeyu* 齊東野語 (hereafter QDYY) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 39.

¹²⁵ *SS*, 36.708.

¹²⁶ *GMBY*, 3.35.

respond to this crisis, and the following section focuses on urban dwellers in general through a careful analysis of the historical sources of a biography in the standard official history. The voices of ordinary people matter, for we can understand their roles and agencies that help better understand the spatial structure of the dual palaces and its meaning to the general public.

The first public resistance concerned with a special group of the urban dwellers, students. It broke out on the twenty-fifth day of the tenth month of 1193. Two hundred and eighteen people led by Wang Anren 汪安仁, one of the students of the Imperial Academy (*taixuesheng* 太學生), signed a petition to Guangzong, requesting the emperor to visit the Chonghua Palace.¹²⁷ In early 1194, another student named Gong Rizhang 龔日章, who obtained a *jinshi* title in 1196, gathered over a hundred people. They intended to kneel down in front of the Palace City, since they believed that submitting a memorial and waiting for responses would be time-consuming. They were finally persuaded by Yang Daquan 楊大全, who then served as Supervisor of the Public Petitioners Drum Office (*jian dengwengu yuan* 監登聞鼓院), to present a petition.¹²⁸ On behalf the petitioners, Yang drafted and presented a memorial, but had no response. He further submitted another three memorials; however, all had the same ending. It should be noted that, in one of his memorials,

¹²⁷ *SS*, 36.707.

¹²⁸ *SS*, 400.12157. In front of the Southern Song Palace City there was no public petitioners drum (*dengwen gu* 登聞鼓), which was normally beaten by petitioners who voiced their complaints and grievances. It was said that the drum set in front of the Gate of Virtue Revealed (*Xuande men* 宣德門) in the Northern Song was smashed to pieces by Chen Dong, one of the most well-known students at the Imperial Academy in Chinese history. Thereafter, officials did not relocate it in Lin'an, nor did they place a new one. See *QDYY*, 146–47. On the twenty-second day of the fourth month of 1194, when Guangzong again broke his promise, hundreds of government servants requested to resign, including the attendants on the emperor, the officials in charge of government schools and education, and the administrative officials. *SS*, 36.708; *ZTJ*, 3.25a. For the year when Gong Rizhang obtained a *jinshi* degree, see Gong Zhaolin 宮兆麟 et al. ed., *Xinghua fu Putian xian zhi* 興化府莆田縣志, Qianlong ershisian nian xiukan edition, 12.18b.

Yang expressed his concern about the widespread rumor that Xiaozong planned to solve the crisis by travelling to Shaoxing or Wuxing.¹²⁹ On the eighteenth day of the fourth month of 1194, people led by Cheng Xiaoshuo 程肖說, a student of the Imperial Academy, presented their petition to senior officials.¹³⁰

For these hundreds of protesters, most of them were probably lower elites who were studying at the Imperial Academy. Others might include students coming from the Directorate School (*guozijian* 國子監) and the Military Academy (*wuxue* 武學), candidates for the civil service examinations who were staying in Lin'an, and ordinary people mobilized by the students.¹³¹

Southern Song officials had submitted a great many memorials on this ritual failure, but they remained vigilant against a large scale public demonstration and tried to intervene in advance. Perhaps it reminded them of a series of protests in the late Northern Song led by an Imperial Academy student Chen Dong against the “six traitors (*liuzei* 六賊),” which started from a small scale of less than ten people but eventually involved tens of thousands in only ten months.¹³² However, as Xiaozong's condition severely deteriorated, no official was able to control the public

¹²⁹ SS, 400.12157–58.

¹³⁰ SS, 36.708. From late 1193 to early 1194, apart from Wang, Gong, and Cheng, other active student leaders included Lin Lue 林略 (?–1243), Zheng Danian 鄭大年, Xu E 許諤, Lu Jingren 陸景仁, and Zheng Wan 鄭萬. *GMBY*, 2.25.

¹³¹ Xie Yuefu 謝岳甫, one of the ordinary people who probably followed Gong Rizhang, kneeled down in front of the Imperial Palace and presented a memorial. *WJL*, jiaji 13. The participants might also have included recent graduates of the *jinshi* examinations, which were announced early that year.

¹³² SS, 23.422, 424. Charles Hartman's study reveals how Southern Song literati portrayed Chen Dong as a moral voice of “public opinion” from a student protestor and used it to confront against the autocratic governance. See Charles Hartman and Cho-Ying Li, “The Rehabilitation of Chen Dong,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 75.1 (2015): 77–159. For more on the political involvement of students at the Imperial Academy, see John W. Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 30–32, 103–104.

petition. Students and other ordinary people came to kneel down in front of the Imperial Palace, strongly expressing their expectation for the emperor's visit to his dying father.¹³³ The collective behavior, like the demonstrations in the late Northern Song, manifested the participants' great determination through a certain rite in a particular posture. This open, intense means of expression made the ritual space become contested.

Rumors and Public Opinion:

Through an Analysis of the Biography of Empress Li in the *Songshi*

Most urban dwellers were voiceless in the official histories. The historical records on them, if any, and their presence on the historical scenes are highly asymmetrical. Their images are vague except for several of the aforementioned students. Listening to what ordinary people themselves have had to say in Middle Period China seems to be almost impossible since their voices were normally represented by educated elites. But it is not surprising that the importance of their roles in ceremonies should not be overlooked or downplayed. According to an official's brief description of the funeral rite of Gaozong, the urban dwellers were deeply touched by the presence of Xiaozong and his filial piety displayed in the rituals.¹³⁴

In the memorials of officials the ordinary people's voices were often depicted as a snapshot of "The urban dwellers felt delighted (*duren dayue* 都人大悦)" and

¹³³ *QDYY*, 3.38.

¹³⁴ *ZXLSXB*, 66.631.

“People worried (*renxin buan* 人心不安)” to emphasize their emotional responses to the ritual failure.¹³⁵ It is almost impossible to distinguish whether these expressions truly reflected the reality or were used as discursive strategies. Peng Guinian and Lou Yue repeatedly mentioned the urban dwellers’ concern in their memorials. They did not have to prove to the emperor whether the statements were true or not. Instead, they reminded the emperor that if he could not perform the public rituals, the situation would worsen. Even if the expression used as a strategy, to some degree it reflected the current mentalities. In other words, officials were concerned with the public opinion, which could become powerful discourses and influence the political environment.¹³⁶

Although the Southern Song officials’ memorials fail to provide historians with details of the urban dwellers’ involvement in the crisis, their brief accounts of hearsay or rumors offer another possibility for reconsidering this issue. In the fourth month of 1193 Peng Guinian in a memorial mentioned what he had recently seen and heard about the ritual failure. The rumors were rife, and beyond his expectation, circulating among lower-ranking soldiers and ordinary people. Peng described some words “intolerable to one’s ears (*burenwen* 不忍聞).”¹³⁷ In the tenth and eleventh months, the information Peng obtained from hearsay referred to somewhat animosity between the dual palaces and the special consideration being given to imperial concubines given by Guangzong. Peng acknowledged all sorts of gossip in private

¹³⁵ *SS*, 36.704, 707; *ZTJ*, 2.15a.

¹³⁶ For example, in the reign eras of Jiangyan and Shaoxing, the prevalent discourses on “heaven’s heart (*tianxin* 天心)” and “people’s heart (*renxin* 人心)” represented the efforts to seek the political legitimacy of a new regime.

¹³⁷ *ZTJ*, 2.11b. For a similar account by Lou Yue six months later, see *GKJ*, 23.7a.

among the people (閭閻竊議，其言萬端), but he stressed that these rumors were “based on speculation and thus unbelievable (多出揣摩，類不可信).”¹³⁸ His short description reflected the status quo that rumors converged and turned to what Lou Yue summarized “a considerable doubt under the Heaven (*tianxia zhi yi* 天下之疑),” people guessing the reasons why the emperor refused to visit his father without fear of malicious speculation.¹³⁹ The rumors might be catalyzed in late 1193 by the abnormal astronomical phenomena like the emergence of sunspots and the natural disasters such as the earthquake in Lin’an and the landslide of Mountain Heng, the Southern Sacred Peak.¹⁴⁰

Which rumors would be considered “intolerable to ears”? Where did they start and how did they develop? In general, palace affairs as state secret were hardly known to outsiders.¹⁴¹ Peng Guinian insisted that the rumors about the emperor and the inner court were purposely disseminated by those eunuchs such as Chen Yuan who intended to foment dissension between the dual palaces.¹⁴² The Song court later did punish a group of eunuchs headed by Chen, but there was no corroborative evidence that they were the main culprits. Even if they were involved in the spread of rumors, they might not have been the only source of information. More important, Peng’s remarks revealed that the rumors were not groundlessly fabricated. As early as 1192, Ni Si’s memorial seemed to imply the empress and the imperial concubines

¹³⁸ *ZTJ*, 3.2a.

¹³⁹ *GKJ*, 23.2a.

¹⁴⁰ *SS*, 36.706-07; *GKJ*, 23.6b-7a.

¹⁴¹ *GKJ*, 23.5a.

¹⁴² *ZTJ*, 3.6b

involved in Guangzong's refusal to visit the retired emperor; this implication might have been derived from what was then called "hearsay."¹⁴³ The hearsay seemed to suggest that Empress Li (1144–1200) of Guangzong could have been the troublemaker.

Empress Li is portrayed in the *Songshi* as a person who was responsible for the entire imperial crisis.¹⁴⁴ She was the second daughter of Li Dao 李道, the military commissioner of the Qingyuan army (*Qingyuan jun jiedushi* 慶遠軍節度使). Li Dao gave her a childhood name "Fengniang 鳳娘 (lit. lady phoenix)" as after her birth he saw a rare phenomenon of a black phoenix (*heifeng* 黑鳳) perching on a rock in front of his military camp. Later, during his visit to the Li family, a Daoist named Huangfu Tan 皇甫坦 (?–1178) was said to have believed that Fengniang would become an empress in the future. Huangfu's recommendation of Fengniang to Gaozong brought her into the Imperial Palace; she finally became the empress in the late 1180s. Empress Li was known for her powerful personality. Gaozong and Xiaozong were annoyed by her frequent requests to appoint her son as the Crown Prince, and Xiaozong even threatened to deprive her of her title of empress. That Guangzong started not to visit his father, according to the *Songshi*, was a result of the empress's fear of Xiaozong's threat and her concern for Guangzong's health as a result of the eunuchs' sowing dissension between the dual palaces. Empress Li was also too jealous to tolerate any suspected close relationship between the emperor and his concubines. She once had the meal box sent to Guangzong with two chopped-off

¹⁴³ *HSJ*, 85.7a.

¹⁴⁴ The brief description of Empress Li's life below is based on her biography in the *Songshi*, *SS*, 243.8653–55.

hands of a palace maid on whom the emperor had previously fixed with a joyful gaze. The empress also had Lady Huang (*Huang guifei* 黃貴妃), Guangzong's favorite concubine, killed in the palace when the emperor performed the sacrifice to Heaven in the southern suburb. This event was believed to have been the primary cause, which was mentioned in the *Songshi*, for Guangzong's psychiatric disorder and the subsequent ritual failure of visiting his father.¹⁴⁵ Moreover, the empress stopped Guangzong several times from leaving the Imperial Palace, regardless of the officials' requests.

The words and deeds of Empress Li recorded in the *Songshi* seem to meet the criterion of being "intolerable to ears," but the biography of the empress probably did not provide paradigmatic narratives of her life in the Southern Song.¹⁴⁶ In their memorials Song officials unanimously condemned the eunuchs having sinister motives, while the empress was seldom mentioned. Even if they occasionally touched on women in the imperial palace, the officials never named them. It is unclear whether this situation was the result of evading politically sensitive issues since the Empress Li was said to have an enormous influence at the court for several years.¹⁴⁷ The brief description of Empress Li in the section about Song empresses in *SHY* strictly follows a fixed format centered on her granted titles in a chronological

¹⁴⁵ *SS*, 36.710.

¹⁴⁶ The biography of Emperor Guangzong provides one of the most comprehensive records in the *Songshi* about this imperial crisis prior to his 1194 abdication. However, the details included in the biographies of Guangzong and those involved eunuchs like Chen Yuan are far less vivid than those in the short biography of Empress Li.

¹⁴⁷ *SS*, 243.8654.

way.¹⁴⁸ Likewise, in *CYZJ* Li Xinzhuan outlined the empress's life by her titles except for adding the prophecy of Huangfu Tan.¹⁴⁹ In terms of its preface, *CYZJ* was aimed at recording what the author saw and heard, supplementary to his annalistic work, *XNYL*, that Li was also writing at the time.¹⁵⁰ The present *CYZJ* probably represents the original manuscript of Li Xinzhuan, who was well-known for his prudently deciding which sources to use and faithfully recording what happened in the past.¹⁵¹ But even so, he did not depict Empress Li as portrayed in the *Songshi*. In *WXTK* completed in the 1300s, Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1245–1322) still concentrated on the titles granted to Empress Li and Lady Huang. Moreover, the *Leibian huangchao zhongxing dashiji jiangyi* compiled by Lü Zhong, a popular reference book for the civil service examination in the late Southern Song, briefly mentions the urban dwellers' anxieties and prevalent rumors when it comes to the aggravation of Xiaozong's health.¹⁵² Lü did not give any other reasons except for the emperor's illness, nor did he make his own comments, and Empress Li was only mentioned for her becoming the empress dowager.

The Southern Song official and private historical writings seem to suggest that Empress Li was not the focus of the imperial crisis between 1191 and 1194. Then

¹⁴⁸ *SHY*, houfei 1.8.

¹⁴⁹ *CYZJ*, jiaji 1.39.

¹⁵⁰ *CYZJ*, jiaji 1.3.

¹⁵¹ Liang Taiji's study has revealed that different from the *Xinian yaolu*, the *Chaoye zaji* usually does not avoid touching on politically sensitive issues and the extant editions must maintain the primitive form of the book since it was probably published by booksellers without the authorization of Li Xinzhuan or his friends and descendants. Liang Taiji 梁太濟, "Xinian yaolu Chaoye zaji de qiyi jishu jiqi chengyin《繫年要錄》、《朝野雜記》的歧異記述及其成因," in Liang Taiji, *Tang Song lishi wenxian yanjiu conggao* 唐宋歷史文獻研究叢稿 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004), 190–91, 199–200.

¹⁵² *ZXDSJ*, 803–04.

comes the question of the historical sources of the biography of Empress Li in the *Songshi*. The histories of the Song dynasty (*guoshi* 國史, lit. state history) in an annals-biography style (*jizhuan ti* 紀傳體) were compiled on the basis of the veritable records (*shilu* 實錄) in a chronological format (*biannian ti* 編年體) which relied on the daily records (*rili* 日曆, lit. daily calendar). The daily records were based on the original sources of the imperial diaries of the emperor's daily actions and words and the administration records (*shizhengji* 時政記) of the discussion about state affairs between the emperor and the chief councilors.¹⁵³ The complete official records of the ritual activities between the dual palaces must have been preserved in the imperial diary of Guangzong.¹⁵⁴ In his conversation with Guangzong in the second month of 1194, Peng Guinian expected that the emperor would realize the possible historical impact of his actions and continue to visit his father by referring to the official historiography.¹⁵⁵ Neither Peng's description of the imperial diary nor his reminder to Guangzong names or alludes to Empress Li and imperial concubines. The detailed accounts of how Xiaozong thoughtfully attended his adoptive parents in the *Deshou gong qijuzhu* 德壽宮起居注 (Imperial Diary of the Deshou Palace) that

¹⁵³ The Song official documents such as state histories, imperial diaries and administration records in the History Office (*shiguan* 史館) were moved to and preserved in the Yuan Historiography Academy (*guoshiyuan* 國史院), thanks to Dong Wenbing 董文炳 (1217–78) sent to Lin'an by the Mongols after Southern Song was conquered. Song Lian 宋濂 et al., *Yuanshi* 元史 (hereafter YS) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 156.3672; *SS*, 47.938. Scholars conjecture that the Yuan compilers must have used these sources preserved by Dong to compile the *Songshi*. Zhao Yi, *Nian'er shi zhaji*, 498; Xie Angui 謝安貴, *Song shilu yanjiu* 宋實錄研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2013), 379. For a general introduction to the Tang-Song official historiography, see Charles Hartman and Anthony DeBlasi, "The Growth of Historical Method in Tang China," in Sarah Foot and Chase F. Robinson eds., *The Oxford History of Historical Writing (Vol. 2): 400–1400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 22–27, esp. 23–25.

¹⁵⁴ Peng Guinian in his diary mentioned to Guangzong that he had seen the recording imperial diary of Guangzong with his own eyes. Every time when the emperor failed to go to the Chonghua Palace, the officials responsible for the imperial diary would record it accurately, and the records have been accumulated up to thirty for half a year. Peng explicitly told Guangzong that the imperial diary was daily recorded ("Your Majesty's daily actions are all recorded 每日陛下舉動皆合記."). *ZTJ*, 3.17a–3.17b.

¹⁵⁵ *ZTJ*, 3.17b–3.18a

Zhou Mi referred to in *WLJS* suggest that there might have been more details about Guangzong's ritual failure in his imperial diary than what Peng described.¹⁵⁶ It is unclear if the Yuan compilers for the *Songshi* had ever consulted the imperial diary of Guangzong or the relevant biographies in the *Zhongxing sichao guoshi* 中興四朝國史(Histories of the Four Reigns in the Dynastic Revival) completed in the Lizong period.¹⁵⁷

Carefully comparing the biography of Empress Li in the *Songshi* and the relevant records in the *Sichao wenjian lu* 四朝聞見錄, the *Chaoye yiji* 朝野遺記 and the *Qidong yeyu* 齊東野語, my study would suggest that the first half of the biography prior to the 1191 suburban sacrifice in the *Songshi* mainly refers to the entry of “The Daoist Huangfu 皇甫真人” in *WJL* and the second half is based on “The Inner Abdication during the Shaoxi Period 紹熙內禪” in *QDYY*. Note that these three Song-Yuan private historical writings are usually placed in the category of fiction (*shuobu* 說部), due to their features characterized by anecdotes or informal histories (*yeshi* 野史).¹⁵⁸ Distinct from *XNYL* and *CYZJ* focusing on the reign of Gaozong in great detail, *WJL*, probably written in the 1230s or the 1240s, covers the four reigns of Gaozong, Xiaozong, Guangzong and Ningzong, including the authors’

¹⁵⁶ The existing twelve records compiled by Zhou Mi from the *Deshou gong qijuzhu* are the only remnants of the Song imperial diaries. Zhu Xizu 朱希祖, “Han-Tang-Song qijuzhu kao 漢唐宋起居注考,” in Zhu Xizu, *Zhongguo shixue tonglun* 中國史學通論 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2015), 92–105, originally from *Guoxue jikan* 國學季刊 2.4 (1930): 629–40.

¹⁵⁷ All the materials could have been lost in the late Song and the early Yuan.

¹⁵⁸ Yongrong 永瑛 et al. eds., *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, Wanyou wenku edition, 141.59–60, 143.100. *QDYY* was categorized in the section of the miscellaneous (*zajia* 雜家) under the master branch (*zibu* 子部). Though he put it in the miscellaneous, Li Ciming praised the work that no other late Southern Song books in the category of fiction could be comparable to it for the use of historical sources. Li Ciming 李慈銘, *Yuemantang dushu ji* 越縵堂讀書記 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2000), 696.

own evidential studies as well.¹⁵⁹ It is not surprising that the Yuan compilers of the biography of Empress Li in the *Songshi* probably made use of the accounts in *WJL*, since scholars have pointed out that the plots of the biography of Han Tuozhou 韓侂胄 (1152–1207) in *SS* originated from *WJL*.¹⁶⁰ Completed in 1290, *QDYY* is also considered to be a high-quality Song note-form fiction. The author Zhou Mi in the preface indicated that his work benefited from a great many primary sources collected and left by his great-grandfathers who used to serve as court officials.¹⁶¹ Zhou's great-grandfathers witnessed the reign of Guangzong and must have recorded and preserved their personal experiences in Lin'an. The alleged incidents at the imperial palace since 1191 in the biography of Empress Li in the *Songshi* could have been abstracted from *QDYY*.¹⁶² Among the extant Song sources *QDYY* is the earliest and could be the only source referring to the empress's murder of Lady Huang. As for *CYYJ*, it provides various exclusive accounts, but none of them are included in the *Songshi*.

It is noteworthy that the Yuan compilers did not adopt all the plots provided by *WJL* and *QDYY*. Possible explanations could be that, from their perspectives, the accounts of Guangzong might be irrelevant to the empress or considered as unconvincing rumors. According to *QDYY*, Guangzong's mental disorder resulted from his fear of the reprimand of Heaven and his father's reproach shortly after his

¹⁵⁹ Qing scholars opined that only the two books about informal histories, the *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji* and the *Sichao wenjian lu*, could have been supplements to the history of the Southern Song dynasty. Yongrong et al. eds., *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 141.59.

¹⁶⁰ *WJL*, 2.

¹⁶¹ "Preface" in *QDYY*, 1.

¹⁶² *QDYY*, 3.37. Also see the entry of "Guanghuang mingjia beinei 光皇命駕北內," *WJL*, jiaji 14. The relevant account in the *Songshi* seems to resemble that in *WJL* at first glance. However, the difference between Xie Yuezhang and Xie Shenfu suggests that the Yuan compilers might have referred to other sources.

abortive suburban rite in 1191, and Xiaozong's subsequent visit aggravated his illness.¹⁶³ The descriptions of Xiaozong's concern and Guangzong's apologies by kowtowing are not integrated in the biography of Empress Li in the *Songshi*, in part because the empress might not be on the scene.¹⁶⁴ An entry entitled "Empress Li 慈懿李后" in *QDYY* with a focus on the tension between Empress Li and the empress of Xiaozong, for unknown reasons, was not selected by the Yuan compilers.¹⁶⁵ Ye Shaoweng in *QDYY* offered two vivid cases of eunuchs' sowing dissension between the two emperors, but neither was included in the *Songshi*.¹⁶⁶ For the two events, Empress Li was not on the scene, but Ye still told the anecdotes since, as he concluded, Guangzong's ritual failure was to blame for these malevolent eunuchs who misled the empress.¹⁶⁷

The records of Empress Li in *WJL* and *QDYY* probably stemmed from the "hearsay" mentioned in Song officials' memorials, and her image reshaped in the *Songshi* reflects the evolution of the widespread rumors among urban dwellers. The *Wenjian lu* is the earliest surviving source exemplifying the childhood name of

¹⁶³ *QDYY*, 3.37.

¹⁶⁴ The biography of Guangzong in the *Songshi* mentions Xiaozong's visit with his wife, Empress Xie 謝皇后 (1132–1203) who gained the honorific title of Shoucheng 壽成 (lit. being of longevity) after the abdication of Guangzong ("Emperor Shou and Empress Shoucheng came to visit Guangzong for his illness 壽皇聖帝及壽成皇后來視疾."). *SS*, 36.701. But the *Songshi* does not have such details depicted in *QDYY*.

¹⁶⁵ It seems that the Yuan compilers might have tended to adopt *WJL* which was completed earlier. In this regard, the use of *QDYY* for reference was to supplement what had been omitted between 1191 and 1194 in *WJL*.

¹⁶⁶ *WJL*, jiaji 57. One day in the Garden of Assembled Views (*Jujing yuan* 聚景園, hereafter Jujing Garden), an imperial garden, Guangzong was ready to take a jade chalice held by a eunuch from the Chonghua Palace, and the chalice dropped to the ground from his trembling hands while he was being irritated by the officials' insistence in their memorials that he should have invited Xiaozong to visit the garden. The emperor's imprudence gave a handle to the eunuchs. The other anecdote is about the eunuchs' intention to weaken the relationship between Xiaozong and Guangzong. They released pheasants during Xiaozong's visit to the East Garden (*Dongyuan* 東園) and shouted in a dialect term of "catching pheasants (*zhuoji* 捉雞)" as an irony hinting that no one would come and have meals with Xiaozong as Guangzong previously forgot performing a required rite and did not accompany his father.

¹⁶⁷ "[Guangzong's actions] From not visiting the Northern Palace due to his illness to [not visiting his father on] Xiaozong's deathbed to not performing the funeral rite [of Xiaozong] and not tasting medicine for dying Empress Xiansheng [the second empress of Gaozong] are all caused by the eunuchs' deceptions on the empress. 自上以疾不詣北宮，至孝宗大漸，終勿克執喪，與憲聖垂歿而莫有嘗藥，皆后為宦者所誤雲。" *WJL*, jiaji 57.

Empress Li and her miraculous birth, but it does not include Huangfu's prophecy.¹⁶⁸ Interestingly, Huangfu Tan was replaced with another Daoist physiognomist Zhang Daoqing 張道清 (1136–1205) from the Mountain of Nine Palaces (*Jiugong shan* 九宮山) in the *Songshi quanwen* 宋史全文, which was written in the late Southern Song and published in the early Yuan.¹⁶⁹ The Daoist's prophecy and the birth of Empress Li seem not to be two separated events; both might have been attributed to the deification of the empress.¹⁷⁰ The differences among various sources thus suggest that the materials from the Southern Song private historical writings presumably originated from the then rumors among the ordinary people. The brutal murder of Guangzong's favorite concubine is another typical example. Only the *Chaoye yiji*, the *Songshi quanwen* and the *Qidong yeyu* among extant Song historical sources include the death of Lady Huang as a fatal blow to the emperor; the *Qidong yeyu* explicitly indicates that the empress was the murderer. This version of the incident, which had been excluded from Song official historical writings, might be part of the rumors "intolerable to ears." The detailed descriptions of Empress Li's words and actions in the *Qidong yeyu* probably reflect the public opinion in the late

¹⁶⁸ The entry of "Empress Li" in *CYZJ*, completed in the early 1200s and shortly after the death of Empress Li, included Huangfu's prophecy of "mother of people of All-Under-Heaven (*tianxia renmu* 天下人母)." *CYZJ*, jiaji 1.39. But a careful comparison between the texts and contexts of the *Songshi* and *CYZJ* leads to a safe conclusion that the Yuan compilers did not refer to *CYZJ* for making the biography of Empress Li in the *Songshi*. In this sense, the Yuan compilers must have used other Song-Yuan sources about the prophecy of Huangfu.

¹⁶⁹ Wang Shengduo has pointed out that the *Songshi quanwen* and *GMBY* could share the same sources and the compilation of the latter might have been greatly influenced by *CYZJ*. The accounts of Empress Li in the *Songshi quanwen* provide another example of the connection between the *Songshi quanwen* and *CYZJ*.

¹⁷⁰ The "black phoenix" was only mentioned in the *Songshi*. Tao Gu told a story about a henpecked vice minister of the Ministry of Rites. Rebuked angrily by her wife, he finally dared go to the suburb and captured a crow in the snow as a cure for his wife's illness. His colleague then teased him about escaping a disaster by obtaining the crow which could be called a black phoenix, since the emergence of phoenix symbolized auspiciousness. Tao Gu 陶穀, *Qing yi lu* 清異錄, *QSBJ* 1st ser., vol.2 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2003), 54. The implication of the term "black phoenix" could have been common to the contemporaries. In this sense, the black phoenix was more likely created as a perfect metaphor implying that Fengniang would become the empress but bring about misfortune.

Southern Song, as Zhou Mi summarized, that people heaped all the blames on her for the imperial crisis.¹⁷¹

Urban dwellers in Lin'an were witnesses to the public rituals held in the temporary capital and, more than that, involved in the institutionalized and routinized ceremonies as well. They were often referenced collectively in accounts of ceremonies, the so-called "people (*min* 民)" in the expression of "sharing joy with the people (*yumin tongli* 與民同樂)" that the court expected to achieve. The imperial crisis in the reign era of Shaoxi, which shocked both the court and the whole state, highlighted the roles of ordinary people in the ritual failure, and made it possible to hear their voices usually recorded and represented by officials and literati. As a special group of the urban dwellers, like their predecessors, the students at the Imperial Academy took a radical position within the political spectrum during the political instability. They organized public demonstrations and led other commoners to express their expectations for the emperor by presenting petitions and kneeling down before the imperial palace. Those well-informed and resource-rich people moved and transferred their property out of Lin'an during the climax of the crisis. Guangzong's occasional ritual performances and his long absence fuelled speculations and anxieties. The examination of the historical sources of the biography of Empress Li in the *Songshi* demonstrates how the Yuan compilers chose and used the relevant Song-Yuan materials and how the image of Empress Li was memorized and portrayed in official and private historical writings. The textual

¹⁷¹ *QDYY*, 11.202. Similar to the murder of Lady Huang, the plot of cutting off a maid's hands, which was included only in the *Songshi* and used to highlight the empress's extreme jealousy and brutality, might have been also derived from the appalling rumors.

differences reflect the change of rumors or people's views from the concern of the provocative eunuchs to the focus on the brutal and jealous empress. Street gossips turned into the widespread rumors and public opinion.¹⁷² The flow of rumors in urban space and the judgment of public opinion in moral space penetrated daily life, impacted on the social order, and intervened in the political instability. Depending on the alleged hearsay and public opinion, officials exerted pressure on the emperor in their memorials, impeached the eunuchs, and even negotiated with the grand empress dowager for Guangzong's abdication to "reassure the public (*an renxin* 安人心 lit. pacify people's heart)."¹⁷³ Thus, in this regard, we could not only hear the urban dwellers' voices but have an appreciation of their agency.

Conclusion

The dual palaces that embodied a symbol of Gaozong's political legacy were constructed, represented and solidified in the temporary capital through the processes of ritual spatialization and spatial ritualization. The establishment and performances of a set of new rituals centered on the dual palaces exposed the relationship and interactions between the emperor and the retired emperor in public. These regular and irregular rites not only shaped special urban landscape of Lin'an, but also form a ritual calendar which was shared by the emperors, officials, and urban dwellers. The equilibrium of the dual palaces was in theory mainly influenced by the factors of consanguinity and politics, but the newly created rituals served as a de facto index of

¹⁷² It was said that in 1187 there had been a popular folk song in Lin'an and some of its words, "You do not come to my house; I do not come to yours either (汝亦不來我家, 我亦不來汝家)," turned out to be an accurate prophecy of what happened in the Shaoxi period. The possibly post hoc interpretation adopted by the Yuan compilers also reflects the impact of the imperial crisis on ordinary people. *SS*, 66.1448.

¹⁷³ *QDYY*, 3.39.

imperial harmony and social stability. In contemporaries' views, the highly symbolic dual palaces rituals were indispensable to this unique spatial structure.

Gaozong shaped the Northern Palace to symbolize the authority of the retired emperor. The palace names were inscribed by the sitting emperor, and always changed due to the new owner in a similar pragmatic way like the use of the main hall of the Palace City. During the Shaoxing period, the Imperial Palace and the mansion of Qin Gui rewarded by Gaozong seemed to have been a prototype for the future dual palaces, further reinforced after the Southern Song weakened the military power of generals and signed the peace treaty with the Jin. Qin's mansion was a political, ritual center at the time. His death might have been one of the factors that affected Gaozong's decision on building another palace at the site of Qin's residence with the intention of abdication. That the emperor named this new palace till the eve of the inner abdication seemed to suggest that everything were going smoothly as planned. The textual and archaeological evidence demonstrates the similarities of the dual palaces in size and layout. The Deshou Palace experienced several projects of renovation and expansion with help from Xiaozong. Gaozong's aesthetic taste and his possession of landscape were reflected in bringing and shaping the scenes of West Lake in his imperial garden, vividly recorded in the contemporary literature. The Deshou Palace was not only a place to live, work and play, but a ritual space for various ceremonies where Xiaozong was a frequent visitor. Furthermore, the Northern Palace features its political hybridity of the retired emperor, the empress dowager, the grand empress dowager and palace eunuchs living here as well as the

visiting emperor, officials, and eunuchs from the Imperial Palace.

The mechanism of the dual palaces was inseparable from the elements of authority, obedience, and compromise. Dual imperial power hardly coexisted with reciprocity. The identity transformation of the emperor and the retired emperor synchronized the interconversion of the ruler/minister relationship; what remained unchangeable the father/son relationship. This complex, subtle relationship, for those outsiders, could have been observed only in virtue of the dual palaces rituals, whereas the insiders had to be very discreet in handling it. Especially for the emperor, he was usually in the embarrassing position of being expected to actively fulfill his ritual duties whether voluntarily or not. As an appropriate metaphor suggested by Lau Nap-yin, Xiaozong was living “under the shadow of Gaozong.” Xiaozong was evidently not a puppet of the retired emperor, but he could not have ignored the existence and influence of Gaozong and their relations, and had to humble himself to satisfy the retired emperor’s demands. Such might have been caused by his earlier experiences of living in the Imperial Palace as an adoptive son for almost three decades prior to becoming the crown prince.

Xiaozong was probably also very concerned about his reputation of filial piety. Rhythms of the rituals exaggerated the above-mentioned elements, and were shaped by them per se. Through his ritual enactments, Xiaozong was portrayed as the exemplar of a filial emperor in historical sources, conscientiously performing various rites and attentively serving his adoptive parents. Yu Ying-shih’s study analyzes

Xiaozong's inner world, showing his ambition and resistance.¹⁷⁴ However, in reality or at least on the surface, he seemed to have been restrained and obedient to Gaozong. The existence of the dual palaces required the emperor playing the role of a son rather than an emperor first, a moral and ritual prerequisite for becoming a qualified new emperor.¹⁷⁵

The imperial crisis in the reign era of Shaoxi started with an abortive suburban sacrifice to Heaven, developed into a long-time ritual absence, and ended up with the enforced emperor's abdication. The ritual failure was first spatially represented and then exaggerated by the lack of rituals in the city. Though having different positions, perceptions, and policies, Song officials submitted memorials and requested that the emperor continue to perform the prescribed rituals. Xiaozong often issued edicts exempting Guangzong from his ritual duties, and it was said that the retired emperor even planned to leave Lin'an to solve the ritual predicament. The son of Guangzong and Empress Li, Prince of Glory (*jiawang* 嘉王) and later Ningzong 寧宗 (r. 1194–1224), visited the Chonghua Palace on behalf of his father at the request of officials. His filial behavior toward Guangzong was often exemplified by officials to persuade the emperor. For those officials who were most concerned with filial piety, the pragmatic enactment could not have been substituted for the emperor's personal appearance. They became even more agitated in particular when Guangzong released

¹⁷⁴ Yu Ying-shih, *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie*, 182–304, 455–84.

¹⁷⁵ Similar to but different from the cloistered rule system (*insei* 院政) during the Heian period. Also note that Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–49) of the Tang balanced the relationship between the sitting emperor and the retired emperor and expressed his filial piety by adjusting the prescribed position of the emperor in the rite of ploughing fields (*jitian* 耨田). Liu Kai 劉凱, “Cong ‘nangeng’ dao ‘donggeng’: ‘Zong Zhou jiuzhi’ yu ‘Hanjia gushi’ kuaiguan—Yi Zhou Tang jian Tianzi/Huangdi jitian fangwei bianhua wei shijiao 從「南耕」到「東耕」: 「宗周舊制」與「漢家故事」窺管——以周唐間天子/皇帝耨田方位為視角,” *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究, 3 (2014): 101–27. I appreciate Li Danjie 李丹婕 kindly providing this information.

a signal of the relative unimportance of the regular visits during the court examination in 1194.¹⁷⁶

After his abdication, Guangzong insisted on staying in the Imperial Palace and rejecting the new emperor's visit. The tension between the emperor and the retired emperor still existed, but were then confined to the Imperial Palace. The dual palace rituals disappeared in public. This unique spatial structure eventually collapsed after the grand empress dowager moved to the Imperial Palace as the Shouci Palace was destroyed by fire in the second month of 1206.¹⁷⁷

The absence of Guangzong in the city and the imperial crisis in the early 1190s highlighted the role of urban dwellers that were normally marginalized in historical narratives. Their voices were never homogeneous, nor as textually recognizable as the monophony of the scholar-officials'. It is an undeniable fact that the polyphony in the background was not easy to capture as a whole and distinguish its individual melody. However, since the polyphony of urban dwellers' voices concentrated on a specific event of the ritual failure and penetrated in daily life and its melodies resonated in time and space, it turned into prevailing, powerful public opinion that not merely affected the political situation but also withstood the official narratives.¹⁷⁸ The emperor, officials, and literati probably never thought of the rapid spread of urban dwellers' voices from street gossips to rumors that were "pervasive (*misuo buzhi* 靡所不至)" and even "intolerable to hear."¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ *SS*, 436.12943.

¹⁷⁷ *GMBY*, 9.159.

¹⁷⁸ *QDYY*, 3.39–43.

¹⁷⁹ Also note the perception of urban dwellers in Lin'an regarding the causal relation between not performing filial piety and the heavenly punishment. Hong Mai, "Dingzhi" 9, *YJZ*, 614.

The biography of Empress Li in the *Songshi*, to some degree, preserved the polyphony, but was also influenced by the evolution of the rumors or memories. The cacophony, especially reflected in *CYYJ*, seemed not to fade away after the Song court imposed the prohibition on rumors. Though not included in the *Songshi*, they stubbornly survived and even became essential sources of shaping local historical memories in the subsequent dynasties. The materials of the imperial crisis during the reign of Guangzong in the *Xihu youlan zhiyu* 西湖遊覽志餘, completed during the reign era of Jiajing 嘉靖 (1522–66), were primarily derived from the *Songshi*, *CYYJ*, and *WJL*. Based on the *Xihu youlan zhiyu* and completed in the late Ming, the *Xihu erji* 西湖二集 further developed the life of Empress Li in the historical context of the collapse of the dual palaces.¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ Zhou Ji 周楫, “Li Fengniang ku du zao tianqian 李鳳娘酷妬遭天譴,” *Xihu erji* 西湖二集 (Taipei: Sanmin, 1998), 100–14.

FOUR

Lin'an in the Imperial Sacred Geography: On Sacrifices to Mountains and Rivers in Southern Song China

Mountains and rivers played a pivotal role in human activities in history. As natural landscape, on the one hand, they acted as geographical barriers to human movement, and on the other hand, they provided products that were essential for agricultural societies. Meanwhile, in ecological, cultural and social contexts, people observed, depicted, defined and labeled their natural surroundings, attaching political, cultural and religious connotations to these natural spaces.¹ In this sense, mountains and rivers, personified or deified, could be deemed social space or sacred site, an extension of human society. Some of them obtained higher ranks than the others, considered to have been more powerful, influential and efficacious. For example, peaks were believed to be the most sacred mountains in many religious traditions as they were closest to Heaven and thus could have been more convenient for people's interactions with heavenly deities. One sacred mountain or river that was revered in different belief systems opens a window for understanding diverse or even competing interpretations.²

¹ As one of the pioneering scholars studying on monumentality of mountains, in his 1993 conference paper, Wu Hung stated that he explored how sacred mountains were transformed into political symbols in Chinese history. Wu Hung, "The Competing Yue: Sacred Mountains as Historical and Political Monuments," (paper presented at the Conference on "Mountains and the Cultures of Landscape in China," Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Santa Barbara, CA, January 1993), 1.

² Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü eds., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, 11–12. Even in the same religious tradition, sacred mountains and rivers could be understood in different ways. For a preliminary discussion on the different images of mountain gods in the Chinese Buddhist texts and the biographies

The worships of mountains, rivers, and seas featured their localities that might have resonated with each other after their encounters. As the geographic limits had been mitigated or surmounted under the influence of migration, military conquest, the spread of religions, or political intervention, places became connected and the spatial connections would construct, alter or reshape people's views of a region.³ This new perceived space of connected places enabled rulers or religious leaders to develop a shared identity for individuals or communities and, consequently, to turn it into an ideal and much larger conceived space like a tribe, a state or a spiritual world. As a result, the most sacred mountains or rivers were selected, widely recognized, and eulogized as ethnic, national, or spiritual symbols.⁴

The longing for a "Greater China" or the insistence upon China's grand unity (*dayitong* 大一統), still dominating China's nationalism in many ways, derives from a political ideal of the sacred geography for a unified empire, the combination of specified sacred mountains and rivers as a symbol of unification. This model sprouted in the Warring States period and developed into a fully-fledged imperial ideology in the Qin and Han dynasties. The highly ideologized spatial pattern, reinforced by the worldview or theory of "All-under-Heaven," was closely linked to imperial power. The Son of Heaven (or *tianzi* 天子), according to Confucian classics,

of Chinese monks, see Cai Zongxian 蔡宗憲, "Fo jiao wen xian zhong de shan shen xing xiang chutan 佛教文獻中的山神形象初探," in *Zhang Guangda xiansheng bashi huadan zhushou lunwen ji* 張廣達先生八十華誕祝壽論文集, eds., Zhu Fengyu 朱鳳玉 and Wang Juan 汪娟 (Taipei: Xin wen feng, 2010), 977-96.

³ Anne Feldhaus, *Connected Places: Region, Pilgrimage, and Geographical Imagination in India* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

⁴ Mount Fuji is a good example. Though its becoming Japan's most important landmark is a phenomenon of the past one or two centuries, the history of Mount Fuji provides a repertoire of its images. See H. Byron Earhart, *Mount Fuji: Icon of Japan* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2015).

was expected to conduct imperial inspection tours (*xunshou* 巡狩) in his domain where mountains and rivers were guarded by feudal lords.⁵ Not only did this sort of ritual with elements of territoriality showcase the emperor's legitimate power, but also exerted referent and reward power on subjects, normally followed by grand rewards to his loyal officials in Imperial China. Local officials in their sphere of influence were expected to undertake a similar ritual obligation. Otherwise, the improper performance or ritual absence during the Warring States period could lead to a condemnation or even punishment of a conquest.

In reality, the imperial sacred geography was challenged in two aspects. The most considerable challenge came from its geographical incompleteness. In the era of division, if a ruler was unwilling to ameliorate or remedy the volatile situation, his legitimacy would be largely undermined.⁶ Of course, a ruler could have seized this opportunity to accomplish the great cause of unification under the banner of restoring territorial integrity, but he might have taken high military risks that could terminate his reign. Likewise, when a dynasty was falling apart or collapsed, not thoroughly desperate, people might have envisioned its resurgence or reunification

⁵ "In the second month of the year, [Shun] went eastward to inspect those under his portection. [He] arrived at Mount Daizong. [He] made a burnt offering and performed in correct order the wang sacrifices to the mountains and streams." Kong Yingda 孔穎達 annot., *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義, Shisanjing zhushu edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 127. The translation comes from Martin Kern's work. Martin Kern, "Language and the Ideology of Kingship in the 'Canon of Yao'," in *Ideology of Power and Power of Ideology in Early China*, eds. Yuri Pines, Paul Goldin, and Martin Kern (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 137. Kern notices Shun's ritual performances for cosmic spirits like the deities of mountains and rivers after his enthronement. He points out that the Qin First Emperor and Emperor Wu of the Western Han both performed the wang sacrifice like Shun did to express their sovereignty over the entire empire. Kern, "Language and the Ideology of Kingship in the 'Canon of Yao,'" 136. The tours were also mentioned, corresponding to different months and following to interrelated rituals, see *LJZY*, 1328.

⁶ As Ge Jianxiong calculates based on the two starting points, 841 BCE, the first year of consecutive annual dating of China's history, and 221 BCE, the year of the establishment of the Qin empire, the first empire in imperial China, the periods of division were longer than those of unity in Chinese history, but China remained unified in general after the Mongol Yuan period. Ge Jianxiong 葛劍雄, *Tongyi yu fenlie: Zhongguo lishi de qishi* 統一與分裂：中國歷史的啟示 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1994), 79, 100. For Ge's discussion about his criteria of unification and division, see Ge, *Tongyi yu fenlie*, 83–100.

as long as the mountains and rivers remained.⁷ The other challenge was concerned with the impact of religious sacred geography that was often overlapped with the imperial model.

With regard to the above-mentioned issues and given its lost territories occupied by the Jurchens, the Southern Song is an important yet overlooked example. Studies on Lin'an within the context of the sacred geography from either a ritual or urban perspective remain relatively unexplored. In this chapter, I examine the interplay between the evolution of the imperial sacred geography and the spatial arrangement of and in the capital city. The locus for this investigation is the role of Lin'an in an incomplete yet multilayered imperial sacred geography. I will explore how the Song exiled court restored and adjusted the official sacrifices to mountains and rivers after its relocation in Lin'an in comparison with the Northern Song cases and within a larger context of the pre-Song eras.

Imperial Sacred Geography and its Relations to Capital City:

An Outline Prior to the Song

Studies on Chinese sacrifices to mountains and rivers have a long history.⁸ The

⁷ Du Fu, in his poem "View in Spring 春望," which was written during the An Lushan Rebellion in the mid-eighth century, conveyed his despair concerning the fall of Chang'an. The poem began with a verse: "The state broken, its mountains and rivers remain 國破山河在." Du Fu 杜甫, "View in Spring," in Du Fu, *The Poetry of Du Fu*, trans. and ed. Stephen Owen (Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 259. However, Yue Fei, a Southern Song general, in his lyric poem, "The River Runs Red 滿江紅," expressed his gritty determination to "recover our ancient hills and rivers 收拾舊山河." Yue Fei 岳飛, "The River Runs Red," in Diana Lary, *The Chinese People at War: Human Suffering and Social Transformation, 1937–1945* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 41.

⁸ For example, the "Treatise on the Feng and Shan Sacrifices" (*Fengshan shu* 封禪書) in Sima Qian's *Shiji* and the "Treatise on Sacrifices" (*Jiaosi zhi* 郊祀志) in Ban Gu's *Hanshu* as well as the sacrificial records in treatises on ritual in other official histories. For imperial Chinese scholars' systematic reviews from a long-term perspective, see "Extensive Sacrifices attached with Sacrifices to Mountains and Rivers (*Qunsi: Shanchuan fu* 群祀: 山川附, *juan* 102)" in *YH*, "Sacrifices to Mountains and Rivers (*Si shanchuan* 祀山川, *juan* 83)" in *WXTK* and "Gazing Mountains and Rivers in Four Directions (*Siwang shanchuan* 四望山川, *juan* 46–52)" in *WLTK*.

historical records are abundant, surviving in various and copious sources such as official histories, ritual books, local gazetteers, literati collected works, inscriptions, religious texts, poetry, paintings, etc. They deal with the emperors' and officials' ritual performances and detailed, lengthy discussions or disputes between scholars, officials, ritual experts, and religious figures. In his ground-breaking research on Mount Tai (*Taishan* 泰山) published in 1910, Édouard Chavannes (1865–1918) gathered, translated, and annotated the extensive materials containing relevant official records, local anecdotes, and literati's interpretations as well as temple inscriptions he obtained during his stay in China for understanding the role of mountains in Chinese history and culture with an emphasis on Chinese folk religion.⁹ Earlier studies in the first half of last century mainly focus on the sacred peaks.¹⁰ For the past three decades and especially the past five years, a large, growing body of literature has examined mountains and rivers in Chinese historical, religious, intellectual, political and cultural contexts.¹¹

⁹ Édouard Chavannes, *Le T'ai Chan: Essai de Monographie d'un Culte Chinois* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910). For an excellent introduction to Chavannes and his works, see Zhang Guangda 張廣達, "Sha Wan: 'diyi wei quancai de hanxuejia 第一位全才的漢學家'," in Zhang Guangda, *Shijia, shixue yu xiandai xueshu* 史家、史學與現代學術 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2008), 134–75, esp. 153–61.

¹⁰ For the representative studies, see Mori Shikazō 森鹿三, "Shina kodai ni okeru sangaku shinkō 支那古代における山嶽信仰," *Rekishi to chiri* 歴史と地理 28.6 (1931), "Shin Cho no hoppō shinten to yamakawa no saishi 晉・趙の北方進展と山川の祭祀" *Tōyō shi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 1.1 (1935): 1–12; Tong Shuye 童書業, "Siyue kao 四嶽考," Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 and Tan Qixiang 譚其驤 eds., *Yugong* 禹貢 2.3 (1934): 8; Sakai Tadaō 酒井忠夫, "Taizan sinkō no kenkyū 太山信仰の研究," *Shichō* 史潮 7.2 (1937): 70–118; Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年 and Hibino Takeo 日比野丈夫, *Godaizan* 五台山 (Tokyo: Zayūhō, 1942); Gu Jiegang, "'Siyue' yu 'Wuyue' 四嶽與五嶽," *Shilin zashi chubian* 史林雜識初編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), 34–45.

¹¹ Wu Hung, "The Competing Yue: Sacred Mountains as Historical and Political Monuments," 1–59; Zhu Yi 朱滢, "Han Tang jian guanfang shanyue jisi de bianqian: Yi jisi changsuo de kaocha wei zhongxin 漢唐間官方山嶽祭祀的變遷：以祭祀場所的考察為中心," *Dongwu lishi xuebao* 東吳歷史學報 15 (2006): 69–89; James Robson, *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak in Medieval China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009); Lei Wen 雷聞, *Jiaomiao zhiwai: Sui Tang guojia jisi yu zongjiao* 郊廟之外：隋唐國家祭祀與宗教 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2009); Niu Jingfei 牛敬飛, "Wuyue jisi yanbian kaolun 五嶽祭祀演變考論" (PhD diss., Qinghua University, 2012); Tian Tian 田天, *Qin Han guojia jisi shigao* 秦漢國家祭祀史稿 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2015); Li Ling 李零, "Yuezhen haidu kao: Zhongguo gudai de shanchuan

Readers would not be too surprised at this long-term scholarly tradition, for sacred mountains and rivers along with the sacrifices to them are the central part of dynastic geography and an essential source of political legitimacy. Their significance partially stems from what Tang Xiaofeng 唐曉峰 describes as moral Confucian geography.

The land itself was believed to have a moral nature which was comparable to that of humans, so that land was described as both a medium and an expression of the prevailing morality. In consequence, the Chinese land experienced a process of moralization along with the development Confucian geography. The mountains, rivers, lakes, tress, and rocks were assigned moral values in Confucian writings...the Han-Tang cosmologists and the Song-Ming landscape artists turned the mountains, rivers, trees and rocks into great symbols of morality.¹²

Their importance also originates from cosmology and political ideologies assigning constant values to mountains and rivers beyond dynastic changes. The moralized and politicized mountains and rivers combined as a geo-body were turned into the imperial sacred geography, a blend of official, moral, ritual, and cosmological geography.¹³

To avoid falling into the trap of pedantic evidential research, I briefly review the history and historiography of the sacred geography before Song in this section. It

jisi 嶽鎮海濱考：中國古代的山川祭祀,” *Sixiang ditu: Zhongguo dili de dashiye* 思想地圖：中國地理的大視野 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2016), 107–51. Other works will be mentioned when I discuss concerning issues.

¹² Tang Xiaofeng, *From Dynastic Geography to Historical Geography: A Change in Perspective towards the Geographical Past of China* (Beijing: Commercial Press International, 2000), 44.

¹³ The concept of “geo-body” is borrowed from Thongchai Winichakul who creates the term not simply referring to the territory of a nation but, more important, focusing on how people imagine the territory and how their nationhood is shaped. Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1997). For a further discussion whether a geo-body came into being as a modern product, see Chapter 5.

aims at key concepts and rituals which provide essential and broader historical contexts for our understanding of them in the Song times. Recent studies have begun to explore the issues beyond the sacred peaks that previous studies concentrated on. It is thus necessary to view the sacred geography as a whole and investigate how it was shaped in history. My review also deals with several questions rarely discussed in the existing historiography: prior to the Song, how a capital city was placed in the sacred geography, what relations were established between them, and how such connections were interpreted.

Mountains and rivers played a major role in people's lives and beliefs in the Shang and Zhou dynasties. The characters “*yue* 岳 (sacred peak)” and “*he* 河 (river)” on oracle bones refer to gods in nature religion, representing an embodiment of deity and spiritual power. Together with the Gods of Soil and Grain (*sheji* 社稷) and ancestors, they were usually asked by diviners in divination about fundamental issues like harvest, rain or flood for an agrarian society. Oracle inscriptions imply that Shang kings might have been involved in most of the rites.¹⁴ A reasonable inference could be drawn that local people might have performed similar sacrifices through which stability would be expected to bring to their daily lives. Though scholars hold divergent views on whether *yue* and *he* are specific or general references, most of them agree that those mountains and rivers designated “*yue*” and “*he*” featured sacredness and therefore, had a superior status than other mountains

¹⁴ Zhu Yanmin 朱彦民, “Yin buci zhong he, yue, tu yu xiangong guanxi kao 殷卜辭中河、岳、土與先公關係考,” College of History at Nankai University et al. eds., *Zhongguo gudai shehui gaoceng luntan wenji: Jinian Zheng Tianting xiansheng danchen yibai yishi zhounian* 中國古代社會高層論壇文集：紀念鄭天挺先生誕辰一百一十週年 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 206–7, 211–12.

and rivers.¹⁵ No direct evidence shows any relations between the nature deities of *yue* and *he* mentioned in oracle inscriptions and the ancient ancestors of Shang clans. The explanation linking ethnic origins with particular mountains, as transmitted documents indicate, probably emerged in the Spring and Autumn period.¹⁶ The identity construction could result from the prosperity of natural worships and the interregional migration since the early Western Zhou.¹⁷ To distinguish themselves from others, indigenous people and immigrants could intensify their origins or identities by means of recognizable, immovable natural markers. In other words, local sacred mountains and rivers had extended their influence in larger areas in the Zhou dynasty.

In ancient China, apart from military, economic or religious considerations, mountains and rivers had been also taken seriously in the site selection and construction of a pre-Qin capital city.¹⁸ Take Chengzhou 成周 (or Luoyi 雒邑, present-day Luoyang 洛陽), the eastern capital of the Western Zhou and the capital of the Eastern Zhou, as an example.¹⁹ After the Zhou's decisive victory against the

¹⁵ Zhu Yanmin, "Yin buci zhong he, yue, tu yu xiangong guanxi kao," 207–212; Tang Xiaofeng, "Buci 'yue' zhi diwang 卜辭“岳”之地望," Tang Xiaofeng ed., *Jiuzhou* 九州 vol. 3 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2003), 83–91. We should not ignore the fact that the natural barriers protected local communities from external threats.

¹⁶ Gu Jiegang, "Zhou yu yue de yanbian 州與嶽的演變," in *Gu Jiegang gushi lunwen ji* 顧頡剛古史論文集 vol.5 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 45–6, originally from *Shixue nianbao* 史學年報 1.5 (1933).

¹⁷ The enfeoffment of Zhou kings to their relatives and warriors in the mid-eleventh century BCE initiated one of the earliest great waves of eastward migration. For an outline of migration in the Zhou, see Ge Jianxiong, *Zhongguo yimin shi* (vol.2): *Xian Qin zhi Wei Jin nanbei chao shiqi* 中國移民史 (第二卷): 先秦至魏晉南北朝時期 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1997), 17–28. Shu-hui Wu explores the effect of migration on the Zhou identity prior to the establishment of the Western Zhou dynasty. See Shu-hui Wu, "The Great Migration: Inception of the Zhou Identity," *Studia Orientalia* 111 (2011): 407–45.

¹⁸ Nancy S. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 10, 12. For an outline of archaeological findings about pre-Qin capital cities, see Liu Qingzhu 劉慶柱 ed., *Zhongguo gudai ducheng kaogu faxian yu yanjiu* 中國古代都城考古發現與研究 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2016), 46–230.

¹⁹ For a brief introduction of the construction of Luoyi including its urban layout and structures, see Victor Cunrui Xiong, *Capital Cities and Urban Form in Pre-modern China: Luoyang, 1038 BCE to 938 CE* (London;

Shang at Muye 牧野 (present-day Xinxiang 新鄉), during his return to the primary capital Zongzhou 宗周 (present-day Xi'an 西安), King Wu of Zhou (Zhou Wuwang 周武王, r. 1046–1043 BCE) went to Mount Song (Songshan 嵩山) where he performed the sacrifices to Supreme Heaven as well as to mountains and rivers in the four directions.²⁰ On the mountain, he was said to have surveyed the nearby topography and geography first, and eventually decided to build a new capital between the Yi River (Yishui 伊水) and the Luo River (Luoshui 雒水). King Wu's ambitious schedule was accomplished after his death by the Duke of Zhou who served as a loyal regent for King Cheng, the son of King Wu. It is noteworthy that King Wu's willingness to “reside in this central territory (*zhai zi zhongguo* 宅茲中國)” and the intention of Duke of Zhou to “place nine cauldrons (*ju jiuding* 居九鼎)” in Luoyi both displayed a worldview in which the center must have been Chengzhou, a ritual center and the future capital of the Eastern Zhou (Figure 4.1).²¹ The notion of living in the center of the world framed a prototype of the imperial sacred geography. Moreover, in practice, the relocation of part of Shang captives in

New York: Routledge, 2017), 1–10.

²⁰ Lin Yun deems the bronze scripts of “celestial chamber (*tianshi* 天室)” referring to Mount Song where King Wu of Zhou performed the sacrifices. Lin Yun 林澐, “Tianwang gui ‘wang si yu tianshi’ xinjie 天亡簋 ‘王祀於天室’ 新解,” in *Lin Yun xueshu wenji* 林澐學術文集 (Beijing: Zhongguo dabaikē quanshu chubanshe, 1998), 167–73; Sarah Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 295–97. According to scholarly studies on the year when King Wu of Zhou won the Battle of Muye, the ceremony on Mount Song might have been held no later than the late eleventh century BCE. Beijing Normal University ed., *Wuwang ke Shang zhi nian yanjiu* 武王克商之年研究 (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, 1997). Also note that Mount Song in the Western Zhou had not been given the special name of “*yue* 岳.” As Gu Jiegang suggests, it was entitled “*yue* 嶽” or “Song *yue* 嵩嶽” in the reign of Emperor Wu of the Western Han. Gu Jiegang, “Jiuzhou zhi rong yu rongyu 九州之戎與戎禹,” in *Gu Jiegang gushi lunwen ji* vol. 5, 137.

²¹ The inscription of “I shall reside in this central territory 余其宅茲中國” on the *He zun* 何尊, an early Western Zhou vessel excavated in Baoji 寶雞 in 1963, is the earliest evidence with the term of “*zhongguo*,” or “central territory.” For the English translation, see Sarah Allan, *Buried Ideas*, 297. The placement of nine cauldrons in Luoyi by the Duke of Zhou was considered to have taken this new capital as “the center of All-under-Heaven (*tianxia zhizhong* 天下之中).” *SJ*, 4.133. For a general introduction of the archaeological site of the Imperial City of Eastern Zhou Luoyang, see Liu Qingzhu ed., *Zhongguo gudai ducheng kaogu faxian yu yanjiu*, 161–64.

Chengzhou could help extend and enhance the Zhou’s control over the eastern region where Shang used to dominate.

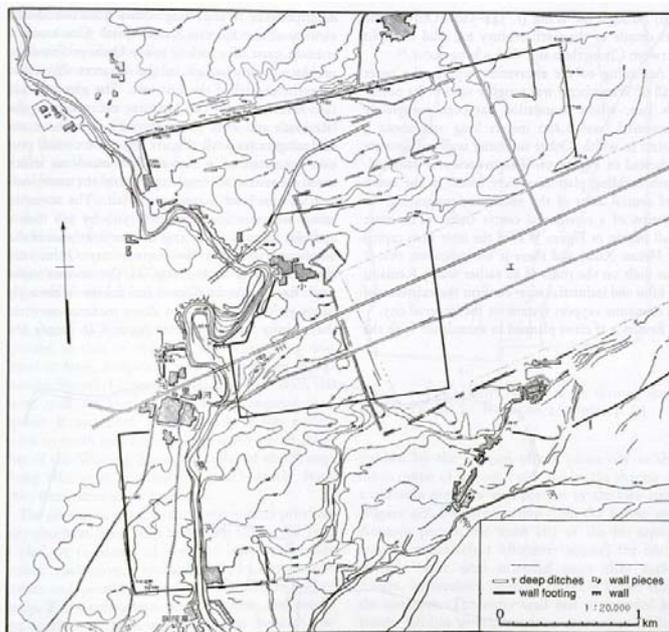


Fig. 4.1: Remains of the Imperial City of Eastern Zhou Luoyang
Source: Nancy S. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 45.

Several key concepts that emerged and evolved during the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods laid a foundation for the framework of the subsequent imperial sacred geography. The term *yue* 岳 by then had become a general reference to renowned mountains, given the most outstanding ones were designated *taiyue* 太岳 or great sacred peak. As Li Lin 李零 has accurately pointed out, the fact that Mount Tai in early times was written as “Taishan 太山” or “great mountain” (not “great peak”) indicates that each region then boasted its own great mountain(s).²² According to the bamboo slips excavated within the region of the State of Chu 楚 and dated to the mid-Warring States period, scholars have found a similar differentiation of rivers in South China that local water gods were designated

²² Li Ling, “*Yuezhen haidu kao*,” 121.

dachuan 大川 (great river) and *dashui* 大水 (great water).²³ The term “*he* 河” in this period normally referred to the Yellow River, while especially in the south the character “*jiang* 江” was not necessarily indicative of the Yangtze River.²⁴ More important, the late Warring States period witnessed a remarkable historical transformation of China from the division of multiple states to the imperial unity. The territorial stress turned great mountains and rivers into symbols signifying the regions where political regimes had taken control. As annotated by Zheng Xuan, a preeminent Eastern Han Confucian scholar, a “mountain garrison (*shanzhen* 山鎮)” was expected to safeguard one of China’s nine regions as a symbol of virtue.²⁵

Given the competition among states, the strong link between state territory and natural space might have reinforced the tradition of sacrifices to mountains and rivers. These rites could generate a somewhat similar notion of the geo-body, despite the fact that the modern concept of territoriality did not exist in the pre-Qin era. Since states’ capitals were not always located in the vicinity of their great mountains and rivers, rulers often had to make offerings from a distance, a ritual named *wang* 望 (gaze) or *wangji* 望祭 (gazing-afar sacrifice). It should be noted that *wang* was not only the name of a type of rites, or a ritual enactment, but also a reference to those worshipped mountains and rivers, the ritual object.²⁶ In the Spring and

²³ Yang Hua 杨华, “Chudi shuishen yanjiu 楚地水神研究,” in Yang Hua, *Xinchu jianbo yu lizhi yanjiu* 新出簡帛與禮制研究 (Taipei: Taiwan guji chubanshe, 2007), 78–82.

²⁴ Scholars conjecture that “*jiang*” might have been used to refer to the tributaries of the Yangtze River. Yang Hua, *Xinchu jianbo yu lizhi yanjiu*, 80.

²⁵ Zheng Xuan and Kong Yingda annot., *Zhouli zhushu* 周禮注疏 Shisanjing zhushu edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 791, 862.

²⁶ Tian Tian, *Qin Han guojia jisi shigao*, 258–62.

Autumn period, a principle of “not performing sacrifices beyond *wang* (*ji buyue wang* 祭不越望)” had prevailed among states—A state’s ruler must have held the sacrifices to great mountains and rivers that were situated within his own territory rather than the territories of others.²⁷ One of the most frequently cited cases is the refusal of King Zhao of Chu 楚昭王 (r. 515–489 BCE) to participate in a sacrifice to the Yellow River that was thought to speed his recovery from a serious disease. The king’s primary reason was that the Yellow River was located outside his domains and thus to perform the rite would become inappropriate.²⁸

The notion of *wang* helps to explain how pre-Han capital cities were involved in the gazing-afar sacrifices to mountains and sacrifices. Based on the concept of *wang* and a self-centered worldview, the idea of *siwang* 四望 or four gazes was developed. Like the notions of *sifang* 四方 (four directions) or *sihai* 四海 (four seas), the term *siwang* illustrated a central-peripheral framework in which the capital city functioned as a ritual center or a conceived center of the world. The *wang* sacrifices, regardless of their inferior ritual status, had a close, spatial connection with the suburban sacrifices. From the eighth to the third centuries BCE, both rites were held in the capital’s four directional suburbs.²⁹ Such a ritual layout later

²⁷ Tian Tian, *Qin Han guojia jisi shigao*, 272–77.

²⁸ Du Yu 杜預 and Kong Yingda annot., *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義, Shisanjing zhushu edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 2162. This event included in the *Zuozhuan* took place in 489 BCE. King Zhao of Chu traced the principle back to the mythical period of the Xia dynasty, but the explanation most likely showcased his stress upon a long-standing tradition that might have had been recognized in the seventh century BCE. *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, 1831. Chen Lai argues that the ritual refusal of King Zhao of Chu reflected on the resistance of human’s reason against ritual. Chen Lai 陳來, “Xi Zhou Chunqiu shidai de zongjiao guannian yu lunli yishi 西周春秋時代的宗教觀念與倫理意識” in *Zhongguoshi xinlun: Sixiang fence* 中國史新論：思想史分冊 ed. Chen Ruoshui 陳弱水 (Taipei: Lianjing, 2012), 129–30.

²⁹ Tian Tian, *Qin Han guojia jisi shigao*, 262. According to the relevant cases in the *Zuozhuan*, Tian Tian points out that only those gazing-afar sacrifices to mountains and rivers associated with the suburban sacrifices could be designated *wang*, whereas the rainmaking sacrifices to mountains and rivers were not given such a designation.

became standardized through Qin's distinctive urban infrastructure of *zhi* 時, a set of four specific places for the worship of Supreme Heaven and Earth outside the capital city.³⁰ The territorial expansion of a state that incorporated other states' *wang* into its own ritual system did not violate the sacrificial principle.³¹ A new connection between a capital city and the integrated *wang* was established through ritual. In other words, the territorial changes would have been reflected in the gazing-afar sacrifices held around the capital.

The synthesis of the sacrifices to mountains and rivers, the imperial inspection tour, and a self-centered worldview supplemented the expectation of a unified geography that was aroused from the middle Warring States Period onwards.³² This psychological change was projected onto mountains and rivers. For example, scholars have noticed an interesting phenomenon in ancient Chinese classics that the "four renowned mountains (*siyue* 四岳)" were usually mentioned, but few references were made to the "five sacred peaks (*wuyue* 五嶽)."³³ Wu Hung suggests that the notion of Five Sacred Peaks was formed under the influence of the five phases (*wuxing* 五行) theory that had the implication of imperial unity.³⁴ Despite different

³⁰ *SJ*, 28.1358–60, 1364–65. For recent studies on *zhi* and the ritual system of the ancient state of Qin, see Tian Tian, *Qin-Han guojia jisi shigao*, 13–58. The record in the *Shiji* is evinced by scholars that in and near Yong 雍, the capital of the State of Qin during the Spring and Autumn period, there were around a hundred shrines including *zhi*. *SJ*, 1375; Li Ling, *Qin Han cizhi tongkao* 秦漢祠時通考, in Tang Xiaofeng et al. eds., *Jiuzhou* vol. 2 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1999), 161. For a discussion on the form and classification of the sacrificial building complex associated with *zhi* in Qin-Han China, see Tian Tian, *Qin Han guojia jisi shigao*, 334–44.

³¹ Tian Tian, *Qin Han guojia jisi shigao*, 274.

³² Also note Zou Yan's theory of the cycle of five virtues (*wude* 五德) that offered an interpretation of dynastic changes and his thought of the nine great provinces (*da jiuzhou* 大九州) that envisioned a unified, cosmological world. John S. Major, "The Five Phases, Magic Squares, and Schematic Cosmography," *Journal of the American Academy of Religious Studies*, 50.2 (1984), 133–66.

³³ Gu Jiegang, "'Siyue' yu 'Wuyue'." Tian Tian suggests that the theory of *wuyue* emerged no late than the second half of the Warring States period. Tian Tian, *Qin Han guojia jisi shigao*, 301–302.

³⁴ Wu Hung, "The Competing Yue," 3.

views of the Five Sacred Peaks in classic texts (Table 4.1), the conceived space that they constituted reflected a central-peripheral structure of “the idealization of the sacrifices to mountains and rivers for a dynasty of grand unity.”³⁵ Similarly, the term “Four Seas,” conceived as only remote areas at first, was then attached the same connotation after it was integrated into a new model of an ideal unified geography—the Nine Provinces (*jiuzhou* 九州) that consisted of China were encircled by the Four Seas and characterized by renowned mountains and rivers in their respective provinces.³⁶ In this idealized world, the Son of Heaven displayed his authority by placing mountains and rivers under his control and in a bureaucratic hierarchy displayed by ritual.³⁷ The imperial city he resided in hence became a geographical and ritual center.³⁸

Table 4.1 Different Views of the Five Sacred Peaks in Ancient Chinese Classics

| | East | West | South | North | Center | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|--------|---------------|
| “Shishan” in <i>Erya</i> (I) 爾雅·釋山 | Mt. Tai 泰山 | Mt. Hua 華山 | Mt. Heng 衡山 | Mt. Heng 恆山 | | Mt. Yue 岳山 |
| Zheng Xuan’s annotations on “Da siyue” in <i>Zhouli</i> 大司樂·周禮 | Mt. Tai | Mt. Hua | Mt. Heng 衡山 | Mt. Heng 恆山 | | Mt. Yue |

³⁵ Tian Tian, *Qin Han guojia jisi shigao*, 304.

³⁶ Wang Zijin 王子今, “Shanggu dili yishi zhong de ‘zhongyuan’ yu ‘sihai’ 上古地理意識中的‘中原’與‘四海’,” *Zhongyuan wenhua yanjiu* 中原文化研究 1 (2014): 5–11. For the depiction of Nine Provinces, see the chapters of “Yugong” in the *Shangshu*, “Zhifangshi” in the *Zhouli*, and “Wangzhi” in the *Liji*. Note that Zou Yan later expanded these nine provinces to nine great continents, each of which contained nine continents. China, known as the Spiritual Continent of the Red Region (*chixian shenzhou* 赤縣神州), thus occupied only one area out of eighty—one of the great earth. *SJ*, 74.2344.

³⁷ *LJZY*, 1336; Terry F. Kleeman, “Licentious Cults and Bloody Victuals: Sacrifice, Reciprocity, and Violence in Traditional China,” *Asia Major* 7.1 (1994): 192.

³⁸ The account of the five domains (*wufu* 五服) in the “Yugong 禹貢” section of the *Shangshu* offered another central-peripheral paradigm of the world, the center of the imperial city and the outlying regions. The Son of Heaven needed to adjust the relations to his neighbors by distance, and his influence could not extend to the areas of barbarians. Note that such a paradigm highlighted the tributary relations not the role of mountains and rivers.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|----------------|----------------|----------------|--|
| “Shishan” in <i>Erya</i> (II) 爾雅·釋山 | Mt. Tai | Mt. Hua | Mt. Huo 霍山 | Mt. Heng 恆山 | Mt. Song 嵩高 | |
| Zheng Xuan’s annotations on “Da zongbo” in <i>Zhouli</i> 大宗伯·周禮 | Mt. Tai | Mt. Hua | Mt. Heng 衡山 | Mt. Heng 恆山 | Mt. Song 嵩高 | |

Source: Tian Tian, *Qin Han guojia jisi shigao*, 304.

The imperial sacred geography came into existence during the Qin and Han dynasties. After the Qin accomplished the unification of China, the Qin First Emperor established the first standard system of the sacrifices to mountains and rivers in Imperial China.³⁹ The Qin model, as Tian Tian argues, featured a juxtaposition of the eastern and western ritual systems within its territory as a result of “a man-made geographical reconstruction by imperial power”: Shaping “the sacred west” by the sacrifices to mountains and rivers within the ancient Qin State was intended as a counterbalance to “the reconstructed east” later integrated into the new empire (Figure 4.2).⁴⁰ The significance of Xianyang咸陽, the Qin Empire’s capital, however, might be overinterpreted in this imperial sacred geography. As Sima Qian noticed, the capital city had an embarrassing position, since all the Five Sacred Peaks and Four Sacred Rivers (*sidu*四瀆)—the Yellow River (Huanghe黃河), the Huai River (Huaihe淮河), the Yangtze River (Changjiang長江), and the Ji River (Jishui濟水)—lay to its east.⁴¹ The city of Xianyang boasted replicas of the previous six states’ palaces in commemoration of the emperor’s great achievement, but the Qin did not deliberately design a capital-centered ritual model and just incorporated different ritual traditions

³⁹ Tian Tian, *Qin Han guojia jisi shigao*, 288. Only in the contexts of a unified empire and the continuity of the previous traditions would this prototype be put into practice.

⁴⁰ *SJ*, 28.1371–72; Tian Tian, *Qin Han guojia jisi shigao*, 288–93.

⁴¹ *SJ*, 28.1371.

into a unified empire. To be more precise, the sacrificial spaces of the Qin Empire were of ritual hybridity rather than a prototype of the imperial sacred geography.



Fig. 4.2: Layout of Qin imperial sacrifices⁴²

- | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Xianyang | 2. Mount Hua | 3. Huangu Pass |
| 4. Mount Song | 5. Mount Tai | 6. Mount Heng |
| 7. Mount Xiang | 8. Mount Gueiji | 9. Yellow River |
| 10. Ji River | 11. Huai River | 12. Shrine of Houtu in Fenyin |
| 13. Qi zhi | 14. Tai zhi in Ganquan | 15. Five zhi in Yong |
| 16. Western zhi | | |

The Qin-Han imperial inspection tours helped establish the ritual framework of Five Sacred Peaks and Four Sacred Rivers. The First Emperor of Qin had several

⁴² Adapted from Li Ling, "Yuezhen haidu kao: Zhongguo gudai de shanchuan jisi," 118; Tian Tian, *Qin Han guojia jisi shigao*, 60, 289.

visits (Figure 4.3) to sacred mountains and rivers in the eastern part of his empire, thought to seek for immortality and display his sovereign presence there. The most significant event was the 218 BCE Feng and Shan sacrifices, the highest-ranking state ritual a great Chinese ruler could conduct on Mount Tai.⁴³ These tours between the capital city and sacred mountains and rivers were inscribed in the sacred geography. The Western Han did not remould the Qin sacrificial pattern of mountains and rivers until Emperor Wu. During his inspection tour in 110 BCE, Mount Song was identified as the Central Sacred Peak. Four years later, the emperor selected Mount Huo (Huoshan霍山, present-day Tianzhushan天柱山) as the Southern Sacred Peak.⁴⁴ The Five Sacred Peaks as a whole, thereafter, was officially incorporated into the state ritual system. The institutionalized sacrifices to the Five Sacred Peaks and Four Sacred Rivers (*wuyue sidu*五嶽四瀆) initiated in the middle of the reign of Emperor Xuan宣帝 (r. 74–48 BCE).⁴⁵

⁴³ *SJ*, 28.1367. Note the Shan sacrifice in practice referred to the previous worship to Heaven held in Yong.

⁴⁴ *HS*, 6.196. Tian Tian speculates that Emperor Wu made such a decision of not choosing Mount Heng for three reasons. First, Mount Heng was far away from the capital Chang'an. Second, Mount Heng was located in the Changsha Kingdom, where people thought it was too humid and full of miasma. Third, Mount Heng was at the time directly under the control of the local government. Tian Tian, *Qian Han guojia jisi shigao*, 312. Mount Huo was not replaced with Mount Heng as the Southern Sacred Peak until the late sixth century.

⁴⁵ *HS*, 25.1249. Tian Tian, *Qian Han guojia jisi shigao*, 294–319.

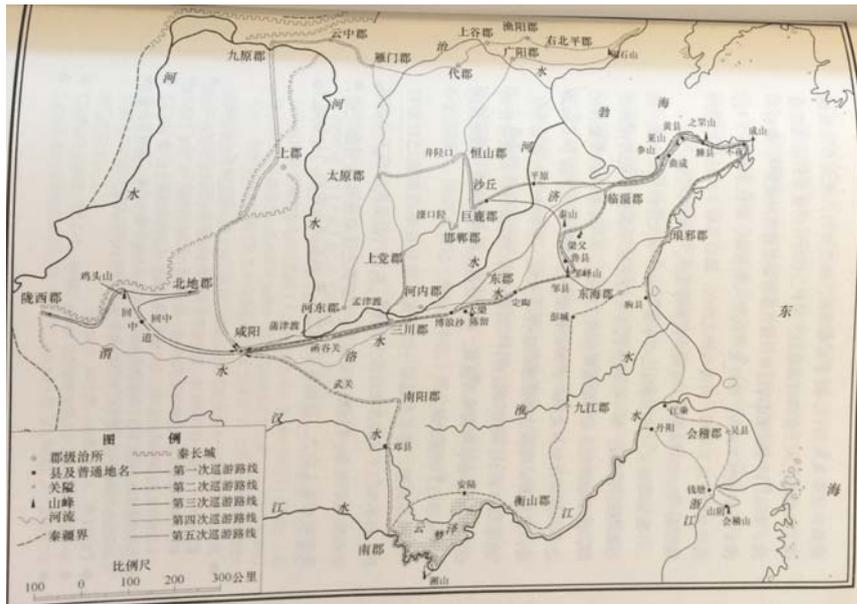


Fig. 4.3: Imperial inspection tours of the First Emperor of Qin

Source: Tian Tian, *Qin Han guojia jisi shigao*, 77.

The development of sacrifices to notable mountains and rivers in the Han and Tang dynasties was in parallel with the adjustment of the capital's role in the imperial sacred geography. Wang Mang, a Han usurper who founded the Xin 新 (meaning “renewed”) dynasty, employed the classics to reform the state institutions in support of his legitimacy. Wang’s reconstruction of the suburban rites with the stress on the southern suburb had a profound influence upon subsequent dynasties.⁴⁶ Sacred mountains and rivers became accompanying deities during the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth held on the southern suburban altar where their spirit tablets were placed since the reign of Emperor Guangwu 光武 (r. 25–57) of the Eastern Han.⁴⁷ In the Northern and Southern dynasties sacred mountains and rivers were also worshipped on the northern Square Mound Altar (*fangqiu* 方丘) or in the northern

⁴⁶ Michael Puett, “Centering the Realm: Wang Mang, the Zhouli, and Early Chinese Statecraft,” in *Statecraft and Classical Learning: The Rituals of Zhou in East Asian History* eds. Benjamin Elman and Martin Kern (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 129–54.

⁴⁷ *HHS*, 3159–60.

suburb in terms of the ritual theories of Zheng Xuan or Wang Su 王肅 (195–256).⁴⁸

The centralization of performing the sacrifices to mountains and rivers around the capital city, on one hand, manifested an imagined imperial sacred geography, and on the other hand, the perceived sacred geography or geo-body ritually represented by the imperial inspection tours as well as the Feng and Shan sacrifices which in fact seldom occurred after Emperor Wu of the Han. Wang Mang dreamed of his own imperial tours with several plans, but failed for political and ritual reasons. A recently unearthed ritual vessel made for the Feng sacrifice suggests that Wang intended to legitimize his external abdication by this ritual rather than observed the regular sacrifices conducted in the mid-Western Han.⁴⁹ Wang's schedules also envisaged a new capital in Luoyang as the center of the idealized world. His attempts ended in failure because of officials' considerable opposition and the escalating rebellions in the capital region.⁵⁰

In the late seventh century, some far more significant measures were taken to centralize the imperial sacred geography in the emperor's control. As the only person performing two Feng and Shan sacrifices on two different peaks in Chinese history, Emperor Wu Zetian sent central officials off to sacred mountains and rivers to preside over regular sacrifices.⁵¹ These rites held by officials, along with the

⁴⁸ Howard J. Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, 44–49; Zhu Yi, "Han Tang jian guanfang shanyue jisi de bianqian," 80–82.

⁴⁹ Wang Yi 王艺, "Wang Mang xunshou fengshan zhidu xinzheng 王莽巡狩封禅制度新证," *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 中國典籍與文化 3 (2005): 11–18.

⁵⁰ *Hanshu*, 99.4128, 4132–34.

⁵¹ Wu Hung has a careful discussion on the transfer of the sites, from Mount Tai to Mount Song, of Wu Zetian's Feng and Shan sacrifices. Wu Hung, "The Competing Yue," 43–56.

concurrent gazing-afar sacrifices performed by the emperor in the capital city, were codified and included in the *Kaiyuan li* during the reign of Xuanzong. The Tang court also bureaucratized sacred mountains and rivers, for the first time granting them the titles of prince (*wang* 王) or duke (*gong* 公).⁵² In order to stress the relation between the monarch and her subjects, Wu Zetian did not perform a kneeling-down ritual to the gods of sacred peaks and rivers since such a gesture was considered inappropriate and unnecessary.⁵³ This capital-centered sacred geography with local sacrifices necessitated the local sacrificial administration that the temple directors (*miaoling* 廟令) and supplication scribes were in charge of.⁵⁴ The institutionalization and the bureaucratization both enhanced the imperial legitimacy at the central and local levels. Moreover, under the influence of political discourse, religion, and popular belief, sacred peaks and rivers were considered not only to determine the fortune of an emperor or a dynasty but also aid in a speedy recovery of the emperor's sick body.⁵⁵

Regular Sacrifices to Mountains and Rivers in Tang and Song China

In imperial China, according to its frequency and occasion, ritual was normally divided into two categories: the regular rite or sacrifice (*changli* or *changsi* 常祀) and the special or provisional rite (*bianli* 變禮). The special rite, as a variation of the

⁵² *JTS*, 8.196, 23.889.

⁵³ *JTS*, 24.914.

⁵⁴ Tian Tian's study reveals the locality of the selection of the temple directors in the Tang. *Qin-Han guojia jisi shigao*, 294–95.

⁵⁵ *JTS*, 24.934–35; Cai Zongxian, "Tangdai Huoshan de shenhua yu jisi: jianlun Huoshan zhongzhen diwei de queli 唐代霍山的神話與祭祀——兼論霍山中鎮地位的確立," *Guoli Zhengzhi daxue lishi xuebao* 國立政治大學歷史學報 47 (2017): 86–91.

regular, was adjusted for the unexpected circumstances like droughts and floods, which will be discussed later. This section focuses on the Tang-Song sacrifices to mountains and rivers as regular rites that could be further categorized into two groups.

In the first group, mountains and rivers were taken as main ritual subject, shown in the entry of “Sacrifices to Sacred Mountains and Rivers (*Ji yuezhen haidu* 祭嶽鎮海瀆)” in Tang-Song ritual books. On the dates for seasonal greetings (*yingqi ri* 迎氣日), these sacrifices were regularly performed by court officials both in the capital’s suburbs and in the temples in sacred mountains and near sacred rivers assisted by local officials.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, the emperor and/or officials held the sacrifices to Five Directional Gods on the suburban altars outside the capital city.⁵⁷ The interactive performances displayed political symbolism: the bureaucratized gods of mountains and rivers, the emperor’s absolute control of his domains, the spread of the emperor’s virtues and bounties through ritual, and the central-local government relations in a political hierarchy. The significance of the sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers was concisely interpreted in the *Da Tang jiaosi lu* compiled by Wang Jing, a mid-Tang ritual official.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *KYL*, *juan* 35 and *juan* 36; *JSL*, 8.11b–14b. The sacrifices to mountains and rivers were said to have referred to the rites of seasonal greetings in the five suburbs (*wujiao yingqi* 五郊迎氣) that were first held in 5 AD as well as Zheng Xuan’s interpretation on the suburban sacrifice on the round alter. *JSL*, 5.7b. Also note the significance of the ritual enactment in 5 AD, part of an effort of Emperor Ping of the Western Han to restructure the state ritual systems that led to a transfer of the state ritual center from Yong to the contemporary capital, Chang’an. Zhang Hequan 張鶴泉, “Dong-Han wujiao yingqi kao 東漢五郊迎氣考” *Renwen zazhi* 人文雜誌 3 (2011): 115.

⁵⁷ Note that the sacrifices to Five Directional Gods in the Tang were held by the emperor that in the Song was replaced by officials.

⁵⁸ Wang Jing’s career was briefly mentioned in the Tang official histories that did not include him in the biography sections. See Zhang Wenchang, *Zhili yi jiao tianxia*, 78.

The Peaks preserve the merits and virtues of feudal lords. The Garrison Mountains, referring to pacification, could pacify territories of states. The Seas, meaning darkness, are mainly concerned with the drainage of dirt and filth, and the color of the water is dark and obscure. The Rivers having own sources and flowing into the seas can purify the filth of the Central Country.⁵⁹

岳者，福諸侯之功德也。鎮者，安也，能鎮安國境也。海者，晦也，主引穢濁，其水黑而晦也。瀆者，濁也，能洗中國垢濁，發源注海也。

Wang's brief explanation underlines the monumentality of mountains and rivers, as well as the sources of power bringing bliss, security, and moral purification into the empire. Though sacred mountains and rivers served different functions based on classic interpretations, all shared a clear implication of an imperial sacred geography. It should also be noted that Wang Jing in the *Da Tang jiaosi lu* combined the sacrifices to sacred mountains and the sacrifices to sacred rivers under one entry, while they were separated in the *Kaiyuan li*. The Northern Song ritual codes like the *Kaibao tongli* 開寶通禮, the *Lige xinbian* 禮閣新編, and the *Taichang yinge li*, fit into the *Kaiyuanli* format; the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* compiled in the late Northern Song and the *Zhongxing lishu* in the Southern Song followed the example of the *Jiaosilu*.⁶⁰ It is still unclear what the two methods meant and if they could have been associated with an integrated imperial sacred geography. In addition to these, the sections in the

⁵⁹ *JSL*, 8.12a.

⁶⁰ *YGL*, 49.293; *WLXY*, *juan* 95 and *juan* 96; *ZXLS*, *juan* 147. Zhang Wenchang suggests that the *Kaiyuanli* reveals a ritual system aiming at ritual “contemporaneity (*dangdai xing* 當代性)” and “integrity (*wanzheng xing* 完整性),” while the Song rituals represented by *YGL* focus more on the “evolution (*yange xing* 沿革性)” and “modification (*xiuzheng xing* 修正性)” of ritual. The compilation of *WLXY* in the late Northern Song was only a momentary attempt to resume the tradition of the *Kaiyuanli*. Zhang Wenchang, *Zhili yi jiao tianxia*, 45–228, “Tang Dezong chongjian lizhi zhixu yu Da Tang jiaosi lu de bianzuan 唐德宗重建禮制秩序與《大唐郊祀錄》的編纂,” *Zhongxing daxue lishi xuebao* 中興大學歷史學報 19 (2007): 1–44. However, as for the sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers, *WLXY* did not follow the *Kaiyuanli*, as discussed above, showcasing its more complicated role than scholars previously thought. Unfortunately, the volume 107 is lost in the extant *Zhongxing lishu*.

Zhenghe wuli xinyi and the *Zhongxing lishu* involve the ritual enactments at both state and local levels. The difference is that in the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi* the sacrifices were divided and compiled into two volumes, while the section of *Zhongxing lishu* focused on state rituals that were attached with local sacrifices.

The first group was closely related to other categories of state rituals, such as the imperial inspection tour and the Feng and Shan sacrifices. These rituals conducted by the emperor and supported by Confucian classics had been widely recognized in the reign eras of the First Emperor of Qin and Emperor Wu of the Han. The imperial inspection tour had not been incorporated into state rituals until the mid-Eastern Han, and henceforth, had not been performed for three centuries due to the political division.⁶¹ During the Sui dynasty, referring to the ritual system of Northern Zhou and Zheng Xuan's annotations, the new unified empire restored the long-established tradition of the Feng and Shan sacrifices, which became the source of the counterpart in the *Kaiyuan li*.⁶² In 595, Emperor Wen of Sui (Sui Wendi 隋文帝, r. 581–604) performed the Feng and Shan sacrifices on Mount Tai. Such state sacrifices reached a climax in the Tang under three emperors: Tang Gaozong 唐高宗 (r. 649–83), Wu Zetian and Xuanzong.⁶³ In the Song, the imperial inspection tours were largely confined to the capital and its vicinity.⁶⁴ The nominal "inspection" of

⁶¹ Niu Jingfei, "Wuyue jisi yanbian kaolun," 87–88.

⁶² Ibid., 87–92.

⁶³ Ming-chiu Lai, "Legitimation of Qin-Han China: From the Perspective of the Feng and Shan Sacrifices (206 BC–AD 220)," in *The Legitimation of New Orders: Case Studies in World History*, ed. Philip Yuen-sang Leung (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2007), 1–26.

⁶⁴ Kubota Kazuo 久保田和男, "Hoku Sō no keitei koko ni tsuite: Shoto kūkan ni okeru o chūshi to shite 北宋の皇帝行幸について—首都空間における行幸を中心として," in *Sōdai shakai no kūkan to Komyunikēshon* 宋代社会の空間とコミュニケーション, eds. Hirata Shigeta 平田茂樹, Endō Takatoshi 遠藤隆俊 and Oka

Gaozong, whose tour had nothing to do with ritual, in fact was just euphemistic rhetoric for his escape during the Jurchen invasion.

According to ritual regulations, the emperor must have performed the imperial inspection tour and the Feng and Shan rites by himself. The movement of the emperor's body across the empire epitomized a political ideal that displayed imperial authority, instilled a sense of territoriality, and glorified the locality. The emperor's departure from the capital city initiated the *ba* 輶 rite, the sacrifices to road deities for a safe journey, which was conducted by court officials outside the city-gates. Given the same consideration, throughout the tour, local officials prepared to welcome the emperor in advance, and prior to his arrival, the sacrifices to local mountains and rivers needed to be held.⁶⁵ The imperial inspection tour, in this regard, was associated with the sacrifices to mountains and rivers, and mutually benefited.

In the second group mountains and rivers were taken as the accompanying deities (*congshi shen* 從祀神), usually secondary subjects of the southern suburban sacrifice and the *zha* 蜡 sacrifice to hundreds of gods in the southern suburb. In AD 26, the southern suburban ritual system included the Five Sacred Peaks and notable mountains. Their spirit tablets were placed respectively within the middle area (*zhongying* 中營) and the outer area (*waiying* 外營) encircled by mounds in the southern suburb, implying their inferior ritual status. As the sacrifices to Heaven and

Motoshi 岡元司 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 2006), 69–96; Siyin Zhao, “Nan-Song ducheng Lin'an: Li-fa shiye xia de gudai ducheng 南宋都城臨安：禮法視野下的古代都城,” MA thesis, Fudan University, 2011, 47–66.

⁶⁵ The imperial inspection tour was considered a military rite in the *Kaiyuanli*.

Earth were separately performed in the northern and southern suburbs in AD 57, the spirit tablets of mountains and rivers were then relocated in the northern suburb that was thought to have been concerned with the God of Imperial Earth. The spatial arrangement did not change at all.⁶⁶ In the Han-Tang period, likewise, the presence of the spirit tablets of sacred mountains and rivers in the major suburban sacrifices was maintained, regardless of ritual disputes over their legitimation sources.⁶⁷ In the Tang-Song period, the existing ritual books all identified sacred mountains and rivers as accompanying deities in the northern suburb during the sacrifice to the Imperial God of Earth at the summer solstice.⁶⁸ As this sacrifice was promoted to a major rite in the Song, the spirit tablets of the Five Sacred Peaks were moved on the top of the Square Altar; however, such a change in suburban ritual did not affect the status of the sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers as medium rites.

Restoring Imperial Sacred Geography in the Northern Song

The territorial changes of Song China determined the model used for performing the sacrifices to mountains and rivers, for the existence of powerful neighboring states made the imperial sacred geography incomplete. After the establishment in 960, the Song started its southward expansion, given the Khitan

⁶⁶ *Hou Hanshu*, 3181. Zhu Yi, “Han-Tang jian guanfang shanyue jisi de bianqian,” 79.

⁶⁷ For a detailed discussion of the ritual debates on the integration or separation between the square and round altars as well as an outline of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth from the Tang to the Northern Song, see Zhu Yi 朱溢, “Cong jiaoqiu zhi zheng dao tiandi fenhe zhi zheng: Tang zhi Bei Song shiqi jiaosi zhushen wei de bianhua 從郊丘之爭到天地分合之爭—唐至北宋時期郊祀主神位的變化,” *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究, 27.2 (2009): 267–302.

⁶⁸ *KYL*, 29.167; *JSL*, 8.782–83.

Liao Empire in the north.⁶⁹ But the Song court did not abandon trying to regain the sixteen prefectures occupied by the Khitans. The protracted war ended up with the two sides' approval of a peace treaty in 1005, and the equilibrium was not broken until the reign of Huizong when the Song expected to recover the long-lost territories in alliance with the Jurchens. According to the 1005 treaty, the Northern Sacred Peak, Mount Damao (Damaoshan 大茂山), straddled the Song-Liao border, and each side owned roughly half of the mountain.⁷⁰ Even at the peaceful interval, the Song court presided over the sacrifice to the Northern Sacred Peak in Quyang 曲陽 about forty miles away rather than at the foot of Mount Damao, probably out of their concerns for military pressure and border conflicts.⁷¹ Meanwhile, the Northern Garrison, Mount Yiwulü (Yiwulü shan 醫無閭山), was wholly under the control of the Khitan Liao who could also claim to have possessed the North Sea, an imaginary and geographically vague reference, as well as the prescribed ritual site for the sacrifice to the East Sea. Moreover, due to the rise of the Western Xia in the late 1030s, the Tanguts, though exerting limited impact upon the Song sacrifices, successfully incorporated the upper reaches of the Yellow River into their territory.⁷² Xingqing 興

⁶⁹ For a discussion of strategies of military expansion in the early Song, see Zeng Ruilong 曾瑞龍, *Jinglue You-Yan: Song Liao zhanzheng junshi zainan de zhanlue fenxi* 經略幽燕: 宋遼戰爭軍事災難的戰略分析 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2003), 10–13.

⁷⁰ In the mid-seventeenth century, Qing officials replaced Mount Damao with Mount Xuanyue 玄岳 in Hunyuan 渾源 Shanxi as the Northern Sacred Peak. See Niu Jinfei, “Cong Quyang dao Hunyuan: Bei Yue yisi guocheng bukao 從曲陽到渾源: 北嶽移祀過程補考,” *Zhongguo lishi dili luncong* 中國歷史地理論叢 24.4 (2009): 62–70.

⁷¹ Shen Kuo 沈括, *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談, in *QSBJ*, 2nd ser., vol.3 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2006), 24.185. The relocation of the ritual site from Mount Damao to Quyang took place in the Five Dynasties. Niu Jinfei, “Cong Quyang dao Hunyuan: Bei Yue yisi guocheng bukao,” 66–67.

⁷² Note that part of the middle reaches of the Yellow River controlled by the Khitan Liao. Further research is needed to be done to think of the question whether there were any disputes between the Khitans and the Tanguts over the issue about the sacrifices to mountains and rivers in the borderlands.

慶 (present-day Yinchuan 銀川), the capital of the Western Xia, then occupied a strategic site on the plain of the western bank of the Yellow River.

The processes of the territorial expansion and the restoration of imperial sacred geography were paralleled in the early Northern Song, pointing to the efforts of establishing the substantial and symbolic connections between sacred mountains and rivers and the state's geo-body. It should be noted that outlining the Song sacrifices to mountains and rivers, the authors of *Wenxian tongkao*, *Songshi* and *Wuli tongkao* all considered the year of 963 as a starting point when Taizu dispatched officials to the Southern Sacred Peak. It was the first time that Song extended its reach to the south through military actions and integrated new territories into the state by ritual activities. In 962, the death of a local military commissioner and the subsequent hereditary succession caused chaos in Hunan 湖南. At the request of local governors and based on the gathering of intelligence about this region, Taizu decisively seized the opportunity, dispatched Song armies to Hunan via Jingnan 荆南 on the pretext of crushing the rebellion, and annexed both Jingnan and Hunan to its territory in early next year.⁷³ In the early fourth month of 963, Li Fang 李昉 (925–96) was sent to hold the sacrifice to the Southern Sacred Peak; later Taizu appointed him as the provisional prefect of Hengzhou.⁷⁴

The Five Sacred Peaks since then were all under the control of the Song. The emerging sacred geography might have not only conveyed a message of unification

⁷³ *SS*, 1.13, 483.13949, 13953–54; *XCB*, 3.73–74, 4.81–82, 4.84–87.

⁷⁴ *XCB*, 4.88; *SS*, 265.9135. Hengzhou was the ritual site for the sacrifice to the Southern Sacred Peak according to *KYL* and *JSL*.

but also facilitated the restoration of major sacrifices for a would-be unified empire. These changes were quickly reflected in state rituals held in the capital city. In the eleventh month of 963, to avoid a taboo about approaching to a month's last day, Taizu performed the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth earlier than scheduled in the southern suburb of Kaifeng. Probably in celebration of the initiation of unification with an emphasis on his imperial legitimacy, the emperor announced the title of a new reign era, Qiande 乾德 (963–68), referring to great virtues obtained from Heaven.⁷⁵ Next month, the spirit tablets of the Five Sacred Peaks were first displayed together on the southern Round Altar during the *zha* sacrifice to hundreds of gods, which had been revised upon the request of the Erudite of Court of Imperial Sacrifices He Xian 和峴 (933–88) in the sixth month.⁷⁶

However, the aforementioned rites did not herald the institutionalization of the sacrifices to mountains and rivers in the Song. On the one hand, Song China was still in the course of its territorial expansion, and military affairs were then taken priority over any other matter.⁷⁷ On the other hand, a new state ritual system had not been established until the middle of the Kaibao 開寶 (968–976) reign era.⁷⁸ The sacrifices to sacred peaks in practice might have still followed the Later Zhou model grounded on a mid-eighth century Tang model.⁷⁹ In the sixth year (968) of the

⁷⁵ *XCB*, 4.100, 108; *SS*, 1.15.

⁷⁶ *XCB*, 4.96; *SS*, 103.2519–20. It seemed that the *zha* sacrifice could more likely refer to the counterpart in the *Kaiyuanli*. For a more complete version of He Xian's request, see *YGL*, 47.283–84.

⁷⁷ In the eleventh month of 964, Song declared war against Later Shu 後蜀 in Sichuan. *SS*, 1.18.

⁷⁸ *SS*, 98.2421; Zhang Wenchang, *Zhili yi jiao tianxia*, 135–37, 139.

⁷⁹ *YH*, 102.40a.

Qiande reign era, the status quo led to a proposal for a full restoration of the sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers within the Song's unified territory.

The sacrificial officials were so far responsible for the sacrifices to the Four Sacred Peaks. In terms of ritual codes, please [send officials] to perform the sacrifices to the Sacred Southern Peak Mount Heng in Hengzhou, the Eastern Garrison Mount Yi in Yizhou, the Southern Garrison Mount Gueiji in Yuezhou, the Western Garrison Mount Wu in Longzhou, and the Central Garrison Mount Huo in Jinzhou; to East Sea in Laizhou, South Sea in Guangzhou, West Sea and the Yellow River in Hezhong Prefecture, North Sea and the Ji River in Mengzhou, and the Huai River in Tangzhou. As for the Yangtze River, please [send officials] to sacrifice in Chengdu Prefecture rather than perform the rite in Yangzhou near its estuary according to the edict issued in the fifth year of the Xiande reign period. The North Garrison Mount Yiwulü is located in Yingzhou, and no sacrifice has been held there.⁸⁰

祠官所奉止四嶽，今按祭典，請祭南嶽衡山於衡州，東鎮沂山於沂州，南鎮會稽山於越州，西鎮吳山於隴州，中鎮霍山於晉州；東海於萊州，南海於廣州，西海、河瀆並於河中府，北海、濟瀆並於孟州，淮瀆於唐州。其江瀆，準顯德五年敕，祭於揚州揚子江口，今請祭於成都府。北鎮醫巫閭山在營州界，未行祭享。

The term “ritual codes” in the beginning referred to the Tang ritual system, and as this anonymous official suggested, it could set an example for the Song to restructure the existing ritual framework based on the Later Zhou model, given the conquests of Jinhu and Later Shu.⁸¹ The scheme was mixed with his realistic observation and ideal conception of the Song geo-body. The geographical barriers forced the Later

⁸⁰ XCB, 9.209.

⁸¹ Cai Zhongxian holds that the “ritual codes” refer to those of the Five Dynasties. Cai, “Tangdai Huoshan de shenhua yu jisi,” 94. Cai’s speculation may not conform to this anonymous official’s intention that requested the Song court to replace the incomplete geography since the Five Dynasties with the ideal one based on the Tang model for a unified empire. A brief summary of the edict issued on the seventh day of the fourth month of 968 that the sacrifices to the Four Garrison Mountains should conform to the *Kaiyuanli* also suggests the Tang ritual system. YH, 102.48b. Besides, the ritual negotiations, originally recorded in the *Lige xinbian* and later collected in the *Taichang yingeli*, showcase the Song officials’ reference to the Tang ritual system. YGL, 49.293, 295.

Zhou to gaze at the Yangtze River from afar in Yangzhou. From his viewpoint, it was time that such a precedent followed by the Song must have been changed. But he also soberly realized that the Northern Garrison Mountain controlled by the Khitans could hardly be worshiped at the time. After discussion, the Song ritual officials established the principle of “not performing the prescribed sacrifice if its site was out of [our] territory (不在封域者，遂闕其祭).”⁸² Performing gazing-afar sacrifices, a practical solution to this problem, was made into the ritual system. Moreover, the memorial proposed the sacrifice to the Central Garrison that was not included in the *Kaiyuan li*, the *Da Tang jiaosi lu* or other existing Tang sources. Such a notion of the Five Garrison Mountains, according to recent research, could emerge in the late Tang, and was turned into a specific designation in the early Song.⁸³ This proposal thus offered a new, standard definition of the imperial sacred geography that contained the Five Sacred Peaks, Five Garrison Mountains (*wuzhen* 五鎮), Four Seas, and Four Rivers (Table 4.2). Readers might feel perplexed that, in this memorial, restoration of the sacrifices to South Sea and Mount Gueiji seemed to have been taken for granted, while these places had not been incorporated into Song until 971 and 978.⁸⁴ A plausible explanation may lie in his envisagement of a unified sacred geographical pattern.⁸⁵

⁸² *YGL*, 49.293, 295.

⁸³ Cai Zhongxian, “Tangdai Huoshan de shenhua yu jisi,” 93–94.

⁸⁴ The Song armies led by Pan Mei 潘美 (925–91) in the second month of 971 conquered Guangzhou, the capital of the Southern Han. The recorded date of the Song’s conquest in *XCB* differs from that in *SS*. *XCB*, 12.260; *SS*, 2.32. Qian Chu 錢俶 (r. 947–78), the last ruler of the Wuyue Kingdom, abdicated in 978 and turned over his kingdom to the Song court. *XCB*, 19.427; *SS*, 4.58.

⁸⁵ Also note the Song court’s action: In 970 it ordered local governments to build the temples of Four Sacred Rivers, and sent nine officials next year to conduct the sacrifices to the Five Sacred Peaks and Four Sacred

Table 4.2 The Song Perception of the Sacred Peaks, Garrison Mountains, Seas and Rivers

| | East | West | South | North | Center |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Five Sacred Peaks | Mt. Tai | Mt. Hua | Mt. Heng | Mt. Heng | Mt. Song |
| Five Garrison Mountains | Mt. Yi | Mt. Wu | Mt. Gueiji | Mt. Yiwulü | Mt. Huo |
| Four Seas | E. Sea | W. Sea | S. Sea | N. Sea | |
| Four River | Huai | Yellow | Yangtze | Ji | |

Source: *XCB*, 9.209.

The year of 968 witnessed the initiation of restoring the nationwide sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers. In the seventh month of 968, the sacrifices to the Sacred Southern Peak and Four Rivers were restored. The Temple of Mount Huo (*Huoshan ci* 霍山祠) was renovated a month later. In the sixth month of 971, four months after the capture of Guangzhou 廣州, a senior official was dispatched there to hold the sacrifice to South Sea.⁸⁶ The ritual officials also made the assessment of sacrificial sites, especially for those in the annexed territories. For example, the discussion in 991 was centered on whether the sacrifice to the Southern Sacred Peak should be held in Hengzhou or Tanzhou.⁸⁷

However, the outset of the sacrificial institutionalization did not occur until 972 when the Song court assigned commissioners to take charge of the temples and sacrifices at local level. In the sixth month of 972, the temples of sacred mountains and rivers were addressed; Taizu ordered county magistrate (*xianling* 縣令) to serve as concurrent temple directors assisted by county defenders (*xianling* 縣尉) who would also act as temple vice directors (*miaocheng* 廟丞). The two local directors took responsibility for sacrificial services as well as regular inspections for sanitation;

Rivers.

⁸⁶ *XCB*, 12.265; *YH*, 102.48b-49a.

⁸⁷ *YGL*, Congshu jicheng chubian edition, 49.293-94; *YGL*, Xuxiu Siku quanshu edition, 49.520.

their assistants were asked to inspect local temples once a month.⁸⁸ As early as the seventh month of 961, the Song court had sent officials to restore the Temple of the Northern Sacred Peak in Quyang. One year later, local officials in Huazhou 華州 (present-day Weinan 渭南) were ordered to take charge of the renovation project of the Temple of the Western Sacred Peak.⁸⁹ The renovations were more likely to have been temporary measures, distinct from the subsequent regular maintenance. From the 970s onwards, the personnel arrangement and the division of responsibilities both at an institutional level ensured the daily operation of these temples as ritual space for sacrifices.⁹⁰

The Song court visually and materially strengthened the bureaucratized temples as well as the related deities. In the ninth month of 962, the Song court ordered officials to repair the Temple of the Huai River. In the eleventh month this year, the court took further measures, requiring thirteen high-ranking civil officials such as Li Fang, Lu Duoxun 盧多遜 (934–85) and Zhao Fu 趙孚 (924–86) to write for the renovated temples. Their textual accounts about the sacrifices held by previous emperors were then inscribed on steles, which were later transferred to and erected in these temples.⁹¹ The number of officials probably corresponded to the sacred

⁸⁸ *XCB*, 13.285–86; *SS*, 102.2485, *juan* 167; *Song da zhaoling ji*, 137.483.

⁸⁹ *XCB*, 2.49, 53; *YH*, 102.48b. It is still not clear why the Song court carried out renovations of the temples of the sacred peaks prior to 968. Compiling these events under the entry of “Temples of Mountains and Rivers in the Song dynasty” in *YH*, Wang Yinglin suggested a logic that the sacrifices to the Four Garrison Mountains were premised on the regularized sacrifices to the sacred peaks. Given the interval of six or seven years, other possible reasons might include the Song’s considerations of frontier defense, praying for rain, or mourning the death of Taizu’s mother in 961. Also note that the project of “redrafting the *Kaiyuanli*” initiated under the order from Taizu in the aftermath of the Song’s conquest of the Southern Han in 971. *XCB*, 12.266.

⁹⁰ The bureaucratization of the temples of sacred mountains and rivers in the early Song marked a return to the Sui-Tang tradition. Zhu Yi, “Han Tang jian guanfang shanyue jisi de bianqian,” 77–79.

⁹¹ A total of fifty two steles were then made. *XCB*, 13.292.

geography of the Five Sacred Peaks, Four Seas and Four Rivers.⁹² The visible monumentality and official historical writing displayed imperial power and its control of the sacred landscape.⁹³

More than these, the visual and material methods were also applied to decoration of the gods of sacred mountains and rivers. Shortly after the sacrifice to the Southern Sacred Peak held by Li Fang in 962, the Song court demanded the latest equipment of the Gods of the Five Sacred Peaks including their sacred clothing, crowns, swords and shoes, which was to replace the previous set.⁹⁴ People nowadays may consider such symbolic approaches insignificant, but in traditional China where ritual and politics were inseparable, changing visual symbols had profound political implications. Liu Chang 劉鋹 (r. 958–71), the last ruler of the Southern Han (Nan Han 南漢) and well-known for his sexual dissipation, honored the God of South Sea as Emperor of Luminous Brightness (*Zhaoming di* 昭明帝), entitled the Temple of the God in the name of a palace, and prepared a special scared robe decorated with the dragon and phoenix patterns that only for the emperor or the empress. After Liu's surrender in 971, the God of South Sea was immediately deprived of its title and palace name, and its imperial robe was substituted with a first-rank official costume.⁹⁵ Liu's worship, perhaps deriving from a regional

⁹² This is another example of the officially recognized notion of the Five Garission Mountains that emerged in the late 960s.

⁹³ In traditional China, the inscription of memorable historical figures and events on durable materials served as a means to preserve historical memory, construct sacred genealogies and communicate with ancestors and gods. The making and establishment of the steles for the sacred geography in the early Northern Song represented the nature of monumentality as Wu Hung proposes. See Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997), esp. Chapter 2.

⁹⁴ *SS*, 102.2485.

⁹⁵ *XCB*, 12.265–66; *SS*, 102.2485.

popular belief, served to solidify his rulership. However, to the new ruler, Liu's great reverence did not comply with the updated ritual standards, and even worse, the imperial title and equipment hinted at a potential usurpation. The conversion of the God of South Sea as emperor into a Song bureaucrat in material, visual and ritual ways, along with the rectification of the sacrifices, illustrated how the Song authority and legitimacy was established in the newly occupied region.

Likewise, after dynastic changes, whether the former ruler and bureaucrats would be trusted and thus nominated by the new ruler could be primarily ascribed to their loyalty and abilities. At a grand audience assembly in 976, Li Yu 李煜 (r. 961–75), the last ruler of the Southern Tang (Nan Tang 南唐) was able to escape from the public humiliation that Liu Chang previously suffered in the rite of presenting captives (*xianfuli* 獻俘禮), since previously Li had expressed his great loyalty and acknowledged the Song legitimacy by adopting the Song calendar.⁹⁶ Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (916–91), a high-ranking official of the Southern Tang and a loyal subject of Li Yu, went to Song twice as envoy, risking his life to persuade Taizu to abandon the siege to Jinling 金陵 (present-day Nanjing 南京), the Southern Tang capital. Xu's loyalty and determination to die for the kingdom won the praise of Taizu, and he later became an important scholar official in the Song.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ *XCB*, 17.361.

⁹⁷ *XCB*, 17.361–62; *SS*, 3.45, 441.13045. The experience of Ouyang Jiong 歐陽炯 (896–971) provides an opposite example. After the conquest, Taizu promoted Ouyang Jiong, the old versatile grand councilor of the Southern Han, as his close regular attendant serving as Hanlin academician. In the fifth month of 971, Taizu originally ordered Ouyang to conduct the sacrifice to South Sea, perhaps out of the emperor's intention of turning the sacrifice into a rite of surrender and submission. Ouyang refused to undertake such a task on the pretext of his illness. Ouyang's obedience eventually irritated Taizu, who in the sixth month of 971 discharged Ouyang from his post. Ouyang died in 971. *XCB*, 12.265; *SS*, 479.13894. Jiong was written as 迺 in *SS* and *SHY* (zhiguan, 46.1). Xu Xuan as a surrendering subject in the south earned respect and admiration from the northern literati headed by Li Fang. Young students and junior scholars of Xu utilized his political thoughts and played an

Loyalty was usually not a problem for the bureaucratized gods of mountains and rivers, part because the bureaucratization presupposed the imbement of loyalty and part because their ritual efficacy was rarely determined by loyalty. The temporal stability of ritual function, the connectivity of central-local governments, and the religious influence, therefore, made the gods of mountains and rivers sustainable resources for imperial legitimation. For example, a series of large-scale rituals performed by Zhenzong in the reign era of Dazhong xiangfu 大中祥符 (1008–16), such as the reception of heavenly writings (*tianshu* 天書), the Feng sacrifice to Mount Tai, and the sacrifice to Sovereign Earth (*Houtu* 后土) at Fenyin 汾陰, propelled the sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers to a climax in the Song.⁹⁸ Bureaucratizing deities, Zhenzong bestowed upon the Gods of Five Sacred Peaks specific titles, which were promoted by adding characters from king to emperor, and supplemented by similar honorific titles of the empresses.⁹⁹ The ritual procedures and system changed accordingly involving offerings, costume, prayers, the arrangement of spirit tablets, and so forth. In the tenth month of 1015, for the Daoicized sacrifice to Mount Tai, Zhenzong wrote a prayer, and had it inscribed on a

important role in series of ritual activities held by Zhenzong during the Dazhong xiangfu reign era. Zhang Weiling, “Songchu nanbei wenshi de hudong yu nanfang wenshi de jueqi: Jujiao yu Xu Xuan jiqi houxue de kaocha 宋初南北文士的互動與南方文士的崛起——聚焦於徐鉉及其後學的考察,” *Taida wenshizhe xuebao* 臺大文史哲學報 85 (2016): 175–217.

⁹⁸ For a brief introduction of Zhenzong’s attempts to portray state ritual as his symbolic imperial power, see Lau Nap-yin and Huang Kuanchung, “Founding and Consolidation of the Sung Dynasty under Tai-tsu (960–976), Tai-tsung (976–997), and Chen-tsung (997–1022),” in *The Cambridge History of China Volume 5 Part One: The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors, 907–1279*, eds. Denis Twitchett and Paul Jakov Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 270–73; also see Christian Lamouroux, “Liyi kongjian yu caizheng: Shiyi shiji Zhongguo de zhuquan chongzu 禮儀、空間與財政——11世紀中國的主權重組,” in *Faguo hanxue* 法國漢學 vol.3 (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 1998), 129–62, originally “Rites, Espaces et Finances. La Recomposition de la Souveraineté dans la Chine du XIe Siècle,” *Annales* 51.2 (1996): 275–305. The Feng-Shan sacrifices by Zhenzong are detailed in the three eponymously-named volumes (*juan* 41–43) of the *Taichang yinge li*.

⁹⁹ *SS*, 102.2486–87; *XCB*, 75.1722, 76.1743.

stele that was later erected on the sacred peak. In the third month next year, steles inscribed with Daoist prayers were established in the temples of the other four sacred peaks.¹⁰⁰

The general framework of the sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers shaped in the Dazhong xiangfu period had a profound influence upon Zhenzhong's successors. Renzong in 1040 and 1041 enfeoffed Four Seas and Four Rivers with kingly titles. Huizong in 1113 granted titles having a character of "king" to the Four Garrison Mountains.¹⁰¹ The Daoist elements became highlighted again in these rites during the reign of Huizong. All these efforts, religious or non-religious, intensified the imperial sacred geography and its rituals.

Ritual Dilemmas in the Early Southern Song

The contexts of the establishment or revival of the Southern Song are the key to understanding the characteristics of its state sacrifices to mountains and rivers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For the Northern Song, the imperial sacred geography was de facto incomplete in the early 960s, but due to the southward territorial expansion, most ritual resources of sacred mountains and rivers came under the control of the Song regime. However, the fall of Kaifeng in 1127 and the Jin continual southward invasions forced the relocated regime to strive for survival. The exiled court eventually had to accept the reality of losing its northern territories to the Jurchens. The Song's running seesaw battles against the Jurchens along the

¹⁰⁰ *SS*, 102.2487; *YH*, 102.49b–50a.

¹⁰¹ The Western Garrison, Mount Wu, had been granted a kingly title in 1085. *SHY*, li 21.1–2.

Huai River for decades managed to maintain the southern half. As a result, only the southern Sacred Mountains and Rivers remained in Southern Song (Figure 4.4), and the ideal model existed only in contemporaries' imagination.



Fig. 4.4: Sacred Mountains and Rivers in the Song-Jin period

- | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Mount Song | 2. Mount Tai | 3. Mount Heng |
| 4. Mount Hua | 5. Mount Heng | 6. Mount Huo |
| 7. Mount Yi | 8. Mount Gueiji | 9. Mount Yue |
| 10. Mount Yiwulü | 11. Huai River | 12. Yangtze River |
| 13. Yellow River | 14. Ji River | 15. East Sea |
| 16. West Sea | | |

Soon after his enthronement in Yingtian Prefecture in 1127, Gaozong had no choice but to flee southward under the military pressure of the Jurchens. In the seventh month this year, Gaozong accepted the proposal of his senior advisor Huang

Qianshan 黃潛善 (1078–1130), and decided to perform the so-called imperial inspection tour southeastward by “taking temporary measures in terms of the inspection tours in ancient times (用權時之宜，法古巡狩).”¹⁰² Gaozong issued an edict before his departure:

For the Five Sacred Peaks and Four Rivers, notable mountains and great rivers, previous sacred emperors and sage kings, and loyal ministers and heroic martyrs that are recorded in the official canons of sacrifices, I entrust local senior officials with responsibilities for the sacrifices in their administrative areas as well as proper sanitation. Cutting and gathering firework is prohibited in the vicinity of temples and shrines. If temples and shrines are dilapidated, the prefecture needs to provide financial support for renovation. Local supervisors must take charge of regular inspections in case of dilapidation.¹⁰³

五嶽四瀆、名山大川、曆代聖帝明王、忠臣烈士，載於祀典者，委所在長吏精潔致祭，近祠廟處並禁樵採。如祠廟損壞，令本州支係省錢修葺，監司常切點檢，毋致隳壞。

Gaozong’s order derived from the proposal of Teng Kang 滕康 (1086–1132), Temporary Vice Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, who requested that all local officials must have held the sacrifices to those notable mountains and great rivers in their administrative areas where the imperial carriage would pass by.¹⁰⁴ Meanwhile, given the military and financial pressure, we could imagine that local officials must have hardly executed the order, not to mention that they had to respond to Gaozong’s instructions issued in the course of his escape. In the second month of 1130, similar to the 1127 edict, the emperor ordered prefectural and county

¹⁰² *XNYL*, 7.204, 209.

¹⁰³ *SHY*, li 20.4.

¹⁰⁴ *WXTK*, 83.2559. For studies on the discourses of the imperial inspection in the early Southern Song, see Takahashi Hirōmi, “Nan Sō shoki no junkōron 南宋初期の巡幸論,” *Ehime Daigaku Hōbun Gakubu ronshū. Jinbun Gakka hen* 愛媛大学法文学部論集.人文学科編 15 (2003): 37–77.

magistrates to take charge of rebuilding and repairing the temples of sacred mountains and rivers that had been burnt or demolished by the Jurchens.¹⁰⁵ The emperor reiterated that the prefecture and county governments should complete the construction and renovation by utilizing “*xishengqian* 係省錢,” local funds from the taxation not transferred to the state treasury, which were generally regulated, allocated and supervised by the Ministry of Revenue (*hubu* 戶部).¹⁰⁶ Gaozong’s reemphases seemed to suggest that the improvement process might not have been satisfactory.¹⁰⁷ In the fourth month of 1130, after escaping by sea, traveling from Mingzhou 明州 (present-day Ningbo 寧波) and Taizhou 台州 to Wenzhou 溫州 for four months, Gaozong might have believed that his survival benefited from the protection of regional gods. On the ninth day he ordered the Court of Imperial Sacrifices to grant titles to the deities of temples and shrines in these three prefectures. All costs came from the *xishengqian* allocated by regional fiscal commission (*zhuanyunsi* 轉運司).¹⁰⁸

Today’s readers could probably disdain such practices of self-deception, or even criticize the emperor’s failure to prioritize war preparations and financial adjustment at a crucial turning point of the survival of a state. The critiques may be justified in

¹⁰⁵ *SHY*, li 20.4.

¹⁰⁶ *SHY*, li 20.4. For a discussion on the use of *xishengqian* and its role in the Song financial system, see Bao Weimin 包偉民, *Songdai difang caizhengshi yanjiu* 宋代地方財政史研究 (Beijing: Remin daxue chubanshe, 2011), 49–54; Yang Yuxun 楊宇勛, *Qumin yu yangmin: Nan Song de caizheng shouzhi yu guanmin hudong* 取民與養民：南宋的財政收支與官民互動, (Taipei: History Department of National Taiwan Normal University, 2003), 149–50, “Nan Song difang caizheng yanjiu de huigu yu zhanwang 南宋地方財政研究的回顧與展望,” *Shiyun* 史耘 6 (2000): 17–48.

¹⁰⁷ In reality, the situation was more likely to be as such: the imperial edicts were hardly enforced, given the factors of the limited fiscal power of prefectures, the wartime economic and political turmoil, and corruption in local officialdom as well as the emperor’s uncertain whereabouts. Bao Weimin, *Songdai difang caizhengshi yanjiu*, 29–39.

¹⁰⁸ *SHY*, li 20.4.

some respects just as quite a few Song officials insisted on Gaozong's relocation to the cities further northwards; nevertheless the assumptions or biases should not lead us to downplay the role of ritual. Any military or financial decision-making, in the event of negligence on the emperor's part, then could bring about a major strategic change or even cause irretrievable losses. Gaozong was not a decisive leader, and he had no determination to fight to the death, especially when he regained imperial power after the Miao-Liu mutiny. For Gaozong, to consolidate his power was most imperative. Ritual thus could become a more effective approach, compared to militarily and financially risky measures. Though sacrifices remained in chaos and out of control, a clear emphasis on the emperor's role during the imperial inspection tour not only highlighted his emperorship and authority but also gave him a secure cover for escape. This helps explain why Emperor Gaozong insisted on even nominal rites during military, financial and political dilemmas.¹⁰⁹

Another ritual dilemma the Southern Song court confronted came from the emperor's frequent movements between major cities in Eastern Liangzhe Circuit (*Liang Zhe dong lu* 兩浙東路) and his delay in selecting the capital city. The shifting ritual center with the migratory emperor made it extremely difficult to fully restore the sacrifices to mountains and rivers. In the fourth month of 1133, after considerable discussion, the Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices announced their decision to restore thirteen major sacrifices involving the suburban rites, the Bright Hall rite, and the sacrifices to Five Directional Deities. Part of the

¹⁰⁹ Also refer to the discussion about challenges to his legitimacy in Chapter 2.

restored rites were asked to adopt the principle of “simplifying rituals by removing the superfluous (*shengfan jiujuan* 省繁就簡).”¹¹⁰ This pragmatic principle could be traced to Han Xiaozhou’s memorial submitted three years earlier, as discussed in the first chapter.

In the fifth month of 1137, on the eve of promotion of Hangzhou to the temporary capital, Erudite of Court of Imperial Sacrifice Huang Jihou 黃積厚, who obtained a *jinshi* degree in 1115, requested a nationwide sacrificial restoration. In his memorial:

The sacrifices to hundreds of gods have not been performed over a long period. The rituals used to be restored and held one after another on request. However, nowadays the following rites have not been conducted, such as the major sacrifice to Mars and the *zha* sacrifice, the middle sacrifices to the Sacred Peaks and Rivers as well as First Agriculturist and Sericulturist, and the minor sacrifices to Central Star and Star of Destiny. Some of these rites serve to prevent the state from calamities; others involve praying for the people. The rites should not be neglected since they represent the interdependence between gods and humans. (Your Majesty) Please issue an imperial edict and order officials to carry out these rites one by one.¹¹¹
百神之祀，曠歲弗修。頃因議者有請，雖次第舉行，然今大祀之未舉者，如熒惑、大蜡之類，中祀如嶽、瀆、農、蠶之類，小祀如司中、司命之類，或為國解穰，或為民祈報，而神人相依之道，實不可廢。欲望特降睿旨，下有司條舉而行之。

According to ritual classics, when a ruler obtained all of the land under Heaven, he would be expected to perform sacrifices to hundreds of gods (*baishen* 百神).¹¹² Such

¹¹⁰ *ZXLS*, 125.453; *SHY*, li 4.1. For a brief comparison between the Bright Hall rite and the southern suburban rite in the Song, see Liu Zijian 劉子健, “Fengshan wenhua yu Songdai mingtang jitian 封禪文化與宋代明堂祭天,” in Liu Zijian, *Liang Song shi yanjiu huibian* 兩宋史研究彙編 (Taipei: Lianjing, 1987), 7–9.

¹¹¹ *ZXLS*, 139.498; *SHY*, li 4.2, li 14.78.

¹¹² *LJZY*, 1588.

a viewpoint had been already underscored in the early Northern Song.¹¹³ However, in his proposal, Huang detailed hierarchical sacrifices and emphasized their significance for the state and people, regarding the sacrifices as an essential means of connecting the mundane and sacred worlds. First checked by the Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and then by the Department of State Affairs, this list showed that totally thirty-nine rites, including the *zha* sacrifice and the sacrifices to mountains and rivers, had not yet been performed. The main reason officials made suggestions was that during the imperial inspection tours, local governors failed to prepare adequately and in time for required fast palaces, ritual vessels and costume, and performers. Therefore, the Song court decided to adhere to a flexible and pragmatic principle of gradually restoring sacrifices and temporarily conducting them in several places such as the Huizhao Cloister and the Temple of Spectacular Numina.¹¹⁴

The peace treaty signed by Song and Jin four years later—after Lin'an was selected as the temporary capital—reached a bilateral equilibrium. Each side was unable to make a one-off conquest of the other. Even as such, the desire to restore the lost northern territories under the Jurchen control remained the mainstream of public opinions, especially in the early Southern Song. This high expectation, however, was far from being realized in practice. Given the temporary capital, the incomplete sacred geography, and a long-term state reconstruction, restoration of the

¹¹³ Yang Yi 楊億, *Wuyi xinji* 武夷新集 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 2007), 109.

¹¹⁴ *SHY*, li 4.2. It is not clear whether the list was based on *WLXY*. Also see the concerning discussion in Chapter 1.

sacrifices to mountains and rivers in the Southern Song was characterized by the imperial court's vacillation between ritualism and pragmatism. Such a feature was even more conspicuous in Lin'an, as will be discussed below. In 1157, for almost twenty years after the emperor settled in Lin'an, an official's memorial pointed to the fact that thirteen medium sacrifices should have been promoted to the major. The Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices did not give any specific reason, but insisted that the relevant rites should be still held in provisional places, since "till now the altars and the fast palaces are not ready yet (今來壇壝、齋宮未備)."¹¹⁵ Not until the ninth month of 1168 were the sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers restored in Lin'an at the request of Director of the Ministry of Rites (*libu langzhong* 禮部郎中) Li Tao 李燾 (1115–84).¹¹⁶

Prayers of Sacrifices to Sacred Mountains and Rivers in the *Zhongxing lishu*

For our deep understanding of Song state ritual, we are fortunate that the *Zhongxing lishu* preserves hundreds of prayer texts that cannot be found in any other extant Tang-Song ritual books. Among them, there are a great many documents regarding the sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers performed during the two most significant imperial ceremonies, the southern suburban sacrifice and the Bright Hall rite. Both have the nearly same ritual structure or procedure that seems to be one of the features of Song state rituals. Scholars have just begun to discuss these materials; many crucial issues have not been touched on or clarified, and some might

¹¹⁵ *SHY*, li 4.1; *ZXLS*, 125.1b.453.

¹¹⁶ *SHY*, li 14.94.

have been misunderstood.¹¹⁷ Drawing upon these sources, this section explores the structure and characteristics of this particular type of ritual in the Southern Song.

First of all, I would suggest that these prayers in the *Zhongxing lishu* are more than ritual texts. Of course, they belong to a specific literary genre, following regularized writing formats and using stereotyped expressions. Rather than being treated as ritual cliché, these documents should be taken more seriously as they were also closely concerned with living ritual practices. For example, they were written by officials prior to the rites, and displayed and read in different ritual spaces as a medium for the communication with gods and ancestors. After the sacrifices, most prayers were preserved in specific places, and in terms of certain procedures and principles some were codified and compiled into ritual books, finally becoming ritual records or templates. All allow historians to comprehend the ritual system and practices through the lens of these materials, even though volume 147 entitled “Sacred Peaks, Garrisons, Seas and Rivers (*Yuezhen haidu* 嶽鎮海瀆)” in the *Zhongxing lishu* is lost.¹¹⁸ Besides, we should not treat them as isolated documents. Rather, they could be regarded what I call “text clusters,” a group of interrelated sources on structure, meaning, and function, since they were chronologically synthesized and corresponded to particular ritual stages. A prayer text, therefore, can be grasped in the context of its text cluster, and more than that, the comparison

¹¹⁷ Xie Yifeng 謝一峰, “Tianxia yu guojia: shilun Nan Song chunian Wu Yue sidian shuanggui tizhi de xingcheng 天下與國家：試論南宋初年五嶽祀典雙軌制的形成,” *Shilin* 史林 1(2015): 37–45; Niu Jingfei, *Wuyue jisi yanbian lunkao*, 137.

¹¹⁸ I would suggest that the accounts of the sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers in the 102nd volume of the *Songshi* probably share the same or similar historical sources with that of *ZXLS*, or the compilers of the *Songshi* more likely derived materials from *ZXLS*. *SHY* should also be taken into account, with regard to intertextuality as well as ways of compilation. In this sense, all these issues require further researches on investigating, comparing and critiquing relevant sources in *SHY*, *SS*, and *ZXLS*.

between different text clusters helps enrich and deepen our understanding of one piece of document as well as the ritual and ritual spaces.

Most prayer texts of the sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers are preserved in volumes 31–33 and 76–77 of the *Zhongxing lishu*; some are collected in volumes 8–9 of the *Zhongxing lishu xubian*. They are divided into four categories in the light of their literary forms (*wenti* 文體), *cewen* 冊文 (memorial slips), *biaowen* 表文 (memorials), *zhuwen* 祝文 (sacrificial prayers) and *qingci* 青詞 (green-verses, or green memorials), referring to different prayer subjects, occasions and functions. In the *Zhongxing lishu*, *cewen* in their narrow sense are identified as *zhuce* 祝冊 (sacrificial slips), which were used in the emperor’s sacrifices to Heaven, Earth and imperial ancestors, usually written on jade fascicles (*yuce* 玉冊).¹¹⁹ After the rite, the fascicles were burnt with offerings (*bibo* 幣帛, literally meaning “money and silk cloth”) to convey messages to Heaven and Earth, while the fascicles for ancestors, together with the spirit tablets of distant ancestors, would be collected and preserved in the eastern room of the Imperial Ancestral Temple according to the 1146 discussion.¹²⁰ *Zhuwen* usually has a four-character or six-character rhymed format with the parallel style of paired sentences, and in the *Zhongxing lishu* the term normally implies a prayer used in a rite held by court officials. The use of *biaowen* is on the occasion of a Buddhist or Daoist rite in the sacrifices to imperial tomb or mausoleum. *Qingci* verses, one of major literary forms in the Song ritual, are special

¹¹⁹ Deng Shupin 鄧淑蘋, “Tang-Song yuce jiqi xiangguan wenti 唐宋玉冊及其相關問題,” *Gugong wenwu yuekan* 故宮文物月刊 9.10 (1992): 12–25.

¹²⁰ *ZXLS*, 30.127.

prayers applied to the imperial Daoist *jiao* 醮 ritual and acquired an element of Daoism.¹²¹

This section mainly focuses on the documents of *zhuwen*, the majority in the *Zhongxing lishu*, used throughout the three phases of the suburban sacrifices or the Bright Hall ritual: making an announcement (*gao* 告), the three-day long great rites, and expressing gratitude (*xie* 謝) (Figure 4.5).¹²² Since some prayers were included into several Southern Song scholar-officials’ literary collections, they are also used to compare and discuss.

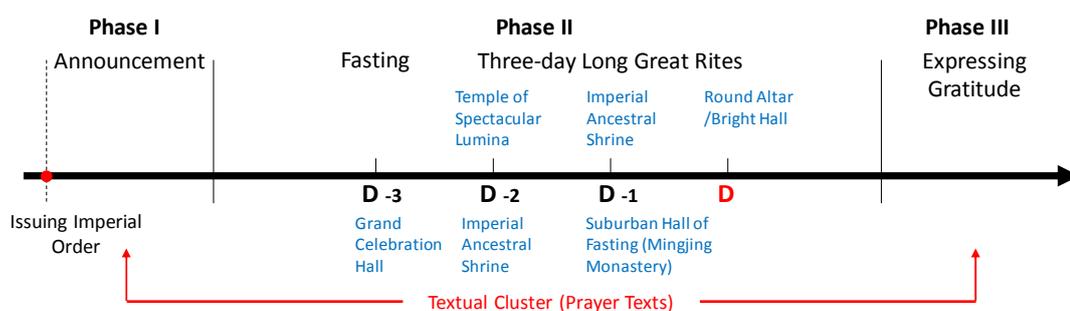


Fig. 4.5: Standard Procedure for the Ritual of Sacrifice to Heaven or Bright Hall

Prayers of the sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers in the *Zhongxing lishu* are normally entitled as “*Wuyue Sihai Sidu zhuwen* 五嶽四海四瀆祝文 (Prayer to the Five Sacred Peaks, Four Seas and Four Rivers),” “*Nanyue Nanhai Nandu zhuwen* 南嶽南海南瀆祝文 (Prayer to the Southern Sacred Peak, South Sea and Southern River),” and “*Nanzhen Gueijishan Yongji wang zhuwen* 南鎮會稽山永濟王祝文

¹²¹ *Qingci*, as a literary form defined by Li Zhao, was first integrated in Tang official documents. The earliest extensive collection of *qingci* was attributed to Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850–933) who completed the *Guangcheng ji* during the late ninth and early tenth centuries. *Qingci* were widely applied to rituals in the Northern Song. See Li Zhao 李肇, *Hanlin ji* 翰林記 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1986), 4; Mitamura Keiko 三田村圭子, “Tōdai zengo ni mieru seishi: Kōsei-shū shoshū no jirei o chūshin ni 唐代前後に見える青詞: 『広成集』所収の事例を中心に,” *Komazawa Daigaku gaikokugo ronshū* 駒澤大学外国語論集 11 (2011): 131–50; Franciscus Verellen, “Green Memorials: Daoist Ritual Prayers in the Tang-Five Dynasties Transition,” *Tang Studies* 35.1 (2017): 51–86.

¹²² Regarded as complete ritual procedures rather than a three-day long major sacrifice.

(Prayer to King Yongji of the Southern Garrison Mount Gueiji).¹²³ At first glance, one cannot distinguish merely from their titles in which ritual phases these prayers were employed. Placing them in textual clusters suggests a somewhat logical and chronological order. But the arrangement and combination raises a quick question to readers: Are these really their original titles or just abbreviation? To think about it, some examples in the *Zhongxing lishu* provide a good starting point.

Several prayers for the 1188 Bright Hall ritual have two extra characters “*jixie* 祭謝 (sacrifice of expressing gratitude)” in their titles. Similarly, the prayer presented in the 1158 southern suburban sacrifice was entitled “*Jixie Wuyue Sihai Sidu zhuwen* 祭謝五嶽四海四瀆祝文,” though its content is lost.¹²⁴ Other examples include the 1170 prayer with the same title and prayers given name as “*Jixie Wuyue Sidu zhuwen* 祭謝五嶽四瀆祝文” which were made in 1131, 1134 and 1137.¹²⁵ The phrase “*jixie*” indicates the use of those prayers in the phase of expressing gratitude (hereafter phase III). Such use may exclude the possibility of being affected by temporary measures as the capital city was not selected until 1138. This conjecture is further proved by cases in Song literati collected works, and based on which, we can reconstruct the standard full titles of the prayers employed before and after the suburban sacrifices and Bright Hall rituals.¹²⁶

¹²³ I prefer to transliterate the term “會稽 (normally as Kuaiji in Mandarin)” as “Gueiji” which, as James Hargett suggests, probably represents the pronunciation of the place-name with local features. See James M. Hargett, “會稽: Guaiji? Guiji? Huiji? Kuaiji?: Some Remarks on an Ancient Chinese Place-Name,” Victor H. Mair ed., *Sino-Platonic Papers* 234 (2013): 1–32.

¹²⁴ “*Jixie Wuyue Sihai Sidu zhuwen*”: “Prayer of expressing gratitude to the Five Sacred Peaks, Four Seas and Four Rivers.”

¹²⁵ “*Jixie Wuyue Sidu zhuwen*”: “Prayer of expressing gratitude to the Five Sacred Peaks and Four Rivers.”

¹²⁶ See Zhou Bida, *WZJ, juan* 117; Zhen Dexiu 真德秀, *Xishan xiansheng Zhen Wenzhong gong wenji* 西山先生

In the phase of making an announcement (hereafter phase I), the full titles were supposed to be “*Jiaosi (or Nanjiao) dali zougao Wuyue Sihai Sidu zhuwen* 郊祀/南郊大禮奏告五嶽四海四瀆祝文” and “*Mingtang dali zougao Wuyue Sihai Sidu zhuwen* 明堂大禮奏告五嶽四海四瀆祝文”, and in the third phase, “*Jiaosi (or Mingtang) dali libi jixie Wuyue Sihai Sidu zhuwen* 郊祀/明堂大禮禮畢祭謝五嶽四海四瀆祝文” and “*Jiaosi (or Mingtang) dali libi jixie Nanzhen Gueijishan Yongji wang zhuwen* 郊祀/明堂大禮禮畢祭謝南鎮會稽山永濟王祝文.”¹²⁷ However, different from the *Zhongxing lishu*, the phase I prayers are divided into two parts in the *Wenzhong ji* and the *Panzhou wenji*, one to the Five Sacred Peaks and the other to the Four Sacred Rivers. It is unclear where the source of the prayers in the *Zhongxing lishu* comes from since the counterpart verses are distinct from those in the *Wenzhong ji*. Two other prayers to phase III drafted in 1143 and 1152 in the *Zhongxing lishu*, entitled “*Wuyue Sihai Sidu zhuwen*,” bear a similarity to texts that refer to Sacred Peaks while Four Seas were only mentioned in annotations. These prayers might have been separately used in the same rite, but compiled together for convenience.

This discussion on the abbreviation and full name of “*Wuyue Sihai Sidu*

眞文忠公文集 (hereafter XSXSJ), Sibū congkan edition, *juan* 23; Hong Kuo 洪适, *Panzhou wenji* 盤洲文集 (hereafter PZJ), Songji zhenben congkan edition, *juan* 18. With regard to authorship, it is problematic that anonymous originators of the prayers are ascribed to the Song emperors in the *Quan Song wen*.

¹²⁷ “*Jiaosi (or Nanjiao) dali zougao Wuyue Sihai Sidu zhuwen* (Prayers of making announcements to the Five Sacred Peaks, Four Seas and Four Rivers about the major rite of the suburban sacrifice or in the southern suburb)” and “*Mingtang dali zougao Wuyue Sihai Sidu zhuwen* (Prayers of making announcements to the Five Sacred Peaks, Four Seas and Four Rivers about the major rite of the Bright Hall ritual)” for phase I. and in the third phase “*Jiaosi (or Mingtang) dali libi jixie Wuyue Sihai Sidu zhuwen* (Prayers of expressing gratitude to the Five Sacred Peaks, Four Seas and Four Rivers after the completion of the major rite of the suburban sacrifice or the Bright Hall ritual)” and “*Jiaosi (or Mingtang) dali libi jixie Nanzhen Gueijishan Yongji wang zhuwen* (Prayers of Expressing Gratitude to King Yongji of the Southern Garrison Mount Gueiji after the completion of the major rite of the suburban sacrifice or the Bright Hall ritual)” in phase III.

zhuwen” helps clarify the following issues. First, “*Jiaosi dali bi jixie Wuyue Sihai Sidu zhuwen*” (1165) and “*Jiaosi dali libi jixie Nanzhen Gueijishan Yongji wang zhuwen*” (1170) are the only two prayers with full titles in the *Zhongxing lishu*.¹²⁸ It should be noted that the title was “full” in a ritual sense for a standardized text, which would be abridged, as Song literati works have suggested, for a specific rite. In other words, the prayer with a full title could be regarded as a genre of text cluster given a general term. Second, prayers to mountains and rivers are normally employed under abbreviated titles in the *Zhongxing lishu*. And here come the questions: Are there any naming rules in these sections of the *Zhongxing lishu*? If so, could the rules be formulated by the Song compilers or the Qing transcribers? I would suggest the possibility of the latter is very low. Despite scribal errors, in the transcription the Qing compilers were probably cautious about those undated sources.¹²⁹ More important, the examples mentioned above in the *Zhongxing lishu* and the collected writings of literati all point to the hybridity of these prayers collected by different principles that could hardly have been made in the Qing dynasty.¹³⁰ Third, regardless of the inconsistency of prayer titles, the arrangement of

¹²⁸ *ZXLS*, 32.4.141, 32.13.145.

¹²⁹ Apparently, one cannot take it for granted that the Qing copies exactly conform to the exemplar in the *Yongle dadian*, and in fact the Qing did often make scribal errors in transcription. Take the prayer of “*Jixie Wuyue Sihai Sidu zhuwen*” (1170) as an example. The scribal errors involve missing the words “*weixian wang* 威顯王 (lit. king of power display)” for the title of God of South Sea and “*nan* 南 (southern)” for the southern sacred river as well as the partial repetition of the title of God of East Sea. *ZXLS*, 32.13.145. But it seems that the Qing transcription might be faithful to the original texts and would not arbitrarily change the contents. For instance, in his annotation Xu Song pointed out a piece of undated source which referred to a prayer of the sacrifice to Emperor Taizong. See *ZSLS*, 30.3.127.

¹³⁰ The phrase “*fuyi* 伏以” can be seen as a signaling word for understanding the process of compilation of *ZXLS*. Given the collection of highly schematized texts, a prayer with or without “*fuyi*” suggested a full text or a text that only maintain the variant part. Of course, one cannot exclude the situation that these prayers had been already as such before the Song compilation. Another typical example showcasing the hybridity of documents is the three 1170 prayers to phase III that involved the full text and variant and were organized in an abnormal way.

prayers reflected a basic structure of a certain ritual, corresponding to its three phases. The one-to-one correspondence of the announcement rites and the rites of expressing gratitude extends to ritual texts, forming a symmetrical structure of the text clusters to phases I and III, and vice versa.¹³¹ “Ritual symmetry” that I propose made the sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers deeply embedded in the southern suburban sacrifice and the Bright Hall ritual as well as urban space of the capital city.

The Accessible and the Inaccessible:

From a Prayer Perspective

Scholars have noticed a special phenomenon in the *Zhongxing lishu* that some prayers about sacred mountains and rivers have annotated titles distinguishing them between the accessible places (“*daotong quchu* 道通去處,” “*daotong chu* 道通處,” or “*lutong quchu* 路通去處”) and the inaccessible (“*daoweitong quchu* 道未通去處” or “*luweitong chu* 路未通處”). Xie Yifeng contends that the former refers to the sacrifices to the southern sacred mountains and rivers and the latter the Five Peaks and Four Rivers, summarizing them as “dual-track systems” through which the Song court dealt with the lost mountains and rivers by highlighting the Southern Sacred Peak in its own territory.¹³² Other historians like Niu Jingfei reckon this argument an over-interpretation since, for practical purposes, the lost mountains and rivers had to be sacrificed as accompanying deities in the northern suburb of Lin’an, whereas the

¹³¹ The rite of the Southern Garrison Mountain, performed only in the phase of expressing gratitude, is an exception.

¹³² Xie Yifeng, “Tianxia yu guojia,” 41–42.

accessible southern sacred mountains and rivers are the reason for writing separate prayers.¹³³ I agree upon both the geographical factor and the critiques, but the imperial sacred geography as well as the Song perceptions and practices need to be further examined.

In the *Zhongxing lishu*, a prayer used prior to the 1131 Bright Hall rite specified the southern sacred peaks and mountains “being accessible places (*xi lutong quchu* 係路通去處). According to the contexts, this phrase might have been supplemented to explain another type of prayers. It could also be an annotation that might have been merged into the text during the transcription. The polarized phrase of inaccessible places did not appear in its counterpart, but they were indicated in the text. The distinction was drawn by a criterion—whether the written prayers could be delivered to the sacrificial sites.¹³⁴

Almost all prayers regarding the Bright Hall rites in 1131–1182, except for the one mentioned above, do not have annotations foregrounding the sites if they were accessible or inaccessible. However, one can tell from their titles the difference, which was also conveyed in verses. For example, one 1179 prayer for the first phase expressed that:

It is such an emotional scene that the [lost] territory has not been regained, when viewing the mountains and rivers so far away. Placing auspicious sacrificial offerings, we perform the announcement rites from afar to them at this prescribed date.¹³⁵

¹³³ Niu Jingfei, “Lun Xian Qin yilai guanfang jisi zhong de hai yu sihai 論先秦以來官方祭祀中的海與四海,” *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 宗教學研究 3 (2016), 249.

¹³⁴ *ZXLS*, 77.2.314. Note that the Southern Garrison Mountain was not mentioned and the Four Seas had not been involved in the sacrifices until 1140.

¹³⁵ *ZXLS*, 77.11.318. According to the content and the same texts from another source in the *Yutang leigao*, the

慨疆域之未還，瞻山川之尚遠。並陳芳薦，遙告先期。

Projecting emotions on the inaccessible mountains and rivers was a particular emphasis of such kind of prayers. The gazing-afar sacrifices held in Lin'an, linked with the remote, prescribed yet uncontrolled sites, made it possible to create an imagined sacred geography. In these prayers, geographical and territorial conditions were often mentioned and probably used to imply the boundary crossing through ritual: "Though mountains and rivers are remote and inaccessible, it still would be appropriate to prepare for the rites in advance (雖山川之遙阻，宜典禮之前知)."¹³⁶ The pragmatic measure thus defuse the crisis of ritual absence, since the geographical barriers, as the Song might have suggested, could not break off the ritual linking.

In the early 1140s, in preparations for the southern suburban and Bright Hall rites that would be first held in Lin'an, the Song court established a basic principle to distinguish between the accessible and inaccessible ritual sites, along with specific regulations on date, prayer, offerings, and personnel. For the sites, the sacrifices to the accessible mountains and rivers still remained in the prescribed prefectures, while the gazing-afar sacrifices in Lin'an were first conducted in the Tianqing Temple and from 1146 onwards transferred to the Huizhao Cloister.¹³⁷ Performing the gazing-afar sacrifices in one place seemed to suggest that the ritual officials

verses in *ZXLS* were mistakenly included in a prayer about southern peaks and sacred rivers. Cui Dunshi 崔敦詩, *Yutang leigao* 玉堂類稿 (hereafter YTLG), Yicun congshu edition, 77.7b.

¹³⁶ *ZXLSXB*, 8.2.489. Similar expressions can also be found in other prayers for the southern suburban sacrifices in 1143, 1170 and 1176.

¹³⁷ *ZXLS*, 42.1.188; *SHY*, li 2.19–20. For a discussion about the roles of the Tianqing Temple and the Huizhao Cloister in Southern Song state rituals, see Chapter 1.

identified the sacrificial subjects as a whole. They did not make any spatial arrangement in or around Lin'an to symbolize the inaccessible sites. These "ritual cases (*lili* 禮例)" in "the period of turmoil (*duoshi zhi shi* 多事之時)" became the norm for the subsequent sacrifices, allowing for ritual flexibility.¹³⁸ Except for the differences in site, executive agency, and part of preliminary procedures, in general, both the regular and the gazing-afar sacrifices required the same sacrificial materials and followed the same ritual procedures.

Did the two categories of the prayer titles in the *Zhongxing lishu* and the *Zhongxing lishu xubian* point to one ritual system, or two ritual systems as some scholars suggest? I would suggest that the question is the key to the understanding of not only the ritual texts and the compilation of ritual books but also how the Southern Song viewed the imperial sacred geography. Among the three existing prayers that probably have full titles, the one written by Zhen Dexiu, entitled "*Jiaosi dali libi jixie Nanyue Donghai Nanhai Nandu zhuwen* 郊祀大禮禮畢祭謝南嶽東海南海南瀆祝文 (Prayer of expressing gratitude to the Southern Sacred Peak, East Sea, South Sea and the Southern Sacred River after the completion of the major rite of the suburban sacrifice)," presents a possibly complete title format for the sacrifices to accessible sites.¹³⁹ However, the title itself seems to be at odds with its

¹³⁸ *ZXLS*, 121.1.450.

¹³⁹ The three prayers are preserved in *PZJ* (18.2.154, "Nanjiao zougao Nanyue Nanhai Nandu Dongdu zhuwen 南郊奏告南嶽南海南瀆東瀆祝文 Prayer of making announcements to the Southern Sacred Peak, South Sea, the Yangtze River and the Huai River Four River in the southern suburb"), in *ZXLSXB* (8.5.490, "[Mingtang] Jixie Nanyue Donghai Nanhai Nandu zhuwen 祭謝南嶽東海南海南瀆祝文 Prayer of expressing gratitude to the Southern Sacred Peak, East Sea, South Sea and the Yangtze River [for the Bright Hall rite]") and in *XSJ* (23.9a). The added names "*Dongdu*" and "*Donghai*" will be discussed in the following section. A memorial drafted by Wang Zao, entitled "Nanjiao libi zougao Nanyue biaoben 南郊禮畢奏告南嶽表本 (Memorial of announcement to the Southern Sacred Peak after the southern suburban sacrifice)," may suggest a full title from another literary genre. Wei Qixian 魏齊賢 ed., *Wubaijia bofang daquan wencui* 五百家播芳大全文粹, Yingyin Wenyuange siku

implication. If the southern sacred mountains and rivers had already been recognized as accessible places at the time, then why would it be necessary to emphasize their accessibility in the annotations? Were the emphases taken as a reminder for ritual officials involved in sacrifices or discussions? Was this a temporary measure or a convention, given the fact that not all prayers about the southern sacred mountains and rivers have such annotations?

The 1170, 1176, and 1179 ritual text clusters in the literati collected works, as a good point of departure, allow us to explore these questions in a more comprehensive way. In the *Zhongxing lishu* there are two prayers written for expressing gratitude after the southern suburban rite in 1170. Interestingly, they have the same title “*Jixie Wuyue Sihai Sidu zhuwen* 祭謝五嶽四海四瀆祝文 (Prayer of Expressing Gratitude to the Five Sacred Peaks, Four Seas and Four Sacred Rivers)” but different annotations respectively on the accessible and the inaccessible places.¹⁴⁰ Even without the annotations, according to their verses, readers can easily figure out the one concerned with the accessible sites. More complicatedly, both prayers also preserved in *WZJ* have the same full title, but only one is annotated with the reference to “inaccessible places.” For the 1176 text clusters of the southern suburban ritual, the *Zhongxing lishu* and the *Wenzhong ji* both include the prayers for phase III that share almost exactly the same content but differ in title and order. Likewise, the same result is shown by the comparison between the prayers for the

quanshu edition, 71.1a.

¹⁴⁰ The full title is “*Jiaosi dali libi jixie Wuyue Sihai Sidu zhuwen*.” *ZXLS*, 32.13b.145–14a.146. Xie Yifeng has noticed this special situation, but advances a simple explanation about the institutional complexity. Xie Yifeng, “*Tianxia yu guojia*,” 40.

third phase of the 1179 Bright Hall ritual in the *Zhongxing lishu* and the counterpart in the *Yutang leigao*.¹⁴¹ The prayers in the Southern Song ritual books and scholars' collected works demonstrate that (in)accessibility of sacred mountains and rivers might have been only annotated to differentiate the two prayers with the same title, while most prayers with titles containing the southern sacred mountains and rivers did not have such annotations except the 1143 and 1185 prayers in the *Zhongxing lishu* and the 1188 prayers in the *Zhongxing lishu xubian*.

What is this phenomenon supposed to mean? Compared to the self-consistency of prayer titles in the collected writings, the discrepancies among the prayers in the *Zhongxing lishu* and the *Zhongxing lishu xubian* regarding the title, sequence, and content suggest that such a situation probably resulted from the state ritual compilation during the 1180s. Referring to both accessible and inaccessible places annotated the way the 1143 prayers did, the 1185 and 1188 prayers in the *Zhongxing lishu* and the *Zhongxing lishu xubian* are the only existing examples that were also complied strictly in the ritual symmetrical order.¹⁴² The 1143 prayer would give rise to a hasty conclusion that from this year onwards the Song court developed a new genre of ritual, in particular the early 1140s established guideline taken into account. However, given the 1170 case, the time span of the compiled prayers, and the fact that almost none of the extant prayers in the Song literati works was entitled the southern sacred mountains and rivers, the 1143, 1185 and 1188 prayers' annotated titles were thus more likely to be the product of the compilation of the *Zhongxing*

¹⁴¹ *ZXLS*, 77.11a.318; *YTLG*, 20.7b.

¹⁴² *ZXLS*, 30.6b–7a.129, 33.2a.150, 33.33a–b.151; *ZXLSXB*, 8.2a.489, 5a.490.

lishu completed in 1185. The naming rule, codified in the 1180s, was first applied to the earliest and latest prayers included in the relevant sections of the *Zhongxing lishu*, continued to be adopted in the *Zhongxing lishu xubian*, and might have had become a general principle in the 1220s.¹⁴³

The prayers in the *Yutang leigao* seemed to suggest that the text clusters could be compiled and placed into the same category, showcasing the prayer title more likely mirrored the de facto hybrid ritual enactments. For the two prayers for phase I with the phrases “Wuyue Sidu” and “Wuyue Sihai Sidu” in title, the former title included the annotation like “*sishou* 四首 (four [prayers]) and *yici* 一詞 (one verse)” and the later title “*jiushou* 九首 (nine [prayers]) and *yici*.”¹⁴⁴ The number of prayers annotated in title pointed to the structure of these ritual texts and seemed to suggest the corresponding number of rites performed in practice. Though the southern sacred peak and rivers were not specified, the annotated four prayers in fact implied the combination of the Southern Sacred Peak, South Sea, Southern Sacred River and East Sea that were shown in the title of the same prayer in the *Zhongxing lishu*. This explains the annotated “(in)accessible places” in the above-mentioned prayers’ titles. It also helps understand why the ordering of mountains and rivers was abnormal in some prayers’ titles. The term “*yici*” referred to one green-verse, like the term *tongci* 同詞 (shared green-verse) mentioned in the *Zhongxing lishu*, suggesting a concurrent Daoist ritual held in a separate Daoist sacred space with the state rituals.

¹⁴³ *XSXSJ*, 23.9a–9b. Probably in the mid-1220s, Zhen Dexiu became an Auxiliary Academician (*zhi xueshi yuan* 直學士院) who was responsible for drafting prayers. *PZJ*, 18.2.154.

¹⁴⁴ *YTLG*, 19.7b.

The perception of such adjustments also left traces in Song literati collected works. The Imperial Diarist and Auxiliary Academician (*Qiju sheren jian zhi xueshi yuan* 起居舍人兼直學士院) Wu Yong 吳泳 (1180– ?) drafted a series of sacrificial prayers and memorial slips for the Bright Hall ritual in 1236.¹⁴⁵ Among them, there are two prayers for the first phase with abbreviated titles, namely “*Sidu Wuyue Sihai* 四瀆五嶽四海 (Four Sacred Rivers, Five Sacred Peaks, and Four Seas)” and “*Yue Du Hai* 嶽瀆海.”¹⁴⁶ For the former prayer, “the inaccessible places” are not specified, but indicated in the third verse: “Performing gazing-afar sacrifices to the [inaccessible] mountains and rivers, [it] would make sacrificial codes complete (望于山川，具有秩祭之典).”¹⁴⁷ For the latter, the annotated title refers to the accessible sacred mountains and rivers. More interesting, not annotated and entitled “*Wuyue Erhai Sidu* 五嶽二海四瀆 (Five Sacred Peaks, Two Seas, and Four Sacred Rivers)” and “*Nanghai Nandu Nanyue* 南海南瀆南嶽 (South Sea, Southern Sacred River, and Southern Sacred Peak),” the other two prayers written by Wu for the third phase disclose some valuable information. The former prayer in its title explicitly mentions the inaccessible “*Erhai* 二海 (Two Seas, namely West Sea and North Sea) and in the third verse identifies the gazing-afar sacrifices, but Wu still kept the generic terms of “*Wuyue*” and “*Sidu*” in the title rather than replace them with “*siyue*, or four sacred

¹⁴⁵ That the prayers in Wu Yong’s *Helin ji* were probably written for the 1236 Bright Hall ritual has two reasons. Wu began to serve as Imperial Diarist and Auxiliary Academician since the twelfth month of 1235 and was removed from position in 1237. SS, 423.12626; Anonymous, *Nan Song guange xulu* 南宋館閣續錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 253. And the Bright Hall ritual that took place during the period of Wu’s stay in Lin’an as imperial drafter is the one in 1236. SS, 42.811.

¹⁴⁶ Wu Yong 吳泳, *Helin ji* 鶴林集 (hereafter HLJ), Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu edition, 5.2b. The latter prayer’s title contains the phrase “the accessible places (*lutong quchu*),” which should have been included in its annotation and was probably mistakenly merged into the title during the Qing scholars’ compilation of the *Siku quanshu*.

¹⁴⁷ HLJ, 5.2b.

peaks” and “*sandu*, or three sacred rivers.” The latter’s title, like the one for phase I, is in disorder and does not bear special meaning due to the verses. The selected odd term and the disorder in title both illustrate a hybrid assemblage of multiple prayers within the same category. In this sense, it did not that matter if a prayer had an accurate, standard title. What did matter was that the hibridity and adjustability displayed by these prayers helped envision a conceivd sacred geography, though it was seen and felt provisionally through two flexible, supplementary means.

Eastern River and East Sea: Becoming the Accessible Places

The ritual adjustability was also reflected through the Song’s creative efforts to convert the inaccessible place to the accessible. The accessible and the inaccessible places could be seen as a temporary division in that their boundary was shifting over time rather than statically determinated.¹⁴⁸ As discussed previously, the Southern Song court continued to take this differentiation by performing gazing-afar sacrifices to those mountains and rivers out of its control.¹⁴⁹ The differences are that, textually, the Southern Song emphasized more on the distinction and, ritually, placed all gazing afar sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers in the temporary capital. After the hurried southern sacrifice by Gaozong in Yangzhou in the eleventh month of

¹⁴⁸ For example, the Song court immediately sent off officials to perform ritual on the Sacred Southern Peak as it was integrated into Song territory. In 991, the Ritual Academy (*taichang liyuan* 太常禮院), a subordinate unit of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices in the first half of the Northern Song, requested that the sacrifices to those sacred mountains and rivers that used to be situated “out of the territory (*buzai fengyu* 不在封域)” should be restored in corresponding prefectures after “conquering and regaining the four regions (*kefu sifang* 克復四方).” *YGL*, 49.293–94. For the request previously submitted by Director of the Palace Library (*mishu jian* 秘書監) Li Zhi 李至 (947–1001) and responded to by the Ritual Academy, see *SHY*, li 21.1; *SS*, 102.2485. For the introduction of the Song ritual institutions such as the Court of Sacrifices, the Ritual Academy, and the Ritual Observances (*liyi yuan* 禮儀院), see Zhang Wenchang, *Zhili yi jiao tianxia*, 278–91.

¹⁴⁹ *WLXY*, 96.1b.

1128, officials conducted the gazing afar sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers in the city since “these places now prove inaccessible (*jinlai daolu weitong* 今來道路未通).”¹⁵⁰ The first serious discussion about the issue of the accessible and inaccessible ritual places took place in 1140.¹⁵¹ In the fifth month, the Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices acknowledged that the sacrifices to imperial tombs could not conform to precedents due to the remote places (*daolu yaoyuan* 道路遙遠) and blocked roads (*daolu gengzu* 道路梗阻), so corresponding measures needed to be implemented.¹⁵² As a result, the 1140 negotiation established a precedent for future ritual activities, characterized by marking a new boundary between the accessible and the inaccessible in the Southern Song. For the 1143 sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers in the first phase of the southern suburban sacrifice, ritual officials cited the 1140 precedent and again specified the accessible and inaccessible places.¹⁵³ In general, the Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices would confirm and announce the accessible and inaccessible places before the first phase of the southern suburban sacrifice or the Bright Hall rite. The 1140 ritual precedent was also applied to the third phase.¹⁵⁴ Apart from the

¹⁵⁰ *ZXLS*, 52.222.

¹⁵¹ With regard to the sacrifices to imperial tombs in the first phase of the Bright Hall rite, the 1140 discussion mentioned that Song ritual officials planned to follow the ritual precedent in the seventh year of the Shaoxing period referring to the 1137 Bright Hall rite. However, the concerning discussion is not recorded in *ZXLS*.

¹⁵² *ZXLS*, 52.223. Song ritual officials made their decision by reference to the Bright Hall rites held in the Huangyou 皇祐 (1049–54) period, and the gazing afar sacrifices referred to the 1133 and 1137 rites.

¹⁵³ *SHY*, li 2.19–20. Discussion on the first phase of the southern suburban sacrifices is lost in *ZXLS* except for the entry title. *ZXLS*, *juan* 3. Also, in this year, the sacrifice to the Southern Garrison Mountain for the first time became an essential part in the third phase of a major sacrifice. The rite referred to the 1140 precedent as well as the precedent in the Huangyou period.

¹⁵⁴ “Sacrifices of expressing gratitude to sacred mountains and rivers out of the territory (*Jixie wailu yuezhen haidu* 祭謝外路嶽鎮海瀆)” in the aftermath of the 1146 southern suburban sacrifice adhered to the precedent of 1143. *ZXLS*, 42.188.

1140 precedent, ritual officials often in their announcement took the latest major sacrifice as another example.¹⁵⁵

The terms “Eastern River (*Dongdu* 東瀆, or Huai River)” and “East Sea (*Donghai* 東海)” added in sacrificial prayers indicate the interplay of two types of perceptions and practices of the Southern Song differentiating the accessible from the inaccessible places. Due to various degrees of differences between sacred mountains and river as well as between river and sea, the Song court attempted to devise practicable means of dealing with such perplexing ritual problems. As a result, the renewal of ritual space revised a definition of the imperial sacred geography.

The protracted Song-Jin wars in the upper reaches of the Huai River hindered the Song from locating a long-term appropriate site in its northern borderlands for the sacrifice to the Eastern River. Given the war situation, the Song court vacillated between two alternatives, selecting Tangzhou 唐州 in the north of the Huai River as the prescribed ritual site when it became accessible and Lin’an when Tangzhou was inaccessible.¹⁵⁶ In the early Jianyan period, most areas of the Jingxi Circuit were under the control of local bandits and bullies. Since the early Shaoxing period, Tangzhou had been dominated by a puppet regime, the state of Qi 齊 (1130–37) created and supported by the Jurchens who took it as a buffer area between Jin and

¹⁵⁵ In 1161 the Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices once again in their announcement for the coming Bright Hall rite confirmed the 1140 precedent.

¹⁵⁶ For a brief introduction of the development of Tangzhou as one governed area in the Southern Jingxi Circuit (*Jingxi nanlu* 京西南路) in the Song, see Li Changxian 李昌憲, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi (Song Xi Xia juan)* 中國行政區劃通史 (宋西夏卷) (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2007), 53–54. Yu Wei examines the process of Jin’s capture of the Song’s northern territories as well as the shaping of Jin’s southern boundary. See Yu Wei 余蔚, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi (Liao Jin juan)* 中國行政區劃通史 (遼金卷) (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2012), 445–52.

Song.¹⁵⁷ But such a situation did not last long. The success of the first northward military expedition led by General Yue Fei in 1134 rendered the Song's recapture of six lost counties, including several places of strategic importance like Xiangyang and Tangzhou. The Song imperial court then established the Xiangyang Prefecture Circuit (*Xiangyangfu lu* 襄陽府路) and turned it to the Southern Jingxi Circuit two years later.¹⁵⁸ In the fifth month of 1140, in preparation for the Bright Hall ritual, the Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices categorized Tangzhou with the “accessible places (*daolu yitong quchu* 道路已同去處).”¹⁵⁹

The Song-Jin peace talks started by the end of 1137 and up to the fifth month of 1138 the Jurchens had returned prefectures and counties of Henan 河南 and Shaanxi 陝西 to the Song. However, the negotiation process halted and the agreement was violated after the revanchists came to power in Jin. The Jurchens mounted an invasion of Henan and Shaanxi in 1139. Song and Jin finally reached a peace treaty in 1141, and both sides agreed to be demarcated by the Huai River. In the aftermath of the war, the demarcation allowed Jin to integrate Tangzhou in its domains.¹⁶⁰ The territorial status quo of Song China was soon reflected in its major state rituals. The 1143 prayer for the first phase of the southern suburban sacrifice considered the Eastern River an “inaccessible place (*lu weitong quchu* 路未通去處).”¹⁶¹ Tangzhou,

¹⁵⁷ *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi* (*Song Xi Xia juan*), 54; Li Changxian, “Shilun wei-Qi guo de jiangyu yu zhengqu 試論偽齊國的疆域與政區,” *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究 4 (2007): 147–55.

¹⁵⁸ Li Changxian, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi* (*Song Xi Xia juan*), 54.

¹⁵⁹ *ZXLS*, 52.223.

¹⁶⁰ Yu Wei, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi* (*Liao Jin juan*), 449–52.

¹⁶¹ *ZXLS*, 30.129.

thereafter, had been long controlled by the Jurchens till the conquest of Jin by a joint Song-Mongol invasion in 1234. Once recaptured, however, Tangzhou would have supplanted Lin'an as the ideal ritual site.¹⁶²

The interchange of the accessible and inaccessible places for the sacrifice to the Eastern River helps explain the ritual pragmatism of the Song during its territorial evolution. More important, the interchange also helps elucidate that the Song embraced the notion of the territorial integrity or the imagined geo-body no matter whether the place was inside or outside its territory. Transfer of the sacrifice to the Eastern River from the temporary capital to the accessible prescribed place, as a symbolic signal, not only confirmed the territorial expansion through ritual but also expressed in particular to the Song revanchists somewhat of a determination to retake more lost territories. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether the sacrifices conducted by local officials in Tangzhou would be affected in wartime. One thing for sure, from the case of the Eastern River during the protracted war, the Song adjustment, dependent on military security, thus could hardly last long.

Unlike the Eastern River, the Song court coped actively with the selection of a new ritual place beyond Lin'an for the sacrifice to the East Sea in the reign of Xiaozong, making a creative interpretation on the boundary between the accessible and the inaccessible. Defeated by Jin in 1128, Song lost Laizhou 萊州 which was the ritual place for the sacrifice to the East Sea. Since then, regarding Laizhou the inaccessible place, Song officials only performed the gazing-afar sacrifices. In terms

¹⁶² The Song reoccupied Tangzhou during the northern expedition in the Longxing 隆興 (1163–64) reign era. Accessible, Tangzhou was selected as the place for the sacrifice to the Eastern River in 1164. Thereafter, out of the Song's control, Tangzhou had been replaced by Lin'an. *PZJ*, 18.2.154; *SHY*, li 2.20.

of the announcements issued by the Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices before the first phase, at least by 1161, Laizhou was still in the category of the inaccessible.¹⁶³ The memorial submitted by Vice Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices Lin Li in the seventh month of 1169 was a turning point that he requested restoration of the sacrifice to the East Sea in Mingzhou.

The state temporarily lies in the southeast, and the East Sea and South Sea in fact are in its territory. Referring to sacrificial rites of the state, (I find that) the sacrifice to the East Sea takes place in Laizhou at the Beginning of Spring; the sacrifice to the South Sea in Guangzhou at the Beginning of Summer; since the West Sea and the North [Sea] in remote barbarian territories, the gazing-afar sacrifices are conducted in Fangzhou alone at the beginnings of the two seasons [of autumn and winter]. After the court went southward across the Yangtze River, the imperial writings were annually issued only for the Temple of King of Great Benefits of South, ordering (officials) to hold the sacrifices in Guangzhou. However, with regard to the East Sea Temple, officials in the coastal areas have not been sent to perform sacrifices there since they are inaccessible to Laizhou. I would like to note that: for the East Sea Temple, the sacrifice was held in Gueiji in the Sui and in Laizhou in the Tang. Our court follows the Tang institution and establishes the temple in Laizhou. In the first year of the Yuanfeng era (1078) the temple was built in Dinghai County, Mingzhou. After granting it the title of “Erudite Keeping a Smooth Journey,” our court constantly worships the God of East Sea in Mingzhou and thus should not rigidly adhere to the ritual in Laizhou. From now on, when at the Beginning of Spring and in the phase of expressing gratitude after major sacrifices, please inform our officials to follow the ritual precedent of today’s sacrifices to the South Sea in Guangzhou, distribute incense offerings and order the Mingzhou prefecture to make preparations, and sent officials to carry out the

¹⁶³ *ZXLS*, 52.223. The 1167 prayer for the first phase is entitled “*Nanyue Nanhai Nandu zhuwen*” which does not contain the term “*Donghai*” (East Sea). Only one prayer entitled “*Wuyue Sihai Sidu zhuwen*” is preserved in the *Zhongxing lishu* for the third phase. The prayer is more likely written for the accessible places in light of the verses, but it is uncertain if East Sea is mentioned.

sacrifices there.¹⁶⁴

國家駐蹕東南，東海、南海實在封域之內。檢照國朝祀儀，立春祭東海於萊州，立夏祭南海於廣州，其西海、北【海】遠在夷貊，獨即方州行二時望祭之禮。自渡江以後，唯南海廣利王廟歲時降御書祝文，令廣州行禮。如東海之祠，但以萊州隔絕，不曾令沿海官司致祭。栗等謹按：東海祠，隋祭於會稽縣界，唐祭於萊州界。本朝沿唐制，萊州立祠。元豐元年，建廟於明州定海縣，加封“淵聖助順”之後，則東海之祠，本朝累加崇奉，皆在明州，不必泥於萊州矣。欲乞自今後立春及大禮告謝，依見今廣州祭南海禮例，關報所屬，請降香祝下明州排辦，差官行禮。

Lin Li deemed that the Tang sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers were imitated by the Song, and further argued that if taking into account the sacrifice to the East Sea in Gueiji in the Sui, the Southern Song court unnecessarily insisted on performing the rites in Laizhou. Lin's proposal is based on three presumptions. First, distinct from overland routes, there was a grey space in defining the accessibility and inaccessibility through maritime routes. Neither the Song nor the Jurchens had the notion of territorial waters. Without the demarcation of the maritime border, each side could claim to control the East Sea. Lin thus took advantage of the sea's fluidity to blur the ritual boundary. Second, in Lin's views, the sacred geography could be partially adjusted as long as there were relevant precedents. According to the record in "Treatise on Ritual" of the *Suishu* 隋書, Emperor Wen of Sui issued an edict in the additional tenth month of 594, ordering officials to construct the temples of the four Garrison Mountains as well as the East Sea and the South Sea. The sacrifices to the East Sea were scheduled to be held in Gueiji.¹⁶⁵ Lin cited the historical evidence to

¹⁶⁴ SHY, li 2.21–22. Li's memorial is partially recorded in "Treatise on Ritual" of the *Songshi*, but it is much more concise and the expressions are slightly different. SS, 102.2488.

¹⁶⁵ Wei Zheng 魏徵 and Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, *Suishu* 隋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 7.140.

bolster up his suggestion. Third, Lin postulated that the sacrifice to the East Sea long held in Mingzhou in the Northern Song could have been regarded a state ritual. In this sense, he claimed that the court “should not rigidly adhere to the ritual in Laizhou.” His memorial implied that officials would better hold the sacrifices in any defined accessible places unless selecting the gazing-afar sacrifices only as a last resort.

What kind of a temple is the one mentioned in Lin’s memorial? The *Baoqing siming zhi* 寶慶四明志, a local gazetteer compiled in the late 1230s, provides the history of the East Sea Temple. Located about five *li* northeast of Dinghai 定海, the temple was first built and granted the title of “Erudite with Great Virtues (*yuansheng guangde* 淵聖廣德)” in 1078 at the request of Left Grand Master of Remonstrance (*zuo jianyi dafu* 左諫議大夫) An Tao 安燾 (1034–1108) and Imperial Diarist Chen Mu 陳睦 (?–1085), both then as Song envoys returned to Mingzhou from Koryō by sea.¹⁶⁶ In his memorial submitted in the eleventh month this year, An Tao wrote:

The God of the East Sea had a kingly title already, but the corresponding temple has not been built. Please construct the temple somewhere between the two counties of Dinghai and Changguo in Mingzhou. When they learnt it, the merchants and travelers going back and forth between the two places would come to help the construction.¹⁶⁷

東海之神已有王爵，獨無廟貌，乞於明州定海、昌國兩縣之間建祠宇，往來商旅，聽助營葺。

To resolve a ritual dilemma by referring to the 1078 case, Lin Li intentionally made

¹⁶⁶ Luo Jun 羅澹, *Baoqing siming zhi* 寶慶四明志 (hereafter BQSMZ), Songyuan fangzhi congkan edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 19.5238.

¹⁶⁷ *XCB*, 294.7170. Note that Luo Jun cited the memorial from *XCB* in his annotation.

the East Sea Temple in Laizhou be displaced by the Mingzhou's eponymously-named temple which in nature was irrelevant to the imperial sacred geography. In his annotation Luo Jun ventured different opinions. There seemed to be no problem at first glance in An Tao's account given the temple granted titles many times in the Song. However, Luo contended that the court did not do such without a reason, pointing out the fact that "there is the Temple of King of Great Virtues of the East Sea then in Laizhou (是時實有東海廣德王廟在萊州)."¹⁶⁸ Moreover, Luo argued that the temple in Mingzhou had never been given the title of East Sea prior to the Qiandao reign era. The statement of a dislocated temple did not convince Luo, but he did not explicitly give his own interpretation.

In fact, the explanation for the coexistence of the East Sea temples lies in the history of the Mingzhou's temple. It is not clear when the construction of the East Sea Temple in Mingzhou was complete in the Northern Song. In 1103 The temple was enfeoffed the title of "Keeping a Smooth Journey," two new halls to the God of Wind and God of Rain added to it. Granted the title of "Manifesting Spiritual Presence (*xianling* 顯靈)" in 1123, the temple was rewarded with five *qing* of government lands at the request of returned Song envoys to Koryŏ.¹⁶⁹ In the mid-Northern Song Mingzhou had been the hub of intercommunication between the two states, playing a central role of the information exchange by presenting official documents to the counterparts of officials or institutions (*yidie* 移牒) especially

¹⁶⁸ *BQSMZ*, 19. 5238.

¹⁶⁹ The historical account of the Temple of East Sea below refers to *BQSMZ* (19.5238–39).

during the period without the tributary interaction.¹⁷⁰ The East Sea Temple mainly served for envoys and maritime merchants and had nothing to do with the sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers. The temple was destroyed in wartime in the Jianyan period. After its reconstruction in 1132, the temple functioned in the local area for almost forty years.

The Song court eventually accepted Lin's suggestion. Two months later, the temple was granted a new title by adding the two characters "East Sea," officially integrated in the state rituals. The official endorsement based on Lin's creative interpretation might help consolidate the imperial legitimacy and revive the self-confidence of regaining more accessible places.¹⁷¹ Thereafter, the Song court sent officials to the East Sea Temple in Mingzhou prior to major rites and the gazing-afar sacrifices to the East Sea was no longer held in Lin'an.

Dual Role of the Capital City in Rainmaking Ritual

In Imperial China the capital city served as both the political center of the empire and a local administrative center. Apart from the imperial sacred geography, sacred local mountains and rivers also had close connections with the capital city. This dual role of the capital city was prominently manifested in rainmaking ritual to sacred mountains and rivers, because natural disasters like droughts made empire-wide or regional impacts. The two rainmaking models at central and local

¹⁷⁰ Tao Jinsheng, "Shi zhi shier shiji Dongya guoji waiji de duideng wenti 10 至 12 世紀東亞國際外交的對等問題," in Tao Jinsheng, *Song Liao Jin shi luncong* 宋遼金史論叢 (Taipei: Lianjing, 2013), 115.

¹⁷¹ Luo Jun considered the Song adjustment "in accordance with legitimate sacrificial rites (*zheng sidian* 正祀典)" despite his explanation that pointed to the inaccessible temple in Laizhou as a major factor.

levels developed in the Northern Song and the Southern Song reflect not only the shifting understanding of the capital's dual role but the adjustments made thereby as well.

As main deities, gods of sacred mountains and rivers were long believed to play an indispensable role in praying for rain during a period of drought. People's hopes rested on the gods of mountains and rivers that could "bring rainwater (*xingyu* 興雨)" to ease droughts.¹⁷² Oracle inscriptions provide the earliest evidence for this ritual custom.¹⁷³ As a traditional agrarian society highly relied on the natural environment and climate, the continuation and expansion of a drought could lead to catastrophic consequences, such as severe famine, large-scale migrations and even ruthless wars. Many scholars have suggested that, due to the cultural, political and religious interpretations of climate changes and natural disasters in imperial China, rulers had to deal cautiously with the warnings or condemnation from Heaven for the sake of their own legitimacy.¹⁷⁴

There has been a large volume of published studies on rainmaking rites in the Tang and Song dynasties.¹⁷⁵ Within the central-local framework, scholars compare

¹⁷² *Suishu*, 7.128.

¹⁷³ Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, "Shuo buci de feng wuwang yu zuo tulong 說卜辭的焚巫尪與作土龍," in *Jiaguwen yu Yinshangshi* 甲骨文与殷商史, ed. Hu Houxuan 胡厚宣 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), 21–35.

¹⁷⁴ Mark Elvin proposes to use the term "moral meteorology" to summarize such a phenomenon. Mark Elvin, "Who Was Responsible for the Weather? Moral Meteorology in Late Imperial China," *Osiris* 13 (1998): 213–37. For the discussion on the wrath of Heaven in the Song from a perspective of intellectual history, see Kojima Tsuyoshi, "Sōdaitenkenron no seiji shisō," 1–87. Alvin Cohen notices how people forced the rain deities to bring rainwater as general rainmaking rituals failed in ancient China. Alvin P. Cohen, "Coercing the Rain Deities in Ancient China," *History of Religions* 17.3/4 (1978): 244–265. Mizuguchi Motoki discusses how the Song people prayed for rain by hurting or mutilating themselves. For example, when Renzong was praying for rain in the imperial palace, the prayer he used was said to have been written in the blood of palace concubines who had pierced their arms. Mizuguchi Motoki 水口幹記, *Tokōsō Jōjin, ame o inoru: "Sōden" ga kataru ibunka no kōsaku* 渡航僧成尋, 雨を祈る: 「僧伝」が語る異文化の交錯 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2013), 198–206.

¹⁷⁵ Lei, *Jiaomiao zhiwai*, 293–340; Joshua Capitanio, "Dragon Kings and Thunder Gods: Rainmaking, Magic,

the differences of ritual places, deities, and practices at the two levels, evaluate the role of the central government in local societies, and explore the effects of popular religions. This analytical approach has effectively revealed the social and political functions of these rites as well as their local features, usually neglected in previous studies. Nevertheless, the dual role of the capital city has not been taken seriously in this picture.¹⁷⁶

The rainmaking ritual was established very early in both the Northern Song and the Southern Song, in contrast with my foregoing discussion about the long-term restoration of the sacrifices to mountains and rivers as accompanying deities in great and middle level rites. In the sixth month of 961, a lack of precipitation in Kaifeng caused people's growing concerns about their autumn crops. A request by Hanlin Academician Wang Zhu 王著 (928–69) facilitated the practices of praying for rain, including the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, Gods of Grain and Soil, and other deities in imperial shrines as well as the gazing-afar sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers held in the northern suburb.¹⁷⁷ The “previous rites (*jiuli* 舊禮)” that Wang requested the court to follow referred to the ritual tradition based on the *Kaiyuan*

and Ritual in Medieval Chinese Religion” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2008); Pi Qingsheng, *Songdai minzhong cishen xinyang yanjiu* 宋代民眾祠神信仰研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 143–203; Chen Ho-Lam 陳學霖, “Zhongguo diwang de qiyu yu zhengzhi wenhua 中國帝王的祈雨與政治文化,” in Chen Xuelin, *Song Ming shi luncong* 宋明史論叢 (Hong Kong: Xianggang zhongwen daxue, 2012), 1–52; Silvia Freiin Ebner von Eschenbach, “Managing Floods and Droughts by Invocating the Water Spirits: Analyzing Prayers for Rain (*daoyu*) and Prayers for a Clear Sky (*qiqing*) with Some Examples from Local Source Material of the Song Dynasty (960–1279).” *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 169.1 (2019): 205–29. All the authors have detailed, useful summaries of the scholarship in their works.

¹⁷⁶ Lei Wen has noted the duality of Metropolitan Governor (*jingzhaoyin* 京兆尹) of Chang'an, who served in inner and outer offices (*neiwaiquan* 內外官). But he does not further explore the duality in rainmaking ritual. Lei Wen, *Jiaomiao zhi wai*, 320.

¹⁷⁷ *XCB*, 2.47; *SHY*, li 18.2–3.

li.¹⁷⁸ In the fourth month of 963, given Kaifeng's long drought, Taizu dispatched officials to conduct sacrificial rites in several temples and shrines in the capital. The method was said to have been very effective so that it started raining at sunset on the same day. Less than one month, to cope with another drought in Kaifeng, Taizu had to send officials again to the prescribed places in the city on the first day of the fifth month. Two days later, eunuchs were ordered to perform rainmaking rituals to sacred mountains and rivers in the same sites, but the methods did not take effect immediately. Fifty-five days later, the abundant rainfall finally prompted the emperor to send eunuchs off to sacred mountains and rivers and hold rites for expressing gratitude.¹⁷⁹

The Song rainmaking ritual retained some traits of the Tang counterpart, but had its own characteristics. As early as 963, the Song court distinguished two systems of rainmaking in terms of the dual role of the capital.¹⁸⁰ The systems were determined by the ritual sites—temples, shrines, and altars in and around the capital city where civil officials led by grand councilors were sent off to, and the temples of

¹⁷⁸ In the *Kaiyuanli* there are four sections on rainmaking during droughts, “Praying in the Ancestral Temple during Droughts (*Shihan qi taimiao* 時旱祈太廟),” “Praying on the Grain and Soil Altars during Droughts (*Shihan qi taishe* 時旱祈太社),” “Praying to [Gods of] Sacred Peaks and Garrison Mountains in the northern suburbs during Droughts (*Shihan qi yuezhen yu beijiao* 時旱祈嶽鎮於北郊)” and “Praying [in the Shrines of] Sacred Mountains and Rivers during Droughts (*Shihan jiuqi yuezhen haidu* 時早就祈嶽鎮海瀆).” The *Kaiyuanli*, the earliest existing state ritual code, identifies the dual role of the capital city in rainmaking. According to the *Tang liudian*, if a drought occurred after early summer in the capital city and its vicinity, the gazing-afar sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers should be performed to pray for rain. Li Linfu 李林甫 et al. eds., *Tang liudian* 唐六典 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 4.124. Therefore, it would be safe to depict the 961 drought that occurred in Kaifeng and its vicinity, in part because the gazing-afar sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers were only performed in the northern suburb of the capital city.

¹⁷⁹ *XCB* 4.88, 91, 96; *SS*, 1.14.

¹⁸⁰ Floods were common and perhaps as important as droughts, but prayers for the stoppage of rain were not included in the extant Tang and Song state ritual books. However, the annotation of the 963 rain prayers evinces that, in the Song, prayers for the stoppage of rain could be similar to those for rain. *SHY*, li 18.3.

sacred mountains and rivers where court eunuchs mainly took charge of the rites.¹⁸¹

The Song rainmaking ritual was thus characterized by the involvement of court eunuchs and, as Pi Qingsheng has pointed out, the establishment of a sacred space (*daochang* 道場, lit. “land of the Way”) in which a relevant Buddhist or Daoist ritual was performed.¹⁸²

Like the Northern Song, it was the rainmaking ritual that initiated the restoration of the sacrifices to mountains and rivers in the Southern Song. The underlying reasons why the state rainmaking ritual was slowly institutionalized in the early period was because of the absence of a capital city, the emperor’s constant movement, and the external and internal crises. The first recorded drought in an interim capital city took place in the seventh month of 1128 when Gaozong stayed in Yangzhou where he accomplished the enthronement rite. Departing from the conventional precedents, the emperor did not arrange a rain prayer to defuse this natural disaster; rather, he solicited officials’ views on insufficient governance, and thus later reduced the agricultural taxes to those severely affected in the prefecture.¹⁸³ Seen from a couple of other examples in the early Southern Song, Gaozong often focused on personnel and internal affairs when dealing with droughts.¹⁸⁴ He even explicitly requested that circuit supervisors (*jiansi* 監司) and

¹⁸¹ Sometimes Song court officials were dispatched to the shrines of sacred mountains and rivers for rainmaking. Pi has noticed that the Song rainmaking rituals involved two major groups, court officials and eunuchs. See Pi Qingsheng, 179–81.

¹⁸² Pi Qingsheng, *Songdai minzhong cishen xinyang yanjiu*, 180. For the brief introduction of *daochang* especially in a Daoist sense, see Maruyama Hiroshi 丸山宏, “Daochang,” in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* vol.1, Fabrizio Pregadio ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008), 310–11.

¹⁸³ The prefecture was also suffering a plague of locusts. *XNYL*, 16.389, 398.

¹⁸⁴ *XNYL*, 67.1306. In 1132 Changzhou 常州 had a great drought. In his memorial, the Secretariat Drafter Hu

prefectural prefects not withhold information on the real situation of floods and droughts in his edict issued in the ninth month of 1133.¹⁸⁵ Such preemptive treatment might have helped the emperor to consolidate his power and prevent from full-scale riots provoked by natural disasters.

The first documented rainmaking rite by the emperor himself was held in Hangzhou in 1132.¹⁸⁶ Facing the prolonged drought for nearly three months, Gaozong prayed for rain by eating only vegetables, sitting on a mat in his palace and being exposed himself to the burning sun.¹⁸⁷ Through the ritual Gaozong seemed to signal his determination to suffer the drought with his people and his own piety in attempting to touch Heaven and Earth. Communicating with victims and deities were two essential parts of a rainmaking ritual. It is not clear why the emperor at the time did not conduct any large-scale prayers in public. Perhaps the initial measure produced satisfactory results. Similar rituals recurred in 1135 and 1195 in response

Jiaoxiu 胡交修 (1078–1142) attributed this disaster to the cruel rule of a local prefect Zhou Si 周祀. Zhou was eventually removed from office. *SS*, 66.1442. Gaozong's thought at the very beginning was unknown, but he asked about the cause of the drought rather than order local officials to pray for rain. Moreover, the emperor accepted Hu's causal explanation and responded to the drought by removal of personnel. Linking personnel and internal affairs to natural disasters was also applied to interpreting excessive rainfall or floods. *SHY*, dixi 9.25–26; *SS*, 65.1423. Gaozong's response to natural disasters is also evinced in Zhen Dexiu's concise summary. Witnessing the victims' miseries caused by excessive rainfall and floods, in the seventh month of 1218 Zhen as a lecturer at the imperial lecture presented to Ningzong the 1128 precedent of Gaozong. In Zhen's view, Gaozong set an example of a self-alert emperor attributing the handiwork of men to natural disasters, different from those rulers taking predestined disasters for self-forgiveness. *XSSXJ*, 5.7a–7b.

¹⁸⁵ *XNYL*, 68.1327.

¹⁸⁶ *SS*, 66.1442

¹⁸⁷ *SS*, 28.520. Ho-Lam Chen in “*Zhu Yuanzhang silong daoyu jishi xiaokao* 朱元璋祀龍禱雨紀事小考” (*Song Ming shi luncong*, 208) briefly discusses the 1122 precedent created by Gaozong, and deems that both Zhao Gou and Zhu Yuanzhang were familiar with the relationship between rainmaking and political operations in governance. Chen does not mention where Gaozong performed the rite, while in the reign of Emperor Taizu of Ming the ritual space was the Altar of Mountains and Rivers (*shanchuan tan* 山川壇). The *Songshi* does not specify the location of Gaozong's prayer. According to the analysis of the ritual restoration in Hangzhou in the first chapter, given the Tianqing Temple then as the main place for gazing-afar sacrifices held by court officials, I would suggest that Gaozong more likely performed the rain prayer in his temporary palace.

to severe droughts and floods in Lin'an.¹⁸⁸

In state rainmaking, pragmatism had been applied to cope with climatic variations since the reign of Emperor Gaozong. In early 1137, in Pingjiang 平江 (present-day Suzhou 蘇州) Gaozong planned to take an imperial inspection to Jiankang that had been recently promoted as the temporary capital with renovated city-walls and newly built ritual infrastructure.¹⁸⁹ However, the emperor's journey was interfered with a seventy-day long drought in Hangzhou. Before his departure, Gaozong had to implement flexible measures, ordering the Lin'an Prefecture to send officials off to renowned mountains and great rivers near Hangzhou for rain prayers. The same solution was adopted in 1139 and 1141 when Lin'an had been promoted to the new temporary capital.¹⁹⁰

The emperor's role is worthwhile to note in the following example which could be the first recorded complete imperial rainmaking ritual in the Southern Song. The existence of a capital city made it possible for the emperor to play a pivotal role in praying for rain. For the terrible 1141 drought, Gaozong first prayed in person by eating vegetables from the fourth day of the seventh month onwards. On the twelfth day, he dispatched officials to preside over the gazing-afar sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers in Lin'an, and a week later, to enhance the ritual efficacy, officials were sent off to the suburban Round and Square Altars as well as the Imperial Ancestral Shrine. The long expected rain eventually moistened the capital

¹⁸⁸ *SS*, 28.520, 65.1425.

¹⁸⁹ *XNYL*, 108.2025, 110.2059; *SS*, 28.530.

¹⁹⁰ *SS*, 66.1442.

on the twenty-seventh day. Within two weeks, like Taizu, Gaozong used almost all practicable means of rainmaking except for dispatching officials to sacred mountains and rivers.¹⁹¹ In contrast with the 963 case, for the 1141 gazing-afar sacrifices, factors like the inaccessible places might have had to be taken into consideration.

Volume 66 of the *Songshi* provides a chronicle of severe droughts, including brief accounts of the Song court's reactions. A comparison between the records of the Northern Song and those of the Southern Song helps us better understand the dual role of Kaifeng and Lin'an as well as their similarities and differences in specific situations. The regional foci generally illustrate a shared capital-centered geographical pattern of natural disasters in records. The Northern Song cases center on the north like the Hebei Circuit (*Hebei lu* 河北路). When it comes to droughts in Kaifeng, sentences like "the capital is suffering from a drought" are usually used to specify such conditions. Records of the southern droughts appear no earlier than the late Taiping xingguo 太平興國 period (976–83). For the Southern Song cases, the word "capital" is normally omitted part because Lin'an then regarded as the temporary capital. In the materials are often mentioned the regions of Jiangnan 江南 and Sichuan 四川, namely the south in a broad sense.

From a comparative perspective, these records underline four basic differences between the rainmaking ritual in the Northern Song and the Southern Song. First, in the Northern Song the emperors and officials performed rainmaking in more places in the capital, such as the Western Grand Unity Temple (*Xi taiyi gong* 西太乙宮), the

¹⁹¹ XNYL, 141.2649, 2655; SS, 66.1442. Whether any Buddhist or Daoist sacrifice was employed is unclear.

Great State Monastery (*Da xiangguo si* 大相國寺), the Auspicious Fountain Temple (*Xiangyuan guan* 祥源觀), the Heavenly Purity Monastery (*Tianqing si* 天清寺), and the Temple of Gathering Souls (*Huiling guan* 會靈觀) that will be further discussed in the following section. Quite the contrary: The ritual enactments of the Southern Song were largely limited to three places, the Grand Unity Temple, the Bright Felicity Monastery (*Mingqing si* 明慶寺, hereafter Mingqing Monastery) and the Round Altar. Second, the emperor's rainmaking in person was usually held in Buddhist and Daoist temples in the Northern Song, whereas in the Southern Song the *Yu* sacrifice on the suburban Round Altar (*yusi yuanqiu* 雩祀園丘, hereafter briefly mentioned as the *Yu* sacrifice) conducted by the emperor became more highlighted, especially during the reign of Ningzong. No record has been found so far of such a ritual effort being made in the Northern Song. Third, in general, the Northern Song court sent court officials and eunuchs off to sacred mountains and rivers to pray for rain on the ground. However, in the Southern Song these rites were replaced with the gazing-afar sacrifices held in Lin'an. Fourth, in Kaifeng the Northern Song court abandoned the spring banquet (*chunyan* 春燕) due to droughts, whereas the ritual abandonment did not appear in the Southern Song records.¹⁹²

The transition of the capital's dual role in rainmaking through the sacrifices to mountains and rivers differentiated, what I would suggest, the Southern Song Lin'an model from the Northern Song Kaifeng model. With an embrace of performing rain prayers in temples, the Kaifeng model seemed to embody the integration of the

¹⁹² There are only two recorded cases of the abandonment of the spring banquet due to droughts in the Northern Song. *SS*, 66.1441; *XCB*, 424.10250–51; Zeng Zhao 曾肇, *Qufu ji* 曲阜集, Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu edition, 22b–23b.

approaches in the *Kaiyuan li* and the practices in the Five Dynasties to respond to droughts that occurred in the capital city or the local areas.¹⁹³ In multiple temples of Kaifeng, the Northern Song emperor performed a series of rain prayers instead of the *Yu* sacrifice that, as one of the great rites, enjoyed the highest status in the hierarchy of rainmaking rites. The adjustment could be understandable, since the awkward predicament of ongoing droughts might have undermined the emperor's legitimacy in the aftermath of a single *Yu* sacrifice.¹⁹⁴ In addition, temporally extended and spatially expanded, the emperor's presence in the capital but outside of his palace could bring about the quite positive image of a pious, tireless ruler.

The Northern Song court also embedded Kaifeng in the imperial sacred geography with the stress on the influence of sacred mountains and rivers upon the capital. Song officials did not hold the gazing-afar sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers for rainmaking in Kaifeng's northern suburb; rather, court officials and eunuchs were dispatched to these places to pray for rain. The ritual connections between the central and local governments could, on one hand, underscore the imperial court's involvement in response to local droughts, and on the other hand, protect the capital city from potential or imminent natural disasters at the local, regional, and national levels. The acting cosmic forces of the Five Sacred Peaks were believed to have helped reduce the drought's impact on the capital, in particular

¹⁹³ Pi Qingsheng conjectures that the rainmaking rituals held by the Song emperors in temples probably derived from the practices in the Five Dynasties. Pi Qingsheng, *Songdai mnzhong cishen xinyang yanjiu*, 174–75.

¹⁹⁴ The *Kaiyuanli* and the *Jiaosilu* both had the regulation that “the *Yu* sacrifice should not be held after the Autumnal Equinox (*qiufen yihou bu yu* 秋分已後不雩),” but it seemed not to have been this reason that the Northern Song emperor did not perform such a rite because most of the recorded droughts took place before autumn. *KYL*, 3.8b; *JSL*, 2.13b. This Tang principle of the *Yu* sacrifice was formulated by reference to the Sui ritual system. *Suishu*, 7.128; *JSL*, 2.14a.

given their associations with Daoism. For example, in the Zhenghe reign era once Huizong, as a well-known patron of Daoism, prayed for rain in person, court eunuchs were sent to Mount Song to request efficacious talismans made by Wang Zixi 王仔昔 (?–1117), one of Huizong’s favorite Daoists, who was living in the mountain.¹⁹⁵ Another example illustrates that Lin Lingsu 林靈素 (1077–1121), a more influential Daoist priest, was said to have assisted Huizong to pray for rain by his method of the Thunder Magic (*wuleifa* 五雷法) in Kaifeng.¹⁹⁶

Centered in Lin’an, the Southern Song basic procedures of rainmaking ritual, according to the existing records, could be in general reconstructed as follows. When a drought that affected Lin’an lasted for one to two months, the Lin’an Prefecture would first send officials off to the local renowned mountains and rivers for rainmaking. The emperor would sometimes have vegetables and pray for rain in the imperial palace. If the disaster continued, the emperor would have to leave his palace, perform prayers in the prescribed Buddhist and Daoist temples in Lin’an, and meanwhile, dispatch civil officials to other temples and shrines in the city. For severe droughts in local areas, officials would be sent to conduct the gazing-afar sacrifices to local mountains and rivers (*qunwang* 群望). If these rites did not produce the desired result or the droughts still had detrimental effects at the local level, the *Yu* sacrifice would be eventually conducted on the suburban Round Altar, accompanied

¹⁹⁵ SS, 462.13528.

¹⁹⁶ SS, 462.13529; Hong Mai, “Bingzhi” 丙志 18, *YJZ*, 518. For an introduction of Lin Lingsu and the Thunder Magic, see Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001), 26–28.

by the gazing-afar sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers.¹⁹⁷

The weakened capital's duality and the reinforcement of its locality in the Lin'an model showcased a result of the recombination and reconciliation of the Kaifeng and the *Kaiyuanli* models. Regardless of the accessible or inaccessible sacrificial sites, the Lin'an model abandoned the Northern Song measures of sending officials and eunuchs to sacred mountains and rivers; rather, the imperial court insisted on the gazing-afar sacrifices with an emphasis on local mountains and rivers. Highlighting the *Yu* sacrifice, the Lin'an model seemed to have returned to the *Kaiyuanli* model; however, the local ritual resources combined with religious traditions became more important in rain prayers that will be discussed in the next section. In addition to these, the Lin'an model simplified ritual performances of the emperor, who frequented the two sites, the Grand Unity Temple and the Mingqing Monastery, in the city. The *Yu* sacrifice, though adopted many times during the reign of Ningzong, was not often performed. Such a situation might have downplayed its accompanied gazing-afar sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers, whose long-time absence thus further delinked Lin'an from the imperial sacred geography in rainmaking.¹⁹⁸

Seen from officials' responses, the rainmaking rites including the gazing-afar sacrifices were actually long left on the margins of the state ritual system after the

¹⁹⁷ *SS*, 66.1442–46; *SHY*, li 18.16–31. The state rainmaking ritual performed in 1215 provides a typical example displaying the whole procedure. *SS*, 66.1445; *SHY*, li 18.28–31.

¹⁹⁸ Note that only the records of the 1187 and 1208 *Yu* sacrifice in the *Songshi* that mention the accompanied gazing-afar sacrifices to sacred peaks and rivers. Due to the different accounts of the three *Yu* sacrifices conducted by Ningzong in the *Songshi*, it could be safe to conclude that the accompanied gazing-afar sacrifices did not take place in 1201 and 1202. *SS*, 66.1444–45. For the delinking, perhaps the Southern Song believed that the local ritual resources of Lin'an were effective enough and more convenient to draw on, or doing such could foreground the role of the emperor. These will be further explored in the following section.

establishment of Southern Song. The sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers as well as to gods of wind, rain and thunder were almost neglected even in the aftermath of the lengthy ritual reconstruction in the Shaoxing period. The malpractices were eventually singled out in a couple of memorials submitted in the ninth month of 1168.¹⁹⁹ In his memorial, Li Tao cited the 961 precedent, emphasizing the necessity of restoring the sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers.²⁰⁰ Li's request aimed at excessive rainfall rather than a drought, but the point of his reference to "water out of control (*shui bu runxia* 水不潤下)" in the *Hanshu* implied that disobedience to "heavenly order (*tianshi* 天時)" without necessary rites would cause not only natural disasters but idle gossip maligning the court.²⁰¹ Li's criticism obtained a positive response from the court; however, it did not adhere to the Kaifeng model that linked the capital to the imperial sacred geography by means of rainmaking ritual.

The priority of utilizing local ritual resources in the Lin'an model sometimes provoked conflicts between the central and local governments. For a severe large-scale drought, be it in the capital sphere or the local areas, the sacrifices to local mountains and rivers rites were not merely performed in Lin'an but also, as

¹⁹⁹ In the early ninth month of 1168, an anonymous official in his memorial suggested that the court should standardize rituals to mitigate excessive rainfall in the counties to the east of the lower Yangtze River. *ZXLS*, 165.559. The memorial submitted by Li Tao on the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month of 1168 was more concerned about the overall restoration of the state ritual system. *ZXLS*, 139.498. Li's memorial is dated on the nineteenth day in *SHY. SHY*, li 14.94.

²⁰⁰ Li Tao presented a similar memorial last winter, but did not receive any feedback. *ZXLS*, 139.498.

²⁰¹ "*Shui bu runxia*" literally means that water lost its nature or function of moistening all things on earth if the ancestral temple became simplified, state sacrifices were abolished, or imperial policies violated the natural order. *Hanshu*, 27.1342. Such a notion was prevalent in the Song and often cited in memorials resorting to ritual dysfunction or political issues. See *SHY*, li 10.8; *YGL*, 100. 514–15; *XCB*, 196.4738–39; Zhao Ruyu 趙汝愚 ed., *Songchao zhuchen zouyi* 宋朝諸臣奏議 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999), 30.292–93; 40.407; 41.417–18; *ZXLS*, 139.498, 165.559.

concurrent ritual responses, held in the local areas where local governments should refer to the imperial court's instructions. However, the local places did not necessarily suffer the same disaster; thereby local officials had to adjust rites for the dilemma. For example, like the situation as Hong Mai described, the requirement from the temporary capital of a rainmaking rite would not cater for the local need of praying for a clear sky in Jizhou 吉州 (present-day Ji'an 吉安) where was struck by floods. As a result, the local government had to set up a large room and a small room in the yamen for the two sacrifices.²⁰² In this regard, the sacred mountains and rivers in the Kaifeng model seemed to act as middlespace for averting such ritual conflicts.

Convergence of Religious Traditions and Reconfiguration of the Urban Sacred Geography

This section interrogates the relations between the imperial sacred geography and the ritual infrastructure of a capital city, situating and examining Southern Song Lin'an in the context of the continuities and changes in the Tang and Song dynasties. The incompleteness of the sacred geography and the prosperity of popular religion compelled the Southern Song court to make spatial adjustments on the locale and urban scales. The efforts of transforming Northern Song Kaifeng into a sacred geographical center through urban construction activities were consequently discarded in the twelfth century. Meanwhile, the state rainmaking ritual, though containing Daoist and Buddhist elements that might have been associated with sacred mountains and rivers, had been imbued with lasting vigor of popular religion

²⁰² Hong Mai 洪邁, *Rongzhai suibi* 容齋隨筆 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 667.

that reconfigured the urban sacred geography.

The first half of the Tang dynasty witnessed the birth of the Daoist sacred geography that had a profound impact upon the state ritual system.²⁰³ Though Emperor Wu Zetian actively introduced Buddhist resources to state ritual for her legitimacy, the sacred geography of the Tang Empire was largely influenced by the renewal of Daoist landscape attributed to a master of Shangqing 上清 Daoism, Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 (647–735). His theoretical synthesis of “heavenly grottoes and blissful lands (*dongtian fudi* 洞天福地)” established close links between Daoist immortals and the sacred mountains, placing the Five Peaks in the category of the second-tier mountains aligned with small heavenly grottoes (*xiao dongtian* 小洞天).²⁰⁴ Sima’s creative interpretations of Daoist sacred space, along with the wide spread of the *True Form Charts of the Five Sacred Peaks* (*Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖) in medieval Daoism, provided a theoretical basis for the construction of the Shrines of the Perfected Lords of the Five Sacred Peaks (*Wuyue zhenjun ci* 五嶽真君祠) in 731–732 that, in the meantime, concretized images of the immortals in practice.²⁰⁵ From 732 onwards the Tang emperors ordered official envoys to be

²⁰³ Lei Wen’s study demonstrates the increasing importance of the Daoist role in the sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers in the Tang. Lei Wen, *Jiaomiao zhi wai*, 200–218.

²⁰⁴ Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎, *Tiandi gongfu tu* 天地宮府圖, in Zhang Junfang 張君房 comp., *Yun ji qi qian* 雲笈七籤 vol.2, anno. Li Yongsheng 李永晟 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 27.612. According to its title, the *Tiandi gongfu tu* must have contained pictures. Sima Chengzhen categorized the grottoes and lands into three groups: ten great heavenly grottoes, thirty-six small grottoes, and seventy-two blissful lands, which were ruled by heavenly immortals (*shangxian* 上仙) and Daoist perfected lords (*zhenren* 真人, lit. true person). For the Biography of Sima Chengzhen, see *JTS*, 192.5127–5129. For the formation and development of the Daoist sacred geography, see Lucas Weiss, “Rectifying the Deep Structures of the Earth: Sima Chengzhen and the Standardization of Daoist Sacred Geography in the Tang,” *Journal of Daoist Studies* 5 (2012): 31–60; Li Hailin 李海林, “Daojiao dongtian fudi xingcheng xinkao 道教洞天福地形成新考,” *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 宗教學研究 4 (2014): 73–77.

²⁰⁵ *JTS*, 192.5128. Xin Deyong critiques previous studies of Ogawa Takuji 小川琢治, Ichii Inoue 井上以智為, Joseph Needham, and Cao Wanru 曹婉如 on the *Wuyue zhenxing tu*, pointing out that, compared with the main focus upon this map’s scientific accuracy in the history of cartography, its greater value probably lies in

accompanied by selected prestigious Daoist priests to the Sacred Peaks on schedule to make offerings, which must have been dependent on Sima's ritual studies.²⁰⁶

The coexistence of the newly built Daoist shrines and the existing state-sponsored temples on the Five Sacred Peaks, as well as the performance of the Daoist dragon-casting rite (*toulong yi* 投龍儀) to sacred mountains and rivers from the mid-seventh to the late eighth centuries, all contributed to the rapid integration between Daoist ritual and the imperial sacred geography.²⁰⁷ But the sacred geography of Tang China had not been replaced by the Daoist counterpart. In the late Tang a Shangqing Daoist master Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850–933) consequently abandoned his efforts of restructuring state ritual by Daoist doctrines. He acknowledged the Five Sacred Peaks' titles granted by the emperor and, in his masterpiece the *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記 (Records of Heavenly Grottoes, Blissful Lands, Peaks, Rivers, and Famous Mountains),

understanding the ancient Chinese perceptions of the sacred peaks. Xin Deyong, "Ji Dongfang Shuo *Wuyue zhenxingtu xu cunshi zuizao de xieben* 記東方朔《五嶽真形圖序》存世最早的寫本," Tang Xiaofeng and Tian Tian eds., *Jiuzhou* vol.5 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2014), 191–211. For a discussion of the Daoist visuality of the true form charts, see Susan Shih-shan Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), 186.

²⁰⁶ Wang Qinruo 王欽若 et al. eds., *Cefu yuangui (jiaodeng ben)* 冊府元龜 (校訂本) (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2006), 53.558. A one-volume manuscript, the *Dongxuan lingbao Wuyue mingshan chaoyi jing* 洞玄靈寶五嶽名山朝儀經 (the Lingbao Scripture of Rites of Sacrifices to the Five Sacred Peaks and Notable Mountains)," written by Sima Chengzhen had been lost since the Mongol Yuan period. *XTS*, 59.1522; Lei Wen, *Jiaomiao zhiwai*, 196. Lei Wen indicates that Sima must have absorbed his predecessors' ideas about how to design Daoist temples and statues in the *Dongxuan lingbao Sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始, which was accomplished in the early Tang. Lei Wen, *Jiaomiao zhiwai*, 199. Likewise, it could be safe to conclude that the recorded rites such as the regular sacrifices to Daoist deities (*changchao yi* 常朝儀) in the *Sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* must have been consulted or borrowed by Sima in his own works such as the *Dongxuan lingbao Wuyue mingshan chaoyi jing*. The *Dongxuan lingbao Sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* contains eight Daoist liturgies. Jinming Qizhen 金明七真, *Sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 三洞奉道科戒營始, in *Daozang* 道藏 (Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin: Wenwu chubanshe, Shanghai shudian, Tianjin guiji chubanshe, 1988), 24.756–66.

²⁰⁷ Niu Jingfei, *Wuyue jisi yanbian kaolun*, 144.

introduced these titles into the Daoist sacred geography.²⁰⁸ Notwithstanding the compromise, the enormous Daoist influence was wielded in the Song state ritual as previously discussed.

The religious pluralism shaped the urban landscape of Tang Chang'an; however, the sacred geography had limited impact upon the urban infrastructure. The transformation of Tang Chang'an into a major religious center occurred in the second half of the seventh century under the influence of various religions such as the dominant of Buddhism and Daoism and the recent arrivals like Nestorianism, Zoroastrianism, and Manichaeism.²⁰⁹ Lei Wen's study has illustrated the multiple ritual places for rainmaking in and around Tang Chang'an: the Buddhist and Daoist temples, the sacred space created in the Imperial Palace (*nei daochang* 內道場), the ponds in imperial gardens, the suburban altars, and the folk shrines.²¹⁰ The connections between the capital city and the sacred geography were probably reflected in the gazing-afar sacrifices held in the suburbs to the sacred mountains and rivers for seasonal greetings and rainmaking. For most of the time, such urban sacred

²⁰⁸ Lei Wen, *Jiaomiao zhiwai*, 211–12. Ge Zhaoguang explores the development of Daoist religious organizations from being within a framework of well-organized regional parishes (*zhi* 治) to being in a loosely coupled system based on heavenly grottoes and blissful lands. The transition took place since the seventh century as a result of the attachment of religion to imperial power and state ideology. Ge Zhaoguang, “Cong Zhang Daoling ‘junjiang libing zhi fa’ shuoqi: Daojiao jiaotuan cong ershisi zhi dao dongtian fudi 從張道陵 ‘軍將吏兵之法’ 說起: 道教教團從二十四治到洞天福地,” in Ge Zhaoguang, *Qufu shi ji qita: Liuchao Sui-Tang daojiao de sixiangshi yanjiu* 屈服史及其他: 六朝隋唐道教的思想史研究 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2003), 12–28.

²⁰⁹ Victor Cunrui Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an: A Study in the Urban History of Medieval China* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2000). Rong Xinjiang analyzes the transformation of secular residences of princes and princesses into sacred temples in Sui-Tang Chang'an. Rong Xinjiang, “Cong wangfu dao siguan: Sui-Tang Chang'an fodao shensheng kongjian de yingzao 從王府到寺觀——隋唐長安佛道神聖空間的營造,” in *Shensheng kongjian: Zhonggu zongjiao zhong de kongjian yinsu* 神聖空間: 中古宗教中的空間因素, eds. Chen Jinhua 陳金華 and Sun Yinggang (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2014), 10–22. I have my reservations about Rong's discussions about the transformation of Sui-Tang Chang'an from a ritual capital into a Buddhist and Daoist capital. One of his premises that ritual and religion can be separated seems to be implausible, and ritual is also simplified as Confucian ritual and ritual space as space mainly concerned with suburban rites.

²¹⁰ Lei Wen, *Jiaomiao zhi wai*, 318–21.

geography of Chang'an was almost independent of the Daoist influence of the Sacred Peaks, even during and after the reign of Xuanzong who was an enthusiastic patron of Daoism. Neither the Tang emperors nor Daoist masters like Sima Chenzheng was dedicated to embedding Chang'an in the sacred geography by restructuring ritual space in the capital city.

Northern Song Kaifeng retained the hybrid features of the Tang in religion, but unlike the case of Tang Chang'an and more noteworthy, the connectedness of ritual space in Kaifeng to the sacred geography was foregrounded for the first time out of strong religious preference of a couple of Northern Song emperors.²¹¹ The large-scale Daoist sacrifices after the 1005 peace treaty required considerable newly built Daoist temples and shrines in Kaifeng and throughout the state; such a process reoccurred during the reign of Huizong.²¹² Among these temples, the Temple of the

²¹¹ In the early Northern Song, Taizu and Taizong created a new Supreme Deity, the Jade Sovereign of the Vast Heaven, Highest Emperor (*Haotian yuhuang shangdi* 昊天玉皇上帝), by combining the Confucian tradition of Highest Deity and the Daoist belief of Jade Emperor (*Yuhuang* 玉皇) fashioned in the late Five Dynasties to explain the source of imperial legitimacy. This “new Mandate of Heaven (*xin tianming* 新天命)” summarized by Xie Conghui was embodied in the construction of the Palace of Great Peace in the Realm of Highest Clarity (*Shangqing Taiping Palace* 上清太平宮) for Jade Emperor at the foot of Mountain Zhongnan 終南山 in the reign of Renzong. Xie Conghui 謝聰輝, *Xin tiandi zhi ming: Yuhuang, Zitong yu feiluan* 新天帝之命: 玉皇、梓潼與飛鸞 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu, 2013), 530–55, 590–60. The center of the belief of Jade Emperor was shifted to the Palace of Reflecting and Responding to the Realm of Jade Purity (*Yuqing zhaoying Palace* 玉清昭應宮) located on the north side of Palace-city in Kaifeng in the reign of Zhenzong. As the counterpart in the reign of Huizong, the Palace of Achieving Harmony between the Realm of Jade Clarity and Brilliance (*Yuqing heyang gong* 玉清和陽宮), constructed at the site of Huizong's birthplace in the Imperial Palace, was renamed the Palace of Divine Empyrean Jade Clarity (*Yuqing shenxiao gong* 玉清神霄宮) in the aftermath of Huizong's self-bestowal of the title “the Master of doctrine and emperor lord of the Dao (*Jiaozhu daojun huangdi* 教主道君皇帝).” The renaming marked the establishment of the Daoist genealogies of the Three Clarities (*sanqing* 三清) and the Four Sovereigns (*siyu* 四御). Xie Conghui, *Xin tiandi zhi ming*, 660–62. For the interplay between the Song ritual system and Daoism, see Wu Yu, *Tang-Song daojiao yu shisu liyi yanjiu*, chapter 3; Wang Zhiyue 王志躍, “Songdai guojia lizhi yu daojiao de hudong kaolun 宋代國家、禮制與道教的互動考論,” *Xi'nan daxue xuebao* 西南大學學報 38.4 (2012): 156–61. Kubota Kazuo examines the rise and fall of the Yuqing zhaoying Palace, taking notice of the discussions of not reconstructing the palace after it was destroyed by disastrous fire in 1029. Kubota Kazuo, “Bei Song Kaifeng Yuqing zhaoying gong de jianzao jiqi bei feng 北宋開封玉清昭應宮的建造及其被焚,” in *Dushi fanhua*, 71–91.

²¹² Xie Conghui, *Xin tiandi zhi ming*, 55–58. Zhang Weiling, “Song Taizong, Zhenzong chao de zhi taiping yi fengshan 宋太宗、真宗朝的致太平以封禪,” *Qinghua xuebao* (Taiwan) 清華學報, 43.3 (2013): 481–524. Xie Conghui opines that the political culture of new Mandate of Heaven was utilized to compete with the Khitans for gaining the orthodoxy of the worship of Heaven. Xie Conghui, 57–58. For Huizong's involvement with Daoism

Five Sacred Peaks (*Wuyue guan* 五嶽觀, hereafter the Wuyue Temple) was the most special invented ritual space associated with the imperial sacred geography.

Built in 1013 and against the background of Zhenzong's conferring the imperial titles on the Five Peaks the previous year, the Wuyue Temple became a particular place characterized by the convergence of the deities of the Five Sacred Peaks and other notable mountains in one ritual space.²¹³ The temple was composed of two main halls, the Origin Worship Hall (*Chongyuan dian* 崇元殿) and the Hall of Emperors of the Five Sacred Peaks (*Wuyue Shengdi dian* 五嶽聖帝殿), in which were worshipped respectively the Lord of Lingbao 靈寶天尊, one of the three highest deities in the Daoist pantheon, and the Emperors of the Five Sacred Peaks. In the side halls were enshrined ten Perfected Lords of the Sacred Peaks and their deputies of supplementary mountains (*zuoshan* 佐山).²¹⁴ Scholars like Niu Jingfei have noticed what I call the hybridity of Daoism and the imperial sacred geography illustrated in the layout of the Wuyue Temple: the substitution of the Five Garrison Mountains with Daoist supplementary mountains, and a similar hierarchy of the gods involving the Peak Emperors and the Perfected Lords of lower rank.²¹⁵ There is scant evidence if in this temple were venerated any deities of sacred rivers or seas. A huge mural with vivid raging waves, produced after the reconstruction of the temple in the early 1120s and used to decorate the Wuyue Shengdi Hall, might have

and popular religion as well as the construction of state and local temples and shrines by displaying Daoism's visual power, see Patricia Ebrey, *Emperor Huizong* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014), 149–151, 153–58.

²¹³ *SHY*, li 5.21.475.

²¹⁴ Li Lian 李濂, *Bianjing yiji zhi* 汴京遺跡志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), 10.165.

²¹⁵ Niu Jinfei, *Wuyue jisi yanbian kaolun*, 154.

suggested an epitome of the imperial sacred geography or state geo-body as a whole.²¹⁶ The Wuyue Temple, also given its subsequent titles of *huiling* 會靈 (gathering souls) and *jixi* 集禧 (collecting auspiciousness), provides an excellent illustration that, in this regard, Kaifeng was expected to act as the capital city where hundreds of deities converged.²¹⁷

The Wuyue Temple was the most impressive building in the south of the outer city of Kaifeng.²¹⁸ In the seventh year of 1012, for the start of the construction, the Song court issued an order to build a new city-gate in the east of the Vermilion Bird Gate (*Zhuque men* 朱雀門), the main entrance into the inner city, relocate the Bridge of Wide Salvation (*Guangji qiao* 廣濟橋) on the Bian River, and erect a new bridge named “Pacifying the State (*Anguo* 安國)” across the Canal to Benefit the People (*Huimin he* 惠民河), an important shipping route from the south to Kaifeng.²¹⁹ The urban transformation aimed to provide access to the Wuyue Temple by a direct route, which ran parallel to the Imperial Street. The nearby given place names that intimated auspiciousness also assumed the significance of the Wuyue Temple to the capital city and the whole empire as well. For example, the selected timber used for

²¹⁶ During the temple’s reconstruction, hundreds of skilful painters were recruited to undertake the decoration project regardless of their fame. It was said that a licentiate from the south, a self-taught painter with a surname of Lüqiu 閻丘 who was adept at depicting water, limned lifelike and imposing waves that would seem to rip off the hall roof. Deng Chun 鄧椿, *Hua ji* 畫繼, Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu edition, 1.3b, 4.10b.

²¹⁷ *XCB*, 24.545, 83.1896, 174.4213. Niu Jingfei characterizes this temple as a place displaying ritual centrality, taking an analogy between the construction of the Wuyue Temple and the transfer of sacrificial ritual space from Yong to Western Han Chang’an. Niu Jinfei, *Wuyue jisi yanbian kaolun*, 154–155; Niu Jingfei, “Bainian shengshuai shi: Songdai Kaifeng cheng de Wuyue guan 百年盛衰事: 宋代開封城的五嶽觀,” *Aju Yǎn’gu* 아시아 연구 16 (2012): 51–53.

²¹⁸ In 1017 the jade seals of the Five Sacred Peaks were made and placed in the Wuyue Temple on Zhenzong’s orders. *XCB*, 90.2089. Niu Jingfei interprets this placement as the implication of a fusion of ritual and Daoism in the reign of Zhenzong. Niu Jingfei, *Wuyue jisi yanbian kaolun*, 153. I would also suggest that the seals at the disposal of ritual performers who would preside over relevant state rites showed the correlation between the materiality of the symbolic and the grandeur of the temple.

²¹⁹ *XCB*, 78.1774; Zhou Baozhu, *Songdai Dongjing yanjiu*, 43.

its construction was the remainder of the Palace of Reflecting and Responding to the Realm of Jade Purity (*Yuqing zhaoying gong* 玉清昭應宮), one of the most influential imperial Daoist temples.²²⁰ The spectacular view of the Wuyue Temple must have left deep impressions upon the people entering Kaifeng through the southern city-gate. The descriptions of the temple as “legendary abode of immortals (*shenxian jing* 神仙境)” probably squared with the court’s efforts of making the imaginary landscape as a man-made sacred mountain come true in the capital city.²²¹

The Wuyue Temple was not exclusively a sacred space. Rather, it often turned into a recreational place, given its embedment in the mundane city life. On the fourteenth day of the first month in the Chinese lunar calendar the emperor’s visit to the Wuyue Temple, where a grand banquet would be held for officials, preluded celebrations of the Lantern Festival. The imperial procession guided by the imperial guards carrying lit-up lanterns attracted the urban dwellers along the route from the Wuyue Temple all the way through the “lantern mountain (*dengshan* 燈山),” huge mountain-shaped decorations of colored lanterns, erected near the Zhuque Gate, and up to the Tower of the Virtue Revealed Gate (*Xuande men* 宣德門) where the emperor would share festive happiness with ordinary people.²²² Due to the Qingming Festival, in the early fourth month, the Wuyue Temple would be open for public worship and sightseeing, and for the latter, many people undertook special visits to the temple for the Gazing Auspiciousness Pond (*Ningxiang chi* 凝祥池),

²²⁰ Zhou Cheng 周城, *Song Dongjing kao* 宋東京考 (hereafter SDJK) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 13.227.

²²¹ Liu Chang 劉敞, *Gongshi ji* 公是集, Siku quanshu edition, 11.9a. The author of the *Dongjing menghua lu* praised the Wuyue Temple the most magnificent building outside the Zhuque Gate. *MHL*, 100.

²²² *MHL*, 583–84.

then well-known for its rare yellow lotuses.²²³ Moreover, shrewd street vendors in the vicinity increased their merchandise sales by branding their products with the name of the temple.²²⁴

The Southern Song court did not continue this invented tradition of building the Wuyue Temple in the capital city. Among the existing historical materials cannot one find any record of such a temple in Lin'an. A telltale clue uncovered in the entry of "Temple of the Eastern Peak (*Dongyue miao* 東嶽廟)" in the section of "Shrines and Temples (*cisi* 祠祀)" of the *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* seems to prove the fact that no ritual infrastructure like the Wuyue Temple was ever constructed in Lin'an. In this entry was recorded the Wuyue Tower (*Wuyue lou* 五嶽樓), the only building in the Lin'an Prefecture with the characters "five sacred peaks," which, under the order of Gaozong, was to be built close to the Dragon King Shrine (*Longwang ci* 龍王祠) in the Tangcun Town (*Tangcun zhen* 湯村鎮) during the retired emperor's visit to this local shrine in the Qiandao (1165–73) reign era. Outside and northeast of the capital, the Wuyue Tower was originally a travel-shrine dedicated to the God of the Eastern Peak (*Dongyue xingci* 東嶽行祠) where after its 1243 renovation was hung a granted tablet—inscribed with the handwriting of Emperor Lizong—entitled "Eastern Peak Hall of the Eastern Peak Travel-Palace (*Dongyue xinggong Dongyue zhi dian* 東嶽行宮東嶽之殿)."²²⁵ The name change as well as its location, therefore, implied no

²²³ Zhang Shunmin 張舜民, *Huaman ji* 畫墁集, Zhibuzuzhai congshu edition, 3.1b; Zhang Bangji 張邦基, *Mozhuang manlu* 墨莊漫錄, in *QSBJ*, 3rd ser., vol. 9, (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2008), 4.51; *SDJK*, 100. The Ningxiang Pond is recorded as the Greeting Auspiciousness Pond (*Yingxiang chi* 迎祥池), perhaps a secular name of the pond. *MHL*, 100–101.

²²⁴ Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, *Ouyang wenzhonggong wenji* 歐陽文忠公文集, Sibü congkan chubian edition, 9.6a.

²²⁵ Hu Jing 胡敬 ed. *Chunyou Lin'an zhi jiyi* 淳祐臨安志輯逸 (hereafter *LAZJY*), Wulin zhanggu congbian

connection between this Tower and the Wuyue Temple.²²⁶ Moreover, built in the early 1170s, the former was the most likely product of the prevailing Eastern Peak cult, along with an Eastern Peak shrine refurbished on the Wu Hill (Wushan 吳山) in 1159 and another shrine erected in 1167 at Mount Fahua (Fahua shan 法華山) to the west of Lin'an.²²⁷

The Eastern Peak Travel-Shrine on the Wu Hill might have had been associated with the entire scared geography at first, or at least once been envisioned as such.²²⁸ Constructed in the second half of the 1110s, the Eastern Peak Travel-Shrine was probably deserted over the early years of the Shaoxing period, according to the 1159

edition, 1.14a; *XCLAZ*, 73.4011. The Dragon King Hall (*Longwang tang* 龍王堂) in Tangcun, the predecessor of the Palace for Safe Water Crossings (*Shunji gong* 順濟宮), was built to avoid the recurrence of the devastating tides in 1112, and was turned into a shrine in 1116. *LAZJY*, 1.5a; *XCLAZ*, 71.3999. Constructing and renaming this shrine might be affected by the widespread popular belief in the Safe Water Crossings King, a sacred snake, that originated in today's Jiangxi. See Shen Kuo, *Mengxi bitan*, 150–51; Su Shi, *Su Shi wenji* 蘇軾文集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 402. Also see Gerritsen's discussion on the symbol of dragon in shaping the local sacred landscape in Southern Song Jiangxi. Anne Gerritsen, *Ji'an Literati and the Local in Song-Yuan-Ming China* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 30–37. The Shunji Palace gained its title due to an on-site effective prayer for rain in 1194. *LAZJY*, 8.11b; *XCLAZ*, 75.4032. Wu Zimu mistook the Shunji Palace for the Eastern Peak Travel-Palace. *MLL*, 14.130.

²²⁶ For recent studies on the Eastern Peak cult in the Song, see Liu Yunjun, "Laing Song shiqi dongyue xinyang yu jisi 兩宋時期東嶽信仰與祭祀," (PhD diss., Beijing Normal University, 2008); Yao Zhengzhi 姚政志, "Songdai dongyue xinyang yanjiu 宋代東嶽信仰研究," (PhD diss., National Chengchi University, 2016). For the localization of the Eastern Peak Shrine in the Song and Yuan dynasties, see Mizukoshi Tomo 水越知, "Sō-Gen jidai no Tōgakyūyō 宋元時代の東嶽廟," *Shirin* 史林 86.5 (2003): 73–104. Valerie Hansen's case study on popular religions in Huzhou 湖州 that abutted Hangzhou shows a close relation between plying for rain and the worship of the Eastern Peak at the local level in Jizhou 吉州 in the western region of Huzhou. Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127–1276* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 111.

²²⁷ *XCLAZ*, 73.4011; Zhao Yanwei 趙彥衛, *Yunlu manchao* 雲麓漫鈔, in *QSB*, 6th ser., vol. 4, (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2013), 6.163–64. There were other two Eastern Peak travel-shrines outside Lin'an: one at southwestern Mount Tan (Tanshan 壇山), and the other at Linping Hill (Liping shan 臨平山). *MLL*, 14.130. Xiao Baifang speculates that the Wuyue Tower was built as a substitute for the temple on Mount Tai and Gaozong's inspection tour might have been interpreted as a variant of the *fengshan* sacrifices. Referring to the inscription about the construction of the other Wuyue Tower in Jintan 金壇, Zhenjiang Prefecture 鎮江府, Xiao conjectured that the two towers were correlated in their significance. Xiao Baifang 蕭百芳, "Nan Song dao jiao de 'dongtian fudi' de yanjiu 南宋道教的 '洞天福地' 研究" (PhD thesis, National Cheng Kung University, 2007), 140. However, Xiao's speculation lacks solid evidence, and the author may confuse the cult of Eastern Peak as state ritual and as popular religion. The inscription of "yuedi gongci 嶽帝宮祠 (lit. palace shrine of peak emperor)" suggests that the Wuyue Tower in Jintan was more likely an Eastern Peak travel-shrine for the populace. There was then no possibility of the coexistence of the two ritual places for the nominal *fengshan* sacrifices or gazing-afar state ritual to Mount Tai. Yan Guan 嚴觀 et al. eds., *Jiangsu jinshi zhi* 江蘇金石志, *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1977), 11.34.

²²⁸ The travel-shrine was adjacent to the Sacred Goddess Temple (*Shengmu miao* 聖母廟), probably built in the late Northern Song, with Lady of Mount Tai venerated. *XCLAZ*, 22.3577, 38.3697, 75.4029; *MLL*, 11.100.

inscription to the temple reconstruction this year.²²⁹ In this sense, the renovation by local people in 1137, a year before the promotion of Lin'an to the temporary capital, could have been symbolic, as stressed in the preface of the section of "Mountains and Rivers (*shanchuan* 山川)" in the 1268 gazetteer of Lin'an: "After the imperial carriage travelled to the south, the lords of sacred peaks and the deities of sacred rivers were granted positions first (翠華南幸，嶽君瀆祇率先受職)."²³⁰ Gaozong might have utilized this new ritual facility to solidify his legitimacy and to persuade the radical officials of the need for settling in Hangzhou.²³¹

This ambiguous connection to the sacred geography, however, did not become a reality. Burnt down several times, the temple's reconstruction and expansion was subsidized by local wealthy families and influential Daoist priests like Bao Daocheng 包道成 whose efforts gained the emperor's recognition.²³² Local practices shaped the Eastern Peak Travel-Shrine as a ritual center of the Eastern Peak cult inside the capital city, whereas the Song emperors, except for their conferring the temple titles, did not get involved in the process. The custom of an imperial visit to the Wuyue Temple one day prior to the Lantern Festival was abandoned, replaced by urban dwellers' celebrations at the festival nights vividly depicted in the Southern

²²⁹ The inscription begins with a brief account that there were no officially recognized shrines of sacred peaks in Southern Song China when Gaozong temporarily stayed in Yuezhou. *LZJY*, 8.6a. According to the Kangxi-era (1718) county gazetteer of Qiantang, the Eastern Peak travel-shrine built on Wu Hill in late Northern Song was entitled "Rising Loyalty Temple (*Xingzhong guan* 興忠觀)" not mentioned in other previous sources. Qiu Lian 裘璉 comp., *Qiantang xianzhi* 錢塘縣志, revised by Wei Yuan 魏源, 1718 woodblock print, 13.24a.

²³⁰ *XCLAZ*, 22.3575.

²³¹ Note that the Imperial Ancestral Shrine built in 1134 was located near Wu Hill. *CYZJ*, jiaji 2.74; *XCLAZ*, 3354, 3.3374.

²³² *LZJY*, 8.6a–6b; *XCLAZ*, 75.4029. Ninzong personally inscribed the title for the renovated temple, and ordered Lu You to draft an edict granting this new temple title to Bao Daocheng. See Lu You 陸游, *Weinan wenji* 渭南文集, Songji zhenben congkan edition, 26.3a–4b.

Song urban treatises.²³³ Like the late Northern Song, the ritual places served to highlight the recreational atmosphere. For instance, believers and non-believers swarmed into the Eastern Peak travel-shrines in and around Lin'an on the twenty-eighth day of the third month, the birthday of the Eastern Peak Emperor.²³⁴

The plausible explanations of the Wuyue Temple's absence in Lin'an lie in the political situation, popular religion, and urban layout. First, there is scant evidence for the existence of such a schedule to imitate the counterpart in Kaifeng during the ritual reconstruction in the early Southern Song and even if so, the remainder of the imperial sacred geography as well as the one-sided patriotic appeals for recovering the lost territory would strangle this proposal in the cradle. Building the Eastern Peak travel-shrines might have been a possible option to handle the ritual dilemma.²³⁵ Second, the rapid spread of the Eastern Peak cult witnessed the continuous increase of its travel-shrines at the local level in the Southern Song. The popularity of ritualized and localized Eastern Peak travel-shrines probably marginalized a conceived space of the Wuyue Temple, which in the Northern Song was usually inaccessible to the general public. The Wu Hill, the only commanding height in the

²³³ Interestingly, both Zhou Mi and Wu Zimu, in their urban treatises, recollected the urban spectacle of the lantern mountain placed in Northern Song Kaifeng with a nostalgia tone at the beginning of their accounts of the Lantern Festival. *WLJS*, 2.29–30; *MLL*, 1.3.

²³⁴ *WLJS*, 3.40; *MLL*, 2.14.

²³⁵ Wu Jenshu, "Ming-Qing Jiangnan dongyue shen xinyang yu chengshi minbian 明清江南東嶽神信仰與城市民變," Li Xiaoti 李孝悌 ed., *Zhongguo de chengshi shenghuo* 中國的城市生活 (Taipei: Lienching chuban gongsi, 2005), 154. The source Wu cites from the *Songhuiyao jigao* does not show the construction of the Eastern Peak travel-shrines under Gaozong's order as stated, but I would agree with the author's conjecture about the reason of the inaccessible sacred mountains and rivers. Wu argues that the popularization of the Eastern Peak cult and the wide spread of the Eastern Peak travel-shrines in the Song-Yuan period demonstrated the rulers implemented governance by intentionally combining their political and religious policies. Wu Jenshu, "Ming-Qing Jiangnan dongyue shen xinyang yu chengshi minbian," 155. I would suggest a different opinion: At least, the Lin'an cases demonstrate the locals' agency in (re)constructing the travel-shrines and in requesting for granted tablets. It should also be noted that the attractive benefits brought by varied gods of the Eastern Peak to people in many respects. Yao Zhengzhi, "Dongyue xinyang yanjiu," 55–100.

capital city except for Mount Phoenix, could have outstood as an ideal candidate for a man-made sacred peak, but it gradually evolved into a place of the convergence of religious traditions.²³⁶ Third, it was almost impossible to reproduce the Wuyue Temple on the same scale in Lin'an, given the shortage of available land in this densely populated city. Furthermore, had been followed the Wuyue Temple's relative position in the outer city of Kaifeng, the Imperial Palace at the southern end of Lin'an would eliminate any possibility of this site imitation.

Reshaping the sacred geography of Lin'an was also shown in rainmaking. Though the ritual simplification did not reduce the Song court's reliance on Buddhist and Daoist temples for rainmaking, the number of these places where the emperors visited decreased dramatically in the Southern Song. In the *Songshi* and the *Songhuiyao* were recorded thirty-four rain prayers intermittently performed by the Northern Song emperors in fifteen places in Kaifeng except for the Imperial Palace. The four most visited places were the Great State Monastery (twelve times), the Grand Unity Temple (ten times), the Huiling or Jixi Temple (seven times) and the Tianqing Monastery (five times).²³⁷ However, the ritual enactments of both the

²³⁶ Apart from the above-mentioned shrines and temples, on the Wu Hill were there the Memorial Temple for Wu Zixu (*Wu Xiangong miao* 伍相公廟, or *Wu Yuan miao* 伍員廟), the Heavenly Bright Temple (*Tianming guan* 天明觀) and the Bearing Heaven Temple (*Chengtian guan* 承天觀) as travel-shrines for the belief in the Divine Lord of Zitong 梓潼 that originated in northern Sichuan, the Favorable Response Temple (*Huiying miao* 惠應廟; also named the Skinning Field Shrine, *Pichang miao* 皮場廟) well-known for its efficacious treatment and its blessing on candidates for the imperial examinations, the City God Temple, the Shrine of the Wu Hill Well, the Memorial Shrine for Zhang Liang (*Han liuhou ci* 漢留侯祠) and so forth. *XCLAZ*, 22.3577; 37.3686; 71.3995; 73.4007, 4011–13, 4015. For a discussion of the development of the Skinning Field Shrine in the Song period, see Chen Hok-lam, "Liang Song jingshi 'Pichang miao' kaosu 兩宋京師'皮場廟'考溯," in Chen Hok-lam, *Song Ming shi luncong* 宋明史論叢 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2012), 115–28. Also note that an annual gathering of local rich people took place at the Chengtian Temple for the celebration of the Jade Emperor's birthday on the ninth day of the first month. *MLL*, 19.181. For the concerning discussion, see Xie Conghui, *Xin tiandi zhi ming*, 190–91.

²³⁷ Pi Qingsheng, *Songdai minzhong cishen xinyang yanjiu*, 174, 348.

emperor and officials in Lin'an were characterized by a distinguishing feature: the sole spatial combination with a fixed order of the Grand Unity Temple and the Mingqing Monastery.²³⁸ Moreover, no ritual place in Lin'an served as the Wuyue Temple in official rain prayers, and it also seemed to suggest the delinking of the urban sacred geography from the imperial sacred geography.

The Southern Song imperial rain prayers could have adhered ostensibly to the Northern Song practices, but they were essentially different. The Grand Unity Temple, situated near the Temple of Spectacular Numina, was a Daoist temple built in 1148 mainly for worship of the ten gods of Grand Unity (*shishen taiyi* 十神太一) that could bring harvest and peace on the earth.²³⁹ Among one hundred and ninety five images of accompanying deities painted on the walls of the temple's two corridors were Daoist deities such as the Three Sovereigns and gods of the Nine

²³⁸ My statistics on the Southern Song emperors' rain prayers in Lin'an rectify Pi's. *SHY*, li 18.21, 18.23, 52.17; *SS*, 35.686, 66.1444.

²³⁹ *QDLAZ*, 1.7; *XCLAZ*, 13.3481; *MLL*, 8.67. For the discussions about constructing the Grand Unity Temple in the middle of the Shaoxing period, see *ZXLS*, 131.465–68. The Grand Unity Temple was later named as the Eastern Grand Unity Temple in order to differentiate it from the Western Grand Unity Temple constructed in 1253 to deal with the military emergencies in Sichuan. *XCLAZ*, 13.3482; *MLL*, 8.68; Wang Shengduo, *Songdai zhengjiao guanxi yanjiu*, 618. Wang Shengduo has pointed out the significance of the Grand Unity Temple in showcasing the special relations between the Song dynasty and Daosim. He also argues that scholars cannot underestimate the role of the Grand Unity Temple in Song imperial rainmaking practices. See Wang Shengduo, *Songdai shehui shenghuo yanjiu* 宋代社會生活研究 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2007), 41. This ritual tradition could be traced to the early Taiping Xingguo reign era. *SHYBB*, 242.19. Regarded as the North Star, Taiyi or Grand Unity, in the pre-Qin and Qin-Han contexts referred to Supreme Heaven, the highest deity in Heaven, and the Way. Ge Zhaoguang, *An Intellectual History of China, Volume One: Knowledge, Thought, and Belief Before the Seventh Century CE* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 26, 116; Ge Zhaoguang, "Zhongmiao zhi men: Beiji, Taiyi, Dao, Taiji 眾妙之門—北極與太一、道、太極," *Zhongguo wenhua* 中國文化 3 (1990): 46–65. For research on the cult of Grand Unity from the pre-Qin era to the Sui dynasty, see Liu Yi 劉屹, *Jingtian yu congdao: Zhonggu jingjiao daojiao xingcheng de sixiangshi beijing* 敬天與崇道：中古經教道教形成的思想史背景 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 147–99. However, the term "Grand Unity" in the Grand Unity Temple within the Song historical context would give rise to some misunderstandings. Wu Yu's study evinces that Ten Gods of Grand Unity in the Song had no direct relations with Grand Unity in the Han state ritual, and the theory of the inspection tours of Ten Gods of Grand Unity came into existence due to the status quo of separatist regimes in the Five Dynasties. Wu Yu, "Songdai Taiyi gong jiqi liyi: Jianlun shishen Taiyi xinyang yu wan Tang zhi Song de zhengzhi shehui bianqian 宋代太一宮及其禮儀——兼論十神太一信仰與晚唐至宋的政治、社會變遷," *Zongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究 3 (2011): 89–94.

Palaces, and Daoicized deities like those of the sacred mountains and rivers.²⁴⁰ The Daoicization of the Grand Unity Temple during the Xiaozong period probably introduced more Daoist elements into official rainmaking rituals, in which the Pole Star might have been underscored along with the ten gods of Grand Unity and the deities of sacred peaks and rivers.²⁴¹ The number of its main halls was close to that of the Central Grand Unity Temple (*Zhong taiyi gong* 中太一宮) in Kaifeng, whereas it was only one sixth the size of the Northern Song Eastern Grand Unity Temple (*Dong taiyi gong* 東太一宮).²⁴² In this narrower space converged more state rituals including rain prayers, due to the principle of ritual centrality discussed in the first chapter.²⁴³ Since the Southern Song court did not stick to until 1253 the precedent of transferring the spirit tablets of ten gods of Grand Unity to a newly constructed temple somewhere else every forty-five years, the Grand Unity Temple thus remained the only scheduled place in Lin'an as a substitute for its Northern Song counterparts where the Song emperor presided over rain prayers.²⁴⁴ More important, through almost the entire Imperial Street, the emperor's visit to the Grand Unity

²⁴⁰ *ZXLS*, 131.468–69; *MLL*, 8.67. Wu Yu is keenly aware of the two categories of deities in the Taiyi Temple, arguing that the differentiation resulted from the Song court's efforts of Daoicizing ten gods of Taiyi since the Renzong period to integrate them as well as their accompanying deities in the state ritual system. Wu Yu, "Songdai Taiyi gong jiqi liyi," 102. This ritual space was so important in state ritual that the imperial court moved the Court of Judicial Review to another place when this area became crowded. *XCLAZ*, 6.3408–3409.

²⁴¹ The obvious sign of this process of Daoicization was the 1172 construction of the Northern Ladle Hall (*Beidou dian* 北斗殿) in the Grand Unity Temple, and it was later expanded and renamed as the *Xuanji* Hall 璇璣殿 and the Pole Star Hall (*Beichen dian* 北辰殿). *XCLAZ*, 13.3481; Wang Shengduo, *Songdai zhengjiao guanxi yanjiu*, 618. *Xuan* and *ji* are the second and third stars of the Big Dipper, and *xuanji* as a compound usually refers to the group of the first four stars of the Big Dipper. Wang Shengduo holds that the Grand Unity had less to do with rainmaking in Daoism, and Wu Yu opines that Daoist and Daoist ritual were marginalized in the Song state ritual held in the Grand Unity Temple. Wang Shengduo, *Songdai zhengjiao guanxi yanjiu*, 619; Wu Yu, "Songdai Taiyigong jiqi liyi," 107.

²⁴² Wang Shengduo, *Songdai zhengjiao guanxi yanjiu*, 617.

²⁴³ Wang Shengduo, *Songdai zhengjiao guanxi yanjiu*, 619–24; Wu Yu, "Songdai Taiyigong jiqi liyi," 105–107.

²⁴⁴ Wang Shengduo, *Songdai zhengjiao guanxi yanjiu*, 615–18.

Temple located near the street's northern end might have been considered as a means to display his piety regardless of physical exertion, a prerequisite for the effectiveness of subsequent rituals.²⁴⁵

The Upper Tianzhu Efficacious Guanyin Monastery (*Shangtianzhu linggan guanyin si* 上天竺靈感觀音寺, hereafter the Upper Tianzhu Monastery) provides a striking, typical example that the Song court was heavily reliant on Northern Song local ritual resources in state rain prayers.²⁴⁶ Located in Mount Tianzhu (*Tianzhu shan* 天竺山) around six miles southeast of Lin'an, the Upper Tianzhu Monastery was well-known for its efficacious prayers for rain in the Song.²⁴⁷ The term “welcome and invitation (*yingqing* 迎請)” that frequently appeared in the Southern Song literature referred to the reception ritual of welcoming a five feet tall Guanyin statue of the Upper Tianzhu Monastery. Such a ritual originated from an innovation in local rainmaking by the prefect of Hangzhou Zhang Quhua 張去華 (936–1006),

²⁴⁵ *XCLAZ*, 13.3481; *SHY*, li 18.23–24. The emperor's role must have been also accentuated during his rain prayers held in the Grand Unity Temple, given the invented space of the Hall of the Emperor's Birth Year (*Benming dian* 本命殿) in this temple. *CYZJ*, jiaji 2.80; *XCLAZ*, 13.3481. For the construction of the Hall of Xiaozong's Birth Year and the emperor's sacred statue as well as the placement ritual of the sacred statue in the hall, see *ZXLS*, *juan* 133.

²⁴⁶ Many scholars have noticed the significance of the Upper Tianzhu Monastery in Southern Song state rain prayers. See Nagai Masashi 永井政之, “Nansō Rin'anfu Meikei ji kō 南宋・臨安府，明慶寺考,” *Shūkyōgaku ronshū* (Komazawa Daigaku) 宗教学論集 3 (1987): 351–61; “Nansō ni okeru Bukkyō shinkō no ichisokumen: Jōtenjiku ji, Hōkai ji, Meishin ji 南宋における仏教信仰の一側面——上天竺寺・法惠（慧）寺・明慶寺,” *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu ronshū* 駒沢大学仏教学部論集 19 (1988): 209–32; Anthony DeBlasi, “A Parallel World: A Case Study of Monastic Society, Northern Song to Ming,” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 28 (1998): 155–175; Wang Shengduo, “Nan-Song wangchao yu guanyin chongbai 南宋王朝與觀音崇拜,” in Wang Shengduo, *Songdai shehui shenghuo yanjiu*, 67–77; Mizuguchi Motoki, *Tokōsō Jōjin, ame o inoru*, 216–21; Ishikawa Shigeo 石川重雄, “Sōdai Kōshū Jōtenjiku ji ni kansuru ichikōsatsu 宋代杭州上天竺寺に関する一考察” *Shakai bunka shigaku. 社会文化史学* 21 (1985): 20–40, “Dentō Chūgoku no junrei to Tenjiku shinkō: Sōdai yori gendai ni itaru Kōshū Jōtenjiku kannon shinkō 伝統中国の巡礼と天竺進香——宋代より現代に至る杭州・上天竺観音信仰” *Junrei no rekishi to genzai: Shikoku henro to sekai no junrei* 巡礼の歴史と現在：四国遍路と世界の巡礼 ed. Ehime daigaku “Shikoku henro to sekai no junrei” Kenkyūkai 愛媛大学「四国遍路と世界の巡礼」研究会 (Tokyo: Iwata shōin, 2013), 213–18. For a brief introduction of the history of Upper Tianzhu Monastery in English, see Anthony DeBlasi, “A Parallel World,” 156–58.

²⁴⁷ In his 1142 memorial, Yu Si 俞俟 (?–1156), then prefect of Lin'an, praised the rapid responses of the Upper Tianzhu Monastery to officials' praying for rain or stoppage of rain. *SHY*, li 19.19. For the cult of Guanyin in the Southern Song society, see Wang Shengduo, *Songdai shehui shenghuo yanjiu*, 67–77.

who had the statue brought into Hangzhou in the reign era of Xianping 咸平 (998–1003).²⁴⁸ Probably in part because of its shorter distance to the seat of Hangzhou, the Southern Pagoda Monastery (*Nanta si* 南塔寺, later renamed the Nirvana Monastery, *Fantian si* 梵天寺), situated in Mount Phoenix and renowned for its pagoda for Buddhist relics received by Qian Liu from Mingzhou, was selected to place the efficacious Guanyin statue.²⁴⁹ Factors such as environment and efficacy considered, the temporary displacement also seemed to pay special attention to the selection of a substitute for the Upper Tianzhu Monastery in the city. This local ritual tradition continued, and not later than the early Jingkang period, the site had been moved from Mount Phoenix to the Dharma Benefit Monastery (*Fahui si* 法惠寺 or *Fahui si* 法慧寺) near the Yongjin Gate.²⁵⁰ It was not until 1138 that the Fahui Monastery began to serve as a post house for foreign embassies and was replaced with the Mingqing Monastery for rain prayers.²⁵¹ Thereafter, the fixed spatial combination of the Mingqing Monastery and its nearby Grand Unity Temple played a significant role in Southern Song official rainmaking.

The interaction between the Upper Tianzhu Monastery and the Mingqing Monastery not only brought about an innovative spatial reconfiguration in Lin'an but also embedded the cult of Guanyin in state rain prayers and further marginalized the

²⁴⁸ *XCLAZ*, 80.4093; Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀, *Nancun chuogeng lu* 南村輟耕錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 316; Ishikawa Shigeo, “Dentō Chūgoku no junrei to Tenjiku shinkō,” 217.

²⁴⁹ *XCLAZ*, 37.3688, 76.4044, 80.4093; Wang Shengduo, “Nan-Song wangchao yu guanyin xinyang,” 69.

²⁵⁰ *XCLAZ*, 35.3673, 80.4093.

²⁵¹ *XNYL*, 63.1236; *QDLAZ*, 1.13. The Mingqing Monastery was situated north of the Muzi Alley (*Muzi xiang* 木子巷), close to the residence of Liu Guangshi and near the Grand Unity Temple. *XCLAZ*, 10.3444. The Mingqing Monastery, as an imperial monastery, was seen as the counterpart of Kaifeng's Great State Monastery that both played a key role in praying for rain. *XCLAZ*, 76.4040; Duan Yuming 段玉明, *Xiangguo si: Zai Tang Song diguo de shensheng yu fansu zhijian* 相國寺: 在唐宋帝國的神聖與凡俗之間 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2004), 222–26.

role of sacred mountains and rivers. In the early Shaoxing period, Gaozong dispatched officials to pray for rain in the Upper Tianzhu Monastery as what he did during his stay in Yuezhou, and the emperor probably went praying in person in 1135.²⁵² The 1137 reception of the efficacious Guanyin statue in the Fahui Monastery marked the beginning of the integration of the cult of Guanyin in Southern Song official rainmaking.²⁵³ The Upper Tianzhu Monastery was officially recognized as one of the imperial sacred spaces (*yuqian daochang* 御前道場) in 1154.²⁵⁴ In the reign of Xiaozong who was normally seen as a patron of Buddhism, officials frequented the Upper Tianzhu Monastery and the Mingqing Monastery for rain prayers.²⁵⁵ Both Xiaozong and Lizong wrote eulogies to express their gratitude to the efficacious Guanyin of the Upper Tianzhu Guanyin.²⁵⁶ In 1249, the Guanyin

²⁵² SHY, li 18.17–18; XCLAZ, 80.4093; SS, 66.1442. When Gaozong stayed in Yuezhou, grand councilors and their aides were sent to the Tianqing Temple and the Perfect Understanding Monastery (*Yuantong yuan* 圓通院) where the sacred space was made for rainmaking. One of the aide officials prayed daily in the Yuantong Monastery; grand councilors came to hold rain prayers every five days. The first rainmaking ritual supported by the court was probably presided over by a Buddhist ritual specialist in the fourth month of 1140, and two months later, Song officials became involved in state rainmaking ritual in the Yuantong Monastery. SHY, li 18.16; Zhipan 志磐, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (hereafter, FZTJ), Taishō shinshū daizōkyō edition, vol. 49, no. 2035, 47.424. The full name of the Yuantong Monastery was the Perfect Understanding and Wondrous Wisdom and Knowledge Monastery (*Yuantong miaozhijiao yuan* 圓通妙智教院), which was located in the southeast of Yuezhou. The temple was first built in 975 and named Guanyin Monastery (*Guanyin yuan* 觀音院). In the Xining 熙寧 period (1068–77), the monastery was entitled “*yuantong*,” another name for guanyin, for its ritual efficacy in praying for rain. And the title “*miaozhi*” was granted in 1172 because of its contribution to the stoppage of drought. Shen Zuobin 沈作賓 and Shi Su 施宿 eds., *Jitai Gueiji zhi* 嘉泰會稽志, Song Yuan fangzhi congkan edition, 7.6823. The case of the Yuantong Monastery demonstrates that the cult of Guanyin was prevalent in the Liangzhe Circuit and had been closely connected with the monastery in rainmaking at least since the mid-Northern Song. The example also reveals that in the early Southern Song the imperial court continued this local tradition and officially adopted it for state rain prayers. Though situated in the city of Yuezhou, the Yuantong Monastery, on the one hand, played a similar role of the Upper Tianzhu Monastery, and on the other hand, like the Huizhao Cloister in Lin’an to some extent, served as a place where multiple state rites were performed. In the early 1130s, the gazing-afar sacrifices to imperial mausoleums were temporarily held in the Yuantong Monastery, and outside it was set up a sacred space for celebrations of Gaozong’s birthday. ZXLS, 52.221, 203.40.

²⁵³ SHY, li 18.17; XCLAZ, 80.4093; FZTJ, 48.424–25.

²⁵⁴ FZTJ, 47.426.

²⁵⁵ SHY, li 18.25, 26, 32; FZTJ, 47.427–29.

²⁵⁶ XCLAZ, 42.3737, 3741.

statue was recolored and lavishly decorated on Lizong order.²⁵⁷

The prosperity of Buddhist monasteries, the popularity of the Guanyin cult, and the well-established local rainmaking tradition in the Liangzhe Circuit promoted the restructuring of praying for rain at the state level and of the rainmaking ritual space of Lin'an at the local level. As a Southern Song scholar-official Huang Zhen 黃震 (1213–81) observed, “In the ancient times people prayed to sacred mountains and rivers for floods and droughts, whereas in the later ages such prayers were abandoned and replaced by prayers in Buddhist monasteries (古者水旱禱於山川, 後世則捨而禱於佛氏之祠).”²⁵⁸ Huang tried to seek an explanation for this phenomenon, ascribing it to the cult of Guanyin, its prevalence, and its connection with the residence place of Guanyin in Mount Putuo that lay in the sea.²⁵⁹ His explanation could concisely elucidate the rise of the Upper Tianzhu Monastery as well as the role it played in Southern Song state ritual and society. This turning point of praying for rain in the Song was also evinced by a much earlier account of the efficacy of the Guanyin of the Upper Tianzhu Monastery in response to the 972 Yellow River floods, which was farfetched, probably supplemented in the Yuan-Ming period, and finally compiled into the *Gazetteer of Upper Tianzhu Monastery* in the mid-seventeenth century.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁷ *FZTJ*, 48.432.

²⁵⁸ Huang Zhen 黃震, “Shaoxing fu chongxiu Yuantongsi ji 紹興府重修圓通寺記,” in *HSRC*, 87.31b.

²⁵⁹ *HSRC*, 87.32a–32b. 4. For the role of Mount Putuo in Chinese Guanyin pilgrimage, see Chün-fang Yü, “P'u-t'o Shan: Pilgrimage and the Creation of the Chinese Potalaka,” in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, eds. Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 190–245.

²⁶⁰ Guangbin 廣賓, *Hangzhou Shang Tianzhu jiangsi zhi* 杭州上天竺講寺志, *Zhongguo fosi shizhi huikan* 中國佛寺史志彙刊 edition (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1980), 1.5a

Conclusion

China's historical imperial sacred geography of sanctified mountains and rivers derived from the yearning for a unified empire in the Warring States period and the establishment of the Qin and Han dynasties in the third century BCE. The empire's territorial evolution, the promotion of Confucianism as an officially endorsed imperial ideology, and the influence of a variety of religions like Buddhism and Daoism continued to shape the natural space of mountains and rivers, investing them with political, social, cultural, ethnic, and religious implications.²⁶¹ Through ritual, mountains and rivers were constantly being sanctified, institutionalized, symbolized and hierarchized. This process witnessed the integration of the most significant sacred peaks and rivers, or *yuezhen haidu*, into a conceived territorial paradigm that laid the foundation for Chinese concepts, discourses and imaginations of territoriality and unification, including the notion of grand unity that still exerts considerable influence upon today's China.

Sacrifices to mountains and rivers were not only a representation of imperial legitimacy but a way of governance as well. The emperor and the imperial court established their connections with the sacred geography and gained their legitimacy through relevant Confucian state rituals such as imperial inspection tour, regular sacrifices, granting titles, and praying for rain. On the one hand, these rites held at local and central levels, together with a hierarchy of bureaucratized mountains and

²⁶¹ The Juchens acknowledged the imperial sacred geography; meanwhile, they also highlighted the most sacred mountain and river associated with their homeland and ethnicity—the Changbai Mountains (*Changbai shan* 長白山) and the Huntong River (*Huntong jiang* 混同江) or the Amur River (*Heilong jiang* 黑龍江). *JS*, 35.819–20, 821. Such a ritual tradition was later preserved by the Manchus. For a detailed discussion on the ritualized homeland of the Manchus, see Mark C. Elliot, “The Limits of Tartary: Manchuria in Imperial and National Geographies,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59.3 (2000): 603–646.

rivers, facilitated the governance of local areas. On the other hand, local ritual and religious traditions gradually infiltrated and altered the state ritual system. The ritual interactions between central and local authorities were thus expected to maintain social stability and bring prosperity to a dynasty.

This chapter provides a new picture through an extensive investigation into the interplay between the Song capital city and the imperial sacred geography at multiple scales. Northern Song China had most of sacred peaks and rivers in its territory, but its coexistence with the Khitan Liao Empire made a complete sacred geography impossible. In the reign of Zhenzong, the Feng and Shan rites on Mount Tai, the conferment of imperial titles upon the Five Peaks, and the construction of the Wuyue Temple in Kaifeng attached considerable significance to the sacred geography centering on the capital city, which was intensified again in the reign of Huizong. However, the loss of its northern territory to the Jurchen Jin forced Southern Song China to face ritual dilemmas over the incomplete sacred geography from its perception to practice.

The Southern Song court had to reconceptualize this geographical model and redelineate their ritual obligations.²⁶² Sacred mountains and rivers, though integrated in different phases of the southern suburban and Bright Hall rituals, were distinguished in practice according to their (in)accessibility. Those inaccessible mountains and rivers were venerated in Lin'an through gazing-afar sacrifices, in which officials envisioned the whole geobody of a unified empire. The Song court

²⁶² Similarly, the Jin officials proposed to redefine the Five Sacred Peaks after the Jin capital was relocated in Zhongdu. Such a proposal, however, was eventually rejected by ritual officials. *JS*, 105.2313–14.

attempted to incorporate East Sea and Eastern River into the state through creative interpretations. But these flexible initiatives were not meant to shape Lin'an as the center of the imperial sacred geography. On the contrary, unlike the dual role of Kaifeng highlighted in the Northern Song, not building the Wuyue Temple and the reliance on local resources for state rain prayers focused more on the locality of Lin'an. The convergence of religious traditions and the prosperity of popular religion initiated the spatial restructuring of Lin'an that further delinked it from the imperial sacred geography. In addition, except for praying for rain, the emperor's role was marginalized in sacrifices to sacred mountains and rivers.

FIVE

Shaping Diplomatic Ritual Space, 1127–1218: A Tentative Interpretation

The unity and division of China in its long history makes it impossible to analyze and interpret its foreign relations by a single model or a simplified theory. Similarly, the Chinese worldview and diplomacy cannot be only summarized as China-centered. But any review of China's foreign policies and relations during the imperial era cannot evade the classical theory of "All-under-Heaven, states, and families" that emerged in the late Shang and the early Western Zhou and was theoretically developed in the Warring States period. Recent research has highlighted some important yet often overlooked factors of the intellectual, historical repertoire. According to the theory, the Mandate of Heaven (*tianming* 天命), an all-inclusive concept, justified the rule of *tianxia* by a legitimate state's ruler as the sovereign or the Son of Heaven. Note that the state was one of the states that constituted "central kingdom (*zhongguo* 中國)," a plural appellation here. The rulers of other kingdoms obtained their legitimacies through the investiture of the Son of Heaven; the ranks they received determined the statuses of their kingdoms in *tianxia*.¹ States and peoples were divided into the civilized (*hua* 華) and the barbarian (*yi* 夷), based on if they were close to or distant from the Son of Heaven and his state geographically

¹ Gan Huaizhen 甘懷真, "Cong cefeng tizhi kan Han Wei shiqi de guoji guanxi 從冊封體制看漢魏時期的國際關係," in *Zhongguo zaiqi: lishi yu guoguan de duihua* 中國再起：歷史與國關的對話, ed. Wu Yushan 吳玉山 (Taipei: Taida renshe gaoyanyuan dongya ruxue yanjiu zhongxin, 2018), 87–88.

culturally, and/or morally.²

This central-periphery framework, though it cannot properly explain the differences between perception and practice, had immeasurable effects at the levels of history and historicity, especially during the period when China was seen as a unified empire. Beginning in the middle of the second century BCE onwards, the Confucian ideology of imperial power—namely that the Son of Heaven indirectly governed the peripheral barbarian regions by directly ruling the “central kingdom”—was established as a state policy of the Han Empire. During the third and fourth centuries, the Son of Heaven developed an emperor-minister relationship between him and the barbarian heads under the investiture system, bestowing on them corresponding titles. As such, the Son of Heaven was believed to have achieved his rule of *tianxia*.³ These are often considered an ideal blueprint or a nominal political system in history, but the powerful discourses of the “central kingdom-four barbarians” system sometimes were used to provide a foundation for the state-building of those alleged “barbarians.”⁴ The Tang Empire in its early years developed standardized systems and flexible policies to maintain the *tianxia* order.⁵

² On the shaping of *hua* and *yi* see Tang Xiaofeng 唐曉峰, *Cong hundun dao zhixu: Zhongguo shanggu dili sixiangshi shulun* 從混沌到秩序：中國上古地理思想史述論 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 209–213. Tang argues that the distinction between *hua* and *yi* does not pertain to the geo-political boundary or ethnic boundary. It is more of a cultural and later moral distinction. Tang Xiaofeng, *Cong hundun dao zhixu*, 212.

³ Gan Huaizhen, “Cong cefeng tizhi kan Han Wei shiqi de guoji guanxi,” 91, 96–101.

⁴ Such as the examples of Goguryeo and Japan, see Gan Huaizhen, “Cong cefeng tizhi kan Han Wei shiqi de guoji guanxi,” 94; Zhenping Wang, *Ambassadors from the Island of Immortals: China-Japan Relations in the Han-Tang Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press 2014).

⁵ In Lin Guanqun’s view, the *tianxia* system of the Tang has four features: the establishment of the loose-reign prefecture (*jimi fuzhou* 羈糜府州) system, the improvement of the system of sending sons of “barbarian” rulers as hostage to Tang Chang’an, the education system for “barbarian” hostages, and the flexible policies of marrying daughters of the Tang imperial family to “barbarian” rulers. Lin Guanqun 林冠群, *Yubo gange: Tang Fan guanxishi yanjiu* 玉帛干戈：唐蕃關係史研究 (Taipei: Lainjing, 2016), 87–99; Lin Guanqun, “Tangchao duiwai guanxi shuyao: Yi Zhongguo tianxia zhixu wei lunshu zhongxin” 唐朝對外關係述要：以中國天下秩序為

However, Song diplomatic perceptions and practices flew in a different direction in the face of this long established diplomatic practice. The Tang-Song period witnessed significant changes in China's foreign relations. On the one hand, the term "China" or "Central Kingdom" had become a plural reference from the singular, for some of the "four barbarians" evolved into foreign states out of the *tianxia* system (namely, *huawai zhi guo* 化外之國).⁶ On the other hand, the Tang Empire signed a peace treaty with the Tibetan Empire in the early 760s, a harbinger of the new multistate world order that emerged in East Asia in the early eleventh century and continued in the subsequent two centuries.⁷ The Song court developed its foreign relations based upon diplomatic parity with the powerful neighbors like the Liao, the Western Xia, and the Jin; the Jurchens decisively defeated the Khitans in 1125 and later established their own tributary system in response to that of the

論述中心,” in *Zhongguo zaiqi*, 146–57. For a discussion of the Sui-Tang foreign relations from a perspective of East Asian world, see Kaneko Shūichi 金子修一, *Zui Tō no kokusai chitsujō to Higashi Ajia* 隋唐の国際秩序と東アジア (Tokyo: Meicho Kankōkai, 2001).

⁶ Gan Huaizhen, “Cong cefeng tizhi kan Han Wei shiqi de guoji guanxi,” 102-103. Yang Lien-sheng 楊聯陞 and Wang Gungwu 王廣武 notice the emergence of the Biography of Foreign States (*Waiguo zhuan* 外國傳) of the *Songshi* in Chinese official historical writing. Lien-sheng Yang, Wang Gungwu, in John King Fairbank ed., *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968); Qian Yun 錢云, “Cong siyi dao waiguo: Zhengshi zhoubian xushi de moshi yanbian 從四夷到外國: 正史周邊敘事的模式演變,” *Fudan xuebao* 復旦學報 1 (2017): 57–69.

⁷ Lin Guanqun, *Yubo gange*, 259–338, 435–98, 611–26. There have been numerous studies on the foreign relations and diplomacy of Song China. See Nie Chongqi 聶崇歧, “Song Liao jiaopin kao 宋遼交聘考,” *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報 27 (1940): 1–51; John King Fairbank ed., *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations*; Robert Hartwell, “Tribute Missions to China: 960–1126,” (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1983), unpublished; Tao Jing-shen, *Song Liao guanxi shi yanjiu* 宋遼關係史研究 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban gongsi, 1983); Tao Jing-shen, *Two Sons of Heaven: Studies in Sung-Liao Relations* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988); Hoyt C. Tillman, Stephen H. West, eds., *China under Jurchen Rule* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995); Yang Weisheng 楊渭生, *Song Li guanxi shi yanjiu* 宋麗關係史研究 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou daxue chubanshe, 1997); Zhao Yongchun 趙永春, *Jin Song guanxi shi yanjiu* 金宋關係史研究 (Changchun: Jilin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999); Naomi Standen, *Unbounded Loyalty: Frontier Crossings in Liao China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007); Wu Xiaoping 吳曉萍, *Songdai waijiao zhidu yanjiu* 宋代外交制度研究 (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 2006); Geoff Wade, “An Early Age of Commerce in Southeast Asia, 900–1300 CE,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 40.2 (2009): 221–65; Derek Heng, *Sino-Malay Trade and Diplomacy: from the Tenth through the Fourteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009); Li Hui 李輝, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu* 宋金交聘制度研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2014); Nicholas Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation: Song China and the Forging of an East Asian World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Song which was substantially destabilized and reduced at the time; Koryŏ, hedging its bets, eventually ceased its tribute missions to Southern Song due to its fear of Jin power. By the fourteenth century at the latest, the system of “All-under-Heaven–central kingdom– four barbarians” no longer existed.⁸

This chapter aims to decode the diplomatic ritual of Southern Song China, a divided dynasty, and to examine the role of multiscalar ritual spaces in diplomatic exchanges. Revisiting two analytical frameworks of Chinese and East Asian world order, it first summarizes the main features of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century East Asian world order, places Song China within this larger historical context, and reconsiders the term “multi-state.” It then analyzes the Song spatial arrangements for the Jin embassies from the border and local prefectures to the capital city. This chapter also investigates how the Song emperor, envoys, and ritual officials faced ritual dilemmas in Song-Jin diplomacy and dealt with the conflicts between the internal funeral rite and the external guest or diplomatic rite that have been downplayed or even overlooked in previous studies.

Diplomatic Ritual, Urban Space and the East Asian World Order in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

The East Asian world order prior to the first half of the nineteenth century, as well as the role of China in it, has frequently attracted modern scholars, critics and politicians, whether out of historical exploration or realistic observation.⁹ The past

⁸ Gan Huaizhen, “Cong cefeng tizhi kan Han Wei shiqi de guoji guanxi,” 103.

⁹ Scholars normally depict the transformation of Qing China since 1840s from all-under-heaven to the world of states. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed several radical changes in Qing diplomacy such as the establishment of foreign legations in China and permanent Chinese legations abroad as well as the introduction

eight decades have seen a proliferation of published studies on these themes. Many of them stem from two major, influential yet controversial theories, John King Fairbank's traditional "Chinese world order" and Nishijima Sadao's 西嶋定生 "East Asian world."

This section does not pretend to offer a definitive response to these theories. Rather, I would like to raise some fundamental questions and suggest an approach combining ritual, urban space, and diplomacy. I will first briefly discuss the two frameworks, noting the ways in which scholars have rectified or refuted them. Recent contributions have noticed the significance of the period from the eleventh to twelfth centuries in East Asia, making it possible for us to reconsider several important relevant issues. I will summarize the main features of the East Asian world order in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, highlight the ritual dilemmas in Song diplomacy, and compare the two modes of foreign relations of Northern and Southern Song China from ritual and urban perspectives.

Fairbank's pioneering researches during the late 1930s and early 1940s on the tributary system in Chinese history and his effort to develop a theoretical framework

of international laws. Immanuel Chung-yueh Hsü, *China's Entrance into the Family of Nations The Diplomatic Phase, 1858–1880* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960). Liao Minshu rebuts the effort of regarding the Treaty of Nanjing signed with Britain as a critical turning point in Chinese diplomatic history from the tribute system to the treaty system. She argues that the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689) and the Treaty of Kyakhta (1727) signed with the Russian Empire and founded on modern Western international law had already regulated the relations between Qing China and Russia. Liao Minshu 廖敏淑, "Zhongguo shi dute de ma: cong Qingchao de waizheng ji tongshang zhidu lai kan 中國是獨特的嗎：從清朝的外政及通商制度來看," in *Zhongguo zaiqi*, 228, 234. In Wang Hui's view, the tribute system and the treaty system worked in ways which were not opposed to each other. The diplomatic transition might be interpreted by European states "as the result of the Qing's refusal to engage in free trade and the court's ignorance of international law," but Wang shows a historical irony: "To allow the Qing dynasty to legally sign an unequal treaty, the Qing had to be granted formal equality and sovereignty under European international law, and yet the treaties established under the shroud of European international law were even more unfair than the treaties from the era of the tribute system." Wang Hui 汪暉, *China from Empire to Nation-State*, trans. Michael Gibbs Hill (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 129–30. For a reflection on a Eurocentric bias in IR theory based on the Westphalian narrative, see Turan Kayaoglu, "Westphalian Eurocentrism in International Relations Theory," *International Studies Review* 12.2 (2010): 193–217.

of the Chinese world order in the late 1960s initiated extensive studies on the imperial Chinese tributary system as concept, method and theory in Chinese or East Asian history.¹⁰ The term “tributary system” does not have an immutable definition. In general, the system was hierarchical and Sinocentric with China dominating its relationships with the outside world in terms of cultural similarity and geographical distance, while other peoples expressed their obedience and loyalty through paying tributes to and/or accepting investiture from Chinese rulers in exchange for not only reciprocal gifts but a suzerain-subject relationship as well.¹¹ But this tributary model of foreign relations has been surrounded by prolonged controversies: the misuse and abuse of its consistency in Chinese history, the simplification of various Chinese worldviews, the overemphasis on its role in imperial China’s foreign policies, the neglect of bilateral foreign relations and substantial similarities of other early modern empires like the Russian, Mughal and Ottoman.¹²

Fairbank does not lump together trade, tribute, and diplomacy. He regards the

¹⁰ John K. Fairbank, Ssu-yü Teng, “On the Ch’ing Tributary System,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 6.2 (1941): 135-246; John King Fairbank, “Tributary Trade and China’s Relations with The West,” *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 1.2 (1942): 129-49; John K. Fairbank ed., *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China’s Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968). Henrietta Harrison points out that Fairbank was influenced by Jiang Tingfu’s 蔣廷黻 ideas about the tribute system, and like Jiang, he was concerned with the possibility of China’s modernization. Henrietta Harrison, “The Qianlong Emperor’s Letter to George III and the Early-Twentieth-Century Origins of Ideas about Traditional China’s Foreign Relations,” *The American Historical Review* 122.3 (2017): 698.

¹¹ For the brief introduction of the tribute system, see Morris Rossabi ed., *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 1-4; James Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 9-14.

¹² As John E. Wills Jr. argues, “In the hands of writers less steeped in the sources and less wary of generalization than Fairbank, the tribute system concept has helped to sustain a simplified, essentialized picture of a very late ‘late imperial China,’ ‘traditionalist,’ unable to change, and arrogant in its attitudes toward the outside world, that is incompatible with our present understanding of the internal history and foreign relations of Qing China.” John E. Wills Jr. ed., *China and Maritime Europe, 1500-1800: Trade, Settlement, Diplomacy, and Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 4. Also see John E. Wills, Jr., “Tribute, Defensiveness, and Dependency: Uses and Limits of Some Basic Ideas about Mid-Ch’ing Foreign Relations,” *American Neptune* 48.4 (1988): 225-29; Peter C. Perdue, “The Tenacious Tributary System,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 24.96 (2015): 1007-11.

tributary system as “a diplomatic medium” and trade and tribute “cognate aspects of a single system of foreign relations.”¹³ From his viewpoint, tribute embodied the moral and political value to the Chinese rulers, and trade, the material value to the alleged barbarians.¹⁴ His study on trade and diplomacy in the late Qing suggests that the replacement of the tribute system with treaty diplomacy facilitated a new phase of foreign domination in China.¹⁵ Hamashita Takeshi濱下武志 develops Fairbank’s framework by examining the tributary relation in broader Asian financial and commercial contexts, but he challenges the Eurocentric approach and restores the agency of Asian vassal states. Hamashita advances an influential theory of the China-centered Asian tribute trade system which Westerners had to adapt to and learn to utilize.¹⁶ Both based on their surveys of late imperial China aim at the dimension

¹³ John K. Fairbank, “Tributary Trade and China’s Relations with the West,” *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 1.2 (1942): 135, 139.

¹⁴ John K. Fairbank, “Tributary Trade and China’s Relations with the West,” 137, 139.

¹⁵ John K. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842–1854* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953), 464–65.

¹⁶ Hamashita Takeshi 濱下武志, “Chōkō bōeki shisutemu to kindai Ajia 朝貢貿易システムと近代アジア,” *Kokusai Seiji* 国際政治 82 (1986): 42–55. Its English version “The Tribute Trade System and Modern Asia” was published in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko* (46.1988: 7–25). Hamashita discussed the China-centered modern East Asian economic sphere from an East Asian-centered perspective and by referring to the theory of international economic spheres in his masterpiece, *Kindai chūgoku no kokusaiteki keiki: chōkō bōeki shisutemu to kindai Ajia* 近代中国の国際的契機：朝貢貿易システムと近代アジア (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1990). The editors of *China, East Asia and the Global Economy* provide a concise, accurate summary of Hamashita’s contributions: “Central to his approach has been the attempt to redefine the evolving relationships between the East Asia regional system and the world economy from the sixteenth century to the present. His research has led him to reconceptualize the position of China first in the context of an East Asian regional order and subsequently within the framework of a wider Euro-American-Asian trade and financial order that was long gestating within, and indeed contributing to the shape of, the world market.” *China, East Asia and the Global Economy: Regional and Historical Perspectives*, eds., Hamashita Takeshima et. al. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008), 1. In recent years, Hamashita has paid more attention on overseas Chinese and Maritime Asian networking from a perspective of global history. Hamashita, “Gurōbarusutadi no shiten kara no kakyō kajinshi kenkyū ni mukete グローバルスタディの視点からの華僑華人史研究に向けて,” *Tabunka shakai kenkyū* 多文化社会研究 4 (2018): 105–17; Hamashita, *Kakyō kajin to chūkamō: imin kōeki sōkin nettowāku no kōzō to tenkai* 華僑・華人と中華網：移民・交易・送金ネットワークの構造と展開 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2013); “グローバル化下の地域研究の新たな課題 Gurōbarizeshonka no chiiki kenkyū no aratana kadai,” *Hokutō Ajia kenkyū* 北東アジア研究 20 (2011): 17–29; “Chinese no kokusai idō to kokusai chitsujō: rekishi, genzai, mirai Chinese の国際移動と国際秩序：歴史、現在、未来,” *Ajia kenkyū* アジア研究 55.2 (2009): 56–69. For a recent thorough critique on Fairbank’s and Nishijima’s theories, see Liao Minshu, *Qingdai Zhongguo duiwai guanxi xinlun* 清代中國對外關係新論 (Taipei: Zhengda chubanshe, 2017).

of economy and trade of the tribute system.¹⁷

Considering East Asia as a whole, Nishijima Sadao in the early 1970s formulated the theory of the “East Asian world (*Higashi Ajia sekai* 東アジア世界),” a highly influential model even in the scholarship of today’s Japan.¹⁸ Nishijima’s studies on the Qin-Han rank system, the investiture system (*sakuhō taisei* 冊封体制) and the East Asian world examine the relations between the ruler and officials in early imperial China and the suzerain-vassal relationship in East Asia, and explore how Chinese institutions and culture influenced and spread to other East Asian states.¹⁹ The

¹⁷ Fairbank emphasizes the political and cultural dimensions of the tribute system, but he points out that the decline of the system since the expansion of Chinese trade in the mid-Ming. John K. Fairbank, “Tributary Trade and China’s Relations with the West,” 141–43. Hamashita is more concerned about the economic or financial dimension as well as the network of migrants.

¹⁸ For a brief introduction to Nishijima’s theory, see Kaneko Shūichi, “Rekishī kara miru Higashi Ajia no kokusai chitsujō to chūgoku: Nishijima Sadao shi no shōron ni yosete 歴史からみる東アジアの国際秩序と中国: 西嶋定生氏の所論に寄せて” *Waseda Ajia rebiyū* ワセダアジアレビュー16 (2014): 18-23. For recent discussion about the East Asian world and its relation with China in Japanese scholarship, see Toshikazu Hori 堀敏一, *Higashi Ajia sekai no keisei: Chūgoku to shūhen kokka* 東アジア世界の形成: 中国と周辺国家 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 2006); Hamashita Takeshi and Hirase Takao 平勢隆郎 eds., *Chūgoku no rekishi: Higashi Ajia no shūen kara kangaeru* 中国の歴史: 東アジアの周縁から考える (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 2015); Morihira Masahiko et al. eds., *Higashi Ajia sekai no kōryū to henyō* 東アジア世界の交流と変容 (Fukuoka: Kyūshū daigaku bungakubu, 2013). Dong Shaoxin 董少新 outlines the transition from “East Asia” to the “East Asian Maritime World” largely in Japanese and Chinese scholarship in the past fifteen years. Dong Shaoxin, “From ‘East Asia’ to ‘East Asian Maritime Worlds’: The Pros and Cons of the Construction of a Historical World,” in Benjamin A Elman and Chao-Hui Jenny Liu eds., *The “Global” and the “Local” in Early Modern and Modern East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2018): 114–17. The new trend was made a major contribution by Japanese scholars like Kojima Tsuyoshi who in 2004–2014 led an interdisciplinary project of “East Asian Maritime Exchange and the Formation of Japanese Traditional Culture” involving leading Japanese scholars on Japanese and Chinese history. The achievement is a six-volume set of the series of “Higashi Ajia Kaiiki ni kogidasu 東アジア海域に漕ぎだす (Lectures on the East Asian Maritime World)” published in 2013–2014. Also see Momoki Shirō 桃木至朗, *Kaiiki Ajia shi kenkyū nyūmon* 海域アジア史研究入門 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2008). Ge Zhaoguang sketches out the Japanese scholarship on Asia and East Asia since the Meiji era. Contextualizing the studies, Ge opines that the East Asian world as Japanese scholars propose at best existed before the mid-seventeenth century. Ge Zhaoguang, *Zhaizi Zhongguo*, 9–14, 151–95. As Kaneko has keenly pointed out, Nishijima’s theory is probably derived from his concern of understanding Japanese history in the East Asian world, aiming at Japan in the process of modern nation-building in the early Meiji era. In the 1960s and 1970s Nishijima disapproved the mainstream view of the independent development of Japan in history, and he argued that the history of Japan was closely related to China and Korea at the very beginning. Kaneko Shūichi, “Rekishī kara miru Higashi Ajia no kokusai chitsujō to chūgoku,” 22–23.

¹⁹ Nishijima Sadao, “Chūgoku kodai teikoku keisei no ichi kōsatsu: Kan no kōso to sono kōshin 中国古代帝国形成の一考察: 漢の高祖とその功臣,” *Rekishigaku kenkyū* 歴史学研究 141 (1949): 1–15; *Chūgoku kodai teikoku no keisei to kōzō: nijittō shakusei no kenkyū* 中国古代帝国の形成と構造: 二十等爵制の研究 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1961); *Chūgoku kodai kokka to Higashi Ajia sekai* 中国古代国家と東アジア世界 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1983); *Higashi Ajia sekai to sakuhō taisei* 東アジア世界と冊封体制 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002). The investiture theory proposed by Nishijima was inspired by the study of Kurihara Tomonobu 栗原朋信 on the system of Han seals. Kaneko Shūichi, “Rekishī kara miru Higashi Ajia no kokusai

investiture system is the bedrock of Nishijima’s East Asian world which, in Gao Mingshi’s高明士 view, came into being in the first half of the eighth century.²⁰ Nishijima also develops the concept of “Sinographic cultural sphere (*Kanji bunkaken* 漢字文化圈)” centered around China and defined by four shared elements: Chinese scripts, Confucianism, Chinese-translated Buddhism, and the legal system (律令*lüling* in Chinese or *ritsuryō* in Japanese).²¹ The emergence of the Sinographic sphere was largely attributed to the cultural, political, and economic influence of Tang China upon other East Asian states such as Japan, Silla and Balhae. To Nishijima, the East Asian sinocentric investiture system ended in the Song period, whereas the economically interactive East Asia world continued with great impetus of the Song commercialization and the maritime trade in South China Sea. One cannot deny that

chitsujō to chūgoku,” 21.

²⁰ Gao Mingshi 高明士, *Dongya gudai de zhengzhi yu jiaoyu* 東亞古代的政治與教育 (Taipei: Taiwan daxue chuban zhongxin, 2004), 67. Gao indicates that the investiture system narrowed the foreign relations of traditional China, and he would rather use the term of “the order of *tianxia* (*tianxia zhixu* 天下秩序)” than the world order, the order of *hua* and *yi*, the international order, the tribute system, or the investiture system. Gao Mingshi, *Lüling fa yu tianxia fa* 律令法與天下法 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2013), 251–52.

²¹ Nishijima Sadao, *Chūgoku kodai kokka to Higashi Ajia sekai*, 586–94. Kitamura Hideto’s study demonstrates that no kingdoms of the Korean peninsula could be named “ritsuryō state.” See Yasutoshi Sakaue and Kristopher L. Reeves, “The ritsuryō state,” in See Karl F Friday, *Routledge Handbook of Premodern Japanese History* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 92. For studies on the shape and development of the Sino-cultural sphere from political and legal perspectives, see Gao Mingshi ed., *Dongya wenhuaquan de xingcheng yu fazhan: zhengzhi fazhi pian* 東亞文化圈的形成與發展：政治法制篇 (Taipei: Taiwan daxue chuban zhongxin, 2005). Note a recent trend in scholarship that Japanese tend to place the East Asian world in a larger historical context—the Eastern Eurasia or *Higashi Yūrashia* 東ユーラシア—to analyze its relations with the Central Asian world. Kaneko Shūichi, “Rekishu kara miru Higashi Ajia no kokusai chitsujō to chūgoku,” 23. For the notable studies regarding foreign relations and the Eastern Eurasian world, see Suzuki Yasutami 鈴木靖民, “Kodaishi o manabu, kodaishi ni manabu: Nihon Chōsen kankeishi kara Higashi Yūrashia sekaishi made 古代史を学ぶ、古代史に学ぶ：日本朝鮮関係史から東ユーラシア世界史まで,” *Miyagi rekishi kagaku kenkyū* 宮城歴史科学研究 79-80 (2018): 1–18; Moribe Yutaka 森部豊 ed., *Sogudojin to Higashi Yūrashia no bunka kōshō* ソグド人と東ユーラシアの文化交渉 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2014); Moribe Yutaka, *Sogudojin no tōhō katsudō to Higashi Yūrashia sekai no rekishiteki tenkai* ソグド人の東方活動と東ユーラシア世界の歴史的展開 (Osaka: Kansaidaiigaku shuppanbu, 2010); *Nijūisseiki Higashi Yūrashia no chiseigaku* 21世紀東ユーラシアの地政学, ed., Takita Kenji 滝田賢治 (Tokyo: Chūōdaigaku shuppanbu, 2012). In 2014 the Center for Ancient Eastern Eurasian Studies was created in Senshū University, Tokyo; an annual report, *Kodai higashiyūrashia kenkyū sentā nenpō* 古代東ユーラシア研究センター年報, is published since 2015. The latest workshop entitled *Kodai Higashi Yūrashia no kokusai kaishi to jinryū* 古代東ユーラシアの国際関係と人流 was held in mid-July 2018 at Senshū University. “Kodai Higashi Yūrashia no kokusai kaishi to jinryū o kaisai,” Senshū University, accessed September 26, 2018, <https://www.senshu-u.ac.jp/news/20180720-04.html>.

the main focus of Nishijima's East Asian world is the Han-Tang period.

From the establishment of the Khitan Empire in the tenth century to the expansion of the Mongol Empire in Eurasia in the thirteenth century, the East Asian world underwent a significant restructuring. The Fairbank and Nishijima models, though involving the rise of maritime trade at different stages in Chinese history, were unable to reveal the regional order transformation, given that this transitional period was not their main concern.²² Since the 1980s more and more scholars have come to realize that the role of Song China in East Asia as well as Southeast Asia and South Asia needs to be reassessed. A conference volume entitled *China Among Others*, edited by Morris Rossabi and published by University of California Press in 1983, suggests that the unchanging Chinese world order did not exist and China could not dominate its neighboring states between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. As Rossabi notes in the preface,

From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, China did not dogmatically enforce its system of foreign relations. The Sung (960-1279), the principal dynasty during that era, was flexible in its dealing with foreigners. Its officials, recognizing the military weakness of the dynasty, generally adopted a realistic foreign policy. They could not demand that foreigners adhere to a Chinese-imposed scheme of conducting foreign relations.²³

Likewise, in the late 1980s, the world historian Janet Abu-Lughod challenges

²² Angela Schottenhammer calls for much more studies on the history of Chinese maritime trade between the first and the seventh centuries. Angela Schottenhammer, "China's Rise and Retreat as a Maritime Power," Robert J. Antony and Angela Schottenhammer eds., *Beyond the Silk Roads: New Discourses on China's Role in East Asian Maritime History* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2017), 91.

²³ Morris Rossabi ed., *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 4.

Immanuel Wallerstein's European-dominated world-system, proposing the idea of a thirteenth-century system of world trade within which China, as a center of one of the eight subsystems, propelled economic integration and cultural efflorescence in the Far Eastern circuit.²⁴ Today most scholars have reached a consensus on the fact that the tenth and thirteenth centuries witnessed the birth and development of a multi-state or inter-state system in East Asia where Song China was never in a dominant position.²⁵

However, the maritime trade is only an aspect of the East Asian world order, and perhaps less representative of official foreign exchanges between states in this era. In other words, the maritime trade cannot properly explain how the East Asian multi-state system was formed and maintained from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. We now still know little about the engagement of the Khitan Liao and the

²⁴ Against the modernization theory, Immanuel Wallerstein started to adopt the world-systems analysis in the 1970s. He attempts to trace the shape of a capitalist world-economy and examine the economic and political connections among empires/states from the sixteenth to the early twentieth centuries. Despite his use of the term, "world-systems," in distinct senses such as on history, mechanism, structures of knowledge and method, the "world" herein refers to a capitalist world. Immanuel Wallerstein, "Hold the Tiller Firm: On Method and the Unit of Analysis," in Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Essential Wallerstein* (New York: New Press, 2000): 149–59; Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004). Abu-Lughod categorizes three "larger circuits" in the twelfth century, the Western European, the Middle Eastern and the Far Eastern, which include eight "interlinked subsystems." (Abu-Lughod, 35) The author stresses more the long distance trade (Abu-Lughod, 16, 54), and due to the geographical expansion in her world system, she brings more diversified participants into discussion such as large agrarian societies like India and China, small city-state ports, places with strategic location, and places containing unique valued raw materials (Abu-Lughod, 355) and highlights the importance of port cities and littoral regions in her world economy. But note that Japan and the Korean Peninsula were included in neither her world economy nor the Indian Ocean trade. Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). Though Abu-Lughod critiques Wallerstein's Eurocentric view, her thirteenth-century world economy to some extent suggests that she is still a revisionist as she continues tracing the theme of "commercial network of production and exchange" (Abu-Lughod, 13) to an earlier era. The fundamental difference between the two authors probably results from their definition and understanding of "world" and "economy" as well as "modernity" or the process of modernization behind them. Otherwise, scholars can always find the evidence they want and show the interconnected world system in much earlier era. For example, Tansen Sen argues that Afro-Eurasian trade as a world system emerged in the eleventh century. See for the fifth chapter, Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600–1400* (Honolulu: Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawai'i Press, 2003). Revisiting the disputes over the world-systems theory may help to reconsider some key concepts such as tribute, diplomacy, international, multi-state, and *tianxia* in the discussion of the East Asian world order.

²⁵ John W. Chaffee, "Song China and the Multi-state and Commercial World of East Asia," *Crossroads: Studies on the History of Exchange Relations in the East Asian World 1-2* (2010): 33–54; Nicolas Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation: Song China and the Forging of an East Asian World Order* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Jurchen Jin in the then maritime trade.²⁶ It seems that both empires chiefly relied on overland routes for their external trade, in part because Song China was their main trade partner and the bilateral trade was allowed only through “monopoly markets (*quechang* 榷場)” on the border.²⁷ But both established a self-centered, independent tribute and investiture system, similar to the Song’s, for their foreign relations. Those alleged tributary or vassal states and regimes, regardless of their positions and motives, following, utilizing, or even trying to distance themselves from the system, had to accept, willingly or unwillingly, the premise of an order shared and recognized within a region, or what Gao Mingshi conceptualizes as the “law under Heaven (*tianxia fa* 天下法)” in East Asia, the counterpart of internal legal and ritual regulations.²⁸ The coexistence of the tribute-investiture systems of Northern Song and Khitan Liao as well as those of Southern Song and Jurchen Jin led to a new model of diplomatic interactions, named in a contemporary term “*jiaopin* 交聘 (lit. exchanges of envoys),” which was distinct from the tribute system and the investiture system.²⁹

Equality rather than hierarchical relationships in diplomacy that the *jiaopin*

²⁶ See Angela Schottenhammer, “The ‘China Seas’ in world history: A general outline of the role of Chinese and East Asian maritime space from its origins to c. 1800,” *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures* 1 (2012): 75.

²⁷ Tao Jing-shen, “Liao Jin liangdai dui chuantong Zhongguo wenhua de yingxiang 遼金兩代對傳統中國文化的影響,” in Tao Jing-shen, *Song Liao Jin shi luncong* 宋遼金史論叢 (Taipei: Lianjing, 2013), 402. Also note the smuggling trade in the Song-Liao and Song-Jin borderlands, see Quan Hansheng 全漢昇, “Song Jin jian de zousi maoyi 宋金間的走私貿易,” *Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 歷史語言研究所集刊 11 (1947): 403–34; Cao Jiaqi 曹家齊, “Songchao dui biansai jinchujing renyuan ji maoyi de guanli 宋朝對邊塞進出境人員及貿易的管理,” *Guangxi daxue xuebao* 廣西大學學報, 2 (1999).

²⁸ Gao Mingshi, “Tianxia zhixu yu ‘tianxia fa’: Yi Sui-Tang de Dongbeiya guanxi weili 天下秩序與“天下法”——以隋唐的東北亞關係為例,” *Fazhishi yanjiu* 法制史研究 14 (2008): 1–48; Gao, *Lüling fa yu tianxia fa*, 250–92.

²⁹ Li Hui, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 3–5.

system features was normally represented in diplomatic rituals, which should be taken more seriously in order to avoid falling into the trap of anachronism. From the perspectives of today's diplomacy and international relations, the *jiaopin* system can be described as the main axis of the East Asian world order in the tenth and thirteenth centuries. Yet one thing we must always keep in mind is that the interaction between East Asian political entities in pre-modern times is essentially different from that of today's world. Scholars have pointed out the ritual elements of tribute and investiture systems representing the politicized and ritualized world order under Heaven. Furuse Natsuko 古瀬奈津子 in her study on the experiences of Japanese envoys in Tang China reminds researchers that diplomatic ritual, in contemporary views, was concerned with not only ceremonial formality but, more important, was an integral part of diplomacy itself.³⁰ To be brief, at least from a Confucian perspective, guest or diplomatic rituals in traditional China acquired the instrumental, expressive, and ontological dimensions. Changes in relations between states thus embodied marked variations of diplomatic rituals.

As a microcosm of great changes in the East Asian world in the tenth and thirteenth centuries, the *jiaopin* system was no exception, corresponding to a new set of ritualized diplomatic systems. Recent studies have suggested that the Song-Liao and Song-Jin relationships be considered from the point of view of power symmetry or asymmetry, stressing that the China's foreign relations in the Song period cannot be

³⁰ Furuse Natsuko 古瀬奈津子, *Kentōshi no mita Chūgoku* 遣唐使の見た中国 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003).

homogeneously treated.³¹ This interpretation is quite instructive, but its flaw is also obvious. It still fails to get rid of the framework of the interaction between military and diplomatic activities, almost describing the diplomatic history of Song China as a part of its military history. Its main concern of the causes of regional order formation cannot explain how such an order under what mechanisms continued over time. Moreover, military and economic power were not the only factors that determined the shape of regional order and its equilibrium, especially if one takes into consideration the perceptions and practices of diplomacy in pre-modern East Asia. The focus on military power, same as maritime trade, has obscured the routine mechanism of the *jiaopin* system based on diplomatic rituals, and therefore, downplayed the effects of ritual power in diplomacy that much more future research will have to be done to investigate.

Here I try to make a brief summary of the main features in the diplomatic aspect of the East Asian world order from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. This period witnessed the interaction among various polities not only grounded on the traditional tributary and investiture systems but also influenced or dominated by the emerging *jiaopin* system, which relied on former interactive mechanisms but with particular emphasis on the status of parity. Despite the coexistence of three systems regarding diplomatic relations, the regional order was centered on the *jiaopin* system. The situation of a single hegemon in East Asia had come to an end in perception and practice, but a multi-state system, in a strict sense, that all powers were of equal status

³¹ Yuan-kang Wang, "Explaining the Tribute System: Power, Confucianism, and War in Medieval East Asia."

in diplomacy had not come into being. A new bipolar world order emerged in East Asia and Northeast Asia in the early eleventh century and persisted until the mid-late thirteenth century when the Mongols conquered Lin'an in 1276. The rise and expansion of the Mongol Empire from 1206 to 1215 triggered the Song's foreign policy toward Jin in transition from a defensive to a proactive approach. One major change was that the Song's annual tribute or payment (*suibi* 歲幣) to Jin was held in abeyance since 1214. In the spring of 1218, the Song's refusal to accept the Jurchen envoys on the Huai River marked the end of the *jiaopin* system between the two sides.³² Thereafter such a system was never again implemented, even though the Song-Mongol relation had replaced the Song-Jin relation as a pivotal role in the regional order after the Mongol final defeat of Jin in 1234.

In this bipolar East Asian world (Figure 5.1), Liao, Song and Jin all established self-centered, hierarchical and partially overlapping tributary-investiture systems. From a perspective of the center, their neighboring polities were often regarded as vassal states in tributary relationship or loose-control administrative units under the loose-reign (*jimi* 羈縻) system. Some subordinate states like Jiaozhi 交趾 (later Annam 安南) managed to build their own tributary-investiture systems, while for others like the Western Xia and Koryō, their oscillation between the two core powers developed more complex multiple triangle relationships.³³ The shape of the regional order was inseparable from military operation, transnational trade, political intervention, cultural exchange, and diplomatic interactions between various regimes.

³² See *JS*, juan 14.

³³ Huang. *Songdai chaogong tixi yanjiu*, 187–246.

It should be also noted that the mid-twelfth and early thirteenth centuries saw a new phenomenon: The equilibrium of two pivotal powers in East Asia was destabilized and the rising Jurchen Jin became the stronger core. The Western Xia and Koryŏ broke off their relationships with the Southern Song and attached themselves to the Jin, who had been alienated from Inner Asia if compared with the Khitan Liao.³⁴ But the power asymmetry did not lead to the result of a single hegemon. The two separate major tributary-investiture systems demarcated by the Huai River further highlighted the coexistence of two core powers as well as their influence in East Asia, Northeast Asia, or Southeast Asia. Moreover, the Jurchens always regarded the Southern Song as their vassal state, but after the (re)confirmation of their relationship in the early 1140s and mid-1160s, Jin had to recognize the fact that both sides were evenly matched, and was unable to change the bipolar world order.

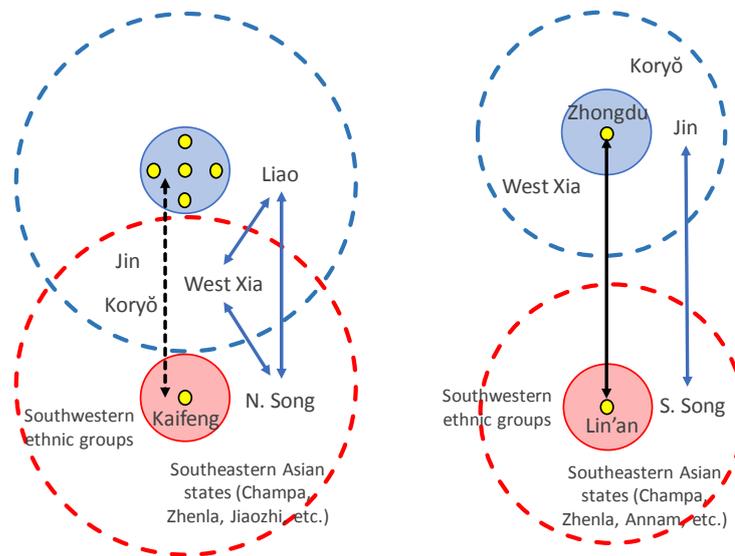


Fig. 5.1 Song-Liao and Song-Jin models of East Asian world order, 11th–13th centuries

³⁴ Shi Jinbo 史金波, “Xi Xia, Gaoli yu Song Liao Jin guanxi bijiao chuyi 西夏、高麗與宋遼金關係比較芻議,” *Shixue jikan* 史學集刊 3 (2018): 94–101.

From the tenth to the thirteenth century, the balance of power was mainly displayed and maintained by the *jiaopin* system as an effective, regularized and highly ritualized mechanism. Previous studies are limited to the mutual and substantial impact of this system and diplomatic rituals, and thus downplayed the effects of fundamental ritual dilemmas that the Song faced. The function and use of rituals in diplomacy not merely conveyed political symbolism, produced powerful authority, but more importantly, laid a sound foundation for a successful diplomatic exchange. On the one hand, the Song had to acknowledge one of the dilemmas that the Khitan Liao and the Jurchen Jin legitimized their regimes and adopted a similar mode of self-centered foreign relations through part of Confucian ideological and ritual sources.³⁵ The establishment and development of the *jiaopin* system were grounded on diplomatic rituals with a common premise, universal language and interactive medium. Both the Khitans and the Jurchens were gradually learning, adopting and negotiating the set of traditional law under Heaven in their interactions with the Han Chinese. On the other hand, the parity was directly reflected in diplomatic ceremony in the aspects of time, place, scale, process and participants. The parity in a broader sense embodied the synchronicity in diplomacy in East Asia and Northeast Asia as almost all the regimes then followed the same Chinese calendar or its variants. For

³⁵ For a detailed discussion on the competition of gaining orthodoxy and cyclical virtuous elements between Liao and Song, Jin and Song, see Liu Pujiang 劉浦江, “Deyun zhi zheng yu Liao Jin wangchao de zhengtongxing wenti 德運之爭與遼金王朝的正統性問題,” in Liu Pujiang, *Zhengtong yu hua-yi: Zhongguo chuantong zhengzhi wenhua yanjiu* 正統與華夷：中國傳統政治文化研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2017), 88–115; also see Hok-Lam Chen, *Legitimation in Imperial China: Discussions under the Jurchen-Chin dynasty (1115–1234)* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985); Yuan Chen, “Legitimation Discourse and the Theory of the Five Elements in Imperial China,” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 44 (2014): 325–64. For a discussion of the foreign relations based on kinship terms between Khitan Liao and Southern Tang, Wuyue Kingdom, and Song, see Zhang Qixiong 張啟雄, “Wudai Song Liao wulun guoji guanxi de lunli jieshi 五代宋遼五倫國際關係的倫理解析,” in *Tang-Song shiqi de mingfenzhixu* 唐宋時期的名分秩序, eds., Xu Zhuoyun 許倬雲 and Zhang Guangda 張廣達 (Taipei: Zhengda chubanshe, 2015) 197–244.

example, on the New Year or the emperor's birthday, Song and Liao (later Jin) exchanged their envoys for celebrations which were also witnessed by representatives from other regimes. In particular, the New Year's celebrations involving a large number of neighboring regimes' emissaries were held only in the capitals of Liao, Song and Jin, demonstrating their diplomatic superiority and political power in the East Asian world order.

The Northern Song court might have been content with its higher status in a quasi-imperial brotherhood relationship with the Liao even if it was no more dominant in East Asia in the post-Chanyuan era. This superficial vanity was difficult to sustain following the Shaoxing Treaty. The bipolar *jiaopin* system mainly continued on the surface from the mid-twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but for the Southern Song, the problems of changes relating to the titles in diplomatic documents and the gestures in diplomatic rituals often perplexed the emperor, officials and literati who paid special attention to the status (*mingfen*名分) or identity issue.³⁶ Such changes usually deemed nominal differences probably presented enormous challenges to the contemporaries on both external and internal relations. If the marked variations with notions, practices and historical contexts were not taken into consideration, we cannot really understand the diplomatic intricacies of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century East Asian world order as well as relevant rituals, and more

³⁶ JS, 3.54; Zhao Yongchun, "Song Jin guanyu shoushu li de douzheng 宋金關於受書禮的鬥爭," *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究 6 (1993): 81–88; Zhao, "Guanyu Song Jin jiaopin guoshu de douzheng 關於宋金交聘國書的鬥爭," *Beifang wenwu* 北方文物 2 (1992): 53–58. The issue of ritual status was one of primary focuses in East Asian diplomacy at the time, see Yang Huan 楊浣, "從交聘儀注之爭看西夏的政治地位 Cong jiaopin yizhu zhi zheng kan Xi Xia de zhengzhi diwei," *Xi Xia xue* 西夏學, 6.9 (2010): 116–23. Zhang Guangda contextualizes the status issue in the interactions between Han Chinese and Northern ethnic groups of people from the Sui-Tang to the Song-Yuan periods. Zhang Guangda, "Cong Sui-Tang dao Song-Yuan shiqi de Hu-Han hudong jianji mingfen wenti 從隋唐到宋元時期的胡漢互動兼及名分問題," in *Tang-Song shiqi de mingfenzhixu*, 139–96.

than that, we may overlook the responses and mentalities of agents at the time. For instance, the Jin court insisted on not acceding to the Song's repeated requests for changing the Song emperor's status as a minister when facing the Jin envoy on behalf of the Jin emperor in the rite of receiving a state letter.³⁷ The Southern Song court adhered to a pragmatic and flexible principle in diplomacy like that used to be applied in the establishment of the dynasty and capital. Emperor Xiaozong once explicitly pointed out the practical facet of diplomacy, and in his reign the court demanded that the name "Great Jin (*Da Jin* 大金)" be used in diplomatic documents, while in official documents internally circulated it should be replaced with a neutral term "Jin state (*Jinguo* 金國)."³⁸ The compromises reflected the Southern Song's own diplomatic and ritual dilemmas.

The urban/spatial perspective downplayed in the existing scholarship on diplomatic history can help us better understand the transition of diplomatic rituals and world order in East Asia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. First, a capital city was the place for an empire's most important diplomatic ceremonies. It is no exaggeration to say that the bipolar regional order was spatially centered on the capitals of Song and Liao or Jin that were also the geopolitical centers of their respective tributary-investiture systems. Their regional influence, to some extent, was reflected at the ceremony in the number of participants from neighboring or subordinate regimes. The sharp decrease in Southern Song Lian'an was a typical example.

³⁷ Zhao Yongchun, "Song Jin guanyu shoushu li de douzheng."

³⁸ *SHY*, zhiguan 52.1.

Second, the regular and irregular exchanges of emissaries between two capital cities forged and maintained formal links with each other, representing the *jiaopin* relationship between the two empires. In the Northern Song period, there was no fixed capital city in the Khitan Liao Empire due to the five-capital (*wujing* 五京) system and the tradition of seasonal residence (*nabo* 捺鉢). The central court changed its site with the emperor's movement, and the place of his residence was regarded the nominal capital.³⁹ Therefore, the Song-Liao *jiaopin* routes were changeable. Though the Jurchen Jin introduced and adapted the Liao systems in many ways, in the second half of the 1130s the wide-ranging institutional reforms referring to the Han Chinese systems facilitated the establishment of one specific capital city within its multiple-capital system since 1138.⁴⁰ From 1153 to 1214 the capital of Jin, *Zhongjing* 中京 or *Zhongdu* 中都 (lit. "Central Capital" for both), was located in Daxing 大興 (the southwestern part of modern Beijing), and the imperial hunting normally took place in the vicinity of the capital.⁴¹ After the Jin capital was moved to Daxing in 1153, the regular *jiaopin* route between two capitals came into being for the first time in the East Asian world, demonstrating the significance of normalization of the Song-Jin relationship.⁴² In this sense, scholars can further examine the Song-Jin

³⁹ Fu Lehuan 傅樂煥, "Liaodai sishi nabo kao 遼代四時捺鉢考," in Fu Lehuan, *Liaoshi congkao* 遼史叢考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 94; Liu Pujiang, "Jinchao chuye de guodu wenti: Cong buzhu tizhi xiang dizhi wangchao zhuanxing zhong de teshu zhengzhi shengtai 金朝初葉的國都問題: 從部族體制向帝制王朝轉型中的特殊政治生態," in Liu Pujiang, *Song Liao Jin shi lunji* 宋遼金史論集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2017), 58. For an introduction to the Liao *nabo* system, see Fu Lehuan, "Liaodai sishi nabo kao," 36–97.

⁴⁰ Liu, "Jinchao chuye de guodu wenti," 49.

⁴¹ Liu Pujiang, "Chunshui qiushan: Jindai nabo yanjiu 春水秋山——金代捺鉢研究," in Liu Pujiang, *Songmo zhijian: Liao Jin Qidan Nuzhen shi yanjiu* 松漠之間——遼金契丹女真史研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 317; Fu Lehuan, "Liaodai sishi nabo kao," 99.

⁴² Li Huarui, *Song Xia guanxishi*, 359.

diplomatic interactions and negotiations in terms of several dimensions such as the temporal and spatial stability of relevant rituals, the status quo of relative parity, and the mirror images of the *jiaopin* diplomacy in text and context.

Third, the influence of a capital city on diplomatic activities throughout an empire makes it essential to explore reflexive ritual spaces at multiple spatial scales. The capital city and other cities including post houses on the *jiaopin* route were nodes of a ritual network, which could be divided into three parts: the capital area, the borderland, and the region in between. Almost all the personnel involved in diplomacy required ritual training and rehearsals in the capital. The diplomatic missions could be deemed mobile ritual space, and were usually confined to local contexts. As for the reception at the local level, the senior officials as host were sent to accompany their guests all the way to the capital from the boundary, and with the assistance of local officials, prepared banquets for them in several major cities along the route. The local arrangements seemed to be the prelude or small-scale rehearsal of the diplomatic rituals performed in the capital. The emperor generally dispatched close eunuchs as his representatives presenting gifts to their guests and conveying greetings of the emperor, which had become a regular part of rituals and formed a specific genre of official documents, *kouxuan* 口宣 (lit. oral statement). During the reception information was transferred between local governments and the central court for the arrangement and adjustment of diplomatic activities in the capital.

Departing for the Capital

Given the wartime geopolitical situation in the early Southern Song, the Song

court developed a new pragmatic pattern for its relations with neighboring states and ethnic groups, distinct from the Northern Song system.⁴³ Few regimes were allowed to send their embassies to Lin'an. The Song court demanded that those Southeast Asian states coming by sea routes should fulfill their tributary missions in the major ports like Guangzhou 廣州, Quanzhou 泉州 and Mingzhou.⁴⁴ The policy basically dominated the subsequent diplomatic interaction. The requests made by Champa and Annam for conducting tributary trade in Lin'an were rarely sanctioned.⁴⁵ Suspecting Koryŏ envoys as potential spies for the Jin, Southern Song officials normally opposed their receptions in Lin'an on the ground of national security.⁴⁶ The imperial court also asked local prefectures to welcome the envoys from loose-reign prefectures that used to be permitted access to the capital every five years in the Northern Song.⁴⁷ The requests were rejected for the sake of the "remote (*daoyuan* 道

⁴³ The factor of a shifting temporary capital in the early period, as discussed in the first chapter, should also be taken into consideration. Note that from 1128 to 1136 the official tributary relations had been broken off between Southern Song and Xixia, Southern Song and Koryŏ. Huang Chunyan, *Songdai chaogong tixi*, 125–26, 128–29.

⁴⁴ Cao Jiaqi 曹家齊, *Songdai jiaotong guanli zhidu yanjiu* 宋代交通管理制度研究 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 2002), 67–68. Historical records show that in the early 1130s the Arabs (*Dashi* 大食) engaged in the tributary trade more actively than people from other Southeast Asian states like Champa and Zhenla 真臘 (Cambodia), but their tributes were mostly unsuccessful. Zhenlifu 真里富, a subordinate state of Zhenla and located to the southwest of Zhenla, first sent tributes to Southern Song in the early 1200s. Its tribute to the Song in 1205 was the last tributary interaction between Southern Song and Southeast Asian states. Huang Chunyan, *Songdai chaogong tixi*, 136–37, 139–41; *SS*, 489.14087. For a brief summary of scholars' discussions on the location of Zhenlifu, see Chen Hongyu 陳鴻瑜, *Taiguo shi* 泰國史 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshu guan, 2014), 45.

⁴⁵ *SHY*, fanyi 4.53, 82–83, 5.38. The *Yuhai* lists sixteen tributaries coming to Song since the establishment of Southern Song, but very few eventually were allowed to go to the temporary capital.

⁴⁶ *SS*, 487.14050–52. From the late Northern Song on, Koryŏ ignored the Song's practice of investiture, and joined the Liao's tributary system first and later that of the Jurchens after they defeated the Khitans in 1125. See Huang Chunyan, *Songdai chaogong tixi yanjiu*, 127–29. Michael Rogers' study shows that Koryŏ officials finally recognized Jin, different from Liao, as a legitimate successor of Chinese authority due to the Jurchens' military superiority and their drive into North China. See Michael Rogers, "National Consciousness in Medieval Korea: The Impact of Liao and Chin on Koryŏ," in *China among Equals*, 151–72.

⁴⁷ *SS*, 496.12434; *SHY*, fanyi 5.32. The relevant diplomatic ceremonies were recorded in Northern Song ritual books such as the *Zhenghewuli xinyi* and in the ritual section of the *Songshi*.

遠)” and “inaccessible (*daolu weitong*)” capital.⁴⁸ Jin was the only state regularly sending out their missions to the Southern Song capital in the mid-twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

The Song-Jin diplomatic relations were embodied and maintained by the travelling embassies exchanged between the two capitals. In the *jiaopin* system organizing a deputation was not only the start of a diplomatic mission, but also activated the East Asian ritual network. It is noteworthy that each embassy undertook one mission during the period from its formation to the completion of its assignment.⁴⁹ For the New Year celebrations, the preparatory phase could be tedious and complicated as each side had to form embassies for both official visit and reception. In this sense, the complementary sources of the host-guest similar procedures help explore the formation of a delegation.⁵⁰

In the *Songshi* and the *Jinshi* were recorded the specific dates on which one state announced the names and official titles of a chief envoy (*shi* 使) and his deputy (*fushi* 副使) as well as their missions.⁵¹ The Song’s announcement was issued three to four and a half months prior to their arrival in the Jin capital. The interval fluctuations resulted from the relocation of the Jin capital in 1153 and changes in

⁴⁸ *SS*, 494.14187, 14190; *SHY*, fanyi 5.38–39, 95; Huang Chunyan, 118.

⁴⁹ The principle that I named “one embassy one mission” had already been applied in the Song-Liao model.

⁵⁰ The composition of an embassy and the personnel recruitment have been studied in great detail by Nie Chongqi, Herbert Franke, Wu Xiaoping and Li Hui, but a more dynamic time-space perspective and viewing the preparatory phase as an integral part of the whole mission are still necessary. An unavoidable shortcoming is the lack of relevant Jin sources which might be more or less supplemented by the Song records.

⁵¹ The dates were earlier than those for dispatching embassies. Li Hui confuses different dates in her annals for the Song-Jin diplomatic exchanges.

their relationships.⁵² Records in the *Jinshi* suggest that the Jin court could have announced its decision and dispatch the embassy to Lin'an on the same day, about one and a half to two months in advance and much later than the Song's. The order of the announcement dates seemed to reflect the superior status of Jin, and implied that the Jurchens might have responded to the Song's selections by taking the advantage of the time difference.

It is unclear when the two courts started selecting their envoys, but after the announcement, both states must have been informed by means of a kind of diplomatic documents, *die* 牒, which was a flexible medium for information exchange.⁵³ After the Song chief envoy and his deputy were decided upon, they would be involved in the selection of clerical and military personnel for a diplomatic mission, which would be dispatched forty to fifty days before arriving in the Jin capital.⁵⁴ For heads of a reception delegation, a Welcoming Escort Commissioner (*jieban shi* 接伴使) and his deputy were announced around twenty days before the Jurchens reached the Song border, and a Hostel Escort Commissioner (*guanban shi* 館伴使) and his deputy shortly after the Jurchens crossed the border.⁵⁵

⁵² The Song court usually announced the decision of a chief envoy and his deputy for the New Year celebrations as early as in the middle of the eighth month between 1143 and 1153 during which the Jin capital had not been moved to Zhongjing and the diplomatic status of Song was inferior to the Jin's. When the Song had a superficial diplomatic parity with the Jurchens in the early period of the reign era of Xiaozong, the Song court often announced the decision in the early tenth month. From the crisis of the reception of Jin's state letter in 1175 to the Xiaozong's abdication in 1189, the decision was announced in the late tenth month. *SS*, juan 30–31.

⁵³ The procedure on the Song side is as follows. The chief councilors first nominated several candidates. Senior policymakers then select the chief envoy and his deputy through collective discussion. The list was finally approved by the emperor, and the appointment would be announced at the appropriate time. Li Hui, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 35. For the discussion on the diplomatic document *die*, see Tao Jinsheng, "Song Liao guanxi zhong de waijiao wenshu: yi 'die' wei li 宋遼關係中的外交文書：以 '牒' 為例," in Tao Jinsheng, *Song Liao Jin shi luncong*, 133–81.

⁵⁴ Wu Xiaoping, *Songdai waijiao zhidu yanjiu*, 118–20; Li Hui, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 39–40.

⁵⁵ *WZJ*, juan 152; Li Hui, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 35.

Like the Song-Liao model, the envoys of Southern Song and Jin were categorized into two main groups, regular emissaries (*changshi* 常使) and floating emissaries (*fanshi* 泛使).⁵⁶ The first group, also known as Emissaries for State Letters (*guoxin shi* 國信使) in a narrow sense who would present official statements, mainly consisted of Emissaries for the New Year Celebrations (*zhengdan shi* 正旦使) and Emissaries for the Emperor's Birthday (*shengchen shi* 生辰使).⁵⁷ The second group of envoys, sent out occasionally, dealt with peace negotiations and controversial issues between the two states.⁵⁸

An embassy as mobile ritual space symbolically represented the guest state. The ritualization of a deputation before its departure was an indispensable part of a mission. According to extant sources, the Song took the issue seriously, imposing detailed strict regulations. For example, the envoy's title reflected his diplomatic mission, such as Emissary for the New Year celebrations or Emissary for the Emperor's Birthday. The envoy had to be renamed if his name violated Jin imperial

⁵⁶ Su Song 蘇頌, *Su Weigong wenji* 蘇魏公文集, Yingyin Wenyuange Sikuquanshu edition, 66.3a; Nie Chongqi summarizes twelve types of Northern Song and Liao envoys according to their various missions. Nie Chongqi 聶崇岐, "Song Liao jiaopin kao 宋遼交聘考," in *Songshi congkao* 宋史叢考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 287; Li Hui, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 29–35, 103–108; Herbert Franke, "Sung Embassies," 118–19. The title translations refer to Franke's version.

⁵⁷ XNYL, 124.2009. Given the ritual procedures, some of the other titles were paired like Emissaries for Announcing the Accession of a New Ruler (*gao dengwei shi* 告登位使)/Emissaries for Congratulating the New Ruler on the Enthronement (*he dengwei shi* 賀登位使) and Emissaries for Announcing the Death of the Ruler or His Mother (*gaoai shi* 告哀使)/Emissaries for Offering Sacrifices and Condolences (*diaoji shi* 吊祭使). Li Hui indicates that the two titles of Emissaries for Remembrance (*jidian shi* 祭奠使) and Emissaries for Offering Condolences (*diaowei shi* 吊慰使) had been merged into a single title, Emissaries for Offering Sacrifices and Condolences, in the Song-Jin model. Li Hui, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 30, 105. Franke has noticed that these types of envoys "were all concerned with ritual matters." Herbert Franke, "Sung Embassies," 119. The Southern Song court also dispatched condolence and investiture envoys to Jiaozhi (later Annam). Some overseas merchants were recruited as emissary to the peripheral states. See Wu Xiaoping, *Songdai waijiao zhidu yanjiu*, 105–109, 126–127.

⁵⁸ The Jurchens' higher diplomatic status was reflected in the titles of floating embassies such as Embassies for Detailed Inquiries (*xiangwen shi* 詳問使) and Embassies for Examination (*shenyi shi* 審議使), while the Song's titles like Embassies for General Inquires (*tongwen shi* 通問使) and Embassies for Requests (*qiqing shi* 祈請使) seemed to express an abject attitude for the proprietries.

names or imperial ancestral temple title taboos.⁵⁹ Interestingly, the Song court could change the Jin envoy's name by the same principle.⁶⁰ The special system of borrowing superior titles for envoys (*jieguan* 借官) adopted by the Song may suggest an attempt to imply superiority in diplomacy.⁶¹ The whole embassy including the envoys followed formal dress codes according to their statuses and different ritual occasions. More important, envoys required ritual knowledge and experiences. Southern Song civil officials were usually selected as chief envoy and military official's assistant. The Song court did not encourage military officials to be actively engaged in diplomacy given the time-consuming ritual learning and training.⁶² Jin military officials normally served as chief envoy. In many cases, one of the two envoys was Han Chinese.⁶³ Such an arrangement was perhaps out of effective communication and ritual considerations.

The scale of a Southern Song embassy to Jin varied from fifty or sixty to more than a hundred people, larger than the Jin's.⁶⁴ Apart from chief envoy and his deputy, most of them were among the three-rank escorts (*sanjie rencong* 三節人從) with roles in rituals for the upper and middle ranks and with responsibility for security

⁵⁹ SHY, *zhiguan* 36.52, 51.7, 51.38.

⁶⁰ SHY, *zhiguan* 51.1.

⁶¹ For brief discussions on the envoys' titles and the *jieguan* system, see Wu Xiaoping, *Songdai waijiao zhidu yanjiu*, 124–26; Li Hui, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 36–38.

⁶² Li Hui, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 27–28.

⁶³ The Jurchens had valued the commissioner's Han-Chinese literacy in diplomacy since the early period of their interaction with the Song in the 1120s. A chief commissioner who could speak Chinese was selected from non-Han Chinese peoples like the Jurchens, Bohai 渤海, Khitans, and Xi 奚, and a Chinese scholar official was appointed as his deputy. Zhong Bangzhi 鍾邦直, "Xuanhe yisi fengshi Jinguo xingcheng lu 宣和乙巳奉使金國行程錄 (hereafter XHFSL)," in *JKBS*, 36–37. Such a measure were probably adopted for the Jin envoy selection.

⁶⁴ SHY, *zhiguan*, 36.43. Around seventy people constituted a Jin embassy. Li, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 109.

and chores for the lower rank.⁶⁵ The Song court had specific standards in the selection of escort personnel: aged between thirty and fifty, good-looking, and skilled in equitation and so forth.⁶⁶ Before their departure, in the Capital Inn in Lin'an almost all relevant personnel received intensive training in diplomatic protocol under the charge of the Department for Ingoing and Outgoing State Credentials (*wanglai guoxin suo* 往來國信所).⁶⁷ Practical ritual handbooks were provided to envoys and commissioners for reference since 1196.⁶⁸ While we do not know much about the Jin, the limited sources seem to suggest that they also paid attention to the protocol, but less than the Song especially in the beginning of their diplomatic interaction.

Like the Song-Liao pattern, the reception of the Jin envoys in Southern Song China was divided into two stages, departing for the capital (*fuque* 赴闕) and arriving in the capital (*daoque* 到闕), which were in the charge of Welcoming Escort Commissioner and Hostel Escort Commissioner respectively. The two phases were spatially distinguished by two boundaries, the state border between Song and Jin and the boundary of a capital region, an imagined line demarcated by officials.⁶⁹ The Treaty of Shaoxing in 1142 recognized the midstream of the Huai River (*Huaihe*

⁶⁵ Herbert Franke, "Sung Embassies," 123. Li, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 108–109. On the composition of the Song three-rank escorts see *SHY*, zhiguan 51.35, 39.

⁶⁶ *SHY*, zhiguan 51.41–42. Herbert Franke, "Sung Embassies," 126.

⁶⁷ *SHY*, zhiguan 52.1–2; *XCLAZ*, juan 10; Lou Yue, *GKJ*, 111.6a–6b.

⁶⁸ *SHY*, zhiguan 51.40.

⁶⁹ In the Song-Liao model the reception ceremony held on the boundary of a capital region, namely the suburban area, was probably derived from the rite of extending best wishes to guests in the suburbs (*jiaolao* 郊勞) in the *Da Tang kaiyuan li* and its origin could be traced to the *Yili*.

zhongliu 淮河中流) as the boundary between Song and Jin.⁷⁰ The borderlands between the two states not merely played an important role in territorial expansion, law enforcement, border trade, and information exchange but also created meaningful and powerful ritual spaces in diplomacy.⁷¹

Before 1142 Song did not have an identified border with Jin. In the *Xuanhe yisi fengshi Jinguo xingcheng lu* 宣和乙巳奉使金國行程錄 written by Zhong Bangzhi 鍾邦直, who served as official in charge of gifts in the Song embassy sent out in 1125 to celebrate the enthronement of Emperor Taizong of Jin, the author recorded the rite of border crossing held at the Jin southern border in Qingzhou 清州 (present-day Qingxian 青縣). The established border was one *li* long from east to west and marked by two three *chi* high battlements.⁷² The rite performed by the Song and the Jurchens was depicted as follows.

In the early stage a document with the names and titles of the Song envoy and his deputy was sent to the Jin borders [of Qingzhou or other prefectures]; Song carts and horses should be prepared, and attendants awaited orders. In Jin the Welcoming Escort Commissioner and his deputy were then dispatched to wait [for the Song embassy] at the borders. There were temporary tents set up on the two borders [ie. state and prefectural borders]. The Song envoy first ordered the usher to take his and his deputy's name cards to the Jurchens, and then the Jin commissioner responded by ordering the Jin usher to bring his and his deputy's name cards and invite the Song mission to cross the border. According to precedents, the Song envoy mounted the horse

⁷⁰ *SCBM*, 208.6a.1499.

⁷¹ Xu Lun 許綸, *Shezhai ji* 涉齋集, Yingyin Wenyuange Sukuan quanshu edition, 17.5b; *SHY*, xingfa 2.162–63, zhiguan 51.40–41.

⁷² *XHFSL*, 12–13; *JS*, 60.1392. Zheng Wangzhi 鄭望之 (1078–1161) in his report, *Jingkang chengxia fengshi lu* 靖康城下奉使錄, recorded a Jin envoy's demand for taking the Yellow River as the Song-Jin border when Kaifeng was besieged by the Jurchens in 1126. *SCBM*, 28.10a.210.

after the Jin usher requested him to do so three times; the Song envoy and the Jin commissioner met each other face to face on horseback at the midpoint of the borders; the ushers presented each other their name cards; the envoy and the commissioner slightly bowed to their left side with hands clasped in front and horsewhips raised; the Song embassy then went across the borders in order.⁷³

前期具國信使、副職位、姓名關牒虜界，備車馬人夫以待。虜中亦如期差接伴使、副於界首伺候。兩界各有幕次。行人先令引接賚國信使、副門狀過彼此，彼亦令引接以接伴使、副門狀回示，仍請過界。於例，三請方上馬，各於兩界心對立馬，引接互呈門狀，各舉鞭虛揖如儀，以次行焉。

The “precedents” here refer to the previous border-crossing rites conducted by the Song and the Khitans as the author mentioned in the report that the Song envoy consulted the *Fengshi qidan tiaoli* 奉使契丹條例, regulations for Song envoys sent to Khitan Liao.⁷⁴ The Jurchens could have also read similar materials preserved by the Khitans.

In light of the principle of diplomatic parity and the theoretically corresponding symmetrical historical accounts, we can conjecture that the Jin embassy should have gone through almost the same rite on the Baigou Bridge (*Baigou qiao* 白溝橋) over the Baigou River (*Baigou he* 白溝河), the border between Northern Song and Liao. Yet it is noteworthy that, at least in the reign of Emperor Shenzong the Song commissioners met the Liao envoys at the southern end of the bridge, while the Jin envoys were probably welcomed in the middle of the bridge in the late Northern Song.⁷⁵ From 1126 to 1141 the border-crossing rite between the Song and the Jin

⁷³ *XHFSL*, 1.13.

⁷⁴ *XHFSL*, 1.13.

⁷⁵ Chen Xiang 陈襄, “Shenzong haungdi jiwei shi Liao yulu 神宗皇帝即位使遼語錄,” *QSW* 50: 228–29; Wang

might have been rarely held due to various factors such as the deterioration of their relationship in wartime and the puppet regimes in between supported by the Jin.⁷⁶

The Jurchens' crossing of the Huai River marked the start of the phase of departure for the capital. In the second half of the Shaoxing reign period, the border-crossing ritual basically referred to the structure of the 1125 protocol, but in order to reflect the Song-Jin diplomatic imparity, specific procedures involving motions and expressions had been adjusted accordingly. A new procedure was added that the Song usher needed to present a welcome letter (*yuanying zhuang* 遠迎狀) to the Jin envoy who did not have to reply. The Song receptionists were asked to bribe the Jin usher when he came to submit the name cards of the Jin envoy and his deputy to ingratiate themselves with the Jin.⁷⁷

At the end of the Shaoxing period the Jin invasion of Southern Song led by the Jin emperor Wanyan Liang 完顏亮 (r. 1150–61) suffered major setbacks due to a domestic coup and a heavy defeat in the Battle of Caishi 采石. In the twelfth month of 1161, the new ruler of Jin enthroned two month earlier appointed Gao Zhongjian 高忠建 as Envoy for Notifying the Song State (*baoyu Songguo shi* 報諭宋國使) in hope of an armistice and a stable relationship with the Song. As Welcoming Escort Commissioner for the Jin mission, Hong Mai proposed fourteen changes to the previous diplomatic protocol in 1162 on the grounds of his belief that Song could obtain an equal status with Jin by adopting “reciprocal rituals (*dili* 敵禮)” as well as

An'shi 王安石, *Lin'chuan xiansheng wenji* 臨川先生文集, Sibugongkan chubian edition, 5.7a.

⁷⁶ Li Hui, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 36, 81–85.

⁷⁷ XNYL, 198.3896.

his personal judgment on the “pure benevolence for ordinary people (*renhou aimin zhi xin* 仁厚愛民之心)” of Emperor Shizong of Jin.⁷⁸ Hong’s proposals won the approval of the Song court, and the new protocol was probably observed by the two sides. For the revised border-crossing ritual, the main focuses were motions and expressions. The procedure of presenting a welcome letter was cancelled. In addition, since in the ninth month of 1161 the Song had occupied Sizhou 泗州 to the north of the Huai River, at the suggestion of Hong Mai the Song court decided to shift the place of Song commissioners’ meeting with Jin envoys from the midstream of the Huai River to the tomb of Yuji 虞姬 in the north of Hongxian 虹縣.⁷⁹ This seems to have been accepted by the Jurchens.

The Huai River (Map 5.1) was reaffirmed as the Song-Jin border after the 1165 Longxing Treaty, Sizhou reoccupied by the Jurchens. Reception of the Jurchens by the Song in practice was probably nearly the same as that recorded in the reports of Song envoys en route to Jin. The procedures mainly followed the above-mentioned 1125 model, but more details were added. In general, the Jin embassy arrived in Sizhou several days prior to the scheduled date. The prefect then sent a messenger to the military prefecture of Xuyi 盱眙 to inquire whether the Song commissioner and his deputy had been there. If not, a messenger would go to confirm again one or two days later. During the interval the Jin embassy might have practiced protocol in their residence. The prefect of Xuyi usually first sent a messenger to make an appointment with the Jin envoy. The usher and the master of ceremonies (*zhangyi* 掌儀) of the Jin

⁷⁸ XNYL, 198.3891; JS, 61.1417, 72.1656, 107.2357.

⁷⁹ XNYL, 192.3736; SS, 32.603; *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi (Song Xi Xia juan)*, 515, 517–18.

embassy went to transmit the message of the names and titles of the Jin envoy and his deputy, a procedure by the name of *chuanxie* 傳銜. In response, the Song usher was sent to provide the information about the Song commissioner and his deputy. After this, the Jin embassy usually crossed the Huai River the next day. On that day the three-rank escorts first embarked for the Song territory with gifts. The Song commissioner, the Jin envoy and their deputies met in the middle of the river, performed rituals and sailed to the southern riverbank.⁸⁰ Different from the protocol in 1125 and the early 1160s, the transportation was changed to vessels, and the rite of three invitations was cancelled. In the Song envoys' reports, after disembarkation they were usually accompanied by the Jin commissioners in the ferry pavilion to conduct the rite of bowing from a distance (*wangbai* 望拜) to the direction of the Jin capital.⁸¹ Yet no solid evidence proves that the Jin envoys performed a similar rite in Xuyi. It took about six to eight days to accomplish the whole procedures at the border.

⁸⁰ Lou Yue, *Beixing rilu* 北行日錄 (hereafter BXRL), in *QSBJ*, 6nd ser., vol.4 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2013), 11–12; Zhou Hui 周輝, *Bei yuan lu* 北轅錄 (hereafter BYL), in *QSBJ*, 5nd ser., vol.9 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2012), 192–93; Cheng Zhuo 程卓, *Shi Jin lu* 使金錄 (hereafter SJL), in *QSBJ*, 6nd ser., vol.5 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2013), 116–17; *ZXLSXB*, 57.599.

⁸¹ *BXRL*, 12; *BYL*, 192; *SJL*, 117; Song Zhicai 宋之才, “Shi Jin he shengchen huan fuming biao 使金賀生辰還復命表,” *QSW*, vol.182, 115.



Map 5.1: The Huai River border region between the Jin and the Southern Song⁸²

- | | | |
|-----------------|------------|-------------|
| 1. Xuyi | 2. Sizhou | 3. Hongxian |
| 4. Tomb of Yuji | 5. Chuzhou | 6. Yangzhou |
| 7. Jiankang | | |

The guest ritual sections in the extant Tang-Song ritual books focus on the diplomatic scenes of imperial capital cities, while the state rituals held in the borderlands are marginalized and even overlooked. No formal record on the border-crossing rituals has been found in the *Kaiyuan li*, the *Taichang ying li* or the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*. The related accounts included in the *Zhongxing lishu* and the *Zhongxing lishu xubian*, compiled in the Southern Song, were merely taken as events rather than ritual activities. Fortunately, I found three pieces of relevant evidence in the *Song huiyao jigao* collected and compiled by Qing scholars from the *Yongle dadian*. As opposed to the depictions in the Song envoys' reports, the invaluable

⁸² Adpated from: Denis Twitchett and Paul Jakov Smith eds., *The Cambridge History of China Volume 5 Part One: The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors, 907–1279*, 685; Tan Qixiang ed., *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji (Song, Liao, Jin shiqi)* 中國歷史地圖集（宋遼金時期）vol. 6 (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1982), 62.

primary sources reveal a vivid picture of border-crossing involving the Song and Jin three-rank escorts with lower status in deputations. More important, these accounts point to the conflicts between the two sides and provide a different perspective on the role and significance of the border in the guest ritual. Two records refer to the Xiaozong reign era and one the Ningzong reign era; all could cover a long period of time, from the post-Longxing era to the early thirteenth century, in Song-Jin diplomacy.

The actual rituals were not always performed with courtesy and respect, and the tensions and conflicts reported between the two sides' participants reflect their attitudes to the rituals in varying degrees. The Huai River set one of the stages for Song-Jin ritual or cultural competitions. In the twelfth month of 1173, Zhang Yi 張疑, appointed as deputy of chief envoy for the New Year celebrations to Jin two months earlier, mentioned in his memorial the ritual chaos that occurred on the southern bank of the Huai River.⁸³ The local government had constructed two docks on the bank, one for the Song commissioner and the Jin envoy, and the other for their deputies. Since there were upper and lower moorings for each dock, the Song and the Jurchens both sought to occupy the upper positions, as a sign of superiority. The competition would start midstream after the border-crossing rite. Zhang was concerned about such a conflict, "a disgrace to the state (*youshi guoti* 有失國體)," might have been out of control. The Song court adopted his proposal and ordered that the local government should rearrange the docks by state and erect handwritten

⁸³ The Song deputy's name was recorded as Zhang Ni 張疑 in the *Jinshi*. JS, 61.1432.

signs for identification.⁸⁴

The spatial revision, however, did not completely solve the problem. In the third month of 1201, Yu Lie 俞烈 (?–1213), who had been appointed as chief envoy for expressing gratitude to the Jurchens' condolences on Guangzong's death last month, proposed a solution based on his own experience. He saw that the Song and Jurchen soldiers as steersmen and oarsmen strived to be the first to reach the riverbank, and when a Song boat was in the lead, the Jurchens' competitiveness aroused, they tried to hook its stern or even struck the Song soldiers with long oars. In Yu's view, such conduct would bring disgrace upon diplomacy and therefore, he suggested that both sides should berth at the docks at the same time and the local government should restrain its soldiers in case of conflict escalation.⁸⁵ Such solutions might have prevented this sort of ritual conflicts in the short run, but they were hardly averted completely, especially when both sides consciously or unconsciously regarded protocol as a metaphor for competition or realized that they could use the power of symbolic elements or procedures in the rituals to display their superior statuses. The conflicts might have been also affected by other factors such as disorder caused by excessive drinking at the reception banquet.⁸⁶

The Southern Song canals (Figure 5.2) were a convenience for the diplomatic

⁸⁴ *SHY*, zhiguan 51.25. For a brief description of the riverside decorations during the reception, see Yang Wanli 楊萬里, *Chengzhai ji* 誠齋集, Sibū congkan chubian edition, 27.15b.

⁸⁵ *SHY*, zhiguan 51.27. Yu's proposal has come to Li Hui's notice but is only used to show that the Song and Jin envoys met in the midstream of the Huai River.

⁸⁶ According to an edict issued in the second month in 1187, six Song officials and soldiers mentioned by name were punished as they tried to seize the Jurchens' carriages and ritual equipment and clamored when intoxicated. *SHY*, zhiguan 51.3. Of course, we cannot rule out the possibility that the disorder might have been concerned with the ritual competition and its associated symbolic meaning.

missions. During the phase of departing for the capital, the Jin embassy normally had a two-week canal cruise from Xuyi to the bank of the Red River (*Chi'an* 赤岸), the ritual border of the imperial capital region.⁸⁷ Accompanied by the Song officials, the Jurchens first went to Chuzhou 楚州 to the northeast of Xuyi along the Guishan Canal (*Guishan yunhe* 龜山運河) which, completed in 1083, linked the Yangchu Canal (*Yang-Chu yunhe* 揚楚運河) and the Bian River (*Bianhe* 汴河).⁸⁸ The Jurchens then sailed along the Grand Canal down to Chi'an. As the Bian River had been dry and abandoned since the late Northern Song due to war and environmental effects, the Song envoy and his deputy in most cases took carriages in Jin territory, and had to hurry their journey at night.⁸⁹ By contrast, the Jurchens' journey was much easier in Southern Song. The scenes of prosperous cities and city-towns along the Grand Canal must have attracted the Jurchens, while the lost territory in the north evoked sad nostalgic memories of the Song.⁹⁰ The selection of canals might also have been motivated by security considerations in case of divulgence of state secrets. In 1161 the Song commissioner firmly rejected the demand from the Jin envoy Gao Jingshan 高景山 for riding on land routes as he suffered from nausea on the canal.⁹¹

⁸⁷ The reconstruction of the route can be referred to *BXRL* and *SJL*, see Li Hui, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 61–62. In her reconstructed map Li misplaces the location of the temporary capital Lin'an.

⁸⁸ *SS*, 96.2381–82.

⁸⁹ Fan Chengda 范成大, “Du Huai 渡淮,” in Fan Chengda, *Fan shihu ji* 范石湖集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), 22.145. Zou Yilin analyzes the causes and process of the Bian River's siltation during the Tang-Song period. The river totally lost its transportation function since the late Northern Song. Zou Yilin 鄒逸麟, “Tang Song Bianhe yuse de yuanyin jiqi guocheng 唐宋汴河淤塞的原因及其過程,” in Zou Yilin, *Chunlu shidi lungao* 椿廬史地論稿 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2005), 81–107.

⁹⁰ Wu Jieying 吳潔盈, “Lun Fan Chengda shi Jin lutu de xinjing bianhua: Yi Beizheng xiaoji wei zhongxin 論范成大使金路途的心境變化——以《北征小集》為中心,” *Zhongguo wenxue yanjiu* 中國文學研究 (Taiwan daxue) 2 (2017): 49–82.

⁹¹ Li Hui, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 60–61.



Fig. 5.2: The *jiaopin* route (Lin'an–Xuyi) in the Southern Song⁹²

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Lin'an | 2. Chi'an | 3. Jiaxing 嘉興 |
| 4. Pingwang 平望 | 5. Wujiang 吳江 | 6. Pingjiang 平江 |
| 7. Wuxi 無錫 | 8. Benniu 奔牛 | 9. Danyang 丹陽 |
| 10. Zhenjiang 鎮江 | 11. Yangzhou | 12. Gaoyou 高郵 |
| 13. Jiesshou 界首 | 14. Baoying 寶應 | |
| 15. Peaceful Harmony Bridge 平和橋 | 16. Chuzhou | |
| 17. Huaiyin 淮陰 | 18. Dutou 瀆頭 | 19. Guishan 龜山 |
| 20. Xuyi | | |

Departing for the capital could also be regarded as a process in which the same categories of rites were repeatedly held in different places. When the Jin embassy arrived in a prefecture, the local officials would meet with the Jin envoy and his

⁹² Adapted from: Tan Qixiang ed., *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji (Song, Liao, Jin shiqi)*, 59–60, 62; Li Hui, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 61–62.

deputy and conducted a simplified border-crossing rite at the prefectural border.⁹³ According to an edict issued in the late eleventh month of 1143, the Palace Domestic Service (*neishi sheng* 內侍省) should send out three eunuchs respectively assisting three local prefectures to arrange banquets for the Jurchens in Xuyi, Zhenjiang 鎮江 and Pingjiang.⁹⁴ Thereafter, the spatial structure composed of the three places had been a fixed routine in Song diplomatic receptions at the local level. At the banquets, the eunuchs from the inner court welcomed their guests on behalf of the emperor, and rewarded them with tea and silverware. The addresses or *kouxuan* delivered by the eunuchs not only were important texts witnessing rituals performed at the three major nodes along the Jurchen's journey, but also implied the influence from the capital and the emperor as rehearsals for the grand rituals in Lin'an.⁹⁵ The eunuchs could rely on such influence and seize their chances to purchase Jurchen items in private.⁹⁶

The Jurchen guests might not have been totally bored with the tedious, repetitious rituals, because they were always received warmly by local officials, attended lavish banquets, obtained precious gifts in public, and were allowed to exchange presents in private, a loophole that allowed for smuggling contraband goods.⁹⁷ As for local officials, they had to prudently follow prescribed patterns in arrangements in case of diplomatic incidents and eunuchs' hypercriticism. In this

⁹³ A border-crossing rite at the prefectural border was performed in both diplomatic ritual and domestic ritual such as escorting the coffin of the second wife of Huizong to Lin'an in 1142. *ZXLS*, 227.94, 241.140.

⁹⁴ *ZXLS*, 223.82; *SHY*, zhiguan 36.44.

⁹⁵ The role of eunuchs in diplomatic ritual needs further examination.

⁹⁶ *SHY*, zhiguan 35.13, 36.25–26.

⁹⁷ Wu Xiaoping, *Songdai waijiao zhidu yanjiu*, 187–89.

sense, the rigid procedures could be the safest. Hanging maps of prefectures or counties on the walls in the post houses was strictly prohibited.⁹⁸ Even so, local officials were often faced with an annoying ritual dilemma whether the banquet would be too sumptuous given that the subtext of pleasing the Jurchens could be considered as a sign of fear or submission to them. In the prevailing view of an anonymous official, “the seemingly trivial issue was concerned with the state dignity (*guoti* 國體,) by nature (*shi sui zhiwei shiguan guoti* 事雖至微，實關國體)” which should be defended in the basic principle of diplomatic parity.⁹⁹

However, local people had complex feelings on receiving foreign guests. It was said that the dress of the Jin embassy sometimes came into fashion in local areas, but the excessive hospitality of local officials often disturbed the daily lives of ordinary people. The most miserable were boat trackers. Soldiers usually hauled boats on the Huai River, while in other places local people, more than one thousand frequently, were mobilized to get involved in the work. These boat trackers did heavy physical work, but ate inadequately and irregularly, and many died of hunger and cold especially in winter.¹⁰⁰ In addition, the Jurchens’ journey could be interrupted by unexpected happenings like the changing weather and the death of members of both

⁹⁸ In 1053 the Song court ordered that maps of local prefectures were prohibited in posthouses since the Jin commissioner previously asked the Song envoy about Yizhou 益州 when he saw the map of Yizhou in the Capital Inn during his last visit to Northern Song. *XCB*, 174.4201; *SHY*, 36.38. It was said that in order to invade the south Wan Yanliang 完顏亮 secretly sent a painter who disguised himself as a member of the Jin embassy to Linan in 1159 to paint the mountains, the West Lake, and the city-walls. *XNYL*, 183.3545.

⁹⁹ In general the Southern Song court asked the local governments to treat their guests with lavish hospitality. However, the sumptuous banquets as an example of the excessively elaborate preparations could be criticized by officials, as mentioned in a memorial in 1216 that “to lavishly treat the Jurchens with unnecessary things shows our feeling of dread, and such disgraces our state dignity (備不應備之物以過奉之，殆若有所畏而幾於失國體).” *SHY*, zhiguan 36.71; 51.26.

¹⁰⁰ *SHY*, 51.42–44, 52.3.

sides, and the delegations would hurry their journey and skip one or two posthouses to compensate for the delay.¹⁰¹ The funerals thus had become unexpected rites beyond the regular rituals.¹⁰²

Posthouses in and around Lin'an

The Song court in the early Southern Song adopted a pragmatic principle for the reception of foreign envoys, as had also been done with the suburban rites discussed in the first chapter. The treatment of subordinate regimes was not the itinerant court's primary focus at first, as the site selection for a new capital had not yet accomplished. The postal-station system that was largely dysfunctional in wartime was another problem. No posthouse was built in the temporary capital.¹⁰³ In 1128 and 1132 it was recorded that the emissaries from Champa (Zhancheng 占城, taking over today's central and southern Vietnam) and Koryŏ reached Yangzhou and Yuezhou where Gaozong stayed then.¹⁰⁴ They were probably accommodated in some places used for reception temporarily. The deduction was supported by the case of the preparations for greeting another Koryŏ deputation in 1133.

¹⁰¹ *ZXLS*, 223.85.

¹⁰² Wei Qianyun, an upper rank Jin official, died of severe illness on the route to Lin'an in 1138. The local government of the military prefecture of Gaoyou organized a Buddhist ceremony for the lament to Wei. Under the Cheng Yongxi's suggestion in 1149, three years after Wei's death, the court issued a regulation about pension for the dead Jin envoys. *SHY*, zhiguan 36.46, 49, 51.

¹⁰³ In 1127, the fifth year of the reign of King Injong 仁宗 (r. 1123–46), the Koryŏ delegation led by Kim Busik 金富軾 (1075–1151) arrived in Mingzhou by sea on the twelfth day of the fifth month. Given that the Northern Song capital had been captured by the Jurchens, the original schedule of going up to Bianjing was cancelled at last due to wartime "inaccessible routes (*daogeng* 道梗)," and the delegation had to return to Koryŏ. Even if they had known the enthronement of Gaozong in Yingtian Prefecture on the first day this month, they still had to be faced with a similar problem of taking the risk of going up to the place in wartime. Chŏng In-ji (Zheng Linzhi 鄭麟趾) et. al., *Koryŏ sa* 高麗史, Taebaek-san sago edition, 15.24a. In the "Treatise on Literature (*Yiwen zhi* 藝文志)" of the *Songshi* was recorded one volume Kim Busik's report of his visit to Song, the *Jin Fushi fengshi yulu* 金富軾奉使語錄. *SS*, 203.5124.

¹⁰⁴ *SS*, 489.14086.

In the late 1120s, the Song court resumed diplomatic exchanges with Koryō and via it sought to conduct negotiations with the Jurchens. The Koryō declined the Song court's request several times in fear of Jin power, but never stopped sending their envoys by sea to the Southern Song to maintain their foreign relations. In the twelfth month of 1132, after learning that a sixty-five-member Koryō mission would be sent to Hangzhou next year, the Song court at first decided to accommodate them in the Lin'an Prefecture Academy (*Lin'an fuxue* 臨安府學), which was built in 1131 near the Yongjin Gate and temporarily used for the local government of Lin'an Prefecture as well.¹⁰⁵ The decision was then opposed by officials on the grounds that the diplomatic activities would have affected students' learning and, more seriously, Koryō envoys might have easily gathered secret information from the place. In the second month of 1133, a final edict was issued that the Fahui Monastery function as the Hostel for Same Script (*Tongwen guan* 同文館, hereafter the Tongwen Hostel) and serve as their guests' place of temporary residence.¹⁰⁶ It should be noted that the temple famed for its efficacy in praying for rain in the late Northern Song had become the provisional offices of the Imperial Library (*mishusheng* 秘書省) since the early Shaoxing period.¹⁰⁷ This subtle arrangement stressed the commonalities of script and culture for both sides and could place the Koryō mission under surveillance. Unfortunately, the Koryō mission failed to reach Lin'an due to an

¹⁰⁵ XNYL, 63.1236; SHY, fangyu 4.17; XCLAZ, 56.3852–53. For a report of the archaeological excavations at the site of the Lin'an Prefecture Academy in recent years, see Hangzhou shi wenwu kaogu suo ed., *Nan Song Lin'an fuzhi yu fuxue yizhi* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2013).

¹⁰⁶ XNYL, 63.1236; SHY, fangyu 10.16, zhiguan 25.11; SS, 487.14051–52.

¹⁰⁷ XCLAZ, 7.3416, 80.4093.

accidental shipwreck.¹⁰⁸

In mid-1144 the Imperial Library was moved to a new site in the southwest of Lin'an.¹⁰⁹ The Fahui Monastery might have resumed its function. Interestingly, when Jiaozhi (northern Vietnam), Champa and Sri Vijaya (a Malay state named “Sanfoqi 三佛齊” in Chinese records) were allowed to dispatch their embassies to Lin'an during 1155 and 1156, the Song court did not build any new posthouse or search for a potential substitute. The Fahui Monastery was then used to accommodate the arriving delegations and renamed the Posthouse for Cherishing People from Afar (*Huaiyuan yi* 懷遠驛, hereafter the Huaiyuan Posthouse).¹¹⁰ After these foreign embassies left Lin'an, the Huaiyuan Posthouse was preserved until 1165 when on its foundations was constructed the residences for the censors (*taiguan* 臺官) and remonstrators (*jianguan* 諫官).¹¹¹ The precedent of 1133 was possibly a source of reference for the decision-making.

Whether the Huaiyuan Posthouse retained any of the features of the Tongwen Hostel was unclear, but cases in 1133 and the mid-1150s both manifested that the Song court differentiated between Jurchen Jin and its vassal states. The treatment of embassies from Jiaozhi and Champa in the temporary capital was seen as exceptionally courteous reception (*yishu* 異數).¹¹² Outnumbered by the posthouses of Northern Song Kaifeng, the Southern Song continued to carry the same names in

¹⁰⁸ Chǒng In-ji et. al., *Koryŏ sa*, 16.24a; *XNYL*, 63.1236; *SS*, 487.14052.

¹⁰⁹ *XCLAZ*, 7.3416, 19.3544–45.

¹¹⁰ *QDLAZ*, 1.13; *YDJS*, 1.41. The two Fahui Monasteries (*fahui* 法惠, 法慧) probably were not the same.

¹¹¹ *SHY*, fangyu 4.20; *XCLAZ*, 10.3447, 80.4093, 96.4235.

¹¹² *SS*, 488.14070, 489.14086.

Lin'an (Figures 5.3 and 5.4).¹¹³ The Capital Inn (*Duting yi* 都亭驛) built specifically for the Jurchens was unavailable to other states' embassies even when the Jin delegation did not come. The name of "same script" expressed the somewhat special status of Koryŏ, while the term of "cherishing people from afar" revealed the Song's consistent perception of itself as a nominal suzerain at least.¹¹⁴ Compared with the Jurchen envoys, embassies of Jiaozhi and Champa had half of the largess and allowance.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ *SHY*, fangyu 10.16.

¹¹⁴ Koryŏ during the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392) acknowledged their suzerain state five times, sequentially, to the Later Zhou, Northern Song, the Khitan Liao, the Jurchen Jin and the Mongol Song, without "moral obligations to the previous one." As Seung Kye points out, the Koryŏ elites held that "the Son of Heaven was no more than the monarch of the most powerful state in their East Asian world." The Koryŏ's view of suzerainty differed from the Chŏson's regarding Ming China as the suzerain and ritual father, "an absolute value that should never be challenged." Seung B. Kye, "Huddling under the Imperial Umbrella: A Korean Approach to Ming China in the Early 1500s," *The Journal of Korean Studies* 15.1 (2010): 59.

¹¹⁵ *SHY*, zhiguan 35.17–20, fangyu 10.16.

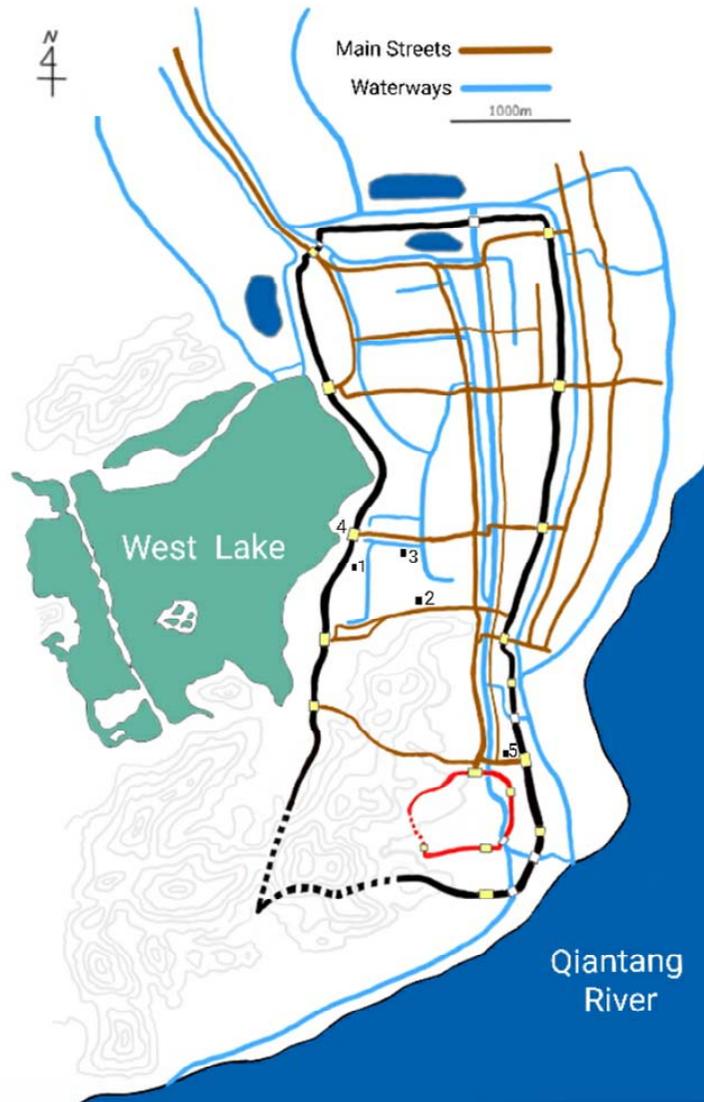


Fig. 5.3: Posthouses for foreign diplomatic missions in Southern Song Lin'an

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Lin'an Prefecture Academy | 2. Tongwen Hostel |
| 3. Huaiyuan Posthouse | 4. Yongjin Gate |
| 5. Capital Inn | |

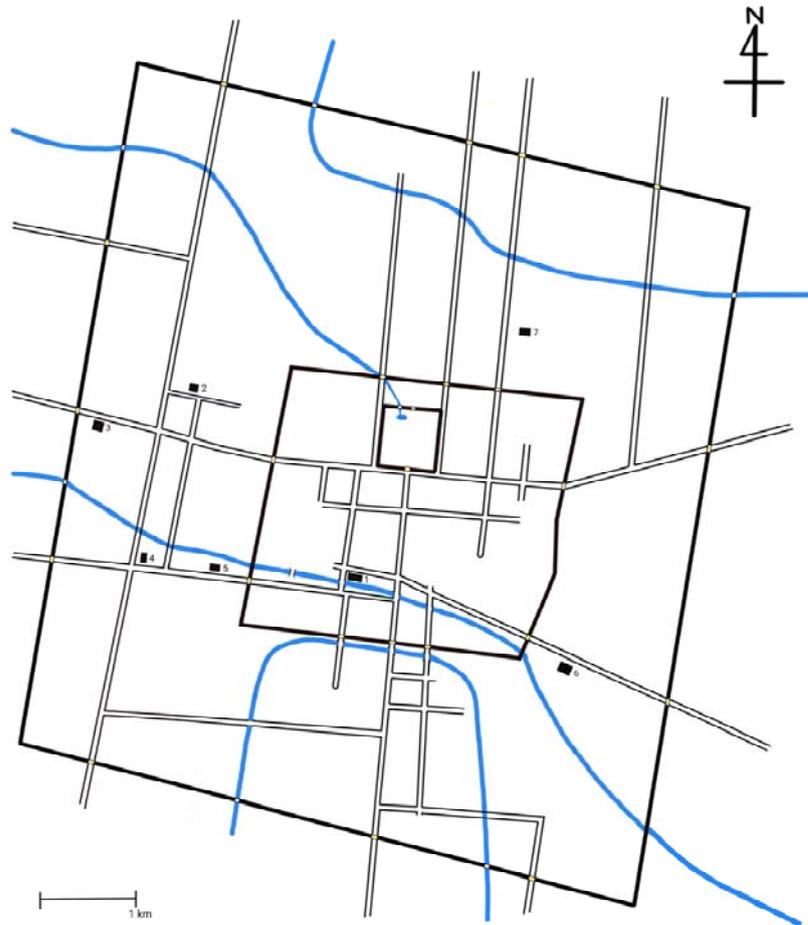


Fig. 5.4: Posthouses for foreign diplomatic missions in Northern Song Kaifeng¹¹⁶

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Capital Inn | 2. Tongwen Hostel |
| 3. Western Capital Inn 西都亭驛 | 4. Foreign Relations Office 禮賓院 |
| 5. Viewing Cloud Hostel 瞻雲館 | 6. Huaiyuan Posthouse |
| 7. Posthouse for People Coming from Afar 來遠驛 | |

It was a rare occurrence when the Song court consented to its vassal states' departing for Lin'an in 1155 and 1156. Among of these states' major intentions was probably to gain political authority through their visits.¹¹⁷ Since these states'

¹¹⁶ Adapted from *Sketch Map of Northern Song Kaifeng During the Late Reign Era of Zhenzong* (drawn by Kubota Kazuo) and *Bei Song dongjing Kaifeng fucheng tuini* 北宋東京開封府城推擬 drawn by Zhou Baozhu (in *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guojia lishi dituji* vol. 1, 129) by referring to Chen Jun 陳均, *Huangchao biannian gangmu beiyao* 皇朝編年綱目備要 (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 2006), 30.810.

¹¹⁷ For example, after the death of the king of Champa in the 1150s, the investiture of his son from the Song emperor was conducive to the new king's rule. In 1156 the ruler of Jiaozhi County was granted the title, King of Annam, and Annam thus had nominal diplomatic parity with Champa.

requests were not put forward by them for the first time, the Song court's final approval seemed to have been attempts to establish its diplomatic superiority, as Gaozong had expected that the arrival of people from afar would be a symbol of their piety and obedience, and beneficial to the Song.¹¹⁸ Huang Chunyan suggests that apart from maintaining their regular relations, the Song court attempted to create a political image of the central-peripheral difference and the submission of its subordinate states.¹¹⁹ However, it still cannot reasonably explain why the Southern Song court treated its neighboring states in this way during this period of time. The records that the missions reached Lin'an in different months, in fact, exclude the possibility of their coexistence in the city. Even if Emperor Gaozong had purposed to present the authority of Southern Song as the suzerain, it was impossible for the court to conduct any ceremony in which all these states' envoys could participate.¹²⁰

The inconsistencies in Song diplomacy with its vassal states deserve our attention. On the one hand, Gaozong and the Song court expressed their goodwill, in 1156 making an exception for Sri Vijaya by allowing the number of its delegates to be increased to forty from twenty-three members as prescribed.¹²¹ Avoiding any possible mis- understandings to its guests, the Song court would penalize those officials who prevented foreign missions from proceeding to the capital or treated

¹¹⁸ *XNYL*, 171.3272; *SS*, 488.14091. It is not clear if such attempts were related to the death of Qin Gui in the early eleventh month of 1155 that could have affected the Song foreign policies.

¹¹⁹ Huang Chunyan, *Songdai chaogong tixi yanjiu*, 138.

¹²⁰ The embassies of Jin and Sri Vijaya were in Lin'an sometime from the twelfth month of 1156 to the first month of 1157. They might have come to join in the New Year celebrations, but no existing sources shows that they jointly attended the rites held by the Song and the rites seem not to have been highlighted by the host state.

¹²¹ *XNYL*, 171.3273.

them without following the proper rules of etiquette.¹²² On the other hand, the Tongwen Hostel and the Huaiyuan Posthouse were provisional, and shared the same site as the Fahui Monastery. The Song court did not seem to have any long-term plans for receiving vassal states' envoys in the capital. When the Jiaozhi embassy was permitted access to Lin'an in 1173, the Lin'an Prefecture proposed to turn the training ground for Metropolitan Cavalry Command (*majun si* 馬軍司) to the Huaiyuan Posthouse and decorate it according to the case of 1156. The limited space led to the suspension of the original plan, and the place of the Examination Compound of the Ministry of Rites located in the north of the city then became the viable option.¹²³

In contrast, the Jin embassies given favorable treatment had regular residences outside and inside Lin'an. Located on the southern bank of Chi'an, the Friendship Hostel (*Banjing guan* 班荊館, hereafter the Banjing Hostel) lying to the northeast of Lin'an was the destination of the first phase of the Jin's journey.¹²⁴ A high-ranking Song official as Posthouse Escort Commissioner (*guanban shi* 館伴使) and his deputy sent out by the court were waiting for and welcoming their guests there. Taking over the work of the Welcoming Escort Commissioner and his deputy, they would accompany and care for the Jin envoys during their stay in the capital.

¹²² *XNYL*, 169.3204, 174.3329. Qin Gui's view was quite representative that foreign states' coming to pay tribute to the Song emperor provided an opportunity for the Song to show the value of virtue. *XNYL*, 168.3197.

¹²³ *SHY*, fangyu 10.16; *XCLAZ*, 8.3427–28, 8.3432, 10.3440, 12.3471, 19.3546. The Jiaozhi embassy went to Lin'an in the middle of the twelfth month of 1173, while the Jin embassy reached the Song temporary capital by the end of the same month. *SS*, 34.656–57. The encounter of the two embassies in Lin'an is impossible.

¹²⁴ *QDLAZ*, 1.13; *YDJS*, 1.41; *XCLAZ*, 35.3676. Taken from the *Zuozhuan*, the name of *banjing* refers to the situation that old friends happened to meet and talked about the past together. Du You and Kong Yinda anno., *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, 37.1991.

Chi'an was designated as a ritual border of the capital region, and the Banjing Posthouse witnessed the transition of the two phases from departing for the capital to entering the capital (*daoque* 到關).¹²⁵ Previous studies that overlook the second phase may minimize the importance of the Banjing Posthouse, and thus fail to reconstruct the Jin embassies' journey to Lin'an from Chi'an, show the connectedness of posthouses around Lin'an and the local river system, and understand the journey's ritual and spatial impacts (Figure 5.5). Thanks to the only extant Song Posthouse Escort Commissioner's report written by Ni Si in 1191, historians can explore the aforementioned issues with other relevant records from ritual books and local gazetteers.¹²⁶

After an overnight stay in the Banjing Posthouse, the Jurchen envoys first attended a daytime banquet, and then sailed down the Hostel of Benevolence and Peace (*Renhe guan* 仁和館, hereafter the Renhe Hostel) lying to the east of the Lower Floodgate of the Clear Lake River (*Qinghu xiazha* 清湖下閘). Their ships went along the Canal, entered the Xiatang River, passed through the Rice Market Bridge and Lower Floodgate of the Clear Lake River and finally berthed in front of the Renhe hostel for a night.¹²⁷ The delegations sailed along the Clear Lake River

¹²⁵ Such a transition was also reflected in the *kouxuan* documents in round trips of the Jin in Southern Song's territory.

¹²⁶ Ni Si, *Chongming jie guanban yulu* 重明節館伴語錄 (hereafter CMJYL), in *QSBJ*, 6nd ser., vol.4 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2013), 310–26.

¹²⁷ CMJYL, 311–12; ZXLS, 223.90–93. It is not known yet the exact year of building the floodgates of the Clear Lake. They were said to have been constructed in the revival period in the *Songshi*. SS, 142.4696. According to the *Songhuiyao*, the floodgates must have been built before 1168. SHY, *fangyu* 13.28. The Renhe Hostel was built in 1149 and served as an intermediate link between Chi'an and the city gate. The Jin embassies usually stayed the hostel overnight. QDLAZ, 2.39; WZJ, *juan* 172; ZXLS, *juan* 223, *juan* 224; ZXLSXB, *juan* 58. The concise summary of the Jurchens' route to Lin'an in the *Songshi* is not accurate as it disregarded the role of the Renhe Hostel. SS, 119.2811. Although Ni Si's report reflects the later period of diplomatic exchanges between the Southern Song and the Jin, the above-mentioned sources suggest that the Jin embassies' route to Lin'an from

(*Qinghu he* 清湖河) sometime the following morning to the North City-Wall Hostel Pavilion (called *Beiguo shuiting* 北郭稅亭 in the *Zhongxing lishu*) abutting the North City-Wall Tax Bureau, both located outside the Yuhang Gate and by the Zitang River (*Zitang he* 子塘河).¹²⁸ After a break the Jin envoys disembarked and entered the city on horseback.



Fig. 5.5: The *jiaopin* route from the Banjin Hostel to

Chi'an was more likely to have been established in the early years of the Song-Jin diplomatic interactions. The banquet held in Chi'an in the charge of the Lin'an prefecture should be sumptuous and sanitary. In 1150 the Song court ordered the Lin'an prefecture to rectify the situation that the banquet in Chi'an was not as good as those in other local prefectures and admonished that officials who did not work well would be severely punished. *SHY*, 36.45–46.

¹²⁸ *CMJYL*, 324; *BXRL*, 41.

the Capital Inn and the river system of Lin'an

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 01. Banjin Posthouse | 02. Lower Floodgate Bridge 下斗門橋 | 03. Desheng Bridge 德勝橋 |
| 04. Lower Floodgate of the Qinghu River | 05. Renhe Hostel | 06. Rice market 米市 |
| 07. Rice Market Bridge 米市橋 | 08. Rising River Bridge 江漲橋 | 09. Zuo Family Bridge 左家橋 |
| 10. Middle Floodgate of the Qinghu River | 11. Upper Floodgate of the the Qinghu River | 12. Middle Floodgate Bridge 中斗門橋 |
| 13. Perpetual Prosperity Bridge 永興橋 | 14. Upper Floodgate Bridge 上斗門橋 | 15. North City-Wall Tax Bureau 北郭稅務 |
| 16. North City-Wall Hostel Pavilion 北郭驛亭 | | 17. Yuhang Gate |
| 18. Tianzong Water Gate 天宗水門 | 19. Imperial Street | 20. Capital Inn |
| | | |
| A. Chi'an River 赤岸河 | B. Canal 運河 | C. Newly Dug Canal 新開運河 |
| D. Xiatang River 下塘河 | E. Yuhang Tang River 餘杭塘河 | F. West River 西河 |
| G. Lower Lake River 下湖河 | H. Zitang River 子塘河 | I. Clear Lake River 清湖河 |
| J. Vegetable Market River 菜市河 | K. Outer Sand River 外沙河 | L. Yanqiao Canal |

The construction of the Renhe Hostel in 1149 marked the normalization of Song-Jin diplomatic relations after the Shaoxing Treaty.¹²⁹ Since the hostel was situated outside the Yuhang Water Gate (*Yuhang shuimen* 餘杭水門), it must have been most convenient and time-saving if the guest embassies sailed for the Capital Inn through this gate or the nearby Tianzong Water Gate and along the Yanqiao Canal, the main river in the city. The Song court did not make such an arrangement, nor did they stick to such a schedule in the phase of leaving for the capital. The decision was probably made out of ritual consideration. As the only access to Lin'an

¹²⁹ QDLAZ, 2.39; BXRL, 41.

on foot in the area, the Yuhang Gate would have been an ideal place for the rite of entering the capital city. The Jin envoys on horseback would be given a rousing reception in public along the Imperial Street across the city from the north to the south. The urban splendor was on display to the guests from afar who could strongly feel the authority of the Son of Heaven for the first time prior to meeting with him. The Salt Bridge Canal was almost parallel to yet not close to the Imperial Street. The ritual function of the latter was obviously not replaced by the former's convenience, due to sobriety and necessity of the rite of entering the city. This ritual prerequisite seemed to have been of no exception. For example, in 1159, taking a sedan chair through the Yuhang Gate, a sick Jin chief servant (*duguan* 都管) had to complete the rite first, and was then probably accompanied to the Capital Inn by boat along the canal.¹³⁰

The Capital Inn was second only to the Imperial Palace among diplomatic ritual sites in Lin'an. Its emergence witnessed the development of the Song-Jin relations. In the Northern Song, the Jurchen chieftains were first recorded in the Song sources, attaching themselves to the Koryŏ missions to Kaifeng. After the Jurchen Empire was founded in 1115, in Kaifeng their independent embassies were at first accommodated in different posthouses including the Tongwen Hostel, and not until 1122 did they receive the same qualification as the Khitans' for lodging in the

¹³⁰ The Tax Transport Commission of the Liangzhe Circuit sent two staff members in charge of boats. Probably at the request of the Jurchens, they first asked the Lin'an Prefecture to provide a sedan chair so as to deal with the rite of entering the capital. They did not inform the Song commissioner and his deputy. The bureau expressed afterwards that it would restrict its staff members' actions and they should report the Jurchens' requests to the Song commissioners first. *SHY*, 36.52–53. For the development of the Tax Transport Commission system in Song China, see Bao Weimin 包偉民, *Songdai defang caizhengshi yanjiu* 宋代地方財政史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2011), 1–25.

Capital Inn.¹³¹ For several years after Hangzhou was promoted to the temporary capital in 1138, the Jin embassy probably stayed in a provisional place which is how Koryŏ envoys had been previously treated.¹³² In the twelfth month of the same year the Jin delegation sent to initiate peace talks with the Song was lodged in the residence of Left Vice Director (*zuo puye* 左僕射).¹³³ During the peace negotiations with the Jurchens in late 1141, the Song court might have decided on a future permanent posthouse for the Jin. The construction project in the charge of the Tax Transport Commission of the Liangzhe Circuit was soon completed in the mid-third month of 1142.¹³⁴

The Capital Inn had a favorable location in Lin'an (Map 5.2). It was located inside the Houchao Gate, near the Palace City and the southern end of the Imperial Street, adjacent to the extension of the Salt Bridge Canal and was not far from various places where diplomatic rituals were held. The spatial arrangements not only were convenient for diplomatic activities but also helped to place the guests under surveillance. The posthouse was embedded in the region of government offices such as the central administrative departments, the Guest Bureau (*kesheng* 客省) and the Hostel for Tributary Envoys (*sifang guan* 四方館) as well as the mansions of Song

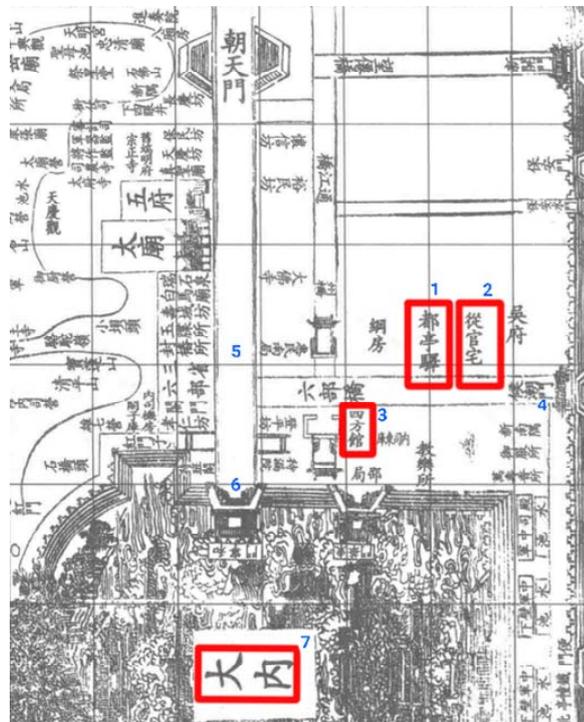
¹³¹ *SCBM*, 3.16, 4.27, 9.62–63.

¹³² The Jin embassy went to Lin'an for peace negotiations in the sixth month of 1138. Gaozong hoped that the negotiations would be conducted in the Executive Hall (*dutang* 都堂), head office of the Department of State Affairs, while the Jurchens tended to select their residence as the negotiation site. Zhao Ding 趙鼎 (1085–1147) as chief councilor firmly opposed the guests' proposal, and the Jin envoy had to compromise. Both sides eventually went to the Executive Hall, but a dispute over the meeting etiquette arose. After the Jin envoy met with Gaozong, Wang Lun 王倫 (1084–1144) who contributed to the negotiations was sent to give a grand banquet in the Jurchens' residence. Historical materials do not show the exact place where the Jurchens stayed. *XNYL*, 120.2245; *SHY*, li 45.17. The account of the negotiations in the hostel for the Jin embassy in 1138 in the *Songshi* is incorrect. *SS*, 119.2810.

¹³³ *SHY*, 36.43.3093.

¹³⁴ *SHY*, zhiguan 36.44.3094; *SS*, 144.2719; *XNYL*, 153.2890.

official attendants (*shicong* 侍從), a politically powerful group of people.¹³⁵



Map 5.2: The Capital Inn and its vicinity

Source: Huangcheng tu 皇城圖, in: Jiang Qingqing, *Xianchun Lin'an zhi songban Jingcheng situ fuyuan yanjiu*, 352.

1. Capital Inn
2. Mansions of Song official attendants
3. Guest Bureau and Hostel for Tributary Envoys¹³⁶
4. Houchao Gate
5. Imperial Street
6. Hening Gate
7. Imperial Palace

The treatment of Jin embassies in the Capital Inn embodied the Song court's prudent attitude. The Song commissioners as hosts who took responsibility for their guests' daily lives and requests, also resided in the Capital Inn but were generally

¹³⁵ For recent studies on Song official attendants, see Zhang Yi 张祚, "Songdai shicongguan de fanwei ji xiangguan gainian 宋代侍從官的範圍及相關概念," in Yuan Xingpei 袁行霈 ed., *Guoxue yanjiu* 國學研究 34 (2014): 83–107.

¹³⁶ Only the "Hostel for Tributary Envoys" shown on the map.

separated from the Jurchens.¹³⁷ Like a daily ritual, one of the Song commissioners' routine duties depicted in Ni Si's report was to repeatedly ask the Jin envoys if they needed help in their post house and to make sure that their guests felt comfortable and not tired.¹³⁸ The Song commissioners and their deputies were assisted by auxiliary personnel with the Capital Inn including forty security guards.¹³⁹ The Song court assigned officials to supervise the exchange of presents to reduce the risk of information leakage; the Song commissioners and their personnel were prohibited from private trade with the Jin.¹⁴⁰ On the basis of the edict issued by Xiaozong in 1166, the Capital Inn underwent a major renovation, and henceforth must have been open for an inspection, if necessary, between the sixth and eighth months each year.¹⁴¹ Such an effort was to create a safe and comfortable living environment for honored guests. Given the precedent in the reign of Renzong, we may safely assume that no maps could have been found in the Capital Inn for security measures.

The overemphasis on reception arrangements was open to harsh criticisms from Song officials who believed that it did not conform to the principle of diplomatic parity. For example, daily living utensils produced by Crafts Institute (*wensi yuan* 文思院) for the Jin embassy were subject to careful inspections by several ministries'

¹³⁷ Li Hui, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 59.

¹³⁸ The courtesies were necessary in diplomatic exchanges, but might be sometimes out of excessive cautiousness or preliminary soundings. See the discussion in the following section.

¹³⁹ *SHY*, fangyu 10.11.

¹⁴⁰ Herbert Franke, "Song Embassies," 130–32; Wu Xiaoping, *Songdai waijiao zhidu yanjiu*, 221–31. Since 1143 the Song court had allocated funds to the Capital Inn for trade with the Jin embassies to prevent them from going out to purchase local products that could disturb the lives of local people. *XNYL*, 150.2842. The plausible reason was more likely to disguise what they really worried about that unrestricted activities were hardly conducive to state confidential maintenance.

¹⁴¹ *SHY*, fangyu 10.16.

heads including chief councilors. It was once proposed that the Song emperor should personally check the list. At the suggestion of Ministry of Works (*gongbu* 工部) which was out of “self-respect for the state dignity (*zun guoti* 尊國體),” in 1186 the Song court requested that the utensils should be sent directly to the Executive Hall for final inspections.¹⁴² This case indicates that, on the one hand, the Song court did not adopt a fixed and unchanging standpoint in its diplomacy with Jin, and on the practical level, there was no immediate change due to the change of Southern Song’s status after the Longxing Treaty. On the other hand, Song officials’ different opinions reflected the state’s ritual dilemma in diplomacy, but the discrepancies made it possible for the court to have more options for diplomatic tactics.

No existing Jin sources tell us about the Jurchens’ experiences in the Capital Inn in Lin’an. It is doubtful that the Jin envoys, speaking few words as Ni Si described, were consistently satisfied with the treatment and willing to cooperate. In other Song sources like *SHY*, the descriptions of the Jin envoys and embassies in their residence, though limited, did not provide a hackneyed image as shown in Song commissioners’ reports. For example, the Jurchens did present their demands, though not frequently, on rituals and the exchange of gifts.¹⁴³ In some unusual

¹⁴² *SHY*, *zhiguan* 51.28–29. The utensils were first inspected by Minister of Works (*gongbu shangshu* 工部尚書) and Vice Director of Ministry of Works (*gongbu shilang* 工部侍郎) and then by heads of Ministry of Revenue. Afterwards they were sent to the Capital Inn and examined by imperial commissioners (*zhongshi* 中使), normally eunuchs as representatives of the emperor, who would compile an inventory of all utensils. The list finally needed to be confirmed by chief councilors. The 1186 proposal was put forward by Provisional Vice Director of Ministry of Works Li Changtu 李昌圖. Li’s memorial shows that previously some Song officials even suggested that the Song emperor should finally review and approve the inventory.

¹⁴³ In 1195, the Jin embassy wanted bamboo oxen’s (*zhuniu* 竹牛) horns, but the Song commissioner and his deputy persisted in declining the request. One of the reasons, as Guangzong mentioned, was that “There is no harm to give the horns to them, but I am afraid that endless requests will come (與之亦未害, 但恐後來源源不絕爾。).” *SHY*, *zhiguan* 51.39. Also see *GKJ*, 96.22a. The bamboo oxen, probably a specialty of Western Xia, were not ordinary. Their horns were perfect materials for bow making and could also be made into belts. Western Xia

circumstances they must not have tolerated the hosts' violent behavior such as the Song's repeated attempts to seize the Jin state credential to prevent it from being received by the Song emperor in his capacity as a Jin minister. The Song would obtain valuable information from their guests in few cases. For instance, some Jin Chinese subjects like Shi Yisheng 施宜生 were prepared to take risks of divulging classified military information to the Song commissioners in secret.¹⁴⁴ Successive daily rites awaited the Jin envoys, who had to familiarize themselves with certain procedures in advance in their residence.¹⁴⁵ More than these, it is worthwhile to point out that the Capital Inn, as an essential yet less-noticed space, offered the Jurchens a unique urban experience: a wide range of goods and food sold by the government-supported guilds (*tuanhang* 團行) from the Hening Gate to the Guan Bridge, the nightlong hubbub of laughter and shouting from the field for recreation (*wazi* 瓦子) outside the Houchao Gate and the passionate festive atmosphere and recognizable decorations created by urban dwellers.¹⁴⁶ Perhaps the visual and auditory senses enabled the Jin envoys to regard the Capital Inn as more than just a

merchants often deceived consumers by partially substituting rhino horns for the authentic. Kang Yuzhi 康與之, *Zuo meng lu* 昨夢錄, Xuehai leibian edition, 4a–4b.

¹⁴⁴ *WZJ*, 20a; *XNYL*, 183.3545; *TS*, 1.10–11; *JS*, 79.1787. The collaboration of Shi Yisheng in the *Jinshi* was almost the same described in the *Tingshi* written by Yue Ke. Su Tianjue, a Yuan scholar-official, disproved Yue Ke's account and took it as an anecdote. Su Tianjue 蘇天爵, *Zixi wengao* 滋溪文稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 25.424. For a recent study on Shi's collaboration from a historiographical perspective, see Jing Xinqiang 景新強, "Shi Yisheng tongdi shijian bianzheng: Yige shiyuanxue de kaocha 施宜生通敵事件辨正——一個史源學的考察," *Xibei daxue xuebao* 西北大學學報 37.3 (2007): 77–79.

¹⁴⁵ The main part of the daily rites was formalities before banquets given in the posthouse. In 1017 the Capital Inn first served as a fixed place for banquets for the emperor's close ministers on the winter solstice. Such banquets used to be held in the Administration Chamber (*zhengshi tang* 政事堂) or ministers' personal residences. *SHY*, li 45.28.

¹⁴⁶ *MLL*, 6.50–51, 13.115. Note that the Jin floating emissaries had distinctive experience in wartime Lin'an. For diplomatic affairs, the Lin'an prefectures imposed strict safety regulations such as setting up postal relay stations (*zhipu* 置鋪), maintaining daytime and night patrols, and enforcing city curfews in certain districts. *SHY*, zhiguan 36.42–43.

diplomatic ritual space.

Interestingly, when the Jin embassies were not in Lin'an, the Capital Inn still played a major role in urban life and did not simply function as ritual space. The Capital Inn had been used in nondiplomatic situations in the Northern Song, but in Southern Song Lin'an the use was more flexible and extensive and concerned with more notable factors such as local geography and contemporary politics.¹⁴⁷ Disastrous, uncontrolled and widespread fires often occurred in Lin'an due to its narrow urban morphology and high population density.¹⁴⁸ One of key districts for fire prevention was the Capital Inn, since it was the residence of Jin embassies, the location of the Department for State Credentials in which numerous official documents and items were preserved, and was situated near the Imperial Palace. According to the edict issued in the mid-fifth month of 1159, officials were allowed to temporarily light candles in the Department for State Credentials only if they needed to check diplomatic archives or write emergency documents.¹⁴⁹ Another case exemplifies the posthouse's ample space and its suitable location by the canal. In the night of the fourth day of the third month of 1204, an unexpected fire broke out somewhere near the Ancestral Temple, spread rapidly along the Imperial Street, swept through the government agencies, and approached the Hening Gate. Officials

¹⁴⁷ Emperor Zhenzong gave banquets for officials and imperial clan members in the Capital Inn on consecutive five days at the beginning of the first month of 1008. *XCB*, 68.1523–24. During the reign era of Zhezong, officials proposed that the Capital Inn could be selected as the residence of the empress. In 1091 Supervising Secretary (*jishizhong* 給事中) Fan Zuyu 范祖禹(1041–98) opposed the proposal. He insisted that the place for the Liao embassy was not appropriate for the empress. Fan's suggestion was accepted by the court. *XCB*, 464.11076. Emperor Xiaozong gave banquets for Jin surrenders (*guizheng ren* 歸正人) in the Capital Inn in the first two years after his enthronement in 1162. *SHY*, *fangyu* 4.4.

¹⁴⁸ For studies on fires and fire fighting in Southern Song Lin'an, see Lin Zhengqiu, *Nan-Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu*, 560–67; Xu Jijun, *Nan Song ducheng Lin'an*, 190–210; Bao Weimin, *Songdai chengshi yanjiu*, 382–389.

¹⁴⁹ *SHY*, zhiguan 36.53; Wu Xiaoping, *Songdai waijiao zhidu yanjiu*, 57–58.

and their families took refuge in the Capital Inn. As the serious fire destroyed large numbers of houses in Lin'an, the court permitted the victims to reside temporarily in temples inside or outside the city, and officials of the Three Departments and the Bureau of Military Affairs including chief councilor Chen Ziqiang 陳自強 stayed in the Capital Inn with their families.¹⁵⁰

The use of the Capital Inn was also related to domestic politics. After the death of Gaozong in 1187, it was said that Xiaozong intended to abdicate and renovate the Capital Inn like the Deshou Palace for his retirement residence. But officials opposed the remodeling project, and insisted that there must be no three concurrent imperial palaces under Heaven. The emperor had to postpone the project and eventually dismissed the thought.¹⁵¹ In his reign Xiaozong reviewed five grand military parades in the suburbs of Lin'an. Provisional tents were set up in the Capital Inn where the emperor and the retired emperor welcomed the troops returning to the capital through the Houchao Gate after the parades. Award banquets were held in this posthouse, and Emperor Xiaozong took the opportunity to express his auspicious wishes for health and longevity to the retired emperor. Approximately 12,400 people participated in one military parade, and the long line stretched for almost 20 *li*. Such an urban splendor always attracted a great many urban dwellers scrambling for good positions.¹⁵²

The arrival of the Jin embassies marked the transition of the nature of the

¹⁵⁰ *XBGMBY*, 8.142; *HSJ*, 59.5a–5b.

¹⁵¹ *XBGMBY*, 1.7; *SSQW*, 28.2377.

¹⁵² *WLJS*, 2.23–24; *CYZJ*, yiji 4.574–76.

Capital Inn from a government office to a diplomatic reception place. The process sometimes caused a conflict with its non-diplomatic use, and even led to tragic endings. The case of Liu Qi 劉錡 (1098–1162), a Song general well-known for counterattacking against the Jin armies, is a good example. As his condition worsened in late 1161 when stationing in Zhenjiang to resist the Jin southward invasion, Liu was summoned to Lin'an and allowed to take up temporary residence in the Capital Inn for recuperation. Gaozong once sent a court physician to diagnose his serious illness. At the end of this year, the new Jurchen Emperor Shizong 世宗 (r. 1161–89), who acceded to the throne by usurpation on the early tenth month, ordered the Jin envoys to negotiate a peace treaty with the Song. Before the Jurchens' arrival, on the second month of 1162 Liu was asked to move to another place by a eunuch, who was sent by the wartime regent Tang Situi then taking charge of the affairs of Lin'an as Gaozong had been away from the city. It seems that Tang must have not informed Liu of the Jurchens' arrival. Seeing filthy dirt piled by cleaners in front of the Capital Inn, Liu might have had suspicions that the decision could have been made due to the military defeat of his nephew Liu Si 劉汜 in Guazhou 瓜洲 and thus he would be further persecuted. Flustered and exasperated, he vomited blood and died that night.¹⁵³

Diplomatic Rites and Ritual Spaces at Locale Scale

At the end of 1143, less than two years after the 1141 peace treaty was

¹⁵³ *XNYL*, 197.3872–73; *SS*, 366.11408. The accounts in *XNYL* and *SS* might have shared the same source. In *XNYL*, Liu died in the second month of 1162; in the “Biography of Liuqi” in *SS*, his death occurred in the second leap month of 1162. According to another piece of relevant information in *SS* (32.608), the recorded date in *XNYL* should be accurate.

concluded, for the first time a Jurchen Jin embassy arrived in Lin'an for the New Year festival.¹⁵⁴ No other regular foreign envoys were invited to the ceremony. The Southern Song court had no experience in performing diplomatic rituals with its Jurchen counterpart. The court consulted Minister of Revenue (*hubu shangshu* 戶部尚書) Zhang Cheng 張澄 (?–1153), who was familiar with the previous ritual procedure conducted in the capital, and appointed him as Posthouse Escort Commissioner.¹⁵⁵ The new protocol was determined and then applied to the imperial birthday celebration the next year, and henceforth, adopted in the rest of the Southern Song era.¹⁵⁶

In general, the two-week standard procedure was as follows. When the Jin embassy arrived at the Capital Inn, quilts, mattresses and fabric were bestowed on them. On the day before the court meeting with the emperor, Song officials explained the protocol to their guests. Accompanied by the Song commissioner, the Jin envoy and his retinue went to the Upper Tianzhu Monastery to burn incense and pray for good fortune on the second day after the meeting. They attended a banquet given in the posthouse on New Year's Eve and joined in the New Year celebration in the Imperial Palace the next day. In the following days, the hosts arranged several ritual and festival activities for the visiting guests, such as watching the high tides of

¹⁵⁴ *XNYL*, 150.2841; *ZXXJ*, 31.376.

¹⁵⁵ *XNYL*, 150.2841. In 1142 and 1143 Zhang Cheng as Vice Director of Ministry of Revenue was in charge of the reconstruction project of imperial carriages grounded on the illustrations of imperial processions (*hubu tu* 圖簿圖) produced in the reign era of Tianxi 天禧 (1017–1021) and Xuanhe 宣和 (1119–1125). *XNYL*, 146.2747; *SS*, 149.3484. For a detailed study on grand imperial carriages and honor guards, see Patricia Ebrey, "Taking Out the Grand Carriage: Imperial Spectacle and the Visual Culture of Northern Song Kaifeng," *Asia Major*, 12.1 (1999): 33–65.

¹⁵⁶ *ZXLS*, 222.79.

the Qiantang River at the Zhejiang Pavilion (*Zhejiang ting* 浙江亭), the archery contest followed by a banquet in the Jade Saliva Garden (*Yujin yuan* 玉津園) and a grand banquet held in the Imperial Palace. On the second day after the farewell rite, the Jurchens were accompanied to leave the city (Figure 5.6).¹⁵⁷

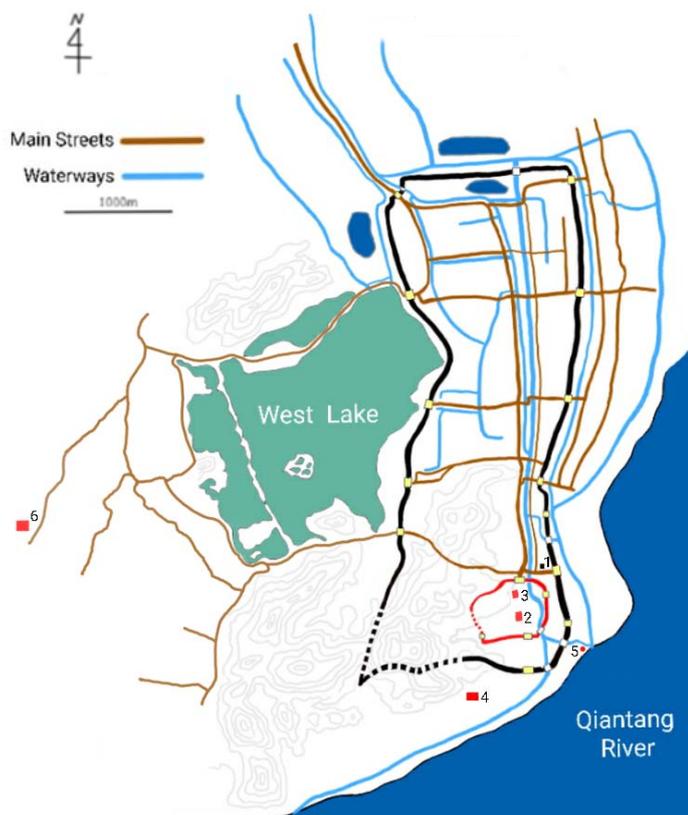


Fig. 5.6: Places for major diplomatic activities in and around Lin'an

Sources: Adapted from Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 354; *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guojia lishi dituji* vol. 1, 133.

- | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 1. Capital Inn | 2. Zichen Hall | 3. Chuigong Hall |
| 4. Yujin Garden | 5. Zhejiang Pavilion | |
| 6. Upper Tianzhu Monastery | | |

Song ritual officials always drafted a biweekly schedule before the arrival of the

¹⁵⁷ *XNYL*, 150.2841–42; *CMJYL*, 324–335; *ZXLS*, *juan* 222 and *juan* 223. Incense burning at the Upper Tianzhu Monastery was scheduled one day before the archery contest during the reign era of Shaoxin.

Jin embassy, but under special circumstances, the court made adjustments that would affect the layout of ritual spaces in the city.¹⁵⁸ When the Song emperor was in mourning, the celebratory rites would be cancelled and the grand banquet simplified and given in the Capital Inn. If it rained on the day of the grand banquet, the location would be moved to the Chuigong Hall, a place for the Song emperor's regular meetings with his officials.¹⁵⁹

The Song court deliberately exerted the pressure on the Jin envoys through changes of the ritual procedure when the Song tried to take advantage of the strained bilateral relations to improve the state's ritual status. In the third month of 1162, the new ruler of Jin sent envoys to announce the enthronement and seek a ceasefire with the Song. Given the decisive defeat of the Jin navy on the Yangtze River in 1161 which led to a palace coup in Jin, the Song court intended to lower the reception standards (*shali* 殺禮) and alter an original humiliating rite of receiving Jin credentials performed by the Song emperor as a minister of Jin. The court meeting banquet took place in the Capital Inn; the Jurchens, confined to the posthouse for five days, did not go watching tides or praying.¹⁶⁰ The negotiations failed, and the two states did not resume regular diplomatic exchanges until early 1165. Song obtained nominal equality in the appellation in state credentials after the Longxing Treaty. But the Song's efforts to change the undignified rite failed, and they had to

¹⁵⁸ *ZXLS*, 223.93–94.

¹⁵⁹ *SHY*, li 45.21; *ZXLS*, 223.82.

¹⁶⁰ *XNYL*, 198.3902.

yield to the Jurchens' insistence.¹⁶¹

Among diplomatic rituals held in and around Lin'an, the most important were the meeting with the emperor and the farewell meeting in major halls of the Imperial Palace when the Song emperor and foreign envoys met each other face-to-face.¹⁶² It should be noted that almost all dates of Jin envoys "coming to celebrate the New Year's first day (*lai he mingnian zhengdan* 來賀明年正旦)" in the *Songshi* refer to the dates for meeting the emperor (*jian ri* 見日 or *chaojian ri* 朝見日).¹⁶³ The envoys of vassal states presented credentials to Song officials, while the Jin envoys submitted their state letters to the emperor in the Imperial Palace, a crucial link in the rite of meeting the emperor.¹⁶⁴ The Southern Song court basically followed the Northern Song precedents. On the day of meeting the emperor in a reception or a farewell, the Jin envoy and his deputy were accompanied by the Song commissioners to the Imperial Palace and then ushered by audience attendants (*xuanzan sheren* 宣贊舍人 and *gemen sheren* 閣門舍人) to the respective seats in a hall of the Imperial Palace.¹⁶⁵

Shaping diplomatic ritual space in Lin'an depended on many factors such as the tier of a foreign mission, the spatial structure of the Imperial Palace, the urban texture centered on the palace and the Capital Inn, and the seating layout at halls. As

¹⁶¹ Zhao Yongchun, "Song Jin guanyu 'shoushu li' de douzheng 宋金關於 '受書禮' 的斗爭," *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究 6 (1993): 85–86.

¹⁶² If the Song emperor was in mourning, a makeshift simple tent would be set up in front of the main palace hall for the submission of the Jin state credential. See the following section for the detailed discussion.

¹⁶³ Note that Liu Hui confuses the dates in the tables of Song and Jin envoys.

¹⁶⁴ In the early Southern Song and before the Longxing Treaty, the Jin state letters were delivered to the Song emperor by the Song chief councilor. *ZXLS*, 223.82.

¹⁶⁵ The position of *gemen sheren* was created in 1170. *SS*, 166.3938.

discussed above, the relations between Song and other states distinguished the guests' residences in terms of scale, size, name and site. I would like to discuss other aspects below.

On the day of meeting the Song emperor, foreign envoys attended the rite at halls corresponding to their states' positions in the Song hierarchical diplomatic system. The rite involving the Jin envoy generally took place in the Zichen Hall, and then the envoy would be invited to a banquet at the Chuigong Hall. For those envoys from Song's vassal states like Jiaozhi, Champa and Sri Vijaya, they met the emperor in the Chuigong Hall and had drinks and food outside the hall gate.¹⁶⁶ The two halls built in 1142 were located in the front courtyard (*qianchao* 前朝) of the Imperial Palace.¹⁶⁷ As a symbol of diplomatic parity, the Zichen Hall played a pivotal role in important diplomatic rituals in the Southern Song, while the Chuigong Hall embodied the emperor-minister relationship. The grand imperial banquets for the Jin envoys in the New Year celebration or on the emperor's birthday were usually held in the Zichen Hall, the same place sometimes with a different title like Assembled Heroes Hall (*Jiying dian* 集英殿) for banquets.

The various hall titles were preserved in the section of short speeches (*zhiyu* 致語 and *kouhao* 口號) delivered to the visiting guests in Song literati collections.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ SHY, li 45.19–21; ZXLS, 223.82.

¹⁶⁷ Note that the emperor's bedchamber (*qindian* 寢殿) was situated between the two halls.

¹⁶⁸ Given their literary genres, *Zhiyu* were parallel writings, and *kouhao*, seven-character eight-line regulated verses. According to extant materials of *zhiyu* and *kouhao* used at banquet, 12 pieces of *zhiyu* are concerned with the Zichen Hall and over 6 pieces of *kouhao*, the Jiying Hall. On the occasions of celebrations for the New Year's first day and the emperor's birthday, the number of uses of the two types of writings is roughly the same. Between 1165 and 1190, the grand imperial banquets in the New Year celebration and on the emperor's birthday were held in the Zichen Hall; in the reign of Ningzong, the former were held in the Zichen Hall and the latter in the Jiying Hall. YTLG, *juan* 18; WZJ, *juan* 119; XSJ, *juan* 23.

This phenomenon of a hall having multiple titles was one of chief spatial features of Southern Song diplomatic rituals, compared with the situation in Northern Song Kaifeng that each major hall in the Imperial Palace corresponded to a specific rite.¹⁶⁹ The practical use of halls in Lin'an probably resulted from the limited land of the Imperial Palace, but it suggested the Southern Song differentiation of use and function of halls. The same place could and had to serve as multiple ritual spaces only by changing its titles to exert their ritual functions. If it rained after the meeting, the banquet for the Jurchens would be given in the Capital Inn and those embassies from Song's subordinate states would be treated in their posthouses.¹⁷⁰

The front courtyard was more likely to be divided into four sections in terms of the diplomatic ritual procedures: (I) the area outside a gate of the palace city where the Song Hostel Escort Commissioner and the Jin three-rank escorts mounted or dismounted horses, (II) the area inside the separated gate (*gemen* 隔門) where the Jin chief envoy and his deputy mounted or dismounted horses, (III) the waiting area in front of the Zichen Hall where the Jin embassy were served with tea and drink (*ci chajiu* 賜茶酒), and (IV) the Zichen Hall or the Chuigong Hall.¹⁷¹

Selecting a route between the Capital Inn and the Imperial Palace for the Jin envoys reflected how the Song court thought of the role of the palace city and its gates in diplomacy. In theory, the southern gate of the palace city should have been

¹⁶⁹ *MLL*, 8.62. For a discussion of the diplomatic ritual space in the Tang-Song period, see Zhu Yi, "Tang zhi Bei-Song shiqi binlide liyi kongjian 唐至北宋時期賓禮的禮儀空間," *Chenggong daxue lishi xuebao* 成功大學歷史學報 2 (2014): 195–242. Zhu Yi mainly focuses on the role of the imperial halls in diplomacy.

¹⁷⁰ *ZXLS*, 223.83; *SHY* li 45.19.

¹⁷¹ *XNYL*, 198.3896, 3903; *SHY*, zhiguan 35.56; *CMJYL*, 324, 333. Serving tea and drink referred to the 1005 precedent. *ZXLS*, 222.80.

the main entrance to or exit from a palace hall. However, such was not the case at first. In the eleventh month of 1144, the Song court issued the regulation regarding the route for the rite of meeting the emperor. Whether the rite was performed in the Chuigong Hall or the Zichen Hall, the Hening Gate, the northern gate of the palace city, was taken as the only gateway.¹⁷² Adopting a pragmatic principle as discussed in the second chapter, especially in the early years of the Southern Song, the imperial court had to take into account several interrelated issues, such as the ritual system, the urban layout, and the ritual enactment, in planning a ritual route into and out of the palace city. As the Hening Gate and the Imperial Street composed a T-shaped structure, one of main characteristics of traditional Chinese imperial cities, and the Capital Inn was situated closer to the palace city and in its north, it therefore would be more convenient for Song officials and foreign embassies to come in and out through the northern gate rather than its southern counterpart.¹⁷³

Such a flexible regulation were not adopted until the late Shaoxing period for different reasons in diplomacy. One reason could have been the rise of dogmatic ritualism that the Song utilized as powerful discourses to stress the ritual orthodoxy when the infrastructure for state ritual had been generally constructed by 1157.¹⁷⁴ Of course, the possibility of the Jurchens' request based on ritual parity should not be eliminated, for they treated the Song embassy in a conventional way.¹⁷⁵ In the late

¹⁷² *ZXLS*, 223.82.

¹⁷³ *CYZJ*, jiaji 3.93–94.

¹⁷⁴ For a discussion of the restoration of state ritual infrastructure in Lin'an, see Chapter 1.

¹⁷⁵ Part because of the Jin's upside-down T-shaped structure, compared with the Southern Song's.

twelfth month of 1158, Gaozong directed that the Jin envoy and other participants must have entered and exited through the Lizheng Gate, the southern gate of the palace city, in diplomatic ritual.¹⁷⁶ The change evinces that the Song court thoroughly adopted ritualism for the most important part of diplomatic activities. Even an eclectic proposal, entering through the Lizheng Gate and exiting through the Hening Gate, seemed not to have been made. In this regard, from the Capital Inn to the Lizheng Gate, the Jin embassy generally went along the route as the Song emperor did for the southern suburban sacrifice.¹⁷⁷ The Jurchens might have also faced the same problem en route to the Lizheng Gate as discussed in Chapter 1.¹⁷⁸

Spatial adjustments thus were made to ensure the availability of the new main entrance. Since this arrangement interfered with the place where Song commissioners used to dismount from their horses, the Jurchen gifts originally placed outside the Zichen Hall were then moved to display in the eastern and western hall corridors.¹⁷⁹ In 1162, on the eve of signing a peace treaty with the Jurchens, the Song court tried to alter the “precedent recently established (*jinli* 近例)” as a means to gain total parity in diplomatic ritual: (I) shifting the place where the Jin three-rank escorts mounted or dismounted horses from the area inside the Lizheng Gate to the outside; (II) shifting the place where the Jin envoy and his deputy mounted or dismounted horses from the area inside the separated gate to

¹⁷⁶ *ZXLS*, 223.85.

¹⁷⁷ The new route was the product of the expansion of the outer city-wall of Lin'an in 1158, see Zhu Yi, “Lin'an yu Nan-Song de guojia jisi liyi,” 184–85.

¹⁷⁸ *SHY*, fangyu 10.8; *SS*, 2399–2401.

¹⁷⁹ *ZXLS*, 223.85.

somewhere between the separated gate and the Lizheng Gate.¹⁸⁰ The former instead of the latter was accepted. Thereafter, this spatial arrangement was maintained till at least the early 1190s.¹⁸¹

Banquet and Archery in the Yujin Garden

Holding the banquet and archery (*yanshe* 燕射 or 宴射) in the Yujin Garden to the south of the Jiahui Gate of Lin'an continued a tradition of the Song-Liao model. The ritual began with a banquet and reached the climax of an archery contest. Scholars have noticed a transformation of the archery rite in the Tang-Song period from a military rite in the Tang to a guest rite in the late Northern Song.¹⁸² The rite as a blend of outdoor recreation and pseudo-military competition was institutionalized and formalized after the Chanyuan Treaty, turning it into a special activity in East Asian diplomacy.¹⁸³

In the Southern Song, because of changes in Song-Jin relations the archery rite was perceived as a metaphor of state power and a criterion for promotion in the army. Before the grand banquet in the first month of 1144, the Jurchens demanded a

¹⁸⁰ *XNYL*, 198.3900, 3903.

¹⁸¹ *CMJYL*, 324.

¹⁸² Wang Bo 王博, "Tang Song sheli de xingzhi jiqi bianqian: Yi Tang Song sheli wei zhongxin 唐宋射禮的性質及其變遷——以唐宋射禮為中心," *Tangshi luncong* 唐史論叢 (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 2014), 98–118. For the ritualization of archery in traditional China, see Kominami Ichirō 小南一郎, "Sha no gireika o megutte 射の儀礼化をめぐる," in *Chūgoku kodai reisei kenkyū* 中國古代禮制研究, ed. Kominami Ichirō (Kyōto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 1995), 47–116; 丸橋充拓 Maruhashi Mitsuhiro, "Chūgoku sharei no keisei katei: Girei kyōsha daisha to Daitoukaigenrei no aida 中国射禮の形成過程: 『儀礼』郷射・大射と『大唐開元礼』のあいだ," in *Shakai bunka ronshū* 社会文化論集, ed. Shimane daigaku hōbun gakubu 10 (2010): 45–64.

¹⁸³ *SHY*, li 45.22–23; *SWJY*, 1.48a. Probably in the middle of the Shaoxing reign era, there was a recreational activity of enjoying the elephants' performance in the Yujin Garden after the archery contest. These elephants came from a nearby elephant yard. It was said that in the 1260s this yard maintained three elephants gifted as tribute by the Annam, but if this recreation would be combined with the banquet and archery was not clear. I would suggest that it could have been a temporary phenomenon since such was only mentioned in *SHY*, given a variety of sources on diplomacy. *SHY*, 36.45; *XCLAZ*, 9.3439. The elephants had been involved in the Bright Hall ritual by the late Southern Song. *MLL*, 5.31.

revised schedule in which was added the archery rite.¹⁸⁴ Given the peace treaty signed recently, Gaozong stressed that even if the Song had to comply with the Jurchens' demand he noted that the humid climate in the south was not suitable for archery, and urged the Song participants not to worry about the outcome of the competition.¹⁸⁵ The emperor seemed not have desired the rite, though he was adept at archery and his excellent technique once helped him escape from the Jin camp. Perhaps he intended to avoid any improper associations with military provocation or the shameful past. Anyhow, Gaozong at first was not actively engaged in restoring the tradition of the archery rite in diplomacy. Not until 1148 did the banquet and archery in the Yujing Garden, one of the imperial gardens, become a convention. Before then, the rite was generally held in drilling grounds (*jiaochang* 教場).¹⁸⁶

Xiaozong's ambition to restore the north drove him to take the banquet and archery more seriously. He visited the Yujin Garden many times in person, concerned about the archers' techniques and encouraging outstanding performers by awards.¹⁸⁷ The Song court often chose expert archers in the army to be archery companions (*banshe* 伴射) in the contests with the Juchens by temporarily giving them higher-ranking official titles. In 1189 Commander-in-chief of Palace Army (*dianqian du zhihui shi* 殿前都指揮使) Guo Gao 郭杲 pointed out the fact that the archery companions had been elder and weaker, while the young soldiers were not

¹⁸⁴ The Jurchens might have learned the necessity of archery in diplomacy from the Khitans or Liao archives.

¹⁸⁵ *ZXLS*, 223.83.

¹⁸⁶ *SHY*, li 45.19, 24.

¹⁸⁷ *SHY*, li 45.24.

allowed to be promoted due to their low-ranking titles. Guo expected that the excellent performance in the archery rite could be a prerequisite for the promotion. Xiaozong agreed with Guo's request.¹⁸⁸

Like the competition on the Huai River, the archery contest could have easily stimulated somewhat nationalist sentiment, an essential element in the Song envoys' reports and some popular stories.¹⁸⁹ A number of legendary archers like Wang Deyong 王德用 (980–1058) and Cao Ping 曹評 had gained fame in the Northern Song. Their remarkable techniques were said to have impressed and even horrified the Khitan envoys.¹⁹⁰ There are several relevant records in the limited Southern Song sources. According to the epigraph of Chen Guinian 陳龜年 (1130–88) written by a prominent intellectual Chen Liang 陳亮 (1143–94), we know that Chen Guinian was an immigrant to Hangzhou in the early Southern Song. Once while serving as Hostel Escort Commissioner, he witnessed the Song archers' poor performance at a banquet and could have no longer tolerated its occurrence. After entering the field, Chen shot an arrow and hit a bullseye.¹⁹¹ The archery rite was not open to public, but the lively depictions made hearers or readers feel as if they were personally participating in the contest. A convivial banquet might have reduced competitive tension, but the Song commissioners seemed to much care about the

¹⁸⁸ *SHY*, 51.31–32.

¹⁸⁹ A typical example was provided by Zhang Li 張棣, who in the *Zhonglong shiji* 正隆事蹟 cited a memorial of a grandson of Emperor Shizong of the Jin: "Every time the court sent a mission to Song; our people usually could not win the archery contest, which was harmful to our national prestige. If any archer cannot win the archery contest in the future, please convict him of his poor performance (每遣奉使入宋，國朝射往往不勝，有損國威。今後使人射不勝者，乞加罪決[罪]。)." *SCBM*, 233.1677.

¹⁹⁰ *SS*, 207.5290, 278.9468, 464.13574; *PZKT*, 3.176.

¹⁹¹ Chen Liang 陳亮, *Chen Liang ji* 陳亮集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 36.479.

results. Their reports often highlighted the below-par performances of the Jin and their insistence on continuing the contests. The Jurchens' unwillingness to confess defeat contrasted with the Song's easy wins.¹⁹² When Cheng Zhuo 程卓 (?–1223) visited wartime Jin, he might have attributed the Jurchens' poor performance to the conjecture that most experts had been recruited to fight on the front lines against the Mongol army.¹⁹³

Incense Burning and Tide Viewing Outside Lin'an

Activities like incense burning and tide viewing that the Jin embassy participated in were largely displayed in public. Arranged on the second day after the rite of meeting the emperor, incense burning took place in the Upper Tianzhu Monastery outside Lin'an.¹⁹⁴ The activity had been already included in Northern Song diplomatic rituals, when it was normally held in the Great State Monastery in Kaifeng.¹⁹⁵ Incense burning was first demanded by the Jurchen envoy in the ninth month of 1142.¹⁹⁶ Buddhism and monasteries in Lin'an might have appealed to the guests from afar. Yet visit to the Upper Tianzhu Monastery was more like a sightseeing tour.¹⁹⁷ On their way back to the Capital Inn, the Jin were often guided

¹⁹² *CMJYL*, 319. Similar accounts can also be found in the reports by the Song envoys who attended the archery banquets in Jin. *BXRL*, 33–34; *SJL*, 125.

¹⁹³ *SJL*, 117, 119.

¹⁹⁴ Burning incense in the Upper Tianzhu Monastery was probably a regular diplomatic activity for all foreign embassies. The Annam embassy did so in 1174. *SHY*, fanyi 4.49.

¹⁹⁵ Murong Yanfeng 慕容彦逢, *Chiwentang ji* 摛文堂集, Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu edition, 9.12a. According to *MLL*, the Jin embassy also went incense burning in other monasteries like the Mingqing Monastery and the Lingyin Monastery (*Lingyin si* 靈隱寺) on the second day after the grand audience assembly. Given these monasteries rarely mentioned in other sources, they were probably involved in a temporary plan or made at the specific request of the Jurchens.

¹⁹⁶ *SHY*, zhiguan 36.44.

¹⁹⁷ *XNYL*, 198.3898.

to the scenic spots at the foot of Mount Feilai 飛來峰 (lit. the mountain that came flying) such as the Cold Spring Pavilion (*Lengquan ting* 冷泉亭) and the Calling Ape Cave (*Huyuan dong* 呼猿洞).¹⁹⁸ The Upper Tianzhu Monastery, the pavilion and the cave provided a standard combination in diplomacy, the same as that used by the Song emperors.¹⁹⁹ No specific itinerary was recorded in the existing sources, but the sporadic materials may give some clues about a possible route. The Jin embassy rode up along the Imperial Street to the Imperial Academy in the northwest, went through the Qiantang Gate, visited the scenic spots, and perhaps returned to the city through the Qianhu Gate 錢湖門 or the Qingbo Gate.²⁰⁰

Incense burning and tide viewing both featured leisure and sightseeing activities and occurred outside the imperial city, but were distinct in several aspects. Due to the geographical environment of Lin'an, tide watching became a unique diplomatic activity in Southern Song China, one that had never been included in previous guest rituals. We are still unsure if the Song or the Jurchens first proposed it. Compared with incense burning largely separated from urban dwellers, tide watching was closely related to the urbanity of Lin'an. As a local custom famed for the high tides in the mid-eighth month, the diplomatic activity thus was imbued with a local festive atmosphere. The urban treatises such as *MLL* and *WLJS* vividly depict how urban

¹⁹⁸ *CYZJ*, jiajia 3.97; *WLJS*, 8.109; *SS*, 119.2812. For the brief accounts of the Lengquan Pavilion and the Huyuan Cave, see *CYLAZ*, 8.145, 147; *XCLAZ*, 23.3582; *YDJS*, 2.59, 6973; Zhu Mu 祝穆, *Fangyu shenglan* 方輿勝覽 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 1.14; *YLMC*, 5.147; *MLL*, 11.97.

¹⁹⁹ *SHY*, li 52.18.

²⁰⁰ In the reign era of Longxing the Jin embassy went to the Upper Tianzhu Monastery via the Imperial Academy. Wang Mingqing 王明清, *Yuzhao xinzhì* 玉照新志, in *QSBJ*, 6nd ser., vol.2 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2013), 4.188. For the site of the Imperial Academy, see *QDLAZ*, 1.5–6; *CYLAZ*, 7.125; *XCLAZ*, 11.3451.

dwellers indulged in the festival with great passion.²⁰¹ One can probably imagine the following scenes: The Jin embassy went out of the city with a huge crowd through the Houchao Gate and snailed to the Zhejiang Pavilion located by the Qiantang River. The roofs of the houses along the riverbank served as viewing platforms most of which were reserved by powerful figures like members of the imperial family and eunuchs. By the river were erected rows of makeshift tents and few vacant places were available to sedan chairs and horses.²⁰² Apart from a splendid natural view of tides, the guests also enjoyed the large-scale drill of waterborne troops that the capital governor (*jingyin* 京尹) took charge of as well as the impressive performance of local young good swimmers (called *Wu'er* 吳兒 or *nongchao'er* 弄潮兒) stunting over the water.²⁰³

The story, “Mr. Le Junior Searches for His Wife at the Risk of His Life 樂小舍棄生覓偶,” in the *Jingshi tongyan* 警世通言 (Comprehensive Words to Caution the World) was set against a backdrop of the tide viewing of a Jin envoy Gao Jingshan 高景山 during his 1161 visit in Lin’an.²⁰⁴ The Ming pseudo-vernacular short story (*ni huaben*) was probably based on the relevant Song-Yuan vernacular novellas (*huaben*, lit. story-texts), and thus was likely to retain somewhat historical memories

²⁰¹ *MLL*, 4.27–29; *WLJS*, 3.45–46.

²⁰² *MLL*, 4.28; *XHFSL*, 110.

²⁰³ One of the Song military drills occurred in the middle of the eighth month each year. The performance on the Qiantang River for the Jin embassy might be part of the drill.

²⁰⁴ For the English version of the story, see Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 comp., *Stories to Caution the World: A Ming Dynasty Collection* vol. 2, translated by Shuhui Yang and Yunqin Yang (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 364–76.

and contexts at the time.²⁰⁵ Urban dwellers in Lin'an, rich or poor, all turned out to watch at the news that the imperial court would entertain the guest and invited him to watch the tides. Feasting in the extravagantly decorated pavilion, Gao was thrilled when viewing the powerful tides, the navy warships sailing up and down the river and setting off multicolored fireworks, and the brave local swimmers treading over the waves. Portrayed as a scholar, Gao was asked to compose a lyric poem about what he had seen. His work was loudly applauded, but Academician Fan of the Hanlin Academy expressed regret that the nicely written poem still could not convey the feeling of imposing jade-dragon-like tides. Fan then composed a poem which was acclaimed by Gao.²⁰⁶ The narrative showcases not only the Song court's elaborate preparations for diplomacy, but also the enthusiasm of urban dwellers, and more important, suggests the superb literacy of the Song commissioner who won the composition contest against the Jin envoy.

Factors like time, space and the current political situation could have influenced incense burning and tide viewing. In the mourning period as discussed in the following section, the diplomatic activities were suspended out of respect for the dead retired emperor. Once when damage to the river embankment by turbulent waves was not repaired in time, the Song court cancelled tide viewing for the guests' safety.²⁰⁷ In the third month of 1165, the Song commissioners brought forward proposals in the hope that they could gain substantive parity with the Jurchens. The

²⁰⁵ See the entry of "huaben" in Taiping Chang, *A Dictionary of Chinese Literature* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

²⁰⁶ Feng Menglong comp., *Stories to Caution the World*, 370–72.

²⁰⁷ *XNYL*, 198.3898.

Song court accepted many of their suggestions, but one of them, an expectation about cancelling incense burning and tide viewing, was an exception.²⁰⁸

Reshaping Ritual Space Where Funeral Ritual Encountered Guest Ritual

The spatial structure of the dual palaces shaped in the early 1160s did not influence or change the Jurchen diplomacy in Lin'an prior to the late 1180s. The retired emperor might have had some leverage over the emperor on foreign affairs, but he himself was almost never involved in guest ritual.²⁰⁹ According to the dual palaces rites, the emperor had to visit the Northern Palace regularly and after important ceremonies like the New Year and the emperor's birthday celebrations. Such must have been performed even when the Jin embassy remained in the capital city. It is unclear how the Jin envoy viewed this unique spatial structure in Lin'an, since it is not mentioned in the extant Jin sources. Given that the Jurchen guests were restricted to the Capital Inn most of the time, they might have had little chance of witnessing the Song grand carriage and procession shuttling between the two palaces.

In the second half the twelfth century, the death of the retired emperor in 1187 was a serious problem that plagued the Song court as it had to resolve conflicts between the internal and external rituals. In fact, such conflicts were not a new issue. When the emperor or empress dowager passed away in Southern Song or Jurchen Jin, the two imperial courts adhered to the Song-Liao model, dispatching different types

²⁰⁸ *SHY*, zhiguan 36.57.

²⁰⁹ Gaozong once persuaded Xiaozong to accept the previous ritual protocol during the disputes over the rite of receiving the Jin state credential. Zhao Yongchun, "Song Jin guanyu 'shoushu li' de douzheng," 85.

of envoys at corresponding stages for the announcements and condolences.²¹⁰ The similar procedures were then applied to the deceased retired emperor. If without the retired emperor, the emperor's death would quickly lead to the enthronement of a new emperor, which also required the announcement known to the "enemy state" that would send a mission to express congratulations. In this regard, the sorrowful and the joyful rituals were usually intertwined for several months. However, since the death of the retired emperor did not touch upon the enthronement, the sorrowfulness would become amplified and needed to be appropriately fitted into diplomacy.

Xiaozong's Ritual Insistence

This new diplomatic ritual centered on the retired emperor that had never appeared in the East Asian world placed one of the most filial emperors in Chinese history in a fundamental dilemma: while mourning, how should he receive the Jin envoys coming to celebrate his birthday and the New Year? In other words, should ritual priority be given to the funeral rites performed by the emperor as a filial son with a deep feeling of grief or the auspicious guest rites as a symbol of the long lasting bond between the two states?

The problem was not new, of course, for the similar situations had taken place after the deaths of the emperor and empress dowager in the Northern Song as well as during the reign of Gaozong. But it seemed to be more complicated and intractable if one takes into consideration the power asymmetry between the Song and the Jin, the role of the retired emperor in the Song imperial power structure, and Xiaozong's

²¹⁰ Li Hui, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu*, 31.

special attention to the funeral ritual as an expression of his extreme filial piety. The Song court had to prudently measure the officials' conflicting views and to estimate the effects of their proposed regulations on the internal and external audiences. Through negotiations, they reshaped diplomatic ritual space by referring to the relevant precedents, considering the interplay between the urban space of Lin'an and the Song-Jin diplomatic relations.

In the ninth month of 1187, Gaozong's health began to deteriorate quite seriously. On the fifth day of the tenth month, Xiaozong sent officials led by chief councilors to pray to the gods of Heaven and Earth and ancestors for the recovery of the retired emperor. Two days later, Xiaozong decided to suspend the court meetings with officials, referring to a precedent in the reign of Emperor Tang Taizong. He also gave the order to recruit the ordinary people who had superb medical skill and would be substantially rewarded, and allowed them to go directly to the Deshou Palace. On the eighth day of the tenth month, Gaozong was in a critical condition; Xiaozong hurried to his residence in the morning, but the retired emperor died in the afternoon.²¹¹

After the death of Gaozong, Xiaozong's strict insistence on wearing the untrimmed sackcloth (*zhancui* 斬衰) for three years in mourning, according to Confucian ritual classics on the five mourning garments (*wufu* 五服), earned him wide acclaim as a supreme paradigm of the Confucian ethics of filial piety.²¹² Since the reign of Emperor Wendi of Han, a new emperor usually mourned the loss of his

²¹¹ *ZXLSXB*, 35.524; *ZXLS*, 264.268.

²¹² The close or distant relationship with the deceased determined what kinds of the clothes a mourner should wear and how long the period of mourning he or she needed to observe.

deceased predecessor by adopting an eclectic approach to the mourning period, regarding one day as one month, in order to minimize the negative effect of the ruler's absence on state affairs.²¹³ The Song officials suggested that Xiaozong follow this basic principle, though it had been criticized in the Wei-Jin period for not conforming to Confucian rituals.²¹⁴ The nearly one-sided proposals did not change Xiaozong's original intention as, from his viewpoint, the ritual eclecticism could not have expressed his utmost filial respect and deepest mourning for Gaozong. Xiaozong stated that "I can be an originator to make a precedent regardless of the ancient norms (*ziwo zuogu*自我作古)" throughout the whole funeral rite, while the officials can abide by the precedent and change their mourning apparel at different stages.²¹⁵ On the second day after *xiaoxiang*小祥 (lit. small commemoration), the first anniversary of the death (i.e. the twelfth day after the predecessor's death in terms of the ritual compromise for the emperor), Xiaozong issued an edict announcing that he would burn incense and commemorate the deceased retired emperor in front of Gaozong's coffin in the Deshou Palace every five days. It was said that urban dwellers in Lin'nan felt deeply touched, witnessing the comings and goings of the emperor in full mourning between the dual palaces, more frequent than his previous regular visits to the Northern Palace.²¹⁶

²¹³ Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 et al., *Jinshu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghuashu, 1974), 20.620.

²¹⁴ *ZXLSXB*, 36.526.

²¹⁵ *SS*, 122.2860.

²¹⁶ *CYZJ*, yiji 3.549.

The Dual Palaces

Gaozong's death was not only a major domestic event but a central diplomatic issue for negotiations over Xiaozong's ritual enactments and the relevant ritual sites. During the early process, the Deshou Palace where the coffin of Gaozong was placed became highlighted. After Gaozong died, the Song officials immediately realized an urgent, big problem: the scheduled Jin's celebrations for Xiaozong's birthday would take place two weeks later. Overcome with grief, the emperor cancelled the Song officials' celebrations at the Mingqing Monastery first. Xiaozong then reiterated that he would stay in the Deshou Palace in the grieving process, and hence was unable to meet the coming Jin emissary. The majority of the Song officials advocated his meeting with the Jin envoys, suggesting that the emperor follow the 1034 precedent: Renzong in deepest mourning clothes still received the Khitan envoys for his birthday celebrations when grieving the death of Empress Dowager Liu, Renzong's adoptive mother and the first de facto regent of Song China. Their main concern was that such a change might have aroused the Jurchens' suspicions if the emperor would rush to greet them in the Imperial Palace from the Deshou Palace.²¹⁷

Other officials who tended to support the emperor's viewpoint were divided into the moderate and the radical. The moderate, represented by minister in charge of Ministry of Personnel Xiao Sui 蕭綈, deemed that the reception of the Jurchens was not obligatory, since the Song officials' celebrations had already been cancelled. But they were aware of the diplomatic importance, proposing a compromise that if the

²¹⁷ CYJZ, yiji 3.547-48.

Jurchens insisted on the first greeting ritual, the emperor could meet them in a white tent temporarily erected in the Deshou Palace. The plan was negotiated with the emperor by attendants, censors and remonstrators, and ritual officials, who made a creative use of the 1034 precedent and tried to replace the Imperial Palace with the Deshou Palace as the ritual site.²¹⁸ In this regard, the Deshou Palace was regarded as the middle space to reconcile the conflict between the funeral and the diplomatic rituals. In contrast, Shen Qingchen沈清臣, *jinshi* of 1157, was the only person thought to have publicly upheld Xiaozong's view firmly. Pointing out the current situation differing from the context in 1034, Shen cited an example of the Khitan emperor's refusal of the Song's condolences with the stress on the Sino-barbarian dichotomy: "Even if the barbarians understood and observed ritual, how could people of the Central Plains not do it? (夷狄尚知有禮，中原可不然邪?)"²¹⁹ Although Xiaozong was said to have been very satisfied with Shen's remarks, at the insistence of grand councilors, he promised verbally to keep to the plan.²²⁰ But the emperor cancelled the greeting rite at the last minute and asked officials to arrange the reception banquet in the Capital Inn. The emperor had no meeting at all with the Jin

²¹⁸ *SLL*, 172.12b; *CYZJ*, yiji 3.548, 551.

²¹⁹ *CYZJ*, yiji 3.548.

²²⁰ Shortly after the Jin emissary resided in the Capital Inn, Xiaozong learnt from the palace eunuchs sent to the posthouse that the Jurchens seemed to have been persuaded to request the cancellation of the reception rite. Thereafter, Xiaozong intended to cancel the reception, but it was opposed by grand councilors. Zhou Bida in *SLL* (172.12b–16a) provided more details. For a discussion of the ritual negotiations, see Xu Haoran 許浩然, "Cong Zhou Bida Siling lu kan Chunxi shisi nian Song Jin waijiao zhi yinmi 從周必大《思陵錄》看淳熙十四年宋金外交之隱秘," *Yindu xuekan* 殷都學刊 2 (2015): 40–45. Xu argues that Xiaozong insisted on not accepting the plan of meeting the Jurchens in the Deshou Palace because of his efforts to gain diplomatic disparity and his political determination to be independent of Gaozong's influence. Xu, "Cong Zhou Bida Siling lu kan Chunxi shisi nian Song Jin waijiao zhi yinmi," 44. I would suggest that the author might have overinterpreted Xiaozong's motives. Xiaozong had abandoned struggling for an equal status in the rite of accepting a state credential by 1175. Zhao, "Song Jin guanyu 'shoushu li' de douzheng," 86. After Xiaozong was persuaded to keep the plan by Zhou Bida, Zhou reminded the emperor of the rite concerned with the Jin state credential. Xiaozong replied that he would perform it when he met the Jurchen envoy. *SLL*, 172.14b. Given his performances in the funeral rituals, Xiaozong did or might have pretended to prioritize these domestic rites centering on the Deshou Palace.

envoys.²²¹

The 1187 negotiations had touched on the issue of guest ritual under special circumstances, but reached no consensus, and no precedent was thus created. The result was considered an unpalatable solution. Further discussions continued at the end of this year. About two weeks after the New Year celebration in 1188, in retrospect, an official bitterly complained about the “momentary hastiness (*yishi cangcu* 一時倉猝)” three months ago, and even indicated sharply that “having rituals (*youli* 有禮)” or “lacking rituals (*wuli* 無禮)” was a main criterion for differentiating between the Central Kingdom and those barbarians.²²² The differential treatment of Jin missions in recent two diplomatic rituals did concern him because, as he explained, the *hua-yi* distinction was to some extent more significant than the emperor-minister or father-son relations. His proposal that making ritual stability (*dingzhi* 定制) could help handle the special situations was probably widely accepted.²²³ The preliminary discussion of diplomatic ritual from late 1187 to early 1188 eventually established a new ritual precedent referring to the Northern Song and early Southern Song cases.

The core of the 1188 precedent for the New Year celebrations (*zhengdan li* 正旦例) was to formulate some pragmatic regulations: the Song emperor, wearing a mourning dress, could receive the Jin envoys in the first meeting or the farewell in a

²²¹ Xiaozong insisted on not accepting the Jin’s gifts. *CYZJ*, yiji 3.551.

²²² *ZXLSXB*, 57.599.

²²³ *ZXLSXB*, 57.599.

provisional pale yellow tent erected in the eastern corridor of the Chuigong Hall.²²⁴ As for the layout and embellishments of ritual space, the color of red, as a metaphor of joyousness, must not have been used. No fresh flowers were to be allowed for decoration and no music at the subsequent banquet. The positions of the Song commissioners and Jin envoys at first were both to be marked in blue-green, whereas since the second month this year, the color of purple was permitted for the Jin envoys' positions out of respect for honorable guests.²²⁵ The banquet and archery contest were to be cancelled, but the rite of bestowing bows and arrows performed in the Capital Inn was still symbolically preserved. For the meeting and farewell banquets, gold and silver utensils, table decorations, and the style and color of the outfits of chefs and servants must have been adjusted accordingly.²²⁶ In addition, the court would agree to the Jurchens' requests if the guests wanted to use blue-green for their positions and/or to suspend activities like sightseeing and banquets, which could have been regarded as signs of showing sympathy and friendliness, a standard procedure in the *jiaopin* system.²²⁷

In the second month of 1188, the Jin emissary for offering condolences reached Lin'an. Interestingly, as the diplomatic ritual matched the overall atmosphere of the funeral ritual, after ritual negotiations, the Song court integrated the failed 1187 proposal into the 1188 precedent, introducing the dual palaces into diplomacy for the

²²⁴ *SLL*, 172.36b; *SHY*, zhiguan 36.63–64, 51.3–4, 51.6, 51.29–33; *CYZJ*, yiji 3.550, 553.

²²⁵ *SHY*, zhiguan 51.7.

²²⁶ *SHY*, fangyu 4.6–7.

²²⁷ *SHY*, zhiguan 36.63, fangyu 4.1.

first time in practice. The first meeting and farewell were held together with the rite of offering condolences in the Deshou Palace; the rite of accepting the state credential performed in a tent outside the Chuigong Hall.²²⁸ Xiaozong in the untrimmed sackcloth met with the Jin envoy in a plain tent temporarily set up close to the eastern corridor of the Deshou Palace. In order to cooperate with the emperor, for the ritual the Song officials were required in advance to replace their court clothes with the mourning clothes in the phase of *daxiang* that they had already experienced in the early eleventh month of last year.²²⁹ This is the first and only time that the dual palaces were utilized in Southern Song diplomacy, a very rare phenomenon in Chinese and East Asian history.²³⁰

Clothing and Ritual Materiality

Clothing and music were the two major and recurrent subjects of considerable discussions about the solutions to the tension between the funeral and diplomatic rites in the Southern Song. As recognizable and sensible elements, they were extensively used to display symbolic power in shaping ritual materiality and soundspace. The complicated system of mourning clothing visualized the mourners' relationships with the deceased, implying their social identities and a hierarchical social structure through funeral rites.²³¹ As "a means of governance," music usually highlighted the promotion of harmony and, on the festive and diplomatic occasions, created the

²²⁸ *ZXLSXB*, 58.603, 605, 59.607; *SHY*, zhiguan 52.7.

²²⁹ *CYZJ*, yiji 3.550.

²³⁰ The coffin of Gaozong was moved out of the Deshou Palace in the third month of 1188. *CYZJ*, yiji 3.550.

²³¹ Note that these were normally displayed in *Picture of Five Mourning Garment* (*wufu tu* 五服圖).

images of sharing joy with the people and cherishing foreign states from afar.²³² However, funeral and diplomatic rites did not share the same expressiveness of ritual and music, which, as Joseph Lam argues, “depends not only on ritual and musical features, but also on the persons who decode what and how the features express.”²³³ It was this reason why Song officials attempted to reconcile the expressiveness of the two rites, concerning about the inappropriate or ambiguous use of symbolic power, which could have distorted the ritual expressiveness and given rise to the contravention of ritual classics or the Jurchens’ misunderstandings.

Shortly after the death of Gaozong, Chief Councilor Wang Huai王淮 (1126–89) raised the problem of the system of mourning clothing: If Xiaozong insisted on mourning for three years, a strange scene would occur in which officials wore auspicious clothes in normal times and court dress at the imperial court, while the emperor was still in deepest mourning clothes.²³⁴ The dilemma stemmed from two different timetables being followed by the emperor and officials. Through ritual officials’ efforts, in the early eleventh month of 1187 Xiaozong agreed to wear corresponding mourning clothes at different ritual stages and in different spaces.

The eclectic plan seemed to have reconciled two images of the emperor as son and ruler in the mourning period, but it brought about the distinct visual representation of the emperor inside and outside the Imperial Palace.²³⁵ The new

²³² Joseph Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music in Ming China: Orthodoxy, Creativity, and Expressiveness* (Albany: State University of New York Press 1998), 40.

²³³ Joseph Lam, *State Sacrifices and Music in Ming China*, 10.

²³⁴ SS, 122.2860.

²³⁵ SS, 122.2861.

ritual system did not last long. The repeated requests of Shen Qingchen, who expected the emperor would “spare no effort to achieve sacred filial piety (*liquan shengxiao* 力全聖孝),” changed Xiaozong’s attitude again. After the spirit tablet of Gaozong was placed in the Ancestral Shrine, the emperor announced that he would adhere to Confucian classics and wear deepest mourning clothes till the end of the mourning period.²³⁶

In contrast, since as early as the twelfth month of 1187, the Song officials had reached a consensus on not playing music when Jin embassies arrived in Lin’an according to the precedent of 1159 for the death of Empress Dowager Wei, Gaozong’s mother.²³⁷ The ritual dilemma had been greatly alleviated by the established principle which applied to the same situation of subsequent events in Lin’an. It should be noted that the Song court had never accordingly implemented such a measure to its own embassies. At the end of the tenth month of 1187, almost ten days after the small commemoration, Wan Zhong 萬鍾, as Envoy for State Letters who would leave for Zhongdu to celebrate the New Year, suggested that the precedent of 1160 was not suitable for the coming diplomacy in Lin’an as the spirit tablet had not been placed in the Ancestral Shrine. He further underlined the fact that Song envoys had yet enjoyed music at the Jin flowery banquet (*huayan* 花宴) since 1142 regardless of the dates of Song state funerals, out of fear that the Jurchens might have quoted this precedent and request music. The Song court decided to regard the New

²³⁶ *CYZJ*, yiji 3.550–51; *SS*, 122.2862, 125.2920.

²³⁷ *SHY*, zhiguan 51.6–7.

Year celebration of Jin as festive event after ritual officials' discussions.²³⁸ As for the 1188 New Year's celebrations synchronically held in Song and Jin, Song envoys in auspicious garb attended a state banquet with music in Zhongdu, while the state banquet was cancelled and music was prohibited in Lin'an. In fact, not all Song envoys stuck to the regulation. The refusal to attend the Jin banquets with music could have resulted from the viewpoint of a few hard-liners among the Song envoys rather than the state diplomatic policy, which seemed to have been made not to cater for the emperor's attitude.²³⁹

During the mourning period, the regulations of clothing and music provided a common link between the capital and local areas as well as frontier regions, which constituted a ritual space for the state funeral rite in a much broader context. The ritual requirements gradually diminished from the center to the peripheral. Take Gaozong's funeral rite as an example. Senior and regular officials in Lin'an were required to handle affairs in their offices with mourning clothes and go to the Deshou Palace twice daily for mourning (such an action called "*fulin* 赴臨" in Song ritual sources). Military officers in charge of garrisons in or around Lin'an were allowed to mourn for the retired emperor in their barracks. Officials in the capital needed to change their clothes at different ritual stages, and could wear pure auspicious clothes until after the placement of the spirit tablet.²⁴⁰ Local officials were also supposed to

²³⁸ *SHY*, zhiguan 51.6.

²³⁹ See the case of Jing Tang and also note the violence used by the Jurchens as well as Xiaozong's feedback, *SS*, 394.12036–37.

²⁴⁰ *ZXLSXB*, 36.526; *SS*, 125.2920–21; *GMBY*, 6.386; *CYZJ*, jiaji 9.189. For more detailed discussions about the regulations on crown prince, empress dowager, empress, imperial concubines and the inner and outer noblewomen, see *ZXLSXB*, *juan* 38 and *juan* 39.

perform the mourning ritual twice a day, but could take off their mourning garbs on the third day of the funeral rite. The officials “along the border” (*yanbian*沿邊) did not need to conduct the ritual as long as they wore white clothes (*sufu*素服) at home, and was the same to literati and ordinary people.²⁴¹

The prohibition of music showed slight regional variations, less complicated than the regulation of mourning dress. All people, in or around Lin’an, were not to play music for twenty-seven months, and only in the salvation rites held in the Buddhist and Daoist temples was music allowed for seven days in the early stage of the funeral rite. The local people were not permitted to play music for a hundred days, but the use of music was acceptable for border garrisons in marching or military exercises.²⁴² The lack of music made the original soundspace silent during the journey of Jin embassies to Lin’an and their stay in the capital city.²⁴³ On the eleventh day of the tenth month in 1187, an edict based on discussions between the Ministry of Music (*yuebu*樂部) and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices was issued stating that for major sacrifices before the placement of the spirit tablet, officials who conducted rituals needed to don court dress temporarily and that musical instruments, which performers were forbidden to play, should be placed in appropriate positions.²⁴⁴ This practical yet controversial plan was largely implemented in diplomatic rituals. There has been no direct evidence of the display of musical instruments in practice, but it reminds us

²⁴¹ *ZXLSXB*, 37.529.

²⁴² *ZXLSXB*, 37.529.

²⁴³ It was an exception that ringing bells for mourning was allowed in local temples in Lin’an. *ZXLSXB*, 36.526.

²⁴⁴ *ZXLSXB*, 37.529.

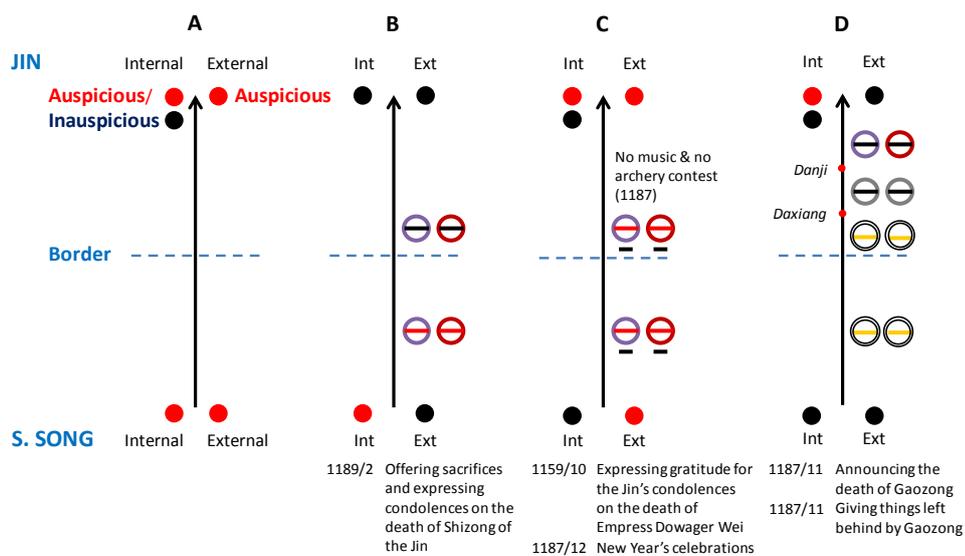
of the Song's understanding of the symbolic power of music.

Often affected by conflicting opinions and ritual contexts, this ritual package, a mixture of internal and external rituals, operated through Song-Jin diplomatic exchanges, demonstrating the significance of the Song-Jin border and its connection to the Song temporary capital. According to whether these rituals were auspicious or inauspicious as well as principles of the *jiaopin* diplomacy, in theory, we have four sets of Song-oriented models and their Jin-oriented counterparts. The extant Song sources on how the court addressed the ritual problem of dressing provide twelve cases corresponding to six models (Figure 5.7).²⁴⁵ The Song court mostly accepted the decisions ritual officials reached based on their negotiations. In general, priority was given to diplomacy that took place in the territory of Jin (e.g. model B and C), while the domestic situation was taken more seriously if diplomatic rituals were held in the Song (e.g. model A', B' and D'). The distinction highlighted the ritual symbolic role of its northern border with Jin. In the second month of 1189, the Song embassy dispatched on a mission of expressing condolences to the Jurchens were marked by red belts while on Song territory, which the Song envoys ordered to replace with black belts after their crossing the Song-Jin border.²⁴⁶ Late in the same month, on the border the Song commissioners wearing official dress and black belts without golden fish-pouch welcomed the Jurchen envoys bearing news of the death of Emperor Shizong of Jin on the first day of the reception. In the rest of days, they accompanied

²⁴⁵ The Song court appointed Wei Pu 韋璞 as Envoy for Obituary Notice as usual shortly after Gaozong's death, and Wei with his deputy, Jiang Teli 姜特立 (1125–1205), was authorized to decide when it would be appropriate for the embassy personnel to change their mourning clothes in Jin. *SS*, 35.687, 125.2921. This was probably the earliest account touching upon the issue.

²⁴⁶ *SHY*, zhiguan 51.34.

the guests to Lin'an in pure auspicious garb (*chun jifu* 純吉服) in the light of domestic circumstances.²⁴⁷ Song ritual officials had realized the demarcation line as political and ritual boundaries during their initial discussions in the tenth month of 1187. They made adjustments to the regulations for mourning clothes and the classical ritual principle in the mourning period to reconcile the intertwined ritual timetables of the Song emperor and officials as well as the diplomatic activities.²⁴⁸ Such adjustments ensured the treatment of Jin emissaries at the local level to be consistent with that in Lin'an, and local authorities had to change their ritual schedules and cooperate with the court to reshape the multiscale diplomatic ritual space.



²⁴⁷ SHY, zhiguan 51.33.

²⁴⁸ SHY, zhiguan 52.6–7; The timetables of the emperor and central officials hardly synchronized with the timing of changing their mourning clothes. Even after the placement of Gaozong's spirit tablet in the fourth month of 1188, the emperor's insistence on full mourning did not enable the officials to wear pure auspicious garb, which was not allowed until Xiaozong accomplished the abdication ceremony in the second month of 1189. *ZXLSXB*, juan 37. According to the annotations of Zheng Xuan and Jia Gongyan to the *Book of Rites*, if the host state was in the period of state mourning, its officials had to receive foreign embassies by wearing auspicious garb (namely, court dress) with mourning shoes (*sanglü* 喪履) instead of pure auspicious garb, given the treatment not pertinent to pure auspicious rite nor pure funeral rite. *LJZY*, 40.1551. This basic principle seemed to have been widely accepted by the Southern Song ritual officials. Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁, *Liji yaoyi* 禮記要義, Sibū congkan xubian edition, 20.26b. The Song embassies departing from Lin'an to Zhongdu normally carried two sets of clothing, the mourning and auspicious garb, and the commissioner would make his own judgment about whether and when to change their clothes given the ritual stages. *SHY*, zhiguan 52.4.

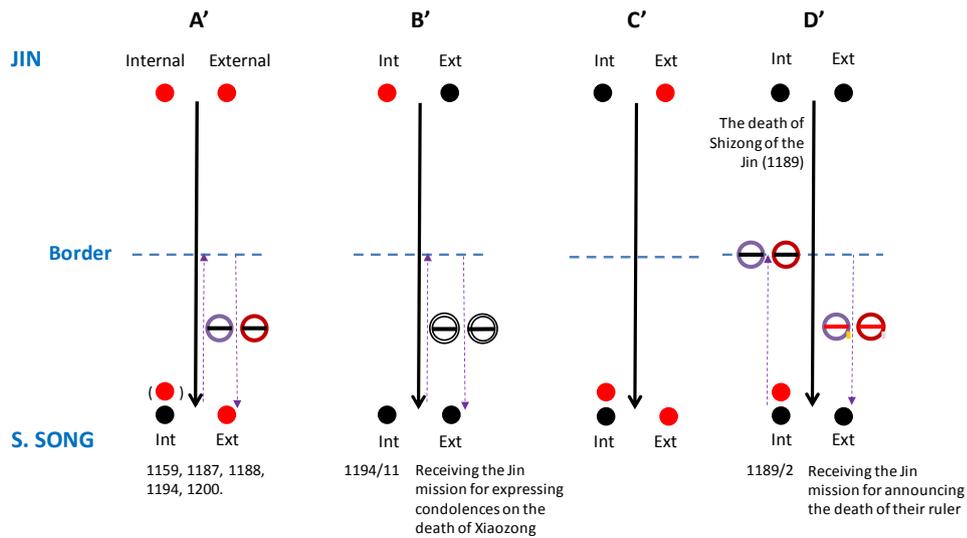


Fig. 5.7: Models concerned with dressing in Song-Jin diplomacy under the auspicious and/or inauspicious circumstances

Discussions on opposing views about the use of music help to further understand the ritual dilemmas in diplomacy that the Song court confronted. The *danji* 禫祭, the ritual held in the 27th month after the funeral, marked the transition from the inauspicious to auspicious status. The removal of mourning clothes and the return to playing music signified returns of social order and personal emotions to normality. In the twelfth month of 1189, the court accepted the ritual officials' proposal and announced that music would be available to ordinary people after the *danji* on the seventeenth day of this month, while the emperor and officials was not allowed to enjoy music until the completion of the ritual of granting an honorific title to the emperor on the first day of the next year.²⁴⁹ For the Song court, a more complicated issue that had not arisen previously was how to manage the problem of using music during this ritual transition, in that the Jin emissary would arrive in Lin'an in the late twelfth month and attend the grand banquet in the early first month of the next year.

²⁴⁹ ZXLXSB, 76.665–68.

Music and Ritual Soundscape

The music issue in diplomacy had been first touched on in the early eleventh month. The Ministry of Rites and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices required that the banquets for Jin envoys be held in local post houses during their journey to Lin'an and back to Jin, and that playing music and wearing flowers in one's hair were prohibited.²⁵⁰ The imperial edict issued on the twenty-fifth day of this month confirmed that music would be used at banquets after the coming New Year.²⁵¹ The Hostel Escort Commissioner presented two conflicting opinions and requested a formal resolution. Zhang Tang 張倜, served as Welcoming and Parting Escort Commissioner, deemed that the previous regulations regarding the reception at a local level also applied to the great banquet given in Lin'an. Zhang further pointed out that the Jin envoys would have an adequate reason to decline the flowers if music was not performed. On the other side, Wang Shunchen 王舜臣 in charge of ritual practices held the opposite view, arguing that the great banquet without music and flowers was inappropriate. Wang regarded it one of the very auspicious rites which held not only for the Jin envoys but by the Song emperor after the funeral rituals.²⁵² Probably considering the issue from the position of the Jurchens, Zhang as ritual performer stressed the ritual consistency so as not to cause the guests' confusion about their different treatment. In Zhang's view, the coherent regulation to some degree could extricate the Jin envoys from an awkward ritual situation. However, Wang as ritual

²⁵⁰ *SHY*, zhiguan 36.63. For the regulations regarding the flowers, see *SS*, 153.3569–70.

²⁵¹ *ZXLSXB*, 76.665.

²⁵² *SHY*, zhiguan 36.63–64.

expert insisted on the normalization of diplomatic rites after the mourning period. It seems that he adopted a stance on the priority of internal rituals. The Song court eventually approved the ritual officials' ambiguous reconciliation which reshaped the ritual space. The playing of music and bestowing of flowers remained, but participants should not wear flowers in hair.²⁵³

A similar ritual dilemma was also reflected in heated debate on Jurchen diplomatic gifts at the end of 1187. On the eighteenth day of the twelfth month, Xiaozong queried whether he as emperor should accept foreign gifts from Jin envoys who would reach Lin'an five days later. Officials expressed two different opinions. Most of them believed that the gifts should be declined, since the emperor was still in mourning.²⁵⁴ On the twentieth day a strong supporting view was conveyed in an anonymous official's memorial. Citing the Confucius's use of correct protocol to resolve a diplomatic threat at the Jiagu 頰谷 meeting, he indicated that Jin envoys would be completely convinced (*fu qixin* 服其心) by the emperor's great emphasis on his status of mourning.²⁵⁵ His main concern was that if the emperor decided to accept

²⁵³ *SHY*, zhiguan 36.64.

²⁵⁴ *ZXLS*, 223.90; *SHY*, zhiguan 51.30.

²⁵⁵ *ZXLS*, 223.92; *SHY*, zhiguan 51.30–31; From this official's perspective, the Jiagu meeting was a perfect example illustrating how following proper rituals could convince people (*li zhi neng furen* 禮之能服人). The Jiagu meeting of the two rulers of the states of Lu and Qi in 500 BCE was included in Confucian Classics (eg. the *Zuozhuan* and the *Guliang zhuan*) and historical records (eg. the *Kongzi jiyu* 孔子家語, the *Yanzi chunqiu* 晏子春秋 and the *Shiji*). The critical role of Confucius assisting his duke in a diplomatic victory was placed much more emphasis on by Sima Qian in the *Shiji* than the account in the *Zuozhuan*. In his work Sima Qian also probably relied on the more ritually detailed narrative from the *Guliang zhuan*. See Stephen W. Durrant, *The Cloudy Mirror: Tension and Conflict in the Writings of Sima Qian* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 36–37; Li Longxian 李隆獻, "Xian Qin Han chu wenxian zhong de 'Kongzi xingxiang' 先秦漢初文獻中的「孔子形象」," *Wen yu zhe* 文與哲 25 (2014): 34–35, 64–65, 70. For an exploration of interpretations on the Jiagu meeting from the history of Confucian classics, see Ge Zhaoguang, "Zai lishi yu jieshi zhijian: Dui Guliang zhuan Dinggong shinian 'Jiagu zhi hui' jizai de quanshi shi 在歷史與解釋之間——對《穀梁傳》定公十年「頰谷之會」記載的詮釋史," *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu* 中國文化研究, 1 (2005). Jian Yiguang argues that the excessive emphasis on the true-life story of Confucius presented a partially distorted picture in the historical records like the *Kongzi jiyu*, while in commentaries and annotations for specific purposes the narratives of the Jiagu meeting were probably closer to the reality. Jian Yiguang 簡逸光, "Lishi de gaixie yu wenxue de shilu: Yi

the diplomatic gifts, the Jurchens would take it as an example to challenge the arrangement of reception in the white tent. Given that Xiaozong had already cancelled the New Year's celebrations, he refuted the claim that the Song could first celebrate New Year with Jin emissaries before the arrival of the Jin envoys for condolences sometime after the first month of 1188. However, ritual officials, who were in the minority insisted that the emperor should accept the gifts. They stuck to their position in the second round of ritual negotiations, even when Xiaozong seemed to waver and expressed worries about the Jurchen's possible doubt. On the one hand, they referred to the Northern Song precedents that no emperor in mourning ever received foreign envoys or their gifts. On the other hand, according to their explanation, Xiaozong could decline the diplomatic gifts which were prepared for his own birthday, but the gifts for New Year's celebrations, as a symbol of the friendly relations between the two states, should not be declined. Otherwise, the guests would be confused about their mission.²⁵⁶

Both sides agreed on presenting a positive image of the "state dignity," and both accentuated the basic principles (*jing*經) of rituals and the provisional measures (*quan*權).²⁵⁷ Scholar-officials tended to practically adapt the diplomatic rites to the principle of the funeral rites, while ritual officials were mainly concerned with the

Jiagu zhi hui weili 歷史的改寫與文學的實錄——以頰谷之會為例," in Jian Yiguang, *Gemalan zhi jingxue ji: Chunqiu sanzhuang yanjiu luncong* 噶瑪蘭治經學記: 春秋三傳研究論叢 (Taipei: Wanjuanlou, 2015), 173–96. Also note that the necessary military preparation prior to the Jiagu meeting interpreted in the *Guliang zhuan* was highlighted during officials' discussion about foreign relations in Han China. See Wu Zhixiong 吳智雄, "Lun Guliang zhuan yi zai Handai de zhengzhi yingyong 論《穀梁》傳義在漢代的政治應用," *Zhengda zhongwen xuebao* 政大中文學報 16 (2011): 182–83.

²⁵⁶ *ZXLS*, 223.92; *SHY*, 51.29–31.

²⁵⁷ *SHY*, zhiguan 51.31

foreign relations in the context of mourning practices. It should be noted that as regards diplomatic gifts, Xiaozong's great emphasis on the funeral rites for his adoptive father did not enable ritual officials to adopt the aforementioned general principle of receiving foreign envoys. It might suggest that ritual priorities were not the same at different stages or in different aspects. Ritual officials seemed to agree that the emperor in mourning clothes could receive the Jurchen diplomatic gifts. The ritual inconsistency reflected the hybridity of external and internal rituals as well as the fundamental dilemma of the dual role of the emperor especially in diplomatic rites. The ritual eclecticism was inevitable as each side could establish its own ritual and moral superiority over the other. After the ritual negotiations in the early twelfth month of 1187, the Song court reconciled the two views. Hostel Escort Commissioner was asked to accept the diplomatic gifts on behalf of the emperor, but the gifts were to be placed outside the gates of the Chuigong Hall.²⁵⁸

Conclusion

The resurgence of China and the expansion of its globally and regionally economic, political, cultural and military influences in the past two or three decades have become hot topics for researchers in international relations (IR) and history.²⁵⁹ IR scholars have been alert to the ahistorical and decontextualized tendencies in mainstream IR theories, emphasizing the importance of historical and socio-cultural dimensions and seeking to explore a more comprehensive theoretical framework on

²⁵⁸ *ZXLS*, 223.92; *SHY*, zhiguan 51.31

²⁵⁹ Wu ed., *Zhongguo zaiqi: lishi yu guoguan de duihua*; Martin Wolf, "How the West should judge a rising China," *Financial Times* May 15, 2018, <https://www.ft.com/content/e30e9ed4-5754-11e8-bdb7-f6677d2e1ce8>.

China's foreign relations and policy behavior.²⁶⁰ Historians on pre-modern and modern China have paid increasing attention to the big issue of “What is China” in recent years, reconsidering the transition of China's territory, ethnicities and foreign relations at both conceptual and practical levels in empire studies and studies of nationalism and imperialism on the one hand and, on the other, placing China's interaction with the outside world in regional and global contexts.²⁶¹

I introduced this chapter as a tentative exploration of ritual space concerning Song China's diplomacy in the East Asian world. It has been widely accepted that between the tenth and thirteenth centuries East Asia witnessed a new multi-state world order, more like today's international relations, distinct from a China-centered world order. The eastward withdrawal of the influence of East Asian cultural sphere since the mid-eighth century and the political, economic, and socio-cultural changes in the middle and late Tang dynasty formed an important drop to the Tang-Song transition. In the Tang, China or “Central Kingdom” in a plural reference was converted to a singular appellation; the Song saw the conversion of some of the “four barbarians” into foreign states or empires like Khitan Liao and Jurchen Jin. The 1005 Chanyuan Treaty witnessed the emergence of a new hierarchal world order in East Asia centered on the two most influential powers. They were involved in the

²⁶⁰ Wu Yushan, “Lishi yu guoguan 歷史與國關,” in *Zhongguo zaiqi*, 3–4, 10–18; Chen Xinzhi 陳欣之, “Xiandai guoji guanxi lilun shifou neng chongfen jieshi Zhongguo de duiwai xingwei 現代國際關係理論是否能充分解釋中國的對外行為,” in *Zhongguo zaiqi*, 24–26, 37–39; David C. Kang, *East Asia before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010); Ji-Young Lee, “Historicizing China's Rise and International Relations of East Asia,” *EAI Fellows Program Working Paper Series* 47 (Dec. 2014): 1–20.

²⁶¹ William Kirby, “The Internationalization of China: Foreign Relations at home and Abroad in the Republican Era,” *The China Quarterly*, 150 (1997): 433–58; Tang Chi-hua 唐啟華, “Quanqiuhua xia waijiaoshi yanjiu de shengsi 全球化下的外交史研究的省思,” *Xingda lishi xuebao* 興大歷史學報 15 (2004): 201–17.

jiaopin system, the product of a dynamic equilibrium of power symmetry or power asymmetry.

This new East Asian world order was inseparable from the diplomatic interactions deep rooted in the Confucian ritual tradition. Different from what we understand today's international relations, the guest ritual at the time was not only the convergence of tedious formalities and pedantic discussions but also the manifestation of foreign relations and diplomatic principles. More important, in pre-modern East Asia, it assumed an ontological dimension, as an integral part of diplomacy. In this sense, it should be noted that the Khitan Liao, the Song, and the Jurchen Jin, to some degree, all accentuated the ritual symbolism and the necessity of its use as well as the way of living in and envisioning the world. Whether out of rhetoric, strategy, or perception, their interactions implied the equal importance of the role of ritual in or as diplomacy.

This chapter has demonstrated that the twelfth- and thirteenth-century East Asian world order had its own features in many respects. First, unlike the Song-Liao model, the Song-Jin relationship never developed to the point where both sides were in a state of power symmetry. Even so, from 1165 to the 1200s, the two states in general interacted with each other by following almost everything set by the Song-Liao model, except for the rite of credential reception. Second, during the first half the twelfth century, the Western Xia and the Koryŏ's decisions to sever their official relations with the Southern Song and to stand with the Jin led to the separate ritual spheres centered on two hegemonies. Third, in East Asia, the fixed overland

routes for the *jiaopin* system were first established between Lin'an and Zhongdu, the capital cities of Southern Song and Jurchen Jin, along which diplomatic rituals were performed from the border and local prefectures to the capital city. Fourth, the Southern Song ritual dilemmas were the key to understanding the East Asian world order at the time. That the Song court wavered between moralism and pragmatism in fact complicated its interactions with the Jurchens. For most of the foreign missions, the Song court only allowed the Jin to visit Lin'an, possibly out of ritual considerations with an emphasis on the *jiaopin* relationship.

My research for the first time has revealed the multiple scales, or reflexivity, of ritual space associated with the East Asian world order. For example, the multiscalar diplomatic ritual space of Lin'an included: post houses like the Capital Inn, the Banjing Posthouse, and the Renhe Posthouse in and around Lin'an, and other sites involved in diplomacy like the Yujin Garden for the banquet and archery contest, the Upper Tianzhu Monastery for praying by incense burning, and the Zhejiang Pavilion for tide watching, at a local scale; the capital city including its river system as a whole for the reception ritual at an urban scale; the capital's ritual connections between other circuits or prefectures, such as the use of music and the decoration of space in the mourning period, at a regional scale; an envisioned, unified empire of Song China centered on Lin'an in Song envoys' mind at a "national" scale; the Song-Jin *jiaopin* system with regular and special diplomatic exchanges at a macro-regional scale, and the East Asian world or imagined All-under-Heaven at a global scale. As such, ritual space at multiple scales may give us new insights into

the East Asian world order that help to further explore and interpret the interplay between space, international relations, and diplomatic ritual.

The perspectives of spatial ritualization and ritual spatialization help to enrich our understanding of how the Song court shaped diplomatic ritual space on the local scale. In the early Southern Song, the imperial court received foreign embassies by adopting a pragmatic principle. The posthouses were not fully restored in Lin'an and greatly reduced in number, compared to the situation in Northern Song Kaifeng. Unlike its counterparts in Kaifeng, the Capital Inn was the only construction in Lin'an used extensively for the accommodation of the honored guests. Its location much closer to the palace city led to a rare phenomenon that probably first occurred during the Tang-Song period: a foreign mission went to their residence along the Imperial Street throughout the whole capital city. Due to its ample space, the Capital Inn was also used as a place for ritual training and rehearsal, temporary government services, officials' recuperation, and protection from destructive fires. In the reign era of Xiaozong, the Capital Inn was shaped as a stage showing the harmonious relations between the dual emperors after the great drill parade. Moreover, the ritualized urban landscape in tide-watching on public display at the Zhejiang Pavilion was a major innovation in Song diplomatic activities. This spectacle reflected the close integration between diplomacy and folk customs in the city and was vividly preserved in the urban dwellers memories.

Largely overlooked in the existing historiography, the border and its significance in diplomatic ritual in twelfth-century East Asia have been noticed and

emphasized in this chapter. The border between Southern Song and Jurchen Jin, the Huai River, was not only demarcated based on several peace treaties but highlighted in the border-crossing rite starting from its midstream, both considered to carry the meaning of parity. However, the rite often developed into fierce competition in which each side attempted to first reach the river bank. Seeking a meaningful victory without violating the norms so as to arouse “nationalist consciousness,” the Southern Song endeavored to display moral, cultural or military supremacy in diplomatic ritual, a growing tendency compared with the Northern Song. In addition to this, the border regarded as another ritual marker, when crossing it in the period of nationwide mourning, the Song embassy would change their clothes for the transition of ritual atmosphere. These cases illustrate that the technology of territoriality, or the geo-body of a nation as Winichakul Thongchai proposes, was more concerned with ritual instead of map in pre-modern East Asia.²⁶² In this sense, my study has challenged the belief that nation or nationalism is the unique product of Western modernity.

As discussed in the second and third chapters, an essential feature that characterizes Southern Song political and urban history is the dual palaces, a unique spatial structure that informed political, ritual and cultural representations in Lin’an. From its examination of the conflicts between funeral ritual and diplomatic ritual, this chapter has also delineated how the emperor and officials viewed and addressed the relevant problems within the historical contexts. In Xiaozong’s view, his

²⁶² For discussions on territorial concerns in the Song elites and their perceptions of premodern borders and border affairs, see Hilde De Weerd, *Information, Territory, and Networks: The Crisis and Maintenance of Empire in Song China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), 167–278.

insistence on performing the funeral ritual of his adoptive father by the highest standard expressed his utmost filial piety, whereas the viewpoint of most Song officials accentuated the role of the emperor as the state representativeness in diplomacy, especially endorsed by ritual officials.²⁶³ Despite the discrepancy, both sides appealed to the “state dignity,” a term signifying the common ground of their “nationalist consciousness.” According to the different ritual timetables, the negotiations involved numerous issues of clothing, music, gift, ritual site, and decoration at the central and local levels. The Song court eventually adopted an eclectic approach to reconcile the ritual conflicts. This ritual eclecticism is well illustrated by the integration of the dual palaces in diplomacy.

²⁶³ Zhu Xi highly praised Xiaozong’s filial piety, regarding his insistence on following the most strict standards in mourning clothing as a remedy for “rectifying the ritual improprieties that have lasted for a thousand year (上正千年之失).” Zhu also criticized the ministers and officials for not following the same way. Though he did not mention the conflicts between funeral and diplomatic rites, Zhu must have held the same position that the officials’ clothing pattern was considered a “breach of etiquette (*shili* 失禮).” Li ed., *Zhuzi yulei*, 127.3061.

Timeline: The Southern Song State Funeral and Guest Rituals, 1187–1190

| | | |
|------|----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1033 | 03 | the death of Empress Dowager Liu |
| | 12 | the precedent of 1033: Renzong in <i>zhancui</i> welcomed the Liao envoy |
| 1159 | 09 | the death of Empress Wei |
| | 12 | the 1159 precedent created: banquets allowed, music banned. |
| 1187 | 10/08 | <u>the death of Gaozong</u> |
| | 10/09 | Wei Pu appointed as Envoy for Obituary Notice |
| | 10/11 | <u>dalian</u> (a corpse placed into a coffin) |
| | 10/09–13 | ritual negotiations on the reception of the Jin: the Mingdao precedent, the Deshou Palace, etc. Xiaozong agreed to meet the Jin envoys in the Deshou Palace. |
| | 10/14 | Xiaozong's insistence on three-year mourning in <i>zhancui</i> |
| | 10/18 | The Jin mission for celebrating sacred festival reached Lin'an. |
| | 10/20 | <u>xiaoxiang</u> (the first death anniversary) |
| | 10/22 | the celebration of Xiaozong's birthday (in the Capital Inn) |
| | 10/23 | Xiaozong finally cancelled the scheduled meeting . |
| | 11/2 | <u>daxiang</u> (the second death anniversary) |
| | 11/4 | <u>danji</u> (the rite of changing mourning clothes) |
| | 11 | the system of mourning clothing |
| | 12 | ritual negotiations on the reception of the Jin |
| 1188 | 01/01 | the celebration of New Year; a precedent created with pragmatism (a provisional tent in the eastern corridor of the Chuigong Hall) |
| | 01/18 | the hundredth day after Gaozong's death |
| | 01/21 | Xiaozong agreed and kept to an eclectic plan of the clothing |
| | 02 | Xiaozong in <i>zhancui</i> welcomed the Jin envoy for condolence in the Deshou Palace |
| | 04/20 | the spirit tablet of Gaozong placed in the Ancestral Shrine Xiaozong started to wear <i>zhancui</i> again |
| 1189 | 01/02 | the death of Emperor of Shizong of Jin |
| | 02/02 | Xiaozong's abdication |
| | mid-02 | Zhuge Tingrui appointed as Envoy for Condolence |
| | 03 | the Jin's announcement of the death of Shizong |
| | 09/04 | the celebration of Guangzong's birthday |
| | 12/17 | danji (afterwards the use of music by ordinary people allowed) |
| 1190 | 01/01 | the celebration of New Year the rite of granting honorific title (afterwards the use of music by the emperor and officials allowed) |

Conclusion

This dissertation is the first interdisciplinary study on Southern Song Lin'an, a pre-modern Chinese global city, in western academia. It examines the restructuring of Chinese state ritual and ritual space in response to challenges to the legitimacy of a dynasty declining in power. It also illuminates the role of ritual space in pre-modern Chinese politics and society. Integrating ritual into urban perspectives, this study aims to extend the frontiers of Chinese urban history and ritual studies and to revisit and reflect on several key events in the Southern Song dynasty. These events, such as ritual reconstruction, abdication and imperial succession, the imagined sacred geography and the ritualized East Asian world order, are of great significance not only to Chinese history but also to East Asian and global history. Analyses of the Southern Song cases help us in the temporal and spatial dimensions to contextualize and better comprehend Chinese ritual, which to some degree is echoing through today's China and East Asia.

Ritual space remains relatively unexplored in the existing scholarship. From examination of ritual texts and discourses, ritual performances, and urban treatises as well as their contexts, this thesis for the first time attempts to reveal the multilayered ritual space under the influence of people's perceptions, conceptions, interpretations, and practices as well as the reflexive ritual space from locale to global scales. I would

suggest that “ritual space” can be a useful category for historical analysis.

Research on ritual space requires rethinking of state ritual in Imperial China. This project focuses on various categories of interrelated Chinese state ritual rather than being limited to a single category, especially the auspicious ritual, in previous studies. Scholars have been quite familiar with the relations between state ritual and a dynasty: state ritual served to maintain and enhance the imperial legitimacy. But the functional approach from the standpoint of a modern society has overlooked two important issues: the ontological dimension that ritual assumed, and its historical contexts that might have been open to interpretation. For example, a series of great challenges, both internally and externally, to the Song legitimation interacted closely with state ritual. The Southern Song-invented rituals like the internal abdication ceremony and the dual palaces rites, on the one hand, were made to respond to the legitimacy crises, and on the other hand, were regarded as fundamental components of the dynastic revival. “Ritual,” a working yet inaccurate translation in English, was thus not only associated with politics, society, culture, and diplomacy, but also, more important, seen as part of them in Imperial China.

How should scholars think about the history of Southern Song state rituals?¹ Apparently, Zhu Xi’s family rituals, which have been extensively studied, marked the efforts of the Southern Song imperial court to permeate and regulate daily life as well as shape and influence cultures through ritual.² However, how to historicize

¹ Note that the two most significant ritual issues in the Song in Zhu Xi’s view were the sacrifices to both Heaven and Earth in the southern suburb and the worships of Taizu and other Song emperors in the same Imperial Ancestral Shrine. Li, *Zhuzi yulei*, 90.2289.

² For the close association of Zhu Xi’s family rituals with Song state rituals that has been revealed, see Wang

and analyze Southern Song state rituals is still a question needs to be further explored. Internally, as a watershed, Gaozong's abdication in 1162 not only initiated the public display of part of private imperial family rituals, but also became hailed as the foundation of the dynastic revival that would be substantially ended by the ritual absence of Guangzong in the early 1190s. Southern Song state rituals were sharply and irreversibly declining between the 1200s and the early 1230s, despite the fact that Ningzong and Lizong were engaged in state ritual sacrifices several times at the Mingqing Monastery and even on the Round Altar. The southern suburban sacrifice held by Emperor Duzong 度宗 (r. 1264–74) on the first day of the first month of 1266 was the last Song state ritual on a fairly large scale.³ Externally, the *jiaopin* relationship between the Song and the Jin, which had been standardized since 1142, came to an end in the late 1210s. The Jin dynasty was then placed at military disadvantage after the Mongols' defeat of the Jurchens and conquest of Zhongdu in 1215. In the first month of 1219, the Song's refusal to accept the Jin envoys in the midstream of the Huai River signified the end of the *jiaopin* system.⁴ The Song and the Mongols never developed a *jiaopin* relationship after the Jin dynasty collapsed under the attack of their joint army in 1234. This pattern of pseudo-modern international relations that emerged in the twelfth-century East Asian world did not reappear until the establishment of the Zongli yamen 總理衙門 in 1861.

Meihua 王美華, "Jiali yu guoli zhijian: Zhuzi jiali de shidai yiyi tanxi 家禮與國禮之間:《朱子家禮》的時代意義探析," *Shixue jikan* 史學集刊 1 (2015): 19–26.

³ *SS*, 46.897.

⁴ *JJ*, 15.341, 62.1485; Yuan Haowen 元好問, *Yishan xiansheng wenji* 遺山先生文集, Sibü congkan chubian edition, 19.9b.

The restructuring of Southern Song state ritual, full of uncertainty, was a long process, during which people's attitudes and actions could be investigated through detailed records of the negotiations and enactments in Southern Song ritual books like the *Zhongxing lishu* and the *Zhongxing lishu xubian*. Whether it was the restoring of the suburban ritual system or the spatial arrangement of the sacrifices to mountains and rivers, ritual officials were keenly aware of ritual temporality and geographical particularity, which together developed a more pragmatic principle of ritual making. According to such a principle, officials seemed to focus more on precedents rather than simply return to the classics. These cases also remind historians that accounts of the ritual institutions cannot be taken for granted that they were implemented exactly the same as recorded. The records of *Zhongxing lishu* and *Zhongxing lishu xubian* demonstrate moments of the processes of ritual institutionalization and adaptation, continuous or discontinuous, as results of negotiations and enactments. For a specific group of rituals, the relevant discussions in different phases repeatedly confirmed the ritual core parts and referred to their contexts. Subsequent negotiations normally reflected implementation of the previous ones, namely ritual enactments, rather than merely textual discourses. Even so, the detailed ritual records still require reference to various other materials, given a dramatic change that might have been occurred in the last moment.

The case studies on Southern Song state ritual reconstruction also help reflect on the temporal dimension of ritual and ritual space. Historicising these processes is

undoubtedly essential to prevent the error of anachronism.⁵ Rituals in people's perceptions, however, were not necessarily arrayed in a chronological way. Rather, they were more like a hybrid of something related to the past, present, and future. Unlike the standardized formats provided by the *Da Tang Kaiyuan li* and the *Zhenghe wuli xinyi*, and similar to yet more detailed than many cases in the *Taichang yinghe li*, records compiled in the *Zhongxing lishu* and the *Zhongxing lishu xubian*, as what I would like to name the ritual accumulation, mostly presented the integration of and the interplay between the perceptions on ritual of discussants, practitioners, or compilers in three temporal orientations. For the ritual discussion or interpretation in general, from the ritual repertoire officials and literati selected elements such as precedents including the Imperial Ancestral Instructions, the ritual meaning, classics and so forth. The preponderance of the Song past precedents seemed to have been more favorable to ritual officials, who also realized that the result of negotiation would be taken as a precedent for future negotiation. In this regard, new rituals could be placed in the ritual networking and be connected in different temporal orientations, and ritual space like Song China could be defined, recalled, or envisioned in a similar way. Moreover, though the negotiation records in ritual books cannot be equivalent to ritual performances in practice, it is the intertextuality of ritual texts and the textual structure or text cluster that corresponded to ritual

⁵ Seo Tatsuhiko has proposed an ambitious project on exploring the interactions between capital cities, ritual spaces, and imperial power in Chinese history. Note that ritual spaces defined by Seo refer to ritual architectures such as palaces, city-gates, city-walls, chief streets, altars, shrines and temples. See Seo, "Ducheng yu wangquan liyi: Genju Zhongguo lidai ducheng fuyuantu," in *Jidiao yu bianzou: Qi zhi ershi shiji de Zhongguo*, 71–99. Seo's recent studies attempt to place ritual and ritual space in the history of Chinese urban landscape. Seo Tatsuhiko, "Didu de fengjing, fengjing de didu: Jiankang, Daxing, Luoyang 帝都的風景, 風景的帝都: 建康、大興、洛陽," in *Shensheng kongjian: Zhonggu zongjiao zhong de kongjian yinsu* 神聖空間: 中古宗教中的空間因素, edited by Chen Jinhua 陳金華 and Sun Yinggang (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2014), 23–105. I am grateful to Seo Tatsuhiko for generous sharing of his works.

enactments that allow scholars to appreciate, explore, and illustrate the differences.

Ritual space, as a category of historical analysis, can be used not only to bridge the fields of ritual studies and urban studies but also to advance the frontiers of them.⁶ This project is a preliminary attempt to explore and reflect upon ritual space as well as its spatiality and spatialization. Ritual served as a forum through which royal, state, and even popular power and identity were articulated, and such rituals were spatially coded, expressed, and engaged. The relocation of the Song court required adaptations in Song ritual, in order that these rituals might have suited the dynasty's new social, political, and geographic spaces. In this regard, ritual space is more than a physical space; rather, a time-space product politically, socially, and culturally constructed. Moreover, different from space as Lefebvre discusses at a single scale, my research emphasizes the role of ritual space in politics, society, and diplomacy from the local to the global scales. For instance, it has demonstrated how ritual worked in multiscalar diplomatic spaces in twelfth-century China and East Asian world instead of capital in the modern glocal economy.⁷ During the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, as Song China was no longer the only hegemon in the East Asian world order, the accentuation of the *hua-yi* distinction, or Chinese superiority, in diplomacy in varying degrees manifested the Song's great concerns

⁶ Li Danjie suggests that scholars need to engage with the intertwined contexts of politics, institution, ritual, and religion and the interactions between official rites and folklore in studies on Chinese capital cities so as to reveal how the visualized landscape turned coercive power into deterrent policies and systems. Li Danjie, "Ping Wang Jing: Zhongguo ducheng jiancheng chuanshuo yu zhengzhi wenhu 評王靜：《中古都城建城傳說與政治文化》," *Xin shixue* 新史學, 26.3 (2015): 214.

⁷ Such a multiscalar system of diplomatic ritual space can be further explored in terms of ritual documents and diplomatic gifts circulated among states. Scholars have discussed the relations between the Khitans and their neighbors and the trading and gift-giving networks of their world in the early tenth and early twelfth centuries. See Valerie Hansen, "International Gifting and the Kitan World, 907–1125," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43.1 (2013): 273–302.

about their ritual dilemmas and complicated feelings about the “nationalist” consciousness. This multiscalar approach also helps elucidate the evolution of the imperial sacred geography and its relations to the capital city that have been downplayed in the existing historiography.

Studies on ritual space can not only provide new insights into a far away time and place, but also enable scholars to find ways to investigate topics centered on other geographies and on the modern era. Ritual and ritual space still matter in today’s world, and especially in modern East Asia, not merely because of their deep roots in tradition, custom, or religion but their embedment in everyday life, as a way of life, thinking, and expression. Think about such issues as how regulations defining the time, place and manner of political, social, or diplomatic expression in fact shape the content and impact of that expression, or how the material or non-material medium through which information or emotion is conveyed plays a role as powerful as the information or emotion itself. Think about the “first birthday pick” (*zhuazhou* 抓周), a life-cycle ritual first recorded in a sixth-century Chinese educational handbook, that is still prevalent in China, Korea, Vietnam and overseas East Asian communities; the 2018 historical handshake between the leaders of North and South Korea at the border in the demilitarized zone; the entanglement of nationalism and commemorations of World War II among East Asian states; a mass protest against a Beijing-backed extradition bill, involving one million Hong Kong people on the streets on June 9, 2019. The application of new technologies, such as the Internet and multimedia, I would suggest, is the key to distinguishing between today’s ritual and

ritual space and the previous. Creating cyber space and media space, the new technologies make it possible to synchronize images, videos, sounds, and emotions, and to integrate multilayered and multiscalar ritual spaces more quickly and effectively, serving as a powerful vehicle of making space more contested.

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