Sequence of Power

Ritual Controversy over the Zhaomu Sequence

in Imperial Ancestral Rites in Song China (960-1279)

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the history of ancestral rituals and the related political controversy in the Song China (960-1279). Considering the pivotal role played by ancestral rites in shaping Chinese identity and consciousness, this study contributes to a better understanding of how ancestral ritual has been politicized in Chinese history as a specific cultural apparatus to manipulate politics through theatrical performance and liturgical discussion. Through a contextual analysis of a variety of Song scholar-officials and their ritual writings, including memorials, private letters, and commentaries on the ritual Classics, this study demonstrates that Song ritual debates over the zhaomu 昭穆 sequence—that is, the positioning of ancestral temples and spirit tablets in ancestral temples with preparation for alternation or removal—differentiated scholar-officials into separate factions of revivalists, conventionalists and centrists. From a new perspective of ritual politics, this study reveals the discursiveness of the New Learning (xinxue 新學) community and its profound influence on the Learning of the Way (Daoxue 道學) fellowship of the Southern Song (1127-1279). It examines the evolution of the New Learning fellowship as a dynamic process that involved internal tension and differentiation. Daoxue ritualism was a continuation of this process in partaking in the revivalist approach of ritual that was initiated by the New Learning circle. Nowadays, the proliferation of ritual and Classical studies crystallizes the revitalization of Confucianism and Confucian rituals in China. Taking *zhaomu* as a point of departure, this project provides a lens through which modern scholars can explore the persistent tension between knowledge and power by rethinking the modernization of ritual and ritual politics in contemporary China.

To my mother, Wong Pok, and my grandmother, Yan Zhiling with love

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Ancestral Ritual: the Significance of the Research Question

Rituals and ceremonies, especially ancestral rites, have been commonly identified as key elements of the Chinese culture. Politically and socially, rituals were closely associated with the everyday life of not only literate elites, who were deeply embedded in Confucian norms and Classics, but also ordinary Chinese. As the eminent intellectual historian Benjamin Schwartz argued, ancestral rites are central to the formation of the Chinese identity and culture. In an ontological sense, the continuous commemoration of ancestors constitutes the historicity of "Chineseness." In other words, the very notion of Chinese identity is incomprehensible without first considering the history of ancestral rituals. Historically, ancestral worship in China was deeply Confucianized in both a religious and a metaphysical sense. Not only did traditional scholars and elites emphasize taking care of the world of ancestral spirits through sophisticated funeral rites and sacrificial activities, but they also devoted attention to the role played by these ritual practices in reconciling the tension between this-worldliness and anxiety surrounding the afterlife.³ At the local level, ancestral rites promoted by Confucian elites progressively penetrated village societies through the spread of clan rules and family rituals.⁴

¹ In Schwartz's own words, ancestral worship is "omnipresent" to the entire development of the Chinese civilization. See Benjamin Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 20-21.

² Concerning the constructed meaning of the concept "Chineseness," see Rey Chou, "On Chineseness as a theoretical problem," *Boundary* 25, 3 (autumn, 1998): 1-24.

³ Francis Hsu provides an eminent analysis of the anxiety between the living people and their ancestors in Chinese village life. See L. K. Francis, Hsu, *Under the Ancestors' Shadow: Kinship, Personality, and Social Mobility in Village China* (New York: Natural History Library, 1967), 131-199. Also see Stephen Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety: Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 60-94.

Prior to the twentieth century, ritual studies have been commonly regarded as a crucial part of the classical Chinese epistemology. During the Han period (202 B.C.-A.D.220), the canonization of the Five Classics—the *Book of Change (Yijing* 易經), the *Book of Songs (Shijing* 詩經), the *Book of Rites (Liji* 禮記), the *Book of Documents (Shujing* 書經), and the *Spring and Autumn Annals (Chunqiu* 春秋) marked the elevation of Classical studies in relation to other pre-Qin thoughts. As a key component of Classical studies, the study of ritual gradually developed and took precedence over historical, philosophical, and literature studies throughout the transition period from the third century to the seventh century. Along with the incessant implementation of the five Classics in the civil service examinations during the Sui 隋 (581-618) and Tang 唐 dynasties (618-907), the centralized bureaucratic states consolidated the canonic position of some ritual Classics in disciplining various ceremonial, sacrificial and liturgical acts. Considering the role played by civil service examinations in promoting social mobility, 6

⁴ For instance, Patricia Ebrey's detailed annotation of Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (also spelled Chu Hsi, 1130-1200) Family Rituals (Zhuzi jiali 朱子家禮) and its repercussion throughout late imperial China persuasively demonstrates how various ideas and practices of family rituals—capping, wedding, funeral, and sacrificial offerings--gradually diffused into society through the circulation of Confucianized ritual texts. See Patricia Ebrey, Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rite (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 153-77; Ebrey, Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 9-13, 220-229.

⁵ Qian Mu 錢穆, "Lianhan boshi jiafa kao" 兩漢博士家法考 (Evaluation on the private traditions of Han Confucians), in Lianghan jingxue jinguwen pingyi 兩漢經學今古文平議 (A Balanced Critique on the "Old School" and the "New School" of Han Classicism) (Taibei: Sanmin shuju, 1971), 173-210.

⁶ For the classic study of social mobility in imperial China, see Ho Pingdi 何炳棣, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368-1911* (New York: Columbia University press, 1964), 12-17, 24-52.

literate elites devoted special attention to the rationale of proper ritual knowledge and ritual enactments in the cultivation of morality.

At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Northern Song dynasty saw a flowering of ritual scholarship and a proliferation of political discourses surrounding ritual Classics. Alongside the further institutionalization of Confucian rituals, some Song court officials and local elites shifted their focus from the aim of self-cultivation to the ideal harmony of the whole society. Hence, they emphasized the potency of ritual, especially ancestral rites, in consolidating social stability and familial solidarity. Ritual proficiency was increasingly considered as a key component of professional Confucian learning and also a necessary ideological tool to order society. The great Song reformer Wang Anshi's 王安石 (also spelled, Wang An-shih, 1021-1086) believed that professional state machinery and a unified ritual system were essential to the harmony of society and the happiness of people. Wang's opponents, despite their resistance to his institutional reforms, partook in the same conviction of the pursuit of social harmony.

The repercussion of the legacy of Song ritualism eventually led to the heyday of High Qing ritual scholarship in the first half of the eighteenth century. Extensive studies

⁷ Wu Wanju 吳萬居, Songdai sanlixue yanjiu 宋代三禮學研究 (A study on Song Scholarship of the Three Ritual Classics) (Taibei: Guoli bianyiguan, 1999), 460-507.

⁸ Benjamin Schwartz, "Some Polarities in Confucian Thought," in *Confucianism in Action*, ed. David Nivison and Arthur Wright (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), 53-54.

⁹ Ebrey, Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China; Benjamin Elman, From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 116; Angela Zito, Of Body and Brush: Grand Sacrifice as Text/Performance in Eighteenth-Century China (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 69-95, esp. 77-78, 86-92. The term "High Qing" (shengqing 盛清) here refers to the generally recognized prosperity under the rule of several Qing Emperors from the late seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century.

of ancient rites and ritual Classics during this period might also be attributed to the Qing rulers' intentional adoption of the cliché "rule by ritual" (*lizhi* 禮治) to justify the empire's own political legitimacy as a foreign dynasty. ¹⁰ Correspondingly, Qing scholars emphasized a systematic revival of ritual learning in order to restore the disordered society and social customs of the sixteenth-century China by developing a substantial mode of scholarship, namely "evidential studies" (*kaozhengxue* 考證學), or "unadorned studies" (*puxue* 樸學). ¹¹ Despite the great effort made by Qing scholars in advancing ritual studies, interestingly, modern scholars are inclined to underrate the Qing contribution in composing Chinese intellectual history. This modern break with the Qing ritual scholarship was possibly a legacy of the anti-traditionalism launched by the New Culture Movement during the Republican period. The late-Qing and early-Republican response to Western intrusion profoundly reflected what Lin Yusheng 林毓生 has called a cultural pathos of "totalistic iconoclasm." ¹² Thomas Metzger's analysis of early modern Chinese intellectuals' acrid criticism of Confucianism confirms Lin's argument. ¹³

¹⁰ Kai-wing Chow, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 1-15, 91-93.

¹¹ Wang Fansen 王汎森, Quanli de maoxiguan zuoyong: Qingdai de sixiang, xueshu yu xintai 權力的毛細管作用: 清代的思想、學術與心態 (Capillary Function of Power: Ideology, Scholarship and Mentality during the Qing Period) (Taibei: Lianjing chuban shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 2013), 44-57; Zito, Of Body and Brush, 74.

¹² According to Lin, the May Fourth totalistic rejection of Chinese traditions paradoxically originated from an attitude "deeply imbedded in certain Chinese cultural predispositions in the past." Lin Yusheng 林 镇生, *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), x.

¹³ Metzger focuses primarily on Chinese intellectuals' insistence of some core Confucian ideas, such as the "ethnos of interdependence" and "anthropogenic constructivism" under the challenge of Westernization. Thomas Metzger, *Escape from Predicament: Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 4-10, 191-235.

However, this radical iconoclasm with respect to Confucianism and Confucian learning, as both Metzger and Lin illustrated, was indeed resulted from a "traditionalistic" way of thinking.¹⁴

The disintegration of the conceptual framework of Chinese culture in the May Fourth era fundamentally undermined the legitimacy of traditional ritual scholarship in China. Throughout the 1960s to the 1970s, both traditional rituals and Confucianism were stigmatized as "feudal ethics" (fengjian lijiao 封建禮教) in Communist China. In the campaign against the "Four Olds" (po siju 破四舊), the "old customs" was closely associated with traditional rituals. Because Confucianism embodied old traditions and customs, it became the primary target of the rhetoric of condemnation from the party media. The anti-Confucianism movement reached its culmination in the early 1970s. After the death of Mao Zedong, new evaluation of Confucianism and traditional rituals gradually emerged. In contrast to the iconoclastic anti-traditionalism of Confucianism under Mao's regime, post-Mao China has seen its vigorous revitalization. The rapidly

¹⁴ Joseph Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*, the Problem of Intellectual Continuity (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), 123-138.

¹⁵ Extensive studies have been done on the anti-Confucianism movement during the Cultural Revolution and the early 1970s. See Kam Louie, *Critiques of Confucius in Contemporary China* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 84-136; Tong Zhang and Barry Schwartz, "Confucius and the Cultural Revolution: A Study in Collective Memory," *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 11:2 (1997): 197-202.

¹⁶ Kam Louie, Critiques of Confucius, 107-108.

¹⁷ One great example of the post-Mao revival of Confucianism would be the publication of the *Kongzi yanjiu* periodical (*Study of Confucianism*) in 1986, which aimed at providing less prejudiced Confucian research. Brunhild Staiger, "The Image of Confucius in China," in *Confucianism and the Modernization of China*, ed. Silke Krieger and Rolf Trauzettel (Mainz: Hase & Koehler Verlag, 1991), 124-125. For more information about the revival of Confucianism in China after 1970s, see Lionel M. Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Traditions and Universal Civilization* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997), 11-14.

growing interest in the study of traditional rites and ceremonies marks the prosperity of modern Chinese scholarship on its own ritual traditions. This cultural revivalism can be attributed to the awakening of consciousness among Chinese intellectuals in realizing the pivotal role played by ritual traditions in shaping Chinese modernity. ¹⁸ Indeed, more Chinese begin to recognize the importance of traditions, especially ritual traditions, in shaping their modern mindsets and life styles. As scholars and intellectuals start to approach Chineseness from a cultural perspective, they immediately find that it is necessary to reconsider the legacy of Confucianism in the contemporary context. In this light, a systematic reexamination of traditional Confucian rites can help resolve the identity crisis of the Chinese people that was resulted from the dramatic historical changes of the twentieth century.

Nevertheless, China's contemporary interests in ritual studies may also be associated with the Chinese Communist government's endeavor to claim for its own legitimacy in a nationalist fashion. By encouraging the study of Confucian rituals, the party government perceives itself as the legitimate heir of both the central state of China and the cultural legacy of the dynastically authorized Confucianism. Nowadays, Confucianism and Classical studies have become thriving topics in political and academic realms, corresponding to the radical transformation of the entire Chinese cultural matrix. Politically, the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) is now trying to reconcile its official Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology and its nationalistic construction of Chinese traditions. Intellectually, the proliferation of ritual and Classical

¹⁸ Tian Hao 田浩 (Hoyt Cleveland Tillman), *Pangguan Zhuzixue* 旁觀朱子學 (*Spectating Zhu Xi's Scholarship*) (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2011), 101.

studies crystallizes the revitalization of the studies of "national culture" (*guoxue* 國學). By focusing on a series of ritual debates about imperial ancestral rites that occurred during the Song (960-1279) period, my project provides a lens through which scholars can explore the persisting tension between knowledge and power, and thus they take it as a point of departure to examine the contemporary transformation of this tension under a modern communist regime.

1.2 Ancestral Ritual: Motivation and Historical Context

Although the fields of ancestral ritual and ritual Classics are significantly complemented and enriched by the research of anthropologists and historians, there is still some important work that remains to be done. Imperial rites have received little scholarly attention in both Chinese and Western scholarship. The social historian Joseph McDermott once lamented that dynastic ritual codes and canonical ritual Classics are often considered in the modern perception of Chinese culture as boring and irrelevant. ¹⁹ I share McDermott's contention that a close scrutiny of state rituals would contribute to a better understanding of the ideological correlation between intellectual power and real politics. Considering the key role played by ancestral worship in defining the Confucian discourse of "filial piety" (xiaodao 孝道), my study focuses primarily on various interpretations of imperial ancestral rites during the Song period. As the Song rulers intended to present themselves as ideal models for their subjects in terms of ritual performance, it is important to see how ancestral agenda was manipulated as "a pretense

¹⁹ State and Court Ritual in China, ed. Joseph McDermott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1.

for secular agendas such as maintaining the unity of lineage and state."²⁰ The conventional classification of Chinese state rituals as merely private affairs is at best problematic.²¹ A detailed study of imperial ancestral rites would cast doubt on this argument by revealing how the "private" sector of Chinese courts was closely associated with the public sphere of statecraft in terms of theatrical performance and bureaucratic formality. In effect, the arrangement of ancestral temples and tombs reflected the politicization of ancestral rituals in imperial China.

As a key component of the setting of ancestral temples and tombs, the *zhaomu* 昭 sequence—that is, the positioning of ancestral temples, shrines or spiritual tablets "in generational sequence with provision for removal after the passage of time" serves as a starting point for us to explore the scenes of Confucian rites and various political interests behind these scenes. It is usually stated that the *zhaomu* sequence was linked to a

²⁰ Brashier, Ancestral Memory in Early China, 348.

²¹ In his study of Qing court rituals, Evelyn Rawski distinguished between private and public rituals based on Qing archival documents. He discussed the royal ritual activities that were performed alternately on the New Year day, and how the women of the Oing imperial family were excluded from most public rites. Rawski, The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 264-68, 277-285. However, for most "private" ancestral rites defined Rawski, there was still a performative function that aimed to arouse emotions among a particular group of imperial family members. Considering the non-Confucian, private practices of funeral rites held by the Qing rulers (for instance, the wrapping of the deceased body in coverlets with SanskrIt and Tibetan dharani (religious incantations)), they still involved physiological stimuli that contributed to a shared experience of the symbolic power of ritual. In this light, no ancestral rites are private, because they all cast an empathetic effect on the spectators' minds; or, in Foucauldian terms, they help restructuring the mode of "governmentality" by implementing new self-controlling techniques into the psychological underpinnings of spectators. Governmentality possibly is the most complex concept in the entire system of Foucault's philosophy. Foucault himself has discussed the concept and related ideas in both monographic studies— Discipline and Publish, A History of Sexuality, especially vol.1, Madness and Civilization e.g.—and interviews. For a detailed survey of this concept, see Thomas Lemke, "Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique," Rethinking Marxism: A Journal of Economics, Culture and Society 14:3 (Fall, 2002): 49-64, esp.

²² Michael, Loewe, "The Imperial Way of Death in Han China," in *State and Court Ritual in China*, ed. Joseph P. McDermott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 93.

parallel arrangement of ancestral temples or shrines, in which *zhao* ancestors are located on the left and *mu* ancestors on the right, with the "Primal Ancestor" at the center (in Chinese sources the first ancestor of an imperial lineage was usually referred to as *dazu* 大祖, or *shizu* 始祖, literally meant, the "great ancestor" or the "primogenitor"). ²³ Based on an anthropological account of the Western Zhou (1045-256 B.C.) *zhaomu* system as a cultural legacy of tribal society, Li Hengmei 李衡眉 suggested that the establishment of the *zhaomu* sequence at the very beginning of the Chinese history had nothing to do with the differentiation of successive generations of a tribe. Li argued that *zhao* and *mu* as ritual indicators were originally used to distinguish members in a mixed clan who came from different matrilineal origins. In other words, *zhao* designated the identity of those clan members who belonged to the original patrilineal lineage, *mu* designated the identity

²³ Li Hengmei argues that *shizu* was a Han-invented term that never appeared in pre-Qin sources to designate the temple of the primal ancestor. Li, "Lidai zhaomuzhidu zhong shizu chenghu zhiwu lizheng" 歷代昭穆制度中始祖稱呼之誤厘正 (A ratification of the "Primal Ancestor" title in the zhaomu system of Chinese dynasties), Qiushi xuekan 求是學刊 (1995:3): 95-100; also see Gao Mingshi 高明士, "Lifa yiyixiade zongfa: yi zhongguo zhonggu weizhu" 禮法意義下的宗法—以中國中古為主 (A study of the ancestral rites of the Middle Period of China), in Dongya chuantong jiali, jiaoyu yu guofa: jiazu, jiali yu jiaoyu 東亞傳統家禮、教育與國法: 家族、家禮與教育 (Traditional Clan Ritual, Education and State Law of East Asia: Clanship, Clan Rules and Education) (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2008), 38-39. Although Li provides adequate evidence to conclude that the term itself was a construct of Han Confucians and scholars like Zheng Xuan and Ban Gu 班固 (32-92), the frequent adoption of the term in the Song ritual texts as an intellectual phenomenon deserves further attention. Indeed, modern philologists have adequate knowledge about the etymological history of shizu as an evolving signifier, and how this particular signifier was intentionally invented and tied to the signified "Primal Ancestor" in history. However, the reasoning behind this Han invention was still unclear. Furthermore, the Song usage of shizu indicated an innovation of the connotative meaning of both characters (shi and zu) and the compound word shizu. To put it straightforward, the shizu in Song ritual text differed critically from its textual representation in Han writings, from which the term itself was nourished. Without constructing what Gadamer has called an "effective-history" of the situational phenomenon in which shizu was born and developed (Kurt Mueller-Vollmer, The Hermeneutics Reader (Basil Blackwell, 1986), p.261-69), it is too hasty to conclude that the Song scholars' adoption of the term shizu to describe the zhaomu system (for instance, Zhu Xi's usage of shizu) was "incorrect" and Song scholars was misled by the Han Confucians (Li, "shizu chenghu zhiwu lizheng," 98).

黄光武, based on a philological study of the character mu 穆, suggested that the zhaomu sequence embedded an aesthetic nature in its etymological origin. For Huang, zhaomu signified the liyue 禮樂 tradition (liyue, literally means propriety and music. It also conveys a meaning of ritual politics) of the ancient Chinese culture. ²⁵ Although Li and Huang's arguments are logically sound enough, we have to bear in mind that for most traditional scholars the meaning of zhaomu went beyond the designation of genealogical relationship or the beauty of ritual. Along with the Confucianization of ancestral rites, the zhaomu concept gradually attracted the attention of professional ritualists who tended to perceive ritual as one of the representations of power.

Symbolically, the Imperial Ancestral Temple (taimiao 太廟) complex near the palace embodied the virtue of filial piety and the legitimacy of succession by spatially displaying the supremacy of the imperial family's ancestry. Northern Song Confucians commonly regarded the arrangement of imperial ancestral temples as a public display of the accumulated virtue of the imperial house. As a result, the setting of the zhaomu sequence stirred great controversy in the court discussions about imperial rites. For most

²⁴ Li Hengmei, *Zhaomu zhidu yanjiu* 昭穆制度研究 (*A Research of the zhaomu System*) (Jinan: Qi lu shushe, 1996), esp. 67-89. Indeed, Li's argument is deeply influenced by the earlier Marxist account of the *zhaomu* system. Pang Pu's 龐樸 study exemplifies this account. See, Pang Pu, "Zhaomu xinkao" 昭穆新考 (A new account of the *zhaomu* system), *Guoxue Jinlun* 國學今論 (*New Discussions on Chinese Studies*) (Changchun: Liaoying jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991), 169-172. For a criticism of this Marxist, anthropological reading of the *zhaomu* sequence, see Chen Xiaofang 陳筱芳, "*zhaomu* zhidu yiyi" 昭穆制度異議 (A different opinion about the *zhaomu* system), *Shixue yuekan* 史學月刊 1 (2010): 17-26.

²⁵ Huang Guangwu, "shi *mu*: jiantan *zhaomu* de liyue hanyi" 釋穆: 兼談昭穆的禮樂涵義 (Interpreting the character *mu*: a further discussion on the ritual meaning of the *zhaomu* sequence), *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 中山大學學報 169 (2001): 41-46.

Song scholar-officials, not only did the *zhaomu* sequence represent the line of political succession from the royal family's founding ancestor to the extant ruler, but it also signified a deceased emperor's political legacy, especially his overall contribution to the entire empire. In short, the *zhaomu* sequence crystallized both the spectacle effect of imperial rites and the supreme power of monarchical authority in a ritualized space.

Hence, the *zhaomu* debate and related ritual discussions reflected the intellectual tension between Confucian scholar-officials in understanding the concept of legitimacy and the virtue of governance. Nonetheless, although an imperial ancestor's concrete contributions to the founding of the empire was usually considered as a significant measure of his ritual status in the Ancestral Temple, the Confucian conception of filial piety also played a key role in shaping the spatial placement of spirit tablets. Hence, a study of the debates over the *zhaomu* sequence reveals the conflict between different conceptions of ideas and how these ideas were utilized to achieve different political ends through a politicization of ritual.

In a broad sense, the court ritual system as a whole was not merely a manifestation of political power. It in fact possessed some power in itself. In China, ritual has commonly been considered a crucial component of the all-encompassing discourse of wen 文 (civilizing). Ritual, specifically, imperial ritual, was omnipresent in Chinese bureaucracy. It was difficult to distinguish court ritual departments from other functional branches of the imperial government. Debates and discussions over ritual affairs were joined by not only Confucian ritualists from related ritual bureaus and offices but also

²⁶ Angela Zito, Of Body and Brush, 58-59.

scholar-officials ranging from the emperors' private secretaries to erudite academicians. As a result, a study of ritual debates revealed the reciprocal hierarchical relations within the Song bureaucracy. By adding a ritual dimension to the study of Song factional politics, my study calls for a reconsideration of the ideological power of ritual in structuring and restructuring the mechanism of court politics.

The differences between the liturgical reasoning of Song ritualists were explicitly reflected in their different attitudes towards adopting the ancient practices of imperial rites. Under Song Shenzong's 宋神宗 reign (1067-1085), as scholar-officials increasingly defined imperial ancestral rites as the manifestation of a utopian vision of ancient rites, imperial ancestral rites received more attention. From 998 to 1084, Song scholars launched several ritual debates on how the primogenitor and the zhaomu sequence should be arranged in the Imperial Temple. Specifically, controversy over these issues manifested the discrepancy between conventional and reformist ideas about ritual. Through a close reading of the discourse and narratives involved in these debates, my project explicates the origin of the intellectual confrontation between different political groups in the Song court. Thus, it provides a lens of intellectual history through which scholars can rethink the conflict and negotiation between different political factions by positing them as significant components of the mechanism of Song factionalism, a factionalism which has been for a long time stereotyped by a dichotomous confrontation between some major Song conservatives and a group of reformists under Wang Anshi's leadership.²⁷

²⁷ Politically, Northern Song politicians tended to conceptualize factionalism with polarizing vocabularies for the purpose of persuading the emperors to support their own interest groups and to expel their adversaries. Ari Levine, *Divided by a Common Language: Factional Conflict in Late Northern Song*

A close scrutiny of Song accounts on *zhaomu* sequence contributes to a comprehensive understanding of the textual relations between different ritual texts in China: it reveals the flowing, borrowing, and exchanging of ideas between traditional Chinese scholars with different intellectual backgrounds. Regarding ancestral rites, my research suggests that traditional ritual narratives were more inclusive and complicated than intellectual historians have previously thought. In fact, neither the conservatives nor the reformists in the reform era of the late eleventh century properly adapted their decisions concerning ritual affairs to their political interests. In general, the differentiation of liturgical understanding among Song reformists and conservatives was more associated with their understanding of ancient rites and ritual politics, rather than with their political standpoints and affiliations. By classifying Song ritualists into three separate categories—the conventionalists, the revivalists, and the centrists, my research shows that the intellectual interests of Song Confucians did not necessarily coincide with their political interests. Hence, a study of their ritual interests not only offers a more complicated picture of the Song intellectual language, but also provides us a chance to reexamine one of the basic assumptions of historical inquiries, i.e., historians can depict a comprehensive portrait of historical figures based on a systematic reading of his "main works." In my opinion, this functionalist reading of historical texts is highly selective, because it implies a prescribed hierarchy with regard to the rich repository of historical sources and defines the "main works" of historical figures based on a presumed order of intellectual significance, in which modern perceptions of these figures usually prevail in

China (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 44-71. However, their factional rhetoric might only reflect their political interests on a conceptual level. Song factionalism in real practice was rather a shifting concept, always kept changing with time and the general political environment.

determining the priority of research. However, from a new-historicist perspective, it is the "slippages, cracks, fault lines, and surprising absences in the monumental structures that dominated a more traditional historicism" that historians may need to devote more attention. ²⁸ By exploring some crucial miniatures of the past, my study emphasizes on the tension and resistance hidden behind Song ritual writings and other related documents.

Last but not least, a study of the Song *zhaomu* order is particularly fascinating because it provides us an opportunity to comprehend ritual's spatial dimension, which has been commonly overlooked in recent studies of imperial rites. For instance, given that the east side was designated as the privileged direction in the Confucian conception of sacrificial practice, as host, the Song ritualists' endeavor to place the primogenitor's tablet on the east of the imperial temple could be aptly interpreted as a symbolically effective way to highlight the virtue of filial piety by spatially emphasizing the primogenitor's contribution in giving birth to the dynasty. Thus, the analysis of spatial arrangement with respect to the *zhaomu* sequence and the primogenitor's ritual position can shed new light on how the spatiality of particular ritual sites was designed to fit into the Confucian model of kingship and political lineage. In a reciprocal manner, the Confucian narrative of political lineage and statecraft was also modified according to the generational order of ancestry. In this light, a study of *zhaomu*'s spatiality may contribute to our better understanding of the discrepancy between "state orthopraxy" and "liturgical orthodoxy."29

²⁸ Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000), 17.

²⁹ For the concept of orthopraxy, that is, the correct practice of ritual, see Watson, "The Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites," 3-19; James Watson, "Anthropological Analyses of Chinese Religion." *China*

1.3 Ancestral Ritual: Theoretical Considerations

Regarding ritual studies, Western methodology has for a long time been deeply imprinted by a distorted conception of ritual studies as the study of religious beliefs. Modern ritual studies in the West were closely intertwined with religious studies in their formative stage. The nineteenth-century anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) offered a minimal definition of religious belief, which conceptualized it as "a belief in supernatural beings."³⁰ At the heart of religious belief is a cult of the dead and the afterlife, which primarily focuses on a realm beyond the profane world. Thus, Tylor adopted the Greek word *anima* (soul or spiritual power) to designate what he called the primitive form of religion.³¹ Mircea Eliade (1907-1986), the celebrated mythologist of the phenomenological study of religion, embraced Tylor's dichotomy of sacred and profane worlds and the concept of sacredness as central to religious beliefs. However, Eliade devoted special attention to the divine models underlying various myths, which Tylor merely considered as misguided explanatory framework.³² For Eliade, ritual functions as reenactments of some cosmogonic themes—degeneration, death, chaos, rebirth—in mythological accounts. Sacrificial rites, in this sense, embody a regeneration of the creation.³³

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Quarterly, no.66 (June): 355-364; also Donald Sutton, "Ritual, Cultural Standardization, and Orthopraxy in China: Reconsidering James L. Watson's Ideas," *Modern China*, no.33 (Jan., 2007): 3-21.

³⁰ Jack Goody, "Religion and Ritual from Tylor to Parsons: the Definitional Problem," in *Myth, Ritual and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 15.

³¹ Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 4.

³² Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 5-7.

³³ Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 11.

In his path-breaking *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) defined ritual as a peculiar way to generate religious beliefs on sacred things among people and communities.³⁴ Like Tylor and Eliade, Durkheim's definition of religious practices implied a distinction between the sacred and the profane realms.

Nevertheless, his work suggested that religious belief and ritual are fundamentally a manifestation of social relations. By formulating a consistent sociological approach of ritual, Durkheim opened up what would be called a functionalist reading of ritual that was later developed by British sociologists and anthropologists, especially Reginald Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955). In contrast to Durkheim, Brown emphasized the active role played by ritual in constructing social relations. In other words, it is the ritual action that determines the shared belief of a social community, but not the reverse.³⁵

The functionalist account of ritual as a vehicle or a cause of certain kinds of social beliefs has constructed a link between the meaning of ritual symbols and the structured social relationships and institutions. However, it failed to provide a coherent, sophisticated explanation about the specific patterns of ritual symbols, and how other historical, economics and cultural factors contributed to the formation of these patterns. In contrast to the early functionalist reading of ritual, symbolic structuralism tends to conceptualize rites and ceremonies by adopting different coding systems, such as kinship and linguistic structures.³⁶ For structuralists, the meaning of ritual is embedded in a self-

³⁴ Émile Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. Joseph Swain (London: Allen and Unwin, 1976), 298.

³⁵ Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 27.

³⁶ Bell, Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions, 33-46.

referential conceptual structure of meaning. Regarding ritual as a word or a kinsman, its social role can only be comprehended by referring to its place in relation to other words and kinsmen. Structuralism, to sum up, attempted to build an autonomous meaning system of ritual symbols that may have fixed relationships with practical social functions.

Since the 1950s, along with the rise of symbolic structuralism, ritual studies have gradually evolved into an independent discipline. However, as in the case of functionalism, structuralism undermines the performative aspect of ritual. In other words, the concrete performance of ritual has been reduced to a secondary status in structuralist accounts. By embracing a Geertzian understanding of ritual as a theatrical manifestation of social interactions,³⁷ the contemporary theorist Catherine Bell advocates a heuristic account of ritual as a kind of performative act.³⁸ Bell's poststructuralist conception of ritual is somewhat appealing. Yet, it is still susceptible to the criticism as it decontextualizes the shifting practices of traditional rites from their historical milieu.

After all, if ritual is only comprehensible as a specific form of performative acts, how can the study of traditional rites be possible, if their performativity has been inevitably lost in the passage of time?³⁹

In the context of imperial China, the emperor living in the capital was encompassed and sanctified by the spiritual power of his ancestors through the

³⁷ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 168.

³⁸ Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford University Press, 1992), 4.

³⁹ For a succinct explanation of the performative structure of ritual, see, James Watson, "The Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites: Elementary Forms, Ritual Sequence, and the Primacy of Performance," in *Death Rituals in Late Imperial and Modern China*, ed. James Watson and Evelyn Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 3-19, esp. 11-15.

appropriate arrangement of ancestral temples, tablets, tombs, and the *zhaomu* sequence. In this light, the Geertzian reading of ritual acts as a manifestation of power within a theatrical state has some explanatory value in explicating the centrality of court rituals in Chinese dynasties. ⁴⁰ However, as James Laidlaw and Oliver Moore have made clear, an adoption of Geertz's symbolistic account of ritual in the Chinese context may somewhat undermine the complexity of intellectual actions that were involved in the performance of court rites. ⁴¹ Chinese court rituals were performed within a substantial framework of cultural references and ideas. Under most circumstances, it was not the ritual itself that mattered, nor its symbolic meaning, but its relationship with other social and political acts.

To set themselves apart from both the Durkheimian symbolistic and the Geertzian theatrical accounts of ritual, some Western scholars tend to approach Chinese ritual and ritual texts by adopting new methods of textual analysis. Alan Wood's synchronic analysis of three Song commentaries on one of the Confucian Classics, *the Spring and Autumn Annals*, demonstrated an increasing tendency of viewing each of the Confucian Classics as a self-contained textual structure, in which its true meaning can only be comprehended through an accumulation of understanding of its supplementary texts—mostly later commentaries and annotations.⁴² As Wood's approach focused on the evolution of certain core ideas in the Song commentaries of the Confucian Classics, he

⁴⁰ Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatrical State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 98-136.

⁴¹ McDermott, State and Court Ritual in China, 399-405.

⁴² Alan Wood, *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Right* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995).

was more inclined to follow Arthur O. Lovejoy's approach of intellectual history, which searches for the "unconscious mental habits operating in the thought of an individual or a generation." However, as some leading figures of the Cambridge school has shown, Lovejoy's notion of atemporal ideas and his synchronic interpretation of the very notion of text somehow idealized text itself in an ahistorical way by isolating it from its sociohistorical background. An overemphasis on the continuity of ideas, ironically, fails to comprehend the historical development of ideas.

Hermeneutics, which basically originated from a Western tradition of interpretive inquiries with regard to sacred Scriptures, was also adopted by Western scholars to explicate Chinese Classics and ritual texts.⁴⁵ Central to the philosophy of hermeneutics is the concept of understanding. As Wilhelm Dilthey succinctly put it:

Understanding is the rediscovery of the I in the Thou; the mind rediscovers itself at ever higher levels of connectedness; this sameness of mind in the I and the Thou and in every subject of a community, in every system of culture and, finally, in the totality of mind and universal history, makes the working together of the different processes in the human studies possible.⁴⁶

However, given the lack of real historical experience, it is quite difficult to rebuild the "high level of connectedness" between the minds of the present "I" and a historical subject solely based on a philosophical reading of texts and archives.

⁴³ Author Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of an History of Idea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936). 7.

⁴⁴ See, for instance, Quentin Skinner's critique of Lovejoy's notion of "unit-idea" and the latter's general understanding of intellectual history. James Tully ed. *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics* (Cambridge: Polity, 1988), 34-55.

⁴⁵ See, for instance, John Makeham. *Transmitters and Creators: Chinese Commentators and Commentaries on the Analects* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asian Center, 2004).

⁴⁶ Wilhelm Dilthey, *Pattern and Meaning in History* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962), 67-68.

Likewise, Hans-Georg Gadamer's perception of an "effective history (of ideas)" and his endeavor to establish a hermeneutic communication between various historical horizons and the present horizon in what he has called a "fusion of horizon"—leaving aside the great contribution they made to the philosophy of understanding—are insufficient to provide a firm methodological basis for the study of Chinese ritual text, since both concepts focus too much on the self-reflection of the present "I," yet accordingly ignore the raw material of past horizons—that is, the concrete experience of that particular historical subject.⁴⁷

Being aware of the inherent weakness of the hermeneutic-oriented textual analysis, the anthropological reading of Chinese rituals tends to keep a keen focus on the practice of rites and ceremonies—especially the practice of ancestral rites—in its modern or contemporary context. In an early anthropological presentation of Chinese village rites, Stephan Feuchtwang and Arthur Wolf claimed that the targets of ancestral ritual performance in traditional China could be aptly categorized into three different kinds of spiritual beings, respectively, ghosts, gods, and ancestors. By defining ancestral rites as an act of obeisance, they argued that traditional Chinese bore the responsibility for worshipping their ancestors, regardless of the religious freedom they had in choosing which god to believe. Also, an ancestor was different from a ghost, as the latter was not supposed to receive offerings from the mortal world. The differentiation of the ancestor

⁴⁷ Mueller Vollmer, *The Hermeneutics Reader*, 261-69. For a classic analysis of the role played by concrete historical experience in shaping ideas, see, E.P., Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), Introduction, esp. 8-12.

⁴⁸ Stephan Feuchtwang and Arthur Wolf ed., *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 106-107.

from ghosts and gods to a large degree reconciled the tension between this-worldliness and the anxiety surrounding the afterlife.⁵⁰ Moreover, this differentiation also contributed to a sense of familial solidarity among lineage members.

Although anthropological reading of rituals devotes a lot of attention to the practical dimension of ritual acts and texts, especially in referring to the rural context, it may overestimate the continuity of ritual traditions and therefore ahistorically identify some or a few village rituals with the whole picture of Chinese ritual tradition. In fact, most modern practices of family rituals in China are relics of the Ming-Qing ritual system. Furthermore, to what extent various Chinese ritual traditions are preserved or followed in contemporary China is a question we have to ask before we make a direct link between historical experience and individual observation through field work. Indeed, we must keep in mind the temporality and spatiality of a ritual practice when we first see it in the field. It is quite problematic to claim the existence of a ritual "tradition" without first examining its historical trajectory.

In his provocative analysis of Chinese wedding texts during the Middle Period,
Christian de Pee sharply criticized the tendency of decontextualizing Confucian rites
from their historical milieu.⁵¹ His study emphasizes the textual power of ritual liturgies in
shaping the mind and behavior of different social groups. As Victor Turner suggested, in
every kinship-based society there exists a contrast between those who possess structural

⁴⁹ Lloyd Eastman, *Family, Field, and Ancestors: Constancy and Change in China's Social and Economic History, 1550-1949* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 45-47.

⁵⁰ Stephen Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety: Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), esp. 60-94.

⁵¹ Christian de Pee, *The Writing of Weddings in Middle-Period China Texts and Ritual Practice in the Eighth through Fourteenth Centuries* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 1-20, 212-220.

superiority and those who possess ritual superiority. The juxtaposition of these two aspects of society—by Turner's own words, social structure and *communitas*—calls for a deep review of the latter, in which an individual's set of relations to other social men were intensified. If structural inferiority and social marginality are the presuppositions of ritual superiority, and, as Turner put it, "the structurally inferior aspire to symbolize structural superiority in ritual; the structurally superior aspire to symbolize *communitas* and undergo penance to achieve it,"52 one should seriously rethink the meaning of ritual power in the case of Chinese ritual. Although de Pee is right in arguing that ritual power was an eventual result of the interpretive power of specific ritual texts in China, he may overstate the difference between the ritual power of the educated elites and that of the ordinary people. David Johnson's documentation of the spectacular creativity of the rural she (社) ritual in southern Shanxi 山西 illustrates how the marginalized class, the socalled "entertainers" (yuehu 樂戶), actually served as ritual specialists in formulating local performative traditions.⁵³ In concrete practices, ritual performance often went beyond the control of literate elites and transformed into various capricious forms, in which the *communitas* exercised its influence on the level of daily life.⁵⁴

⁵² Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), 203.

⁵³ David Johnson, *Spectacle and Sacrifice: The Ritual Foundations of Village Life in North China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 1-17, 177-234, 303-337.

⁵⁴ In his study of the Hakka minorities in the Sibao 四堡 town of Fujian 福建, Liu Yonghua 劉永華 accesses the ritualized village life in late imperial China from a bottom-up perspective. His research shows how the *communitas* group, the *lisheng* 禮生 (ritual experts), introduced the normative Confucian ritual protocols to villagers yet meanwhile localized these protocols in a form of cultural hybridization. Liu, *Confucian Rituals and Chinese Villagers: Ritual Change and Social Transformation in a Southeastern Chinese Community, 1368–1949, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013).*

Differing from de Pee's poststructuralist reading of ritual texts, some scholars generally approach the Chinese conception of ritual by comprehending it as a process of rationalization. Yuri Pine, for instance, demonstrates how various religious practices of the Western-Zhou ceremonial acts were later rationalized into a more coherent system of "rule by ritual" during the Chunqiu 春秋 (770-475 B.C.) era. Through a process of what he has designated the "distillation" of aristocratic ceremonies and rites, the meaning of ritual was expanded from its original denotation of ceremonial decorum to a broad conceptual framework of social hierarchy. Pine's detailed portrait of the evolution of ritual from holy rites to a system of human conduct is crucial to the understanding of how ritual was gradually extracted from its religious context in order to accommodate the social needs of daily life. 55

Nevertheless, along with the rationalization of court rituals, the so-called "irrational" elements still persisted in these highly-Confucianized rituals. Ancestral remembrance and ancestral sacrifices, both within and without the court, have been largely characterized by popular cults and Buddhist/Daoist practices. Moreover, although the belief in the postmortem existence of ancestors and the conception of what K.E. Brashier has called the "thought-full ancestors" could probably find their roots in a soil of irrationality, 56 both convictions served to foster a utilitarian attitude towards the adoption of ancestral rites. 57 Given the Chinese belief that the qi = 100 ≈ 100 ≈ 10

⁵⁵ Yuri Pine, Foundations of Confucian Thought: Intellectual Life in the Chunqiu Period, 722-453 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), chap. 2, 6, 7.

⁵⁶ Kevin E. Brashier, *Ancestral Memory in Early China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 4-5.

profoundly affected by the living's memory of the dead, ancestral worship was indeed the product of a rationalist thinking based on a reconciliation of the tension between lineage and household. As Stephen Bokenkamp put it, ancestral worship in China focused on the issue of "how to deal with the dead because they helped to solve particular problems among the living." While performativity as an analytical tool may contribute to the discovery of some new facets in the research of Chinese ancestral rites, it also causes confusion in the understanding of non-Western ritual cultures. Confucianized ancestral rites might not be performed dramatically and spectacularly as most Buddhist and Daoist rites did, yet they still conveyed a performative connotation in the context of imperial China.

Seemingly, neither a ritual's practical performativity nor its modern representation fully reveals its true nature in the Chinese context. My study argues that only if one sees the Chinese ritual system as a process of continuous intellectual and political formation in its original context, can one comprehend it entirely. In imperial China, elites such as scholar-officials manipulated rites and ceremonies to create and maintain socio-political hierarchy. Underlying the apparently self-contained structure of ritual, researchers would confront the deep consciousness of those who set, perform, and manipulate ritual acts for their own social and political ends. Therefore, my study will pay more attention to the life and writings of these "ritual manipulators," as well as the birth and dynamics of specific liturgical discourse in the textual world of Confucian ritualism.

⁵⁷ Mu-chou Poo, *In Search of Personal Welfare: A View of Ancient Chinese Religion* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 1-40.

⁵⁸ Bokenkamp, Ancestors and Anxiety, 10.

Methodologically, I call for a contextual reading of different ritual texts to better reveal their intra- and inter-relations; only with a contextual analysis of the text one can truly approach the decision-making moment of the author in producing the text.

Certainly, this does not mean that modern interpreters can fully reproduce the mindset of the author. My study aims at reading ritual texts from their contemporary perspective and reducing the impact of our modern interpretive context. Borrowing hermeneutic terms, what this study is trying to do is to let the voice of the past horizon reveal itself in a contextual space which is less influenced by the modern impact but more correlated to the context of that past horizon.

Moreover, by adopting a comparative approach, my study examines the proliferation of the *zhaomu* issue in both liturgical texts and literati writings of the Southern Song period (1127-1279). In effect, the literati understanding of genealogical sequence distinguished itself from that of the Confucian ritualists in both philosophical and performative aspects. The inclusion of the *zhaomu* sequence in a variety of literati writings indicates how the exclusivity of ritual discourse was attenuated by the hybridity and diversity of different writing forms, ranging from commentaries on ritual Classics and memorials to private letters and encyclopedic compendiums. A juxtaposition of these texts would profoundly illustrate the complexity behind the seemingly holistic, dogmatic formality of Confucian ritualism.

1.4 Basic Structure of the Project

The course of my dissertation's argument is basically chronological. Chapter two addresses some pre-Song—mostly Zhou, Han and Tang—interpretations of ancestral temple settings and the arrangement of the *zhaomu* sequence. This chapter classifies two

different kinds of *zhaomu* perceptions since the Han period. Moreover, through a discussion of some Tang and early Song ritual debates, it also reveals an influential conflict between the two ritual approaches of meritocracy and filial piety, which continuously fashioned the controversy over ancestral rites in later periods. Chapter three examines two Northern Song ritual debates—respectively the Primal Ancestor controversy in 1072 and the *zhaomu* controversy in 1079—that dominated mid-to-late-Song factional politics, yet have generally been overlooked in recent studies. Chapter four deals with the broad historical and intellectual backgrounds in which these two Northern Song ritual debates were rooted and further developed. It also discusses some important Chinese interpretations about ritual in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Chapter five shifts focus to Southern Song Daoxue (道學, the Learning of the Way) interpretations of the earlier Northern Song ritual debates and analyzes the Daoxue synthesis of imperial ancestral rites from the perspectives of intellectual and social history.

1.5 Elucidation of Some Key Concepts

A. Li 禮: Ritual Propriety

Anthropologists and sociologists are accustomed to characterizing ritual or what are generally called liturgical acts as repetitive, persistent and standardized rules of conduct in routinizing human being's social behavior and maintaining efficient interpersonal and non-interpersonal interactions.⁵⁹ While the term "ritual" itself has

⁵⁹ Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 41; Greetz, *The Interpretation of Culture*, 92-3; Roy Rappaport, "Ritual, Society, and Cybernetics," *American Anthropologist*, 73.1: 71; Emily M. Ahern, *Chinese Ritual and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 1; David I. Kertzer, *Ritual*, *Politics, and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 8-9.

become a dominant translation of the Chinese character li in recent years, it conveys a profound meaning that the rich context of li is primarily defined by a societal purpose. The early Confucianism, or the Ruism prior to the birth of Confucius, was closely associated with the teaching and learning of li; hence, some scholars tended to classify early Confucians with shamanistic ritual practitioners. 60 However, as Masayuki Sato 佐藤 將之 argued, the conception of li has undergone an evolution from specific religious acts to social norms and finally to a paradigmatic principle of ethics throughout the transition periods of the Spring and Autumn and the Warrior States (770 - 221 B.C.). 61 As an evolving concept, li was the conceptual product of not only Confucianism but also other early Chinese concepts, including those of Daoists and Legalists (fajia).

As *li* gradually became a distinguishing feature of Confucianism, it developed a philosophical sense that involved morality, responsibility and social hierarchy.⁶³ As Benjamin Schwartz explained:

If the word *tao* seems to refer to an all-encompassing state of affairs embracing the "outer" socio-political order and the "inner" moral life of the individual, the word *li* on the most concrete level refers to all those "objective" prescriptions of behavior, whether involving rite, ceremony, manners, or general deportment, that

⁶⁰ Zhang Binglin 章炳麟, "Yuanru" 原儒 (The origin of Confucianism), in *Guogu lunheng* 國故論衡 (*Discussions on Our National Heritage*) (Taibei: guangwen chubanshe, 1967), 151-155; Shizuka Shirakawa 白川靜, *Zhongguo gudai wenhua* 中國古代文化 (*Ancient Chinese Culture*), trans. Nobuyuk Kaji 加地伸行 and Fan Yuejiao 范月嬌 (Taibei: wenjing chubanshe, 1983), 121; Robert Eno, *The Confucian Creation of Heaven: Philosophy and the Defense of Ritual Mastery* (New York: State University of New York, 1990), 10.

⁶¹ Masayuki Sato, *The Confucian Quest for Order: the Origin and Formation of the Political Thought of Xunzi* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 167-210, esp. 173-178.

⁶² Sato, The Confucian Quest for Order, 210-233.

⁶³ John Knoblock, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works*, III (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 49.

bind human beings and the spirits together in networks of interacting roles within the family, within human society, and with the numinous realm beyond.⁶⁴

He continued to stress the religiosity of ritual:

The question of Confucius' attitude to the entire realm with be considered below, but there can be no doubt that rites that we would call religious, even in the narrowest definition of that term, are integral to the whole corpus of *li*. One can, in fact, go further to agree with Herbert Fingarette that the entire body of *li* itself, even when it involves strictly human transactions, somehow involves a sacred dimension and that it may be entirely appropriate to use the terms such as "holy rite" or "sacred ceremony" in referring to it.⁶⁵

This area of agreement between Schwartz's and Herbert Fingarette's conceptions of *li* might overemphasize the distinction between the divine realm and the secular world, especially considering the proliferation of vulgar ritual at the village level.

Nonetheless, in the practice of imperial ancestral rites, li's role in transmitting a sense of sacredness was still crucial to the legitimization of kingship. The ritual practices of imperial ancestral worship, such as the arrangement of the *zhaomu* sequence and the configuration of ancestral temples, were fundamentally based on a conception of the spiritual connection between the emperor and Heaven. As the ancestral spirits served as a medium between Heaven and the king, ancestral worship was integrated into the religious worship of Heaven through the performance of li. The imperial family, as a result, gained its legitimacy by retaining its mandate from Heaven through *both* Heaven worship and ancestral sacrifices. Under the regime of li, state, kingship and imperial

⁶⁴ Schwartz, *The World Of Thought in Ancient China*, 67; Herbert Fingarette. *Confucius—The Secular as Sacred.* New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1972.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Eno, The Confucian Creation of Heaven, 23-29.

family were integrated to create a self-illuminating center of authority. Hence, *li* politicized specific liturgical acts and transformed them into "an intimacy-oriented political model" of governance, which demonstrated the Confucian ideal of "ritual politics." In his study of Tang state rituals, Howard Wechsler reveals how different rites and ceremonies were utilized as effective ideological tools to sustain the legitimacy of the ruling family's governance. By the same token, this study conceptualizes Song ritual controversy and related discussions in a political context and reveal *li*'s legitimizing power in its different textual representations.

Nevertheless, unlike Wechsler, this study devotes more attention to the hierarchical nature of li in Song Confucianism. Classical Confucianism considered li as exceptionally important because of its pivotal role in regulating human behavior, ordering the society and differentiating social status. ⁶⁹ Controversies and debates over ritual interpretations among Confucian scholars shared the same belief that li as an ideological apparatus was central to the stability of social order, i.e., its primary function to delimit the boundaries of social and ethical conducts. ⁷⁰ In theory, Song Confucianism championed the classical presentation of ritual as a spectacular display of "centrality" ($zhong \Rightarrow$); or, in Song Confucian terms, "the beautiful ornament according to the

⁶⁷ Tao Jiang, "Intimate authority: The Rule of Ritual in Classical Confucian Political Discourse," in *Confucian Cultures of Authority*, ed. Peter D. Hershock and Roger T. Ames (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006), 30.

⁶⁸ Howard Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the Legitimation of the T'ang Dynasty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 1-106.

⁶⁹ Noah Fehl, *Rites and Propriety in Literature: A Perspective for a Cultural History of Ancient China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1971), 151-222.

⁷⁰ *Human, Nature, Ritual, and History: Studies in Xunzi and Chinese Philosophy* (Washington: The Catholic University of American Press), 107-09, 165-66.

principle of Heaven."⁷¹ However, most Song Confucians believed in the ennobling function of *li* in a hierarchical society, an influential notion that could be traced back to the school of Xunzi 荀子 (313-238 B.C.).⁷² In reality, ritual discourse was utilized by literate elites to maintain the existing hierarchical social structure, in which those who controlled the cultural capital to define and regulate ritual norms were considered as "genuine Confucians" (*zhenru* 真儒).⁷³ In this light, the Song ritual controversy over the idea and practice of ancient rites could be understood as an intellectual endeavor to compete for something other than ritual itself—that is, the power of ritual as a socialization device in structuring cultural hegemony within (and outside) the Confucian community.⁷⁴

B. The Ritual of Zhou

The *Ritual of Zhou (Zhouli* 周禮), was one of the three pillars of the Confucian ritual learning. The other two were the *Book of Rites* and the *Rites and Ceremonies* (yili 儀禮), both were canonized during the Han period. Prior to its canonization as one of the

⁷¹ Wing-tsit Chan 陳榮捷, trans., *New-Confucian Terms Explained: The Pei-his tzu-i* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 72, 127.

⁷² Cua, Human, Nature, Ritual, and History, 167-168.

⁷³ For the classical presentation of the cultural capital theory, see Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson (New York, Greenwood, 1986), 241-258.

⁷⁴ The term "socialization" here refers to a differentiation of religious/spiritual sphere and secular sphere. The socialization of ritual in Confucianism also indicates a detachment of some important rites from their religious context. For a brief discussion on how the term socialization should be adopted in the Chinese context, see Robert Weller, "Religion, Ritual, and the Public Good in China," in *Confucianism and Spiritual Traditions in Modern China and Beyond*, ed. Fenggang Yang and Joseph B. Tomney (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 332, 343-345.

Nine Classics during the Tang dynasty, Wang Mang 王莽 (45 B.C.-23 A.D.), the Han usurper, and Yu Wentai 宇文泰 (506-556), the founder of the Western Wei 西魏 (534-557) dynasty, had already employed the *Ritual of Zhou* in a constitutional sense. In the Western Han dynasty (202 B.C.-8 A.D.), this text was generally known as the Zhouguan 周官, literally meant the administrative organization of the Zhou dynasty. 75 After the Western Han period, the change of name from "zhouguan" to "zhouli" marked a significant transformation in the perception of this text: that is, the technical connotation of the text has been downplayed; in contrast, the text itself was essentially perceived by Confucian scholars as a charter document of an ideal ancient regime. Following the reasoning that the content of the Zhouli has little to do with an authentic documentation of concrete Zhou ceremonies, but chiefly a utopian representation of ideal ritual politics, I translate it as the Ritual of Zhou, instead of adopting the conventional translation, the Rites of Zhou, or the Rituals of Zhou. As a historicized ritual text, the Zhouli represented a set of rites and rituals that possibly can be traced back to Zhou rites, political techniques of Warrior States, and Qin bureaucratic models. However, as a comprehensive survey of Confucian constitution, the *Zhouli* exemplified the imagined cultural uniformity of ritual politics in the Zhou context of sagely kingship. A Song New Learning scholar might acknowledge that there were various ancient rites and ritual systems; yet, he would argue that the ritual lineage that connected Zhou and Song is unique and incomparable. In this

⁷⁵ David Schaberg argued that the character "zhou" 周 in the Zhouguan possibly referred to a meaning of comprehensiveness, or a kind of "universal knowing" (週), rather than a concrete denotation of the Zhou dynasty. Schaberg, "The zhouli as Constitutional Text," in Statecraft and Classical Learning: The Rituals of Zhou in East Asian History, ed. Benjamin Elman and Martin Kern (Boston: Brill, 2010), 58-63.

sense, for most Song Confucians, the *Zhouli* primarily conducted *the* "ritual intent" of Zhou, rather than specific details of Zhou rituals.

A recently published volume, edited by Benjamin Elman, suggests a more contemporary reading of the *Zhouli* by linking the text to the enterprise of state building. By stressing the practical dimension of the *Zhouli* text, some contributors of Elman's volume attempt to read it in a similar way to one that was once adopted by those Song Confucians who identified themselves as the successors of the Zhou ritual legacy. Under some circumstances, the "back-to-the-Zhou" or the "back-to-the-Three Dynasties" advocacy served as an alibi to suppress disagreements with reforms and new policies. Wang Anshi himself emphatically promoted the study of the *Zhouli* in his broader agenda of restructuring the institutions of the Song central government, because the text provided him a centralizing scheme that could help institutionalizing the political power of the reformers who followed him. ⁷⁶ However, Wang's disciples in ritual studies did not necessarily share with Wang the same activist reading of the Zhouli. Later in the Southern Song period (1127-1279), members of the Daoxue fellowship and the regional Yongjia 永嘉 school (modern Wenzhou 溫州, Zhejiang 浙江) found in the Zhouli text a decentralizing tendency which met their social agenda of promoting local autonomy.⁷⁷ It seems that Song Confucians shared the belief that the Zhouli was still useful in regulating the state politics of their times. However, how to interpret it was another matter entirely.

⁷⁶ Peter Bol, "Wang Anshi and the *Zhouli*," in *Statecraft and Classical Learning*, 229-251.

⁷⁷ Jaeyoon Song, "Tension and Balance: Changes of Constitutional Schemes in Southern Song Commentaries on the *Rituals of Zhou*," in *Statecraft and Classical Learning*, 252-278. For a succinct introduction of the Yongjia fellowship, see Hilde de Weerdt, *Competition over Content: Negotiating Standards for the Civil Service Examinations in Imperial China* (1127-1279) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 89-169.

C. Disciplinary Matrix and the Principle of Discursiveness

I borrow the term "disciplinary matrix" from Thomas Kuhn to describe the New Learning scholarship that was established by Wang Anshi and his disciples. It is worth noting that in the 1969 Postscript to his classical work, The Structure of Scientific *Revolutions*, Kuhn proposed using the term "disciplinary matrix," rather than his influential usage of "paradigm," to designate the professional communication between the members of scientific community. ⁷⁸ According to Kuhn, the word "disciplinary" refers to "the common possession of the practitioners of a particular discipline," and "matrix" indicates a system of "ordered elements of various sorts, each requiring further specification."⁷⁹ Accordingly, a disciplinary matrix should contain these four components: symbolic generalizations, common commitments to some metaphysical presumptions, shared values, and a set of exemplars. 80 Although Kuhn's theory of disciplinary matrix theory was mostly adapted in sociological studies of professional groups, I find in Song New Learning scholarship the same trend of an ordered code of regulatory factors. In contrast to the conventional understanding of New Learning as a loose composition of miscellaneous ideas or an odd combination of Legalism and (leftist) Confucianism, I tend to view it as a disciplinary matrix that was characterized by a shared belief of revivalism and a complete set of intellectual codes. Revivalism, especially ritual revivalism, served as the metaphysical presumption of the New Learning disciplinary

⁷⁸ Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 182-187. For a more comprehensive understanding of the notion of paradigm in Kuhn's original presentation, see *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 10-22, esp. 10-11.

⁷⁹ Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 182.

⁸⁰ Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 182-187.

matrix. Additionally, the New Learning emphasis on the ancient cultural legacy, especially the ritual politics of the Three Dynasties ($sandai \equiv \text{代}($, Xia \overline{g} (2205?-1766? B.C.), Shang 商 (1766? - 1045 B.C.) and Zhou, symbolized the entire New Learning pursuit of revivalism. Although the New Learning scholars' textual expressions of "the cultural grandeur of the Three Dynasties" (三代之隆) might not be looked upon as being as "symbolic" as scientific laws like f=ma or $E = mc^2$, they still conveyed the same function of a formula in establishing a common ground for the practitioners of the discipline.

Moreover, New Learning scholarship also offered an effective value system and a complete set of exemplars for its group members. Wang Anshi and most New Learning scholars held some fundamental value judgments in defining learning and Classical studies. For example, they argued that all the Classics should be conceived as an integral whole, in order to comprehend the "entity of the Classics" (quanjing 全經). Most New Learning scholars also considered Classical studies more important than literary composition in selecting capable officials for government positions, as they believed that the text of Confucian Classics embodied the necessary technique of governance. Therefore, New Learning scholarship valued the pragmatic use of the Classics in real politics. However, in the preparation stage of Confucian scholarship, the New Learning disciplinary matrix invented a set of exemplars, too—in this case, several new

⁸¹ Wang Anshi, "Da Zeng Zigu shu" 答曾子固書 (A response letter to Zeng Zigu, Zeng Gong, Zigu is his courtesy name), in *Linchuan xiansheng wenji* 臨川先生文集 (*Anthology of Master Wang Linchuan*), Sibu congkan chubian suoben 四部叢刊初編縮本 (*A Pocket Edition of the First Series of the Essential Works of Four Treasuries*) (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1969), v.51, 73:469.

commentaries on the Classics—that later was officialized as a new textual authority for the civil service examinations.

Nevertheless, this disciplinary character of Wang Anshi's New Learning was largely undermined by the discursive practices of Wang's disciples in interpreting the Classics. In researching New Learning scholarship, specifically the ritual writings of Wang's disciples, I recognize the co-existence of a coherent disciplinary matrix and a principle of discursiveness: for the latter to a large extent weakened the obligatory code set up by the former. In Foucauldian terms, the New Learning scholars' ritual writings did not coincide with the set of "regularities" first launched by Wang Anshi's new commentaries on the Classics and other forms of teachings. As Michel Foucault stated in summarizing the relationship between disciplinary regularity and discursive practices:

Even if these "regularities" are manifested through individual works or announce their presence for the first time through one of them, they are more extensive and often serve to regroup a large number of individual works. But neither do they coincide with what we ordinarily call a science or a discipline even if their boundaries provisionally coincide on certain occasions; it is usually the case that a discursive practice assembles a number of diverse disciplines or sciences or that it crosses a certain number among them and regroups many of their individual characteristics into a new and occasionally unexpected unity.⁸³

Although the Foucauldian understanding of "discipline" was primarily grounded on an alterable principle of enclosure and the alienation of "docile bodies" in functional sites.⁸⁴

⁸² "Regularity," in the original Foucauldian sense, means "an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations" that conditioned discursive formation, i.e., the formation of a statement, a concept, a discourse, a strategy, and finally an objectified thing. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge—and the Discourse on Language*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 2010), 38.

⁸³ Michel Foucault, "History of Systems of Thought," *Language, counter-memory, practice: Selected essays and interviews by Michel Foucault* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), 199-200.

it actually revealed the frangibility of the disciplinary power in delimiting fixed boundaries.

Furthermore, although discursive practices as technical processes—in the Song New Learning case, the textualization of ritual ideas—imposed new disciplinary power immediately when they emerged, they in effect introduced unexpected changes, such as the blurring of boundaries and divisions within the old discipline. So As Wang Anshi's New Learning contained most branches of the traditionally defined Classical studies, in its very nature it was not a united discipline, but a disciplinary matrix. Thus, the efforts of interpretation made by Wang's disciples led to a reconfiguration of the internal structure of the original disciplinary matrix. In this process of discursive formation, some of Wang's original ideas would gain new interpretive power in relation to his disciples' relevant explanations. In chapter four, I will show how New Learning scholarship, as well as Wang's own learning, was dominated by the principle of discursiveness and an inclusive curriculum of Classical studies.

⁸⁴ Foucault discussed the concept and practice of discipline in multifaceted ways. For the classical analysis of the characteristics of the disciplinary power, see Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 135-149.

⁸⁵ Foucault, "History of Systems of Thought," 200; Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 38-39.

CHAPTER 2: PRE-SONG INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ZHAOMU SEQUENCE AND THE BACKGROUND OF THE NORTHERN SONG ZHAOMU DEBATE

The birth and development of a series of political-ritual discourse, along with the line of rationalization of Confucian ritualism throughout the Zhou, Han and Tang dynasties, is a complicated topic. As all these centralized dynasties devoted special attention to the legitimizing power of ritual, historians expect the existence of a certain kind of cultural uniformity in the performance of imperial rites. By primarily focusing on some key ritual texts and taking the texts themselves as an embodiment of narratives and representations, my study attempts to reveal the ambiguity and tension within and in between a myriad of pre-Song and early Song interpretations concerning the *zhaomu* sequence and the configuration of imperial ancestral temples.

2.1 Pre-Song Interpretations of the Zhaomu Sequence

2.1.1 Centralizing Ancestral Rites: the Evolution of the *Zhaomu* Sequence in Early China (15th Century B.C.-7th Century A.D.)

Following David Keightley's famous argument about Shang ancestral worship, some scholars conceptualize the early *zhaomu* system as a ritual modification of the "generationalism" that underpinned the religious dynamic of ancient China. ⁸⁶ In the context of ancestral sacrifices, Shang Chinese oriented themselves according to a particular cosmo-ritual order. In his study of the Late Shang (ca.1200-1045 B.C.) oracle bones and bronze inscriptions, Keightley drew anthropologists and historians' attention to what he referred to as the "ancestral landscape" of the Shang dynasty. Through a careful

⁸⁶ See, for instance, Rodney Taylor, *The Religious Dimensions of Confucianism* (New York: State University of New Work, 1990), 10; Zhang Guangzhi 張光直 (Chang Kwang-chih), *Zhongguo qingtong shidai* 中國青銅時代 (*The Bronze Age of China*) (Beijing: Shalian shudian, 1983), 202-207.

Study of Shang spatial and calendrical structures, such as the Five-Ritual cycle, the Si Cycle, the quadrate order of the Sifang 四方 system and the Wu Powers in the *di* 禘 sacrifice, Keightley revealed a well-structured cosmological orientation within the Shang ritual system. Reightley, despite the Shang cosmology's shifting nature, it always pointed to a center. It was in this centrality that political power and ritual divinity intermingled and gradually developed into a cult of ritual politics. Architectural constructions and designs, such as the *ya* 至-shaped configuration of ancestral temples and tombs, have been often quoted as the crucial evidence to exemplify the centrality of royal ancestral worship in ancient Chinese culture. In this reasoning, Shang ancestral temples and shrines symbolized the sovereign power of the Shang king and also his spiritual connections with his ancestors. At the very center of Shang's political order was the king's supreme power to perform certain ancestral rituals.

From a broad perspective, Keightley's reading tended to see Shang ancestral worship as a ritual reflection of what he called the "bureaucratic mentality" that characterized later Confucianism and Chinese culture. ⁸⁹ As Michael Puett noted, Keightley's analysis of the Shang conception of ancestors revealed a strong influence of Weberian conception of bureaucracy and bureaucratic society. ⁹⁰ In effect, Shang

⁸⁷ David Keightley, *The Ancestral Landscape: Time, Space, and Community in Late Shang China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

⁸⁸ Aihe Wang, *Cosmology and Political Culture in Early China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 37-46.

⁸⁹ David Keightley, "The Religious Commitment, Shang Theology and the Genesis of Chinese Political Culture," *History of Religions*, no.17 (1978), 211-216.

⁹⁰ Michael Puett, *To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self-Divinization in Early China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), 36-40.

ancestral rites became a way through which living people could transform their deceased ancestors into proper divinities. By providing their ancestors the most magnificent offerings and sacrifices that they could make, the Shang rulers sought their ancestors' help to obtain favor from the supreme Thearch, *di* 帝. 91 Reciprocally, ritual communications between Shang ancestors and their descendants contributed to the political supremacy of the Shang royal house. Meanwhile, in the process of divinization, ancestors were routinized into a hierarchical structure defined by generations in genealogy. Shang ancestors were not only worshipped by the living; they were also ordered by the living in terms of ritual performance. As the Shang ruling class monopolized the power of divinizing ancestors, Shang ancestors drew on the hierarchical structure of sacrifices to maintain their positions in the divine world. 92 In this sense, Shang generationalism paved the way for the development of a variety of generation-differentiating rites in the succeeding Zhou era.

It has been usually stated that the sophistication of ancestral rites reached its culmination during the Western Zhou period. Some scholars believe that the *zhaomu* system stemmed from the Western Zhou ritual legacy, in which the ancestors of the Zhou royal house were alternatively assigned to the right and the left sides of the ancestral temple based on their generations.⁹³ The French Sinologist Henri Maspero claimed the

⁹¹ Richard von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 20-21.

⁹² Glahn, The Sinister Way, 21-25.

⁹³ Chang Kwang-chih, *Shang Civilization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980). 176-79. Also, Martin Kern, "Bronze inscriptions, the Shijing and the Shangshu: the evolution of the ancestral sacrifice during the Western Zhou," in *Early Chinese Religion: Shang through Han* (1250 B-22AD), ed. John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (Boston: Brill, 2009), 143-200.

existence of a well-structured *zhaomu* system within the Zhou architecture of ancestral sacrifices. His description of the Zhou *zhaomu* system reflected an ordered space, in which ancestors for worship were classified according to a tight sequence: the first ancestor at the centre, *zhao* ancestors on his left-hand side and *mu* ancestors on his right-hand side. In the Zhou case, the central position should always be reserved for the Zhou primogenitor, Houzhi 後稷.⁹⁴

The Zhou ancestral sequence described by Maspero represented the conventional understanding of the *zhaomu* system. Nevertheless, it is necessary to understand that this kind of *zhaomu* conception was solely theoretical: it grounded primarily on later ritual texts of the Warring States Period, such as the *Royal Regulations* (*Wangzhi* 王制), the *Summary of Sacrifice* (*Jitong* 祭統) and the *Law of Sacrifice* (*Jifa* 祭法)—none of them has been proved as a fully reliable record of the Zhou ritual practices. ⁹⁵ In other words, the concrete performance of the Zhou *zhaomu* system was still unknown. Indeed, anthropological findings provide some evidence, yet they are not adequate to prove the Zhou practice of the *zhaomu* sequence on a massive scale. Nevertheless, it is a clear fact that the Zhou people conceived their ancestors based on a sequence of generations, and they inherited the Shang perception of the king as the center of the cosmos. Although the

⁹⁴ Henry Maspero, *China in Antiquity*, trans. Frank. A. Kierman (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1978), 122-123.

⁹⁵ The generally called *Liji*, the *Book of Rites*, was actually a Han compilation of these Warring States ritual writings. Some of its contents might be composed by Han scholars with expertise in collecting and researching the ritual legacy of the pre-Han periods. See Michael Nylan, *The Five "Confucian" Classics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 173-175; Michael Loewe ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley: University of California, 1993), 293-297. Since the *Book of Rites* was a late composed collection of pre-Han ritual texts, I regard all the "chapters" in the *Book of Rites* as individual monographs and italicize all the titles, i.e., the *Royal Regulations*, instead of the "Royal Regulations."

origin of the *di* sacrifice could be traced back to Shang, ⁹⁶ only during the early Zhou period the kings of the central Zhou state started to monopolize the *di* sacrifice and redefined it as a worship made to the Heavenly lord. ⁹⁷ Phonetically, the pronunciation of the character which referred to the *di* sacrifice was similar to the pronunciation of the one for the king. ⁹⁸ In consequence, the Zhou imagination of a supreme Heavenly lord contributed to a more centralized and unified conception of the origin of royal ancestral lines. It was under this situation that the idea of the Primal Ancestor (*dazu* or *shizhu*) emerged and developed during the early Zhou period.

Even though no architectural evidence from the Zhou period has been excavated to confirm the adoption of the *zhaomu* sequence, *zhaomu* as a general principle of ancestral sacrifice frequently appeared in Han textual records in reference to ideal antiquity. As an early Han ritual text, the *Royal Regulations* presented a classical setting of the *zhaomu* sequence. ⁹⁹ It stated: "For the ancestral temple configuration of the Son of Heaven, it consists of three *zhao* temples and three *mu* temples; and the one of his Great Ancestor; there are altogether seven temples" 天子之廟, 三昭三穆, 與大祖之廟而七. ¹⁰⁰ In practice, as Puett and Mark Lewis observed, Qin and Han imperial capitals served as

⁹⁶ Keightley, The Ancestral Landscape, 72-73; Wang, Cosmology and Political Culture, 34-36.

⁹⁷ Robert Eno, *The Confucian Creation of Heaven*, 23-28.

 $^{^{98}}$ In modern Mandarin and some dialectics, di 禘 (the di sacrifice) and di 帝 (the king) pronounce the same.

⁹⁹ For a brief analysis of the content and structure of the *Royal Regulations*, see Chen Zhangxi 陳章錫, "Liji Wangzhi zhengjiao sixiang yanjiu" 禮記王制政教思想研究 (The political and educational thoughts in the *Royal Regulations* of the *Book of Rites*) *Jiedi* 謁諦, Vol.15 (July, 2008): 27-64.

¹⁰⁰ Zhu Bin. Liji xunzuan, 183; trans. Legge, The Sacred Books of China, v.3, 220.

that early imperial capitals as a new urban form detached themselves from their local ties by concentrating all key state rituals within them. Nianyang 咸陽, Changan 長安 and Luoyang 洛陽 were all "ritually correct capitals" that embodied ritual centrality. Na particular, by positioning the Ancestral Temple of the Son of Heaven (tianzi zongmiao 天子宗廟) and the imperial palace in a parallel setting, Na the Han royal architecture miniaturized the cosmos and granted it a center and an order in a concrete space. Indeed, the emergence of the rhetoric of "rectifying the zhaomu sequence" (zheng zhaomu or xiu zhaomu 正昭穆/序昭穆) in some Han imperial edicts reflected exactly the Royal Regulations' reasoning of space, Na the spiritual realm of deceased ancestors should be coordinated in a parallel array to the imperial constructions in the capital. While the

¹⁰¹ Puett, *To Become a God*, 237-41; Mark Lewis, *The Construction of Space in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 169-188.

¹⁰² Lewis, *The Construction of Space*, 183-184.

¹⁰³ Under usual circumstance, the ancestral temple was placed on the left and palace on the right.左宗廟右社稷. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, Zhouli zhengshizhu 周禮鄭氏註 (Zheng Xuan's Commentary on the Ritual of Zhou), compiled by Kongzi wenhua daquan bianjibu 孔子文化大全編輯部 (Jinan: Shandong youyi shushe, 1992), 5:18.

¹⁰⁴ For instance, see "huijing ji taishanghuang qinyuanyi" 惠景及太上皇寢園議 (On the burial grounds of Emperor Hui, Emperor Jing and Emperor Wu), in *Quan shanggu sandai qinhan sanguo liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 (*The Collected Writings of the Ancient Times, the Three Dynasties, the Qin, the Han, the Three Kingdoms and the Six Dynasties*, hereinafter refers to as QSG), compiled by Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762-1843) (Taibei: Shijie shuju, 1963), *Quan hanwen* 全漢文, 40:6a; "fuyan ba wenzhaotaihou qinciyuan" 復言罷文昭太后寢祠園 (A second appeal to stop renovating Empress Dowager Wen and Empress Dowager Zhao's burial grounds), QSG, *Quan hanwen*, 33:9a; "yuanhou lei" 元后誄 (Eulogy of Empress Yuan), QSG, *Quan hanwen*, 54: 10a; "ci gongqing zhujiqian zhao" 賜公卿助祭 錢詔 (Bestowing the money of "assisting-sacrifices" to high rank officials), QSG, *Quan houhanwen* 全後 漢文, 4:5a; "shangdi shundi zhaomu yi" 殤帝順帝昭穆議 (On the *zhaomu* sequence of Emperor Shang and Emperor Shun), *Quan houhanwen*, 59:6b; "shangyan qinghe xiaowang zunhao" 上言清河孝王尊號 (On the honored title of the Han Filial King of Qinghe (Liu Qing 劉慶 (78-107), QSG, *Quan houhanwen*, 97:2b.

Imperial Ancestral Temple and the palace defined the center of the material cosmos, the *zhaomu* sequence defined the central line of the spiritual space of royal ancestry.

Han commentaries on the *Book of Rites*, particularly, the celebrated one composed by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200), tended to associate the *Royal Regulations*' account with the real Zhou configuration of ancestral temples. In a fragment of the extant *Baihu Tong* 白虎通 (*Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall*) copy, a collective work which assembled the main ideas of the Late-Han Classical studies, ¹⁰⁵ there was a statement that asserted the seven-temple configuration as the special arrangement of the Zhou ritual system. ¹⁰⁶ However, according to the Qing scholar Chen Li 陳立 (1809-1869), this statement was actually quoted from Zheng Xuan's commentary on the *Book of Rites* (*Corrected Commentaries on the Book of Rites*, *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義), rather than from some genuine records of the official *Baihu* discussion on sacrificial rites. ¹⁰⁷ In other words, the whole controversy over temple configuration and the number of temples was somewhat an enterprise initiated by Han Confucians, such as Zheng Xuan and Liu Yin 劉歆 (ca. 50-A.D. 23). It further caused the split within Han Classicism and

¹⁰⁵ Some scholars consider *Baihu Tong* as a fabricated work composed by later Wei 魏 (220-266) scholars, rather than a genuine Han record of the official discussion about Classical Studies at the Baihu Temple 白虎觀. Against this criticism of the authenticity of *Baihu Tong*, Tjan Tjoe-som argues that the present collection is still a reliable representation of the Baihu Discussions, yet certainly with interpolations and some omissions. After all, it is quite safe to assert that the *Baihu Tong* reflects a collective consciousness of most Late Han Classicists. See, Tjan Tjoe-som 曾珠森, *Po Hu T'ung, The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1949), 166-76.

^{106 &}quot;The Zhou had a special arrangement of seven temples, in which Hou Zhi was sacrificed as the Primal Ancestor, King Wen as the Great Ancestor, King Wu as the Great Exemplar" 周以后稷、文、武特七廟,后稷為始,與文王為太祖,武王為太宗. See Chen Li 陳立 (1809-1869), *Baihu tong shuzheng* 白虎通疏證 (Annotation and Textual Analysis of the *Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1994), 570; Tjan Tjoe-som, *Po Hu T'ung*, 653.

¹⁰⁷ Chen, Baihu tong shuzheng, 570.

led to the differentiation of Zheng Xuan and Wang Shu's 王肅 (195-256) interpretations about the ancestral temple configuration. The debate on whether the seven-temple configuration was a peculiar Zhou practice or a general configuration for all imperial houses, or whether the tablets in the two *yao* 祧 temples (or the two *yao* temples themselves) should be successively displaced by those behind them in the descent line, eventually reached its culmination in later Wei, Jin and Tang periods. 108

Whereas the *zhaomu* account in the *Royal Regulations* stressed its imperial origin and its functional necessity to the differentiation of ritual status, the *Ritual of Zhou* conceptualized *zhaomu* based on a bureaucratic vision of Zhou court rites. In this "constitutional document" of Zhou statecraft, ¹⁰⁹ two offices under the Bureau of Spring (*chunguan*, 春官, the bureau in charge of ritual affairs) were particularly associated with the *zhaomu* sequence, respectively the Vice Minister (*xiaozongbo* 小宗伯) and the Minor Scribe (*xiaoshi* 小史). According to the main text of the *Ritual of Zhou* and Zheng Xuan's commentary on it, *zhao* and *mu* signified respectively fathers' and sons' tablet positions in the ancestral temple; ¹¹⁰ and the *xiaoshi* office, which was composed of eight ordinary

¹⁰⁸ Wechsler, Offerings of Jade and Silk, 45-9, 129. Gao Mingshi, "Lifa yiyixiade zongmiao," 26-27. In his commentary on Baihu Tong, Chen Li provided a comprehensive analysis of this controversy by examining the evidence used by both Zheng and Wang. See Chen Li, Baihu tong shuzheng, 570-73; also, Zhu Bin, Li ji xun zuan, 183-184. For a useful modern interpretation of the conflict between the two schools, see Zhang Shuhao 張書豪, "Cong zouyi dao jingyi—xihan wanqi miaoshu zhi zheng xilun" 從奏 議到經義--西漢晚期廟數之爭析論 (From memorial to the explanation of Classics: Exploring the Western Han debates over the number of ancestral temples), Zhengda zhongwen xuebao 政大中文學報, 15 (2011:6): 169-196.

¹⁰⁹ Schaberg, "The Zhouli as Constitutional Text," Statecraft and Classical Learning, 33-63.

¹¹⁰ The work of *xiao zongbo* has something to do with "differentiating the tablets based on a *zhaomu* order in the ancestral temple" 辨廟祧之昭穆. Here Zheng Xuan commented, "After the Primal Ancestor,

servicemen, sixteen junior servicemen, four storehouse keepers, eight scribes, four aides, and forty runners, took the main responsibility to record imperial clan documents, to establish genealogies, and also to manage the alternating *zhao* and *mu* orders in the ancestral line. ¹¹¹

Both the *Royal Regulations* and the *Ritual of Zhou* stressed the ideal seven-temple arrangement and the *zhaomu* sequence with respect to the Son of Heaven. The *di* ritual, which had been often used to make sacrifice to the high lord during the Zhou period, continued to flourish in the Han ritual rubric. Not only did the Han *di* sacrifice represent a ritual privilege of the Son of Heaven, but it also consolidated the familial hierarchy of Han Confucianism in a manner of ritual performance. As the Han Confucian Zhang Chun 張純 (d. 189) stated, "*di* is used to distinguish the seniors from the juniors in the *zhaomu* sequence" 禘之為言諦,諦定昭穆尊卑之義也.¹¹² For Zhang and most Han Confucians, the *zhaomu* sequence in the *di* ritual exemplified the spirit of filial piety through an indication of the father-and-son relationship.¹¹³ In this light, if the Han emperors performed the *di* ritual properly, their subjects would be encouraged by their performance

(tablets of) fathers were arranged along the *zhao* order; (tablets of) sons was arranged along the *mu* order" 自始祖之後,父曰昭,子曰穆. *Zhouli Zhengshizhu*, 338.

¹¹¹小史: 掌邦國之志, 奠繫世, 辨昭穆. Zhouli Zhengshizhu, 469. For a detailed analysis of the function and service of the *xiaoshi* office, see Martin Kern, "Offices of Writing and Reading in the *Rituals of Zhou*," in *Statecraft and Classical Learning: The Rituals of Zhou in East Asian History*, ed. Benjamin Elman and Martin Kern (Boston: Brill, 2010), 64-93.

¹¹² Zhang Chun, "zouxing dixia ji" 奏行禘祫祭 (Requesting the performance of the *di* and *xia* sacrifices), QSG, *Quan houhanwen*, 12:4a.

¹¹³ In his *Baihu tong shuzheng*, Chen Li collected some excerpts of the Han Baihu Discussion based on another Qing scholar Zhuang Shuzu's 莊述祖 (1750-1816) work. In one excerpt, it was stated that the *di* ritual served to "order the *zhaomu* sequence and examine the relations between fathers and sons" 禘之為言 諦也, 序昭穆, 諦父子也. Chen, *Baihu tong shuzheng*, 44.

and accordingly place more concern on familial relations and the maintenance of necessary hierarchy within their families. After all, the association between the *di* ritual and the *zhaomu* sequence was rooted in the enlightenment project of Han Confucians.

Another Han compiled ritual text in the *Book of Rites* also tended to incorporate the zhaomu sequence into the hierarchical structure of family rituals. Unlike the Royal Regulations, which was basically a Han writing, the Summary of Sacrifice contained some pre-Qin resources and addressed primarily aristocratic sacrificial practices. Different from the Royal Regulations' imperial context, the Summary of Sacrifice perceived the zhaomu sequence as a ritual tool to differentiate general relations between "fathers and sons, the near and the distant, the old and the young, and the more nearly related and the less"昭穆者, 所以別父子、遠近、長幼、親疏之序而無亂也.114 Thus, zhaomu regulated the relations between family members in general. The Great Treatise (Da zhuan 大傳), which was also compiled into the Book of Rites during the Han period, mentioned that in a sacrificial rite, "when all the family members gather together to share the food, the seating plan should be arranged according to the *zhaomu* sequence" 旁治昆 弟, 合族以食, 序以昭繆 [穆], 别之以禮義.115 A famous memorial submitted by Wei Xuancheng 韋玄成 (d. 36 B.C.) and other officials at the fourth year of the Yongguang 永光 era (40 B.C.) demonstrated how the *zhaomu* sequence captured the attention of those Han officials who were interested in guiding the society with ritual propriety. In the memorial titled "On the Abolishment of Temples" (huimiao yi 毀廟議), Wei and other

¹¹⁴ Zhu Bin. Liji xunzuan, 729; Legge, The Sacred Books of China, v.4, 246-247.

¹¹⁵ Zhu Bin. *Liji xunzuan*, 518; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, v.4, 61.

Confucians emphasized the significance of the *zhaomu* sequence in exhibiting the emperor's Mandate of Heaven and regulating family relations. According to these Confucians, sons and grandsons should always be classified as *zhao* generations, and father the *mu* generations. In their own words, "the *zhaomu* sequence reveals that there is a limit for the display of ancestral line by illustrating the successively changing distance between relatives" 親疏之殺,示有終也。

Wei's argument revealed a fundamental characteristic of the Han conception of the *zhaomu* system. For Han-era people, *zhaomu* as a strict order of ancestral worship displayed itself as a symmetrical distribution of lines of descent according to specific generational sequence. Within this systematic distribution, the so-called "Primal Ancestor" (for the royal family usually with a legendary origin) was placed at the center of the entire configuration, facing east. On its left side would be the odd-numbered *zhao* ranks, arranged in order of age, first the Primal Ancestor's son, then his great-grandson, and so on; on the right, the even-numbered *mu* ranks, first the Primal Ancestor's grandson, then his great-grandson, and so forth. In general, this system resembled the idealized Zhou *zhaomu* system described by Maspero. As Patricia Ebrey claimed, this

¹¹⁶ 父為昭, 子為穆, 孫復為昭. "Wei Xuancheng chuan" 韋玄成傳 (Biography of Wei Xuancheng), in Ban Gu 班固 (32-92), *Hanshu* 漢書 (*History of the Former Han Dynasty*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 3118. According to Zhang Shuhao's reading of Wei Xuancheng's memorial, Zheng Xuan's commentaries on *Liji* and *Zhouli* were indebted to Wei's argument in constructing a seven-temple-based structure of imperial ancestral sacrifice. See, Zhang Shuhao, "Cong zouyi dao jingyi," 177-178.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. For a detailed analysis of Wei Xuangcheng's memorial, as well as the influence of the emperor Han Yuandi's ritual reform triggered by this memorial, see Deng Zhirui 鄧智睿, "Tianxia yijia dao yijia tianxia: yi tangsong miaoyi yu junwei qianghua wei zhongxin de taolun" 天下一家到一家天下:以唐宋廟 議與君位強化為中心的討論 (From a family of all-under-Heaven to family-oriented monarchy: A Discussion based on the Tang and Song ritual debates and its enhancement of monarchical power) (MA Thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 2011), 21-26.

idealized *zhaomu* conception always helped to highlight the unity of a royal clan and its common origin. 118

While Wei Xuancheng's memorial discussed the *zhaomu* sequence with regard to the spiritual world, other Han sources attempted to interpret it as a general principle of familial relations. The Legalist treatise, *Guanzi* 管子 (*The Word of Master Guan*), which has been commonly regarded as a Han fabrication of the Warring-States political theory, mentioned that all the *zhao* and *mu* within four generations (*shi* 世) shared the same common ancestor 四世則昭穆同祖. It is noteworthy that the word "generations" here might refer to either the deceased ancestors or the living generations. ¹¹⁹ In another place, the *Guanzi* compared the differentiation of the *zhaomu* sequence with the bureaucratic structure of the king's government, in order to illustrate the importance of professionalization in managing the state. ¹²⁰ Furthermore, the Han literatus Jia Yi 賈誼 (200-168 B.C.) argued that the original meaning of *zhaomu* referred to the house's bedchambers. According to Jia, the upper bed-chamber was designated as *zhao* and the middle bed-chamber was designated as *mu* 上室為昭, 中室為穆. ¹²¹ These chambers

¹¹⁸ Patricia Ebrey, "The Early Stages in the Development of Descent Group Organization," in *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China: 1000-1940*, ed. Patricia Ebrey and James Watson (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 27.

¹¹⁹ In the extant version of the *Guanzi*, the character "four" 四 was replaced by the character "three" 三. Given the fact that in an ideal *zhaomu*-based configuration the number of tablets/temples on the *zhao* side must be equal to the number of tablets/temples on the *mu* side, here an even number would be expected. In the light of this reasoning, the Qing scholar Song Xiangfeng 宋翔鳳 (1777-1860) considered the character "three" as a miswriting of the ancient character "four." Song Xiangfeng, *Guanzi xiaozhu* 管子校注 (*Edited Commentaries on Master Guan's Writings*), compiled by Li Xiang-feng 梁翔鳳 and Liang Yun-hua 梁運華 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 1340.

¹²⁰ Song, Guanzi xiaozhu, 690.

were used to demarcate ritual boundaries between the living space of father and son in a household. Moreover, Jia claimed that although the *zhaomu* sequence had been commonly used in sacrificial actions, originally it was designed by the sage kings to prevent the "six generations" (*liuqin* 六親) of a clan from becoming mixed up with each other. Jia's *zhaomu* account concerned more with the differentiation of the living space, rather than with the classification of the deceased ancestors. To summarize, early Han narrative on the *zhaomu* sequence involved the spatial configuration of not only a family's spiritual realm but also its household aspects. This dualistic view of *zhaomu*'s nature and its applicability seemed to be particularly common during the Western Han period. Wu Hung's observation on the tomb-household resemblance in Han constructions also proved that the ritual boundary between the dead and the living was not as unambiguous as the Classics mentioned, especially when it came to daily practices. Jia's

During the Han period, as temples remained the most important site for imperial ancestral cults, ¹²⁴ it is understandable that controversies over the *zhaomu* sequence and, more frequently, the number of temples, were presented in highly sophisticated terms.

Leaving aside the disparity between different Han understandings of the *zhaomu* system in Han scholarship, Han Confucian scholars agreed that temple sacrifice was an authentic ancient ritual grounded in canonical ritual texts. Although Wu Hung's argument for the

¹²¹ Jia Yi, "Liushu" 六術 (On six strategies). Xinshu xiaozhu 新書校注 (Annotation on the Book of Novelty), compiled by Yan Zhenyi 閻振益 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 317.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 88. See also H.G. Creel, *The Birth of China: A Study of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1937), 336.

¹²⁴ Mark Lewis, *The Construction of Space in China*, 122-128.

rise of graveside sacrifices has been reasonably criticized as an overstatement of the Han court's ritual innovation, 125 he makes an important conclusion in indicating that the collapse of a Zhou-based "ancestral-worship orthodoxy" was initiated by Han Confucians. Alongside the collapse of this orthodoxy, the Han period saw a shift of people's perception of ancestral ritual from a manifestation of religiosity to an ethic principle of morality. Certainly, ancestral rites were still associated with some mythical power in shamanistic offerings late to the Warrior States period. 126 This tendency should be attributed to the Shang legacy of ancestral cult, which was characterized by religious experience and magical behaviors. However, in following the Zhou practice to rationalize rituals, Han Confucians undermined the religiosity of ancestral rites and reinvented the meaning of ritual. In this light, some Han elites have conceived the zhaomu sequence as a way to maintain social stratification. The Hanshi waizhuan 韓詩外傳 (Exterior Commentary on the Book of Songs by Master Han) provided a concise description about this reasoning:

Under the king's governance, the worthies will be appointed in no time; the unworthies will be dismissed very quickly; the prime villain will be executed without extra effort to teach the people [the importance of eradicating the evils]; the perfect harmony will be achieved without administration. When the final statuses [of different classes] are not confirmed, the existence of the *zhaomu* sequence is necessary [to illustrate social stratification]. Even the descendants of

¹²⁵ See, for example, Lewis, *The Construction of Space*, 122.

¹²⁶ See the conversation between the King Zhao of Zhu and his pious minister Guanshe Fu on the disconnection between Heaven and Earth in the Warring-States compiled history, the *Guoyu*. Dong Zengling 董增齡, *Guoyu zhengyi* 國語正義 (*The Corrected Meaning of Discourse on the Spring-and-Autumn States*), (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1985), 18:2a. In this conversation, Guanshe Fu regarded one of the main responsibilities of the Zhu official priests (male priest, *xi* 覡; female priest, *wu*, 巫) as being to "know" (*zhi* 知) the *zhaomu* sequence and other sacrificial issues about the Zhu royal family. In other words, the Zhu shamans owned the power to divinize the ancestors with their supernatural power.

high officials will be classified as common people, if their behaviors do not conform to propriety and decorum.

王者之政,賢能不待次而舉,不肖不待須臾而廢,元惡不待教而誅,中庸不待政而化。分未定也,則有昭穆。雖公卿大夫之子孫也,行絕禮儀,則歸之庶人。

The *Hanshi waizhuan* text here quoted Xunzi's description of utopian governance in his treatise about statecraft, the *King's Administration* (*Wangzhi* 王制). ¹²⁸ From Xunzi to the Classicist who wrote the *Hanshi waizhuan*, there was a continuous intention to associate the *zhaomu* sequence with the grand project of social enlightenment.

Furthermore, the *Hanshi waizhuan* text advocated a stratification of people's social status based on their conformity with Confucian rites. Therefore, courtesy and civility replaced good birth in defining aristocracy. Ritual delimited the living people's social status in ordinary life in the same way as the *zhaomu* sequence delimited ancestors' ritual status in ancestral rites. ¹²⁹

The increasing reference to the *zhaomu* sequence in Western Han ritual texts illustrated how magnificent ritual practice was spread from the palace to other social sectors through textual transmission. Nevertheless, one should never overestimate the

¹²⁷ Han Yin 韓嬰 (fl. 150 B.C.), Hanshi waizhuan jishi 韓詩外傳 (Collective Annotations on the Exterior Commentary on the Book of Songs by Master Han), compiled by Xu Weiyu 許維遹, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 165-166.

¹²⁸ Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842-1917), *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解 (*Collective Annotations on Xunzi*), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 148.

¹²⁹ In his commentary on the *Zunxi*, Wang Xianqian has already noted the parallel between the differentiating functions of the *zhaomu* sequence and the stratification of social statuses that was implied by Xunzi's explication of the king's administration. Wang's commentary said: "the king should separate the worthies from the non-worthies, which is the same as one differentiates the *zhao* and *mu* ranks in ancestral worship. In this process, one's blood lines and lineage should not be considered as a crucial factor" 為政當分未定之時,則為之分別,使賢者居上,不肖居下,如昭穆之分別然,不問其世族. Wang, *Xunzi jijie*, 148.

extent to which the Han people practiced the *zhaomu* sequence in reality. Although the great Han historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (~145-86 B.C.) adopted the word *zhaomu* in writing his one-sentence synopsis to the biography of Han Gaozu's factions, ¹³⁰ Sima did not describe its concrete practice in his series of institutional histories in the *Historical Record* (*Shiji* 史記). Wei Hong 衛宏, an Eastern Han scholar, composed a private institutional history concerning the practice of Western Han imperial rites. It recorded:

In the *xia* sacrifices that performed once per three years, the [tablets of the] descendants of the Han royal line were placed in the ancestral temple of Gaozu according to the *zhaomu* sequence. All ancestral spirits shared the sacrificial offerings [in Gaozu's temple], with seats on both left and right sides. Gaozu [The Grand Ancestor] sitting on the north, facing south.....and his sons were designated as *zhao* ancestors, his grandsons were designated as *mu* ancestors. The *zhao* ancestors all sat on the southwest of the Grand Ancestor, beneath a curved screen; and the *mu* ancestors on the southeast, beneath a curved table.

宗廟三年大祫祭,子孫諸帝以昭穆坐於高廟,諸隳廟神皆合食,設左右坐。高祖南面......子為昭,孫為穆。昭西南,曲屛風;穆東南,皆曲几.¹³¹

Wei Hong's record, if it was correct, certainly provided a valuable document of the concrete performance of the Han *zhaomu* system. Yet, for two reasons it is not above being doubted. First, this passage was drawn from Qing scholars' collections of later sources about Han institutional history, which means its authenticity is not ascertained.¹³²

¹³⁰ Kametarō Takigawa 瀧川資言, Shiji huizhu kaozheng 史記會注考證 (Textual Research on the Collectanea of the Historical Record) (Beijing: wenxue guji kanxingshe, 1955), 130:34.

¹³¹ Wei Hong, Han jiuyi 漢舊儀 (Old Protocols of the Han Dynasty), compiled by Sun Xingyan 孫星 衍 (1753-1818) in Congshujicheng cubian 叢書集成初編 (First Series of Chinese Writings) (Beijing: Zhonghua shujiu, 1985), 30.

¹³² The Qing scholars usually extract records concerning Han institutions from Wei, Jin and Tang sources, especially those encyclopedic collections (*leishu* 類書). However, these collections often fail to mention their excerpts' sources, which greatly increases the difficulty of tracing back to the original text. Wei Hong's text at the utmost could be traced back to the Jin scholar Sima Biao's 司馬彪 (~246-306) *Xu*

Second, even if this record was written by Wei himself, it does not necessarily indicate that Wei's description genuinely reflected the precise practice of *zhaomu* in Han state sacrifices. Except for some less significant details about the ritual utensils, such as the screen and the table, Wei's record simply reiterated the theoretical settings recorded in other Han texts, especially the *Great Treatise* chapter in the *Book of Rites*. It basically represented the idealization of the *zhaomu* sequence in the Han textual world, but probably not its application in practical occasions. A clear rebuttal to Wei's description can be found in Cai Yong's 蔡邕 (132-192) memorial about the basic settings of Han imperial temples, "zongmiao diehuiyi" 宗廟迭毀義 (The establishment and abolishment of Imperial Ancestral Temples). In this memorial, Cai charged that Han ancestral rites were deviant and ritually unacceptable:

Succeeding the Qin period of the extinction of scholarship, the Han practice of ancestral rites and temple settings did not follow the Zhou ritual. When every Han emperor ascended to the throne, he would establish a new ancestral temple [for his father], regardless of the ritual limit of seven temples. Moreover, Han ancestral temples were not arranged according to the *zhaomu* sequence. Hence, the sequence of the abolishment of temples was not well settled.

漢承亡秦滅學之後, 宗廟之制, 不用周禮。每帝即位, 輒立一廟, 不止于七, 不列昭穆, 不定迭毀. ¹³³

Considering that Cai Yong was a specialist in Han history and ancient rites, his critique of Han ancestral rites should be more reliable than Wei's record. More

Hanshu 續漢書 (Continued History of Han). Tang collections such as the Chuxueji and the Yiwen leijiu also contain it, with slightly different wording.

¹³³ Cai, "zongmiao diehuei yi" 宗廟迭毀議 "On the removal and abolishment of ancestral temples," QSG, *Quan houhanwen*, 73:3a; also see *Caizhonglang ji* 蔡中郎集 (*Anthology of Cai Yong*) (Shanghai: Zhonghua shujiu, 1936), 9:8a.

importantly, Cai's statement established a new orthodoxy of ritual practice that could be traced back to the utopian rulership of Zhou. Indeed, Cai's words crystallized the Western Han Gongyang 公羊 scholarship of reformation, in which the imagined ideal administration of the Three Dynasties was utilized to justify contemporary intellectual and social reforms. On the basis of some pre-Qin interpretations on the Zhou ritual legacy, the Han Gongyang master Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179-104 B.C.) developed his own theory of historical cycles and the transition of the Mandate of Heaven. ¹³⁴ In the extant collections of Han Gongyang scholarship, the Chunqiu fanlu 春秋繁露 (Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals), there is an interesting treatise concerning the reformation of the Three Dynasties. The treatise, which was entitled the Sandai gaizhi zhiwen 三代改制質文 (Essence and reasoning of the Transformation of the Three Dynasties), provided a detailed portrait of the ideal settings of Zhou ritual and administration, including a myriad of liturgical details, such as the color of ritual utensils and the measurement of ritual garments. Like Xunzi and the author of the Hanshi waizhuan, the Western Han Gongyang scholars who composed this treatise emphasized the significant role played by the *zhaomu* sequence in differentiating ritual, and thus

¹³⁴ For a comprehensive introduction of Dong Zhongshu's scholarship and the Han Gongyang tradition in English, see Sarah A. Queen, *From Chronicle to Canon: The Hermeneutics of the Spring and Autumn, According to Tung Chung-shu* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 13-38; 115-126; 187-201. It seems that Queen put most of her effort into introducing the pre-Han and Han interpretations of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, yet focused less on the development of the Han Gongyuan school as an intellectual community. Furthermore, her discussion about the Gongyang reforms on imperial rites is not well elaborated (Queen, *From chronicle to canon*, 201-204). However, her work still provides a good summary of both Dong Zhongshu's life and the textual structure of the *Chunqiu fanlu*.

social, status.¹³⁵ Yet, they put more focus on the archaic context from which the ritual itself was originated and practiced. The fact that this treatise in particular mentioned the differentiation of husband and wife's *zhaomu* sequence also demonstrated how female's ritual position in sacrificial actions was recognized by Han Gongyang Confucians.¹³⁶

Western Han Gongyang scholars would not refuse to modify the Han *zhaomu* sequence according to their understandings of the Zhou ritual legacy. However, their intention for implementing a correct *zhaomu* sequence was often outweighed by economic factors in the decision-making level. The *Yantie lun* 鹽鐵論 (*Discussions on Salt and Iron*) documented an impressive debate between two groups of Han officials in discussing the state monopoly of daily life resources (salt, iron, and money). The *dafu* 大夫, the censorial official in the *Yantie lun*, refers to Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊 (152-80 B.C.), who protested that abolishing the state monopoly would challenge the regulations set up by the preceding Han emperor (i.e., Emperor Wudi of Han 漢武帝 (r.141-87B.C). The *wenxue* 文學 (literary scholars) responded:

The enlightened people adapt themselves to contemporary needs; the wise people create new systems and institutions to confirm with the times. The Master Confucius said, "The linen cap is prescribed by the liturgical standard, but for conventional practice now a silk one is worn. Since it is economical, I follow the convention." Hence, the sages advocate the correct practice without departing from antiquity; yet, they also follow customs without drifting to extremeness. The

¹³⁵ It is now commonly argued that this text was compiled by Dong Zhongshu's disciples, rather than by himself. See Jiang Xin 江新, "Chunqiu fanlu sandai gaizhi zhiwen zhenwei kao"《春秋繁露.三代改制質文》真偽考 (An examination on the authenticity and authorship of the *Essence and Reasoning of the Transformation of the Three Dynasties*), Xinyang shifan xueyuan xuebao 信陽師範學院學報 32 (Jan., 2012): 126-129.

¹³⁶ Su Yu 蘇輿, Chunqiu fanlu yizheng 春秋繁露義證 (Explication of the Meaning of the Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals) (Beijing: Zhonghua shujiu, 1992), 210.

Duke Ding of Lu regulated the *zhaomu* sequence of the Lu ancestral line in the order from the primogenitor to the most recent ancestor; the Duke Zhao of Lu dismissed his ministers to reduce expenditure and avoid unnecessary waste of resources. One cannot call these practices as changing their grandfathers' regulations and altering their fathers' ways.

明者因時而變,知者隨世而制。孔子曰:「麻冕,禮也。今也純,儉,吾從 眾。」故聖人上賢不離古,順俗而不偏宜。魯定公序昭穆,順祖禰;昭公廢卿 七,以省事節用,不可謂變祖之所為而改父之道也。¹³⁷

Clearly, the implementation of the *zhaomu* sequence bore a cost that both Lu kings and Han Confucians well realized. The *wenxue*'s intention to reduce relevant expenditure on ancestral rites from another perspective revealed the existence of a considerable economy in relation to ritual performance, which turned out to be a massive burden to the Han Empire. In fact, the Han court gradually shifted its attention from ancestral rites to other social and political affairs after the interruption of Wang Mang's reign. The Western Han imperial burial grounds, as some archeologists debatably argued, followed the *zhaomu* configuration in general, or at least tended to follow a parallel-oriented ritual order.¹³⁸ Comparatively, the Eastern Han court paid less attention to

Iron) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 162-63; for a brief explanation of the two Lu examples mentioned by the wenxue scholar, see Yantie lun xiaozhu, 169, n. 41, 42. Essen Gale translated the character ni 禰 as "shrine or tablet of the decreased father of the prince." However, ni also conveyed a meaning of ancestral line in Han context. Gale, Discourses on salt and iron: a debate on state control of commerce and industry in ancient China (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publish Company, 1967), 79.

¹³⁸ These scholars include Tu Baoren 杜葆仁, Yang Kuan 楊寬 and Li Yufang 李毓芳. See Lei Baijing's 雷百景 and Li Wen 李雯 article for a brief summary of their arguments and the basic setting of the Western-Han *zhaomu* setting in the burial context. Lei and Li, "Xihan diling zhaomu zhidu zaitantao" 西漢帝陵昭穆制度再探討 (An reexamination of the *zhaomu* setting of the Western Han imperial burial grounds), *Wenbo* 文博 (2008:2): 48; Shen Ruiwen 沈睿文, "Xihan dilinglingdi zhixu" 西漢帝陵陵地秩序 (The order of the Western Han imperial burial grounds), *Wenbo* (2001:3): 22, fn.1; for an opposite argument, that the eleven Western Han burial grounds were not arranged according to the *zhaomu* order, see Cui Jianfang 崔建芳, "Lun huangquan chuanchengguifan dui Xihan dillingbuju de zhiyue" 論皇權傳承規範對西漢帝陵佈局的制約 (How the norm of imperial succession regulated the settings of the Western Han imperial burial grounds), *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 (2012:2): 60-64.

ancestral affairs and tended to disturb the zhaomu sequence of the imperial lineage by bestowing emperor titles upon their blood relatives in Temple sacrifices. ¹³⁹ Moreover, in contrast to the Western Han ritual reforms concerning temple settings and the zhaomu sequence, the Eastern Han period witnessed a decline in the interest of rectifying ancestral rites. The decline might be attributed to the deteriorating financial situation of the Eastern Han Empire. As a result, the court attempted to find a more economical way to practice ritual. Correspondingly, theoretical discussions on the correct order of the zhaomu sequence rarely occurred during the Eastern Han period. Except the succession issue raised by Zhang Cun 張純 (d.189) and a few officials in Emperor Guangwu's 光武 reign (25-57), ¹⁴⁰ the *zhaomu* sequence of the Han imperial line was rarely thoroughly revised throughout the Eastern Han period. It is difficult to find, in Eastern Han sources, a sophisticated account of the zhaomu sequence that can rival Wei Xuancheng's and Gongyu's 貢禹 (124-44 B.C.) memorials. When Cai Yong criticized the Han practice of ancestral rites and temple settings, it seems that he was aiming at the Eastern Han practices. The Eastern Han neglect of both the theoretical and practical aspects of the zhaomu issue would lead to greater ritual disputes in later dynasties.

2.1.2 Key Questions in the Tang Conception of the *Zhaomu* Sequence

While the Han dynasty failed to set up a perfect *zhaomu* model for the succeeding dynasties, it promulgated the moral principle of filial piety in the determination of ancestors' generations. Shūichi Kaneko 余子修一 carefully studied the state sacrifices of

¹³⁹ Deng, "Tianxia yijia dao yijia tianxia," 33-34.

¹⁴⁰ Li, Zhaomu zhidu yanjiu, 24-26.

Wei and Jin periods and concluded that emperors in these transitory dynasties tended to offer a greater number of state sacrifices (annually or biannually) for the purpose of legitimacy. ¹⁴¹ By performing and participating in state sacrifices, emperors emphasized the state-family correlation and presented themselves as the universal father of their subjects. The Tang period (618-907) has been commonly considered as an era that witnessed the elevation of the principle of filial piety. Recent studies have made progress in the exploration of Tang state sacrifices and family temples. ¹⁴² In particular, Gao Mingshi and Deng Zhirui discuss the Tang debates surrounding the *zhaomu* sequence. On the basis of their studies, I will examine some crucial questions in the Tang *zhaomu* controversy.

First, the early Tang court encountered difficulty in formulating the number of imperial ancestral temples. In practice, Tang ritualists paid special attention to the number of chambers in the Imperial Temple and how to correctly reckon the number of spirit tablets. According to Wechsler, early Tang ritual debates were heavily influenced by Han, Wei and Jin interpretations on the ancestral temple arrangement. ¹⁴³ In particular,

¹⁴¹ According to Kaneko, the emperors of the Southern Dynasties, such as, Qin, Liang and Cheng, were more inclined to make sacrifices personally (qingsi 親祀), compared with the "foreign" dynasties in the Northern China. Shūichi Kaneko 金子修一, Chūgoku kodai kōtei saishi no kenkyū 中国古代皇帝祭祀の研究 (Research on Ancient Chinese State Sacrifices) (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2006), 238-308, esp. 258-260, 300-302. This phenomenon could be explained by two reasons. First, by personally participating in state sacrifices, the Southern emperors emphasized their legitimacy of governance in referring to the whole China. In other words, state sacrifices served as a lens through which state orthodoxy was manifested. Second, due to their hybridized nature, the emperors of the Northern Dynasties were less interested in participating in orthodox rituals of the Central Plain (zhongyuan 中原). Indeed, less-Sinoized emperors might be weary of Confucian rituals and ceremonies, considering the complicated procedures involved in these rituals.

¹⁴² Gao Mingshi, "Lifa yiyixiade zongmiao," 23-86; Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*; Kaneko, *Chūgoku kodai kōtei saishi*, 309-430.

¹⁴³ Wechsler, Offerings of Jade and Silk, 128-131.

Zheng Xuan and Wang Su offered canonical explanations for the supporters of five temples and seven temples respectively. The first Tang emperor Li Yuan 李淵 (566-635) worshipped the Tang royal ancestors up to the fourth generation and dignified his grandfather Li Hu 李虎 (d. 551) as a "parallel to the Heaven" (peitian 配天) in all suburban sacrifices. However, during Taizong 太宗's reign (r. 626-649), new questions were raised to challenge the original setting established by Li Yuan. Early Tang scholar-officials, such as Zhu Zishe 朱子奢 (d. 641) and Cen Wenben 岑文本 (595-645), emphasized the importance of establishing six temples or chambers for the imperial family 144 since the temples displayed the grandeur of legitimate kingship. 145 According to these two scholars, the three zhao and the three mu as ancestral markers were used by ancient kings to illustrate the Son of Heaven's honorable dignity. If the emperor built only five temples, it would degrade his ritual status to the level of one of the feudal lords.

Wechsler's argument is plausible in the sense that it proves the prevalence of Wang Su's account of temple configuration in the early Tang era. In comparison with Zheng Xuan's conception of ancestral temples, Wang Su's account put more emphasis on royal prestige by persisting in the setting of seven imperial temples. ¹⁴⁶ In practice, a new setting of seven ancestral chambers was implemented in 635, with Li Yuan's fifth-

¹⁴⁴ In Zhu and Cen's plan, the Primal Ancestor temple was not counted. So it was a seven-temple configuration after all.

¹⁴⁵ See Deng, "Tianxia yijia dao yijia tianxia," 46-47; Li, *Zhaomu zhidu yanjiu*, 32.

¹⁴⁶ Wechsler, Offerings of Jade and Silk, 131.

generation ancestor and Li Yuan himself both incorporated into the zhaomu sequence. ¹⁴⁷ Nonetheless, Wechsler failed to note that Wang Su's account was actually replaced by other new settings after the eighth century. For instance, Tang Xuanzong's 唐玄宗 decided to extend the temple setting to a nine-chamber configuration in 722. Based on the Book of Filial Piety (Xiaojing 孝經), Xuanzong claimed that only the nine-chamber setting could best symbolize the "ultimate virtue of filial piety" 至德之調孝. ¹⁴⁸ Regardless the long textual tradition of the seven-chamber setting that was initially coined in the Royal Regulations, Xuanzong intended to invent new ritual regulations based on his own judgment to "suit contemporary needs" 因宜以創制. ¹⁴⁹ Xuanzong's manipulation of ritual performance reflected how monarchical power could fundamentally influence the definition and practice of ritual norms. Although Tang Confucian Classicists to a certain extent still dominated the power to interpret ritual norms, it was the political power represented by the emperor that had the ultimate control over the positioning of ancestors.

Regarding the Tang imperial ancestry, the "Primal Ancestor" issue also triggered several serious ritual problems. During Wu Zetian's 武則天 (r. 690-705) reign, the imperial temple of the Li family at Changan was degraded from seven to three. 150 When

¹⁴⁷ Wang Pu 王溥 (922-982), *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (*Institutional History of Tang*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shujiu, 1955), 12:292-293.

¹⁴⁸ Jiu tangshu 舊唐書 (The Old History of Tang), 25, comp. Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946) et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 25: 953.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ For other changes concerning imperial temple sacrifices during Wu Zetian's reign, especially the establishment of a new imperial temple of the Li family in the eastern capital, Luoyang, see Kaneko, *Chūgoku kodai kōtei saishi*, 325-331.

Tang Zhongzong 唐中宗 (Li Xian 李顯, r. 684, 705-710) reclaimed the supreme power of the emperor in 705, he was confronting a situation where the imperial temple of the Li family lacked of timely maintenance and proper management. To restore the legitimacy of the new regime, Li Xian immediately elevated the degraded imperial temple of the Li family to its original magnitude. Moreover, he also renovated the imperial temple in Luoyang in order to conform to the fundamental Tang setting of dual capitals. As the number of ancestors of the Li family has been restored to seven, and there was a need to make up the sum of ancestors required, the Primal Ancestor issue was brought up again during Zhongzong's reign. Several Tang ritualists, such as Zhang Qixian 張齊賢 and Yun Zhizhang 尹知章 (~669-~718), insisted that Li Hu should be dignified as the Primal Ancestor because of his latent contribution to the foundation of the Li Tang dynasty. In contrast, other scholars traced the Tang imperial line back to Li Hao 李暠 (351-417), the founder of the Western Liang 西涼 power during the Sixteen-States period. However, as Zhang and Yun argued, the Primal Ancestor title should be bestowed on someone with a palpable connection to the lineage of the ruling family, so that people could trace the "origin of kingship" (wangji 王迹) back to his extraordinary merits and contributions. As one of the "Eight State Pillars" (bazhuguo 八柱國) of the Western Wei state (535-557), Li Hu was qualified for the Primal Ancestor title due to his aristocratic background. On the other hand, Li Hao, who was loosely connected to the Tang imperial lineage in both spatial and temporal dimensions, should not be considered as a potent competitor for the Primal Ancestor title. Moreover, although the principle of filial piety gradually took precedence over other moral values in the early-to-mid-Tang practices of ancestral rites,

meritocracy still weighed heavily in the minds of Tang ritualists.¹⁵¹ As Yun succinctly summarized:

Throughout the transition of states from Wei to Jin, and the emergence of order out of chaos during the Zhou and Sui periods, all these states honored their recent ancestors, yet did not trace their rulership back to distant ancestry. The first ancestor who receives the Mandate and his enfeoffment from Heaven should be someone within the bloodline as limited by the *zhaomu* sequence. Thus, it is rarely heard that the establishment of imperial temples would involve all the ancestors of a royal lineage. The Primal Ancestor should be defined based on merit; the *zhaomu* sequence should be respected because of blood relations. Due to his merit, the Primal Ancestor will not be removed from the imperial temple for hundreds of generations; yet, the other ancestors of the same bloodline will be removed successively from the temple when they exceed the limit of seven generations.

及魏晉經國, 周隋撥亂, 皆勛崇近代, 祖業非遠。受命始封之主, 不離昭穆之親。故肇立宗祊, 罕聞全制。夫太祖以功建, 昭穆以親崇。有功百世而不遷, 親盡七葉而當毀。¹⁵²

The mid-Tang debate over the designation of the Primal Ancestor demonstrated how the two accounts of meritocracy and filial piety conflicted with each other in the broad context of social transition. As commonly known, the mid-Tang period witnessed the decline of many great aristocratic families in social and political realms. Along with this social disintegration of aristocracy, Tang people increasingly considered individual prestige and personal achievements as important criteria of excellence. Hence, Li Hu served as a qualified Primal Ancestor not only because he was the grandfather of

¹⁵¹ Gao Mingshi claimed that the Tang meritocratic approach of ancestral rites was invented by the Confucians to limit the monarchical power of the emperors. See Gao Mingshi, "Lifa yiyixiade zongmiao," 50-53.

¹⁵² Wang, *Tang huiyao*, 12:296.

¹⁵³ Tang Changru 唐長孺, Weijin nanbeichao suitangshi sanlun 魏晉南北朝隋唐史三論 (Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, and Tang History: Three Discussions) (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 1992), 370-404.

the first Tang emperor, but mainly because he presented himself as a powerful warlord with a military background. It was Li Hu, but not Li Hao or any other early ancestors, who paved the way for the foundation of the Tang dynasty. Realistically, as Zhang Qixian pointed out, if Li Hao deserved the Primal Ancestor designation, Gaozu and Taizong would have already bestowed him the title. ¹⁵⁴ However, since they denied Li Hao the title, there must be some reasons for the denial. In this reasoning, Zhang implied that to re-launch a new debate on the Primal Ancestor issue by itself would cause an offence to Li Hu's spirit and also violate of Gaozu and Taizong's will. Hence, the consolidation of Li Hu's ritual status during Tang Zhongzong's reign signified the orthodox line of succession from Li Hu to his lineal imperial descendants—the lineal ancestry was dignified by the line's aristocratic origin and the origin's merits, which both constituted the "origin of kingship."

Concerning the *zhaomu* sequence, the mid-to-late Tang ritual controversial mainly concerned the arrangement of *zhao* and *mu* positions. When Emperor Ruizong 春宗 (r. 684-690, 710-712) was deceased in the fourth year of Kaiyan 開元 (716), his position in the imperial *zhaomu* sequence triggered a new controversy over temple rites. Since Ruiong and Zhongzong were brothers, their sibling relationship disturbed the regular pattern of patrilineal succession of the Tang royal line and caused an inconsistency between the number of temples and the number of generations within the *zhaomu* sequence. Sun Pingzi 孫平子, a commoner from the Henan 河南 prefecture,

¹⁵⁴ Wang, Tang huiyao, 12:295.

¹⁵⁵ Gao Mingshi, "Lifa yiyixiade zongmiao," 42-44.

considered the succession between brothers as parallel to a normal direct lineal succession between father and son, because the brothers had once been framed within a monarch-subject relationship. 156 Therefore, according to Sun, Ruizong and Zhongzong should be conceived as separate generations and should be both incorporated into the zhaomu sequence. Other ritual experts, such as Chen Zhenjie 陳貞節 and Su Xian 蘇獻, who served in the Court of Imperial Rites and Ceremonies (taichangsi 太常寺), tended to view Ruizong and Zhongzong as belonging to the same generation, but not in the same zhaomu rank. 157 Chen and Su insisted that the conventional practice of placing Zhongzong's spirit tablet in a subsidiary temple (biemiao 別廟) was perfectly fine, since in the succession of brothers only one of the brothers could succeed their father's title of emperor nominally. These ritualists argued that if Ruizong was ritually designated as the direct successor of Gaozong, his brother Zhongzong should be regarded as an ancestor who should be excluded from the imperial *zhaomu* sequence of succession. In their opinions, the word "succession" (ji 繼) by itself indicated a father-and-son relationship. Even both Zhongzong and Ruizong were emperors when they were alive, it was not appropriate to place their tablets in the Imperial Temple successively, considering the confusion might be caused by the co-existence of two ancestors in the same generation.

While the Tang court adopted Chen and Su's advice to keep Zhongzong's tablet away from the Imperial Temple, it assumed that there was only one *zhao* or one *mu*

¹⁵⁶ See Chen Zhenjie's biography in Xin tangshu 新唐書 (The New History of Tang), comp. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 200: 5695; Jiu tangshu; 25: 952-53. Also see Li, Zhaomu zhidu yanjiu, 33-34.

¹⁵⁷ Xin tangshu, 200:5695-96.

ancestor for each generation. In other words, it was ritually inappropriate to have multiple ancestors of the same generation in the same chamber of the Imperial Temple. Three centuries later, the Northern Song court encountered similar difficulty when there was a need to designate the *zhaomu* sequence of the brother succession between Song Taizu and Song Taizong. I will discuss it in detail in section 2 of this chapter.

The late Tang ritual controversy over ancestral rites reached a new height after Tang Daizong's death in 779. David McMullen discussed the material aspects of Daizong's death rites. 159 Ideologically, Tang Daizong's death led to a series of reassessments of the imperial *zhaomu* order. The celebrated Confucian Yan Zhenqing 顏真 即 (709-785), who served as the Ritual Commissioner (*liyishi* 禮儀史) at that time, took this chance to call for a return to the classical seven-temple configuration. 160 As the inclusion of Daizong's tablet in the Imperial Temple would result in the removal of some distant ancestors' tablets, Yan suggested that the court should revise the whole *zhaomu* plan and keep the *zhaomu* sequence up to six ancestors (three *zhao* and three *mu*). In the memorial that discussed the removing the tablet of Li Bing 李昞 (d. 573, Gaozu's father), Yan opposed the reasoning that ancestors of distant generations (*zuzong* 祖宗) should always be preserved within the temple. In particular, Yan quoted Han history to elaborate his point:

¹⁵⁸ As Chen and Su put it, given that Gaozong was a *zhao* ancestor according to the Tang genealogical sequence, when tablets were placed in the Imperial Temple, "is it ritually appropriate to have two *mu* ancestors (Zhongzong and Ruizong) in the same chamber" 偶室於廟, 則為二穆, 於禮可乎? *Xin tangshu*, 200:5696.

¹⁵⁹ David L. McMullen, "The Death Rites of Tang Daizong," in *State and Court Ritual in China*, ed. Joseph P. McDermott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 150-196.

¹⁶⁰ Jiu tangshu, 25: 954-55; Deng, "Tianxia yijia dao yijia tianxia," 55-56.

In the past, the [Former] Han dynasty was closer to the ancient practice of ritual and dared not to allow the emperors' private feelings to outweigh ritual norms. Among the twelve emperors of the Former Han Dynasty, only four of them have been designated as praiseworthy ancestors. In the Latter Han dynasty, emperors gradually violated the teaching of the Classics. Honoring their own ancestors became descendants' top priority. Since the Han Emperor Guangwu, all Latter Han emperors had temple titles. None of these emperors has not been posthumously bestowed a praiseworthy-ancestor title......Hence, bestowing distant ancestors with real merits and contributions, the praiseworthy-ancestor titles aims to illustrate the virtue of ultimate justice. If there are no meritorious ancestors, then praiseworthy-ancestor titles should not be bestowed. This is the basic rule of ritual of the Three Dynasties. Since the Eastern Han, the rule of ritual has been lost.

昔漢朝近古,不敢以私滅公,故前漢十二帝,為祖宗者四而已。至後漢漸違經意,子孫以推美為先。自光武已下,皆有廟號,則祖宗之名,莫不建也……是知祖有功,宗有德,存至公之義,非其人不居,蓋三代立禮之本也。自東漢已來,則此道喪矣。¹⁶¹

Essentially, Yan's viewpoint challenged the abuse of the narrative of filial piety throughout the mid-andlate Tang ritual controversy. His criticism toward the Eastern Han practice of ancestral rites implicitly opposed some Tang ritual practices, especially Tang Xuanzong's scheme of nine chambers (four *zhao* and four *mu*). As Yan clearly stated, the titles of zu (H, literally, distant ancestor) and zong (H, literally, important ancestor) should be reserved for those praiseworthy ancestors. Since these two characters had been misused since Eastern Han, the presence of these characters in ancestral titles should not be considered as a decisive factor in determining the ritual status of the Tang ancestors. Therefore, although Li Bing had been bestowed with the title of "Great Ancestor of

¹⁶¹ Yan Zhenqing, "Lun Yuanhuangdi yaoqian zhuang" 論元皇帝祧遷狀 (On the removal of Emperor Yuan's spirit tablet). This memorial was submitted in the tenth month of the last year of the *Dali* 大歷 era (766-779), right after Daizong's funeral. *Yan Lugong wenji* 顏魯公文集 (*Anthology of the Duke Lu of Yan*), in *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 (*The Essential Works of the Four Treasuries*) (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936), v. 228, 2: 33-34; Wang, *Tang huiyao*, 15:326.

¹⁶² Yan, "Lun Yuanhuangdi yaoqian zhuang," 33.

Tang" (Tang Shizu 唐世祖), he was actually not as "great" as the title suggested and should better be removed from the Imperial Temple, because of his lack of contribution in relation to the establishment of the Tang Empire. In a sarcastic manner, Yan questioned the abuse of the filial-piety narrative at the end of his memorial: "If a dynasty continues for hundreds of generations, could we trace and honor all the ancestors of the imperial line equally, in order to illustrate the virtue of filial piety" 假令傳祚百代, 豈可上崇百代以為孝乎?¹⁶³

Although Yan Zhenqing held a realistic view of ancestral titles and insisted on a meritocratic approach in determining ancestors' ritual status, he did not underrate the principle of filial piety in general. According to Yan, under usual circumstances, Li Hu was the Primal Ancestor. Yet, in the *xia* sacrifice, Li Hu's tablet should be removed from the Primal Ancestor position and be strictly arranged according to the *zhaomu* order. In order to illustrate the virtue of filial piety, Yan suggested that the Primal Ancestor position in the *xia* sacrifice should be centered on Li Xi 李熙, Li Hu's grandfather (posthumously bestowed with the imperial title Tang Xianzu 唐獻祖). ¹⁶⁴ Although Li Hu as the Great Ancestor (*taizu* 太祖) received the mandate from Heaven and was paralleled with Heaven in altar sacrifices, he should temporarily step down from his Primal Ancestor seat and stayed in one of the *zhaomu* positions in *xia* and *di* sacrifices, since both sacrifices involved ancestors who were genealogically more distant and ritually

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Yan, "Miaoxiang yi"廟享議 (On Temple sacrifices), in Yan Lugong wenji, 2:34-35.

more superior. By temporally "passing over" his Primal Ancestor position in favor of his fathers and grandfathers, Li Hu's ancestral spirit set an example of filial submission to ancestors as he demoted his own ritual status to a less privileged position. ¹⁶⁵

Based on an eclectic approach, Yan Zhenqing argued that it might be inappropriate to place Li Hu on the Primal Ancestor position when his ancestors were in presence within the same sacrificial space, because this kind of practice would defy Li Hu's own will to illustrate filial piety. In the same reasoning, the famous literatus Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) suggested that the court should officially recognize Li Xi's supreme ritual status in xia and ti sacrifices and also in the Imperial Temple. According to Zhu Xi's annotation to Han's writings on state sacrifices, Han considered Li Xi to be the best candidate for the Tang Primal Ancestor. To Han, Li Xi's tablet should be preserved in the First Chamber (chushi 初室) forever. He tablet of Li Tianxi 李天錫 (Li Xi's son, posthumously bestowed with the imperial title Tang Yizu 唐懿祖) should be removed from the Imperial Temple and moved to the Western Subsidiary Chamber (xijiashi 西來室). Correspondingly, Li Hu and Tang ancestors after Li Hu should be arranged in other chambers according to the zhaomu sequence. In Han's words:

As the *Zuo Commentary* said, "Even though the son is a sage, he should not take precedence over his father in the sacrificial rite of sharing offerings. The quote refers to the situation that the son diminishes his own ritual status out of his

¹⁶⁵ In Yan's own word, this kind of practice was to "diminish oneself to fulfill the intent of filial piety, in order to respect and make due offerings to the ancestors" 屈已伸孝, 敬奉祖宗. Yan, "Miaoxiang yi," 34.

¹⁶⁶ The "first chamber" possibly referred to the main chamber of the Imperial Temple.

¹⁶⁷ Han Yu, "di xia yi" 禘祫議 (On di and xia sacrifices), Bieben hanwen kaoyi 別本韓文考異 (An Annotated New Edition of Master Han's Anthology), Siku quanshu 四庫全書 (Complete Library of the Four Treasuries), comp. Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724-1805) et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1073, 14:23.

respect for his father. Although Emperor Jing [Li Hu] is designated as the Great Ancestor, he is still the grandson and the son of Emperor Xian [Li Xi] and Emperor Yi [Li Tianxi]. When there is a di or a xia sacrifice, it is appropriate to have Emperor Xian's tablet seated in the center, facing east. Emperor Jing's tablet should fall into the zhaomu order. This kind of practice illustrates how the grandfather's ritual status is magnified by his grandson's great achievement; and how the grandson's ritual status is diminished because of his respect for his grandfather. How could the way of serving ancestral spirits be not amenable to filial affection? (emphasis mine)

《傳》曰:「子雖齊聖,不先父食」。蓋言子為父屈也。景皇帝雖太祖也,其 於獻、懿,則子孫也。當禘祫之時,獻祖宜居東向之位,景皇帝宜從昭穆之 列。祖以孫尊,孫以祖屈,求之神道,豈遠人情?¹⁶⁸

Compared Han Yu's and Yan Zhenjing's opinions, Han was more consistent in advocating the principle of filial piety. Nonetheless, it was worth noting that Han also devoted adequate attention to the political achievement of ancestors—or, in other words, their merits and contributions. Zhu Xi's annotating words revealed the intrinsic logic of Han's reasoning:

[Master Han's real intention is:] For seasonal sacrifices, Yizu's tablet [Li Tianxi] is not involved. From Xianzu, Taizu to their successive ancestors, all of them make sacrifices within their own chambers. Hence, ancestral spirits receive full respect within their individual chambers. There are no hierarchical relations between these chambers. Hence, it ensures that there are plenty of sacrifices which gratify the spirit of every ancestor. For di and a xia sacrifices, only Xianzu's tablet is placed at the center, facing east. Ancestors from Yizu and Taizu followed the zhaomu sequence, facing each other in a south-north orientation. This kind of practice illustrates how the grandfather's ritual status is magnified by his grandson's great achievement; and how the grandson's ritual status is diminished due to his respect for his grandfather. After all, [since di and xia sacrifices are not frequently held], there are only a few sacrifices that demote the grandson's ritual status. (emphasis mine)

四時之享,則唯懿祖不與。而獻祖、太祖以下,各祭於其室。室自為尊,不相降厭。所謂所伸之祭常多者也。禘給則唯獻祖居東向之位,而懿祖太祖以下,

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¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

皆序昭穆,南北相向於前。<u>所謂祖以孫尊,孫以祖屈,而所屈之祭常少者也</u>。

Therefore, what Han was arguing was not a total negation of meritocracy in determining ancestors' ritual status. In contrast, Han admitted that it was necessary to preserve Taizu's ritual status as much as possible. As a result, he provided two explanations that would help reconcile the tension between filial piety and meritocracy in state sacrificial activities. First, Han claimed that ancestral spaces of different chambers were mutually independent in terms of ritual reciprocity. In other words, Taizu's ritual status would not be diminished within his own chamber by any means, since his spirit was always in full control of the ancestral space of his chamber. To put it in another way, Taizu's spirit monopolized the ritual sanctuary of his chamber and acted as the supreme authority of the whole chamber on the spiritual dimension. If other ancestors entered Taizu's ancestral space—practically, that meant their spirit tablets were moved into

Second, despite Han Yu's tendency to demote descendant's ritual status in the sharing offering rite of the *xia* sacrifice, he considered this downgrading practice of ritual status as an exceptional case. As Zhu Xi correctly argued, since *di* and *xia* sacrifices were rarely held, there were only a few occasions when the descendant's ritual status would be diminished. Additionally, considering the Tang case, although Li Hu's ritual status was diminished in the *xia* sacrifices, his grandfather and his father's ritual statuses were symbolically magnified by Li Hu's personal achievements. By paving the foundation for

¹⁶⁹ Zhu Xi's annotation was attached as a footnote to Han Yu's article on *di* and *xia* sacrifices. See Han, "di xia yi," 14:24.

the Tang ruling house, Li Hu raised his ancestors' ritual status to a level much higher than their original ones.

Other late Tang scholars shared with Yan Zhenqing and Han Yu the same interest in stabilizing the Primal Ancestor position, but with different practical suggestions. In contrast to Yan and Han, Chen Jing 陳京 persisted in rectifying Li Hu's Primal Ancestor position by arguing that Xuanzu and Yizu's 懿祖 (Li Hu's father) tablets should be either stored in other subsidiary temples or moved to the Western Chamber of the Imperial Temple. ¹⁷⁰ In addition to the factor of meritocracy, Chen also pointed out the disjunction between the Zhou and the Tang practices of Primal Ancestor ritual. For Chen, the Zhou arrangement of lineal ancestry was unique and should not be compared with the Tang cases. In his opinion, the court should consider the specialty of the Tang imperial line and ensure Li Hu's Primal Ancestor status in *xia* and *ti* sacrifices. ¹⁷¹ This provocative, antifilial-piety approach, represented by Chen, later would find its echo in some Song discussions concerning the Primal Ancestor issue.

Chen Jing's emphasis on meritocracy originated from the long tradition of conceiving ritual as a powerful tool of social stratification. Bearing a close resemblance to stratified social relations in the real world, death and sacrificial rites were utilized to construct a corresponding hierarchy between deceased ancestors. All royal ancestors, either posthumously installed or immediately upon ascending the throne, should be orderly arranged according to the grid of the *zhaomu* sequence. Those ancestors with

¹⁷⁰ Xin tangshu, 200: 5712.

¹⁷¹ Xin tangshu, 200: 5713.

tremendous contributions and merits would enjoy the privilege of receiving sacrifices in the Imperial Temple, and have no worry about being removed. As a dynasty continued to flourish and more ancestors started to enter the sacrificial space, the conflict between meritocracy and the ideology of filial piety would become more intense and complex. The late Tang discourse on the practice of ancestral sacrifices, especially the ordering of the zhaomu sequence in temple sacrifices, demonstrated how these two different ideologies intertwined with and transformed by each other. Later dynasties saw a continuation of ritual debates with regard to these traditional ideologies. After the eleventh century, alongside the further institutionalization of Confucian rituals, court officials and local elites tended to stress the potency of ancestral rites in consolidating social hierarchy and familial solidarity. Ritual proficiency was increasingly considered as a key component of professional Confucian learning. Eventually, the Northern Song (960-1127) saw a blossom of ritual studies and a proliferation of interpretations and commentaries on the ritual Classics. 172 The studies of the Ritual of Zhou as a constitutional text were emphatically promoted by the Song minister Wang Anshi to cope with his broader enterprise of restructuring the institutions and politics of the Song state economy. 173 It was under these social, political and intellectual transformations that the zhaomu sequence aroused new controversies.

2.2 Early Northern Song Debates over Ancestral Rites

The great Japanese Sinologist Naitō Konan 内藤湖南 (1866-1934) once proposed a famous thesis, that suggested considering the late Tang, the Five Dynasties and the

¹⁷² Wu, Songdai sanlixue yanjiu, 460-507.

¹⁷³ Bol, "Wang Anshi and the Zhouli," Statecraft and Classical Learning, 229-51.

early Northern Song altogether as a transition period. ¹⁷⁴ By arguing that the power structure of the Five Dynasties (883-947) had a great impact on the political configuration of the Northern Song dynasty, Wang Gungwu later developed Naitō's argument of Tang-Song transition and introduced a dynamic perspective to the conception of historical continuity. ¹⁷⁵ From this perspective, the Five Dynasties and the Song Empire were profoundly influenced by the late-Tang political traditions, especially in the exercise of state power. Nevertheless, due to its ephemeral nature, the warlord monarchy of the Five Dynasties could not establish an effective rule of ritual to cope with its military governorship. In Chinese history, the revival of Confucianism and Confucianized rituals was often associated with a stable society and a strong central government, two conditions which were difficult to obtain within an international framework when China split into different powers.

In contrast to the wartime period of the Five Dynasties, the early Northern Song era experienced a rise of elite culture and a passionate pursuit of Confucian values. From the very beginning of the Song dynasty, emperors devoted much attention to the enlightening power of the rule of ritual. The solemnity of imperial ancestral rites was commonly regarded as an effective method to consolidate state power, considering its symbolic function as a cohesive force in generating a consciousness of connectedness

¹⁷⁴ Naitō Konan, "Gaikakuteki To-So jidai kan" 概括的唐宋時代觀 (A brief view of the Tang-Song transition). *Rekishi to chiri* 歴史と地理, 9:5 (1922): 1-12; for further details of the Naitō theory of Tang-Song transition, see Hisayuki Miyakawa 宮川尚志, "An Outline of the Naitō Hypothesis and its Effects on Japanese Studies of China." *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 14:4 (1955): 533-52, esp. 535-38.

¹⁷⁵ Wang Gungwu. *The Structure of Power in North China during the Five Dynasties* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1963), 2-6

between the ruling family and its subjects. The Song literatus Li Zhi 李廌 (1059-1109) said: the essence of imperial sacrificial rites was to "provide the son-of-Heaven a chance to gain appreciation from his subjects of all-under-the-Heaven. Hence, he can serve the ancestral kings of his own lineage [on the ground of these appreciation]" 祭之本……天子

Recognizing the significance of sacrificial rites, the Song court established special institutions and posts to address sacrificial affairs in the late tenth century. According to official archives and private records, four institutions that took part in the rectification and standardization of court rituals were: the Bureau of Ritual (*libu* 禮部), the Department of Liturgical Services (*liyiyuan* 禮儀院), the Court of Imperial Rites and Ceremonies and the Commission of Ritual Affairs (太常禮院). Theoretically, there were a clear division of responsibilities between the four ritual institutions prior to the implementation of the New Policies. The latter two, in particular, held the responsibility to examine the practice of ancestral rites. Since ancestral temples were usually regarded as the preserve of the royal family during the Northern Song period, Theoretically and the second seco

¹⁷⁶ Li Zhi, *Shiyou tanji* 師友談記 (*Discussions with Teachers and Friends*), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 40.

¹⁷⁷ SHY, *zhiguan*, 13:1 (Bureau of Ritual); SHY, *zhiguan*, 22:22-24 (the Department of Liturgical Services); SS, 164: 3882-3884 (the Court of Imperial Rites and Ceremonies and the Commission of Ritual Affairs).

¹⁷⁸ For the institutional development of the Court of Imperial Rites and Ceremonies and its relationship with the Commission of Ritual Affairs, especially the latter's special role in formulating court ritual affairs, see Cheng Ju 程俱 (1078-1144), *Litai gushi jiaozheng* 麟臺故事校證 (*Examination on the Regulations of the Palace Library*), ed. Zhang Fuxiang 張富祥 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), 144; Song Mingqiu 宋敏 求 (1019-1079), *Chunming tuichaolu* 春明退朝錄 (*Notes after an Imperial Audience in the Capital City*), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 11.

the Court of Imperial Rites and Ceremonies and the Commission of Ritual Affairs needed to cooperate closely with the Court of the Imperial Clan (*zongzheng si* 宗正寺) to rectify various imperial ancestral rites, including funeral rites, altar sacrificial rites, imperial temple settings, and also the arrangement of the *zhaomu* sequence of the royal house. ¹⁸⁰ In the early Northern Song period, the Court of the Imperial Clan was usually headed by imperial kinsmen. In 1036, due to a rapid growth in clan numbers, Renzong established a new institution to assist the Court, namely, the Great Office of Imperial Clan Affairs (*da zongzheng si* 大宗正司). ¹⁸¹ In general, the Great Office was less associated with liturgical affairs, but focused on the education of imperial clan members and the regulation of their social behavior. ¹⁸² The Great Office also provided allowances for some poor clan members who were out of the five mourning grades. Both the Court and the Great Office

¹⁷⁹ For instance, when a prince attempted to establish an ancestral temple to offer sacrifice for his relatives, Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) argued that only the emperor could build a temple. It was inappropriate for princes to build ancestral temples in their own fief. Fan Zhen 范鎮 (1007-1087), Dongzhai jishi 東齋記事 (Record of the East Chamber), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 58.

¹⁸⁰ Ge Shengzhong 葛勝仲 (1059-1131), "Zongzhengsi shaoqing biji" 宗正寺少卿壁記 (Writing on the wall of the Vice-minister of the Court of the Imperial Clan), in *Danyang ji* 丹陽集 (*Anthology of Ge Danyang*), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1127, 8:3. For a general portrait of the composition of the Court of the Imperial Clan, see *Songhuiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (*Collection of Drafts of Song Institutional History*, hereinafter refers to as SHY), comp. Xu Song 徐松 (1781-1848) et al., (Taibei: Shijie shuju, 1964), *zhiguan* 職官 (bureaucratic organization), 20: 1, *Songshi* 宋史 (*The Official Dynastic History of Song*, hereinafter refers to as SS), comp. Tuo Tuo 脫脫 (1314-1355) et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 164: 3887. Under most circumstances, the court would choose a clansman from the enormous Zhao clan to serve as the head of the Court. This was especially true after Zhenzong's reign. SHY, *zhiguan*, 20: 2-4.

¹⁸¹ SHY, *zhiguan*, 20: 16; SS, 164: 3888-3890. John Chaffee, *Branches of Heaven: A History of the Imperial Clan of Sung China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 40-44, esp. 42, 84-86.

¹⁸² Song Xi 宋晞, "Songdai de zongxue" 宋代的宗學 (The education of Song clansmen), Aoyama Hakushi koki kinen Sōdai shi ronsō 青山博士古稀紀念宋代史論叢 (Essays on Sung History in Commemoration of the Celebration of Dr. Aoyama's 70th Birthday) (Tōkyō: Seishin Shobō, 1974), 161-181, esp. 168-174 for the regulations and learning environment of the clansmen education.

had functional responsibilities for the management of major sacrificial sites. In particular, the Great Office superintended the performance of sacrifices and other rites in the Imperial Temple.¹⁸³

Disputes on the setting of the Imperial Temple, especially the ritual status of the Primal Ancestor and the arrangement of the *zhaomu* sequence, could be traced back to the founding days of the Song dynasty. In the first year of Taizu's reign (960), the emperor has ordered officials to discuss these ritual affairs. The early Song bibliographer, Zhang Zhao 張昭, who served four of the five pre-Song dynasties in different bureaus, memorialized to the court, suggesting the court to build a temple configuration of five temples. Zhang Zhao's reasoning basically was a revivalist one. He regarded the temple settings of previous dynasties as a deviation from the ritual orthodoxy of the ancient Three Dynasties, Xia, Shang, and Zhou. The Han arrangement of ancestral temples, in particular, received severe criticism from these early Song scholars. 184 According to Zhang, the ideal five-temple configuration should include two *zhao* temples and two *mu* temples, plus the one for the Great Ancestor. In the Song context, given the great contribution made by Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤 (927-976) in founding the empire, the Great Ancestor position should be left vacant for placing his spirit tablet 虚太祖之室. 185 Consequently, the court adopted Zhang Zhao's plan and posthumously bestowed imperial titles on ancestors up to the fourth generation of Zhao Kuangyin. Zhang Kuangyin's

¹⁸³ Chaffee, Branches of Heaven, 103.

¹⁸⁴ SHY, li, 15:22; Li Tao 李燾 (1114-83), Xu zizhi tongjian changbian 續資治通鑑長編 (The Long Draft of the Continued Comprehensive Mirror to Aid the Government, hereinafter refers to as XCB) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 1:8.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

great-great-grand father was given the title Xizu 僖祖, his great-grandfather Shunzu 順祖, his grandfather Yizu 翼祖, and his father Xuanzu 宣祖. 186

One of the significant meanings of Zhang Zhao's plan was that it set a basic tone for the Song ancestral scheme. In a summative essay concerning the Song temple setting, Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019-1083) briefly portrayed the history of imperial ancestral temples:

Yao, Shun and Yu all set two *zhao* temples and two *mu* temples, plus the one for his Primal Ancestor; there are altogether five temples. Shang people offered temple sacrifices to both Yang and Qi, with [four] zhao and mu temples there were altogether six temples. Zhou people offered temple sacrifices to Houzhi, King Wen and King Wu, and four ancestors of the same clan; there were altogether seven temples. When the Han dynasty began to establish its own Imperial Temple, it failed to follow the ancient setting. The Jin dynasty adopted the Zhou practice of seven temples, with the Great Ancestor position left vacant. When the Sui dynasty rose to power, it only established four ancestral temples for the first emperor's great-great-grandfather, great-grandfather, grandfather and father. The Tang dynasty modified the Sui practice and established seven temples in the Zhengguan era, and made offerings up to nine chambers in the Tianbao era. Since the late Liang dynasty, all the five dynasties only established four temples. When the Song dynasty was established, the court adopted the suggestion made by Zhang Zhao and Ren Che, posthumously bestowed honorable titles—Xizu, Shunzu, Yizu and Xuanzu—on the four ancestors of [Zhao Kuangyin], and erected their temples. This was actually a rather recent practice.....For these previous dynasties, considering the merits and contributions made by their ancestors, it was inappropriate to prescribe a constant number for how many temples to be built. Hence, there were temple configurations consisting of five, six and seven temples. Accordingly, former Confucians argued that if there are some ancestors with great merits, then the son-of-Heaven can build seven temples; if there are no such ancestors, then a five-temple setting is enough.

堯、舜、禹皆立二昭二穆,與始祖之廟而五;商人祀湯與契,及昭穆之廟而六; 周人祀后稷、文、武及親廟而七;漢初立廟,不合古制。至晉采周官定七廟之 數,而虚太祖之室。隋興,但立高、曾、祖、禰四廟而已。唐初因其制,正觀 立七廟;天寶祠九室。梁氏以來,皆立四廟。宋興,采張昭、任徹之議,追尊

¹⁸⁶ SHY, *li*, 15:22-23; XCB, 1:10.

僖、順、翼、宣四祖,而立其廟,用近制也......前世祖有功、宗有徳,不可預為 其數。 故有五廟、六廟、七廟之禮。先儒以謂有其人則七,無其人則五。¹⁸⁷

The "former Confucians" in the last quote of the above paragraph possibly referred to some anti-Wang Su scholars of the Wei and Jin eras. The reasoning, "if there are some ancestors with great merits, then the son-of-Heaven can build seven temples" 有 其人則七, originated from Zhang Rong 張融 (444-497) and Ma Zhao's 馬昭 assaults on Wang Su's ancestral temple scheme. ¹⁸⁸ More importantly, Zeng Gong's summary demonstrated how Zhang Zhao's suggestion influenced later Song perceptions on the setting of ancestral temples. The uncertainty of the Great Ancestor position in Zhang's plan eventually caused a series of chain reactions regarding the development of Song ancestral rites.

In the third month of 998, after Taizong was deceased, Li Zongna 李宗訥, who served in the Commission of Ritual Affairs, suggested revising the designations of Song ancestors since Xizu. 189 Li's suggestion, as Deng Zhirui argued, opened a discussion about the sensitive issue of the succession between brothers. 190 The ancestral relationship

¹⁸⁷ Zeng Gong, "benchao zhengyaoce: zongmiao" 本朝政要策: 宗廟 (Major policies of our dynasty: ancestral temples), *Yuanfeng laigao* 元豐類藁 (*A Collection of Draft Memorials Written during the Yuanfeng Era*), *Sibu congkan*, (Shanghai: shangwu yinshuguan, 1919), v.1680-1689, 49:6.

In his sub-commentary on the *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義 (*Corrected Meaning of the Book of Rites*), Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648) cited Zhang Rong's anti-Wang Su argument to argue for the flexibility of the number of ancestral temples. See Kong, *Liji zhengyi*, in *Shisanjing zhushu zhengliben* 十三經註疏整理本 (*A new compiled version of the Thirteen Chinese Canons*), compiled by Gong Kangyun 龔抗雲 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), vol. 12: 449. For Ma Zhao's criticism on Wang Su, see Du You 杜佑(735-812), *Riben gongneiting shulinbu chang beisongban Tong Dian* 日本宮內廳書陵部藏北宋版通典 (*The Song Edition of the Comprehensive Institutional History Stored in the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Japanese Imperial Household*), ed. Han Sheng 韓昇 (Shanghai: Shanghai renming chubanshe, 2008), vol.3, 15.

¹⁸⁹ SHY, *li*, 15:24; SS: 2566-68.

between Song Taizu and Song Taizong was an intricate one, given their blood relations as brothers. Based on some Han textual evidence, some scholar-officials like Zhang Qixian 張齊賢 (942-1014) insisted that Taizu and Taizong belonged to different zhaomu generations on the ritual dimension. Hence, in imperial sacrificial rites, Zhenzong's 真宗 (r: 997-1022) should be regarded as Taizu's grandson, despite the fact that he was the latter's nephew by blood. 191 Zhang's opinion represented a conventional vision of imperial ancestry, through which the succession of the deceased emperor by his brother was conceptualized as a regular father-and-son succession in reference to the Confucian ideology of filial piety. As we have seen, in the Tang controversy concerning brother succession, Ruizong and his brother Zhongzong were practically arranged in a disproportionate way: Zhongzong was placed in a subsidiary temple to avoid the problem of placing multiple ancestors in the same zhaomu rank. However, in the Song case, as Taizu and Taizong both reigned the empire for a long time and acquired adequate political legitimacy based on their strong monarchical authority, it was difficult to arrange their tablets in the same way as the Tang court has done with Ruizong and Zhongzong's.

In order to solve the designation problem of *zhaomu* in brother succession,

Zhenzong's ordered the Commission of Ritual Affairs to further discuss this issue. In the beginning, the ritualists of the Commission tended to categorize Taizu and Taizong into the same *zhaomu* group, i.e., Taizu and Taizong were either both *zhao* ancestors or both

¹⁹⁰ Deng, "Tianxia yijia dao yijia tianxia," 63.

¹⁹¹ Zhang Qixian quoted some phrases from the *Royal Regulations and the History of the Fomer Han Dynasty* to back up his argument. SHY, *li*, 15:24.

mu ancestors. 192 Nevertheless, an obvious weakness of this approach was that it grounded its reasoning on less authoritative Confucian texts, without providing substantial evidence from the "main texts" (zhengwen 正文) of the ritual Classics. The ritualists cited a key phrase from the Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi 春秋左傳正義 (Corrected Meaning of the Zuo Commentary on the Annals), which stated that "the zhao and mu ranks of fathers and sons are different; yet, the *zhao* and *mu* ranks of brothers are the same" 父子異昭穆, 兄 弟昭穆故同. 193 However, this phrase after all was only a sub-commentary (shu 疏) annotated by Kong Yingda, but not a part of the main text. 194 Because a clear statement concerning the *zhaomu* arrangement of brothers as succeeding emperors was absent in the main texts of the Classics, the ritualists attempted to search for examples from other historical and liturgical sources, such as the *Historical Records*, the official *Tang History*, and the Sui 隋 (581-619)-compiled Jiangdou jili 江都集禮 (Collection of Rituals compiled in Jiangdou). 195 Obviously, an answer based on these less authoritative textual evidence could not satisfy Zhenzong. The emperor soon issued an edict that called for a further discussion among the Hanlin Academicians, the Secretariats in the Grand Council

¹⁹² SHY, *li*, 15: 25; SS, 106: 2567.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ For the original text in the *Corrected Meaning of the Zuo Commentary on the Annals*, see Kong Yunda, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi (Corrected Meaning of the Zuo Commentary on the Annals*), *Shisanjing zhushu zhengliben*, compiled by Gong Kangyun (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), vol.7: 568.

¹⁹⁵ Interestingly, when the ritualists in the Commission quoted the *Tang History*, they claimed that Ruizong and Zhongzong brothers during the Tang dynasty were both placed on the same *zhao* rank. Yet, as aforementioned, this was not true. In practice, Xuanzong adopted Chen Zhenjie and Su Xian's suggestion and removed Zhongzong from the *zhaomu* sequence in the Imperial Temple. Since Zhongzong was by definition not a *zhaomu* ancestor, the Tang court avoided the problem of positioning *zhaomu* ranks in brother succession.

Assistants (*zhongshu sheren* 中書舍人), and other high ranking scholar-officials who ranked four or above in the Department of State Affairs.¹⁹⁶

In the second phase of the *zhaomu* discussion in the early reign of Zhengzong, more officials argued for the differentiation of Taizu and Taizong's *zhaomu* ranks in state sacrificial rites. Several reasons were provided: First, "for ancient settings, the designation zu (great ancestor) and zong (important ancestor) were invented to honor ancestors with great contributions and merits. Thus, once the ancestors' contributions were noticed, correspondingly, their designations were erected" 古者祖有功, 宗有德, 皆 先有其實, 而後正其名.¹⁹⁷ Therefore, as both Taizu and Taizong made great contributions to the consolidation of the Song dynasty, they should be considered as two separate generations within the imperial zhaomu sequence, in order to illustrate their significant merits. Otherwise, if Taizu and Taizong were placed in the same *zhaomu* rank, Taizong could not then "be claimed as the representative of his own generation" 不得自 為世數; once he could not be claimed as the representative of his own generation, he could not be considered as one of the heads of the Song lineage—which was in fact absurd. 198 In other words, as a "zong" ancestor, the designation Taizong by itself indicated that he was a leading ancestor who should never be removed from the temple.

¹⁹⁶ SHY, *li*, 15:25.

¹⁹⁷ SHY, *li*, 15: 25. Deng Zhirui considered the source here as an edict which was issued by Zhenzong. However, in the SHY version, we see clearly at the end of this piece of writing a phrase that read "being as a subject of your majesty" 為人臣者. Moreover, in the beginning it was clearly stated that this was a memorial submitted by the officials. Deng's misreading might be attributed to his overlook of the more complete version of this memorial in SHY. Deng, "Tianxia yijia dao yijia tianxia," 64.

¹⁹⁸ SHY, *li*, 15: 25.

In this sense, positioning Taizu and Taizong's tablets in a "father-and-son" relationship became a necessary means to recognize their individual contributions. The opposite opinion, which suggested categorizing the two emperors' tablets into the same *zhaomu* rank, actually, according to these officials, belittled Taizong's contribution to the empire by undermining his political autonomy as a powerful monarch.

Some officials also questioned the *Corrected Meaning*'s statement about the succession between brothers. They argued that the statement was only adoptable in the case of Zhou feudal lords. ¹⁹⁹ After all, a feudal lord was not an emperor. Given the ritual hierarchy between the son-of-Heaven and his feudal lords, as well as the difference in the number of their ancestral temples, it was ritually inappropriate for the great Song Empire to follow the practices of Zhou feudal lords. Moreover, although the *Corrected Meaning* mentioned that brothers could have the same *zhaomu* ranking, it did not reject the opposite view—that their *zhaomu* ranks should be distinguished from each other. ²⁰⁰ Furthermore, when Taizu was deceased, Taizong treated his deceased brother ritually as his real father in every aspect, ranging from mourning practices and sub-urban altar sacrifices to Taizong's edicts which defined his relationship with Taizu. ²⁰¹ By appealing to Taizong's ritual actions, officials implied that Taizong's own will should be acknowledged in determining his *zhaomu* designation in reference to Taizu.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ SHY, *li*, 15:26. Take the mourning practices as an example; since Taizong had mourned for Taizu for a whole of 27 days (an abridged version of the 27 months mourning practice adopted in the father-and-son mourning rites), these officials thought that it demonstrated that Taizong actually regarded his brother as a father in a ritual sense.

Nevertheless, after reading the revised memorial, Zhenzong still hesitated to separate Taizu and Taizong's *zhaomu* ranks. Realized that Zhenzong has not yet made the final decision, some scholars turned back to the original standpoint and reexamined the possibility of putting Taizu and Taizong's tablets in the same *zhaomu* rank. The Hanlin Academician Song Shi 宋湜 (948-999) argued that there were numerous cases of successions between brothers from the Three Dynasties to Tang; yet, scholars could not find a case to support the claim that the brother emperors' *zhaomu* ranks were differentiated. Hence, Song Shi expressed doubts regarding why Zhenzong as Taizu's nephew should designate himself as the latter's "filial grandson" (*xiaosun* 孝孫). ²⁰³ It seems that Zhenzong was moved by Song's memorial, because he sent it to the Commission again and required a detailed report based on more historical examples and textual evidence.

The last memorial submitted by the Commission fulfilled Zhenzong's interest by suggesting an agenda that would compromise on Taizong's *zhaomu* designation. On the one hand, the memorial emphasized the *zhaomu* principle of differentiation that was mentioned in the *Summary of Sacrifice*. On the other hand, it argued that the *zhaomu* principle basically applied to distinct genealogical generations, for brothers of the same generation, their ritual relationship should not be disciplined by that principle. In addition

²⁰² SHY, *li*, 15:26.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ The ritualists quoted from the *Summary of Sacrifice*: "the *zhaomu* sequence differentiates general relations between fathers and sons, the near and the distant, the old and the young, and the more nearly related and the less" 昭穆者, 所以別父子、遠近、長幼、親疏之序而無亂也. SHY: *li*, 15:26. For the original text, see Zhu Bin. *Liji xunzuan*, 729; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, v. 4, 246-47.

to the Book of Rites and the Chunqiu gongyang zhuan 春秋公羊傳 (Gongyang Commentary on the Annals), the Commission's officials cited a myriad of examples from Tang and Jin liturgical sources to explicate why, "in the case of imperial succession, brothers should not adopt the same zhaomu pattern that was used to differentiate fathers and sons" 兄弟不合繼位昭穆. 205 Official ritual codes and regulations of the Tang dynasty, such as the Kaibao tongli yizuan 開寶通禮義纂 (Compiled Explanations on the Ritual Codes of the Kaibao Era), the Jiaosi lu 郊祀錄 (Records of Sub-urban Altar Sacrifices) and the Xu qutai li 續曲台禮 (Continued Code of Imperial Rites) constituted the core part of the memorial's textual evidence. 206 This tendency in the use of texts illustrated how the Classics gave way to less authoritative, but more practical, texts when there was an urgent need to revise the zhaomu sequence. Additionally, by referring back to the Book of Rites and the Gongyang Commentary in the conclusion, the memorial successfully maintained an apparent consistency in the usage of canonical languages—even though the text from these canons only performed a rhetorical function here:

In our humble opinion, the seven-temple configuration is used to revere the hundreds of kingly ancestors. As the "great ancestors" make great contribution to the founding of the empire and the "important ancestor" possessed high merits, their temples will not be abolished for hundreds of generations. On the other side, the "zhao-father and mu-son" principle is a doctrine that should be preserved for ten thousands of generations. At present, the discussant cites the History of the Former Han Dynasty to argue that "X who succeeds the throne directly from Y

²⁰⁵ According to the Commission's citation, as early as the third century, the Jin Confucian Huo Xun's 質循 (260-319) had argued that in brother successions, the brothers should not use different *zhaomu* designations as it does in the usual father-and-son successions. Huo raised a hypothetical case to reveal the problem of equalizing the brother succession and the father-and-son succession cases in the practice of *zhaomu*: "if there are four brothers who successively ascend to the throne [when they are deceased and enter the ancestral sequence], does the court need to remove four ancestors from the Imperial Temple" 比有兄弟四人相襲為君者,便當上毀四廟乎? SHY, *li*, 15:26.

²⁰⁶ SHY, *li*, 15:27.

should be regarded as Y's son [regardless of X's relationship with Y];" the discussant also raises the questions: "How could a designation of 'imperial uncle' exist in the Imperial Temple? Henceforth, whenever the Emperor [Zhenzong] makes a sacrifice in the Imperial Temple, he should identify himself as Taizu's filial grandson." According to this reasoning, Taizong becomes Taizu's descendant. Yet, the discussant does not understand the profound meaning of the *Annals*, i.e., the younger brother should never be considered as his elder brother's descendant; likewise, the son should never be designated as a grandson of his father [and of his father's generation]. Also, the *Book of Rites* explicitly stated: "The father is designated as a *zhao*, and the son is designated as a *mu*."

竊以七廟之制,百王是尊。至於祖有功、宗有德,則百世不遷之廟也。父為昭,子為穆,則萬世不刊之典也。今議者引《漢書》曰:「為人後者為之子」,²⁰⁷又曰「安得宗廟有伯氏之稱。自今皇帝有事於太廟,則太祖室稱孝孫」。如此,則是以太宗為太祖之後也。殊不知弟不為兄後,子不為父孫,《春秋》之深旨也。父謂之昭,子謂之穆,《禮記》明文。²⁰⁸

Since *zhao* and *mu* designations were reserved respectively for fathers and sons in imperial successions, brothers using different *zhaomu* titles might cause some confusion. As the Song court attempted to worship both Taizu and Taizong as permanent ancestors in the Imperial Temple, to perceive Taizong as Taizu's son would risk of undermining the people's confidence in Taizong's political authority. This time, Zhenzong accepted the Commission's suggestion and placed Taizu and Taizong's tablets in the same chamber, but residing in different seats.

The ritual controversy concerning Taizu and Taizong's *zhaomu* ranking during Zhenzong's reign demonstrated a noticeable inclination towards meritocracy. Predictably, it was criticized by the faction of ritualists who anticipated the manifestation of filial piety in ancestral rites. In an argumentative essay, Liu Chang 劉敞 (1019-1068) castigated those scholars who argued that brother successions should not be differentiated

²⁰⁷ The "yizhe" 議者 (discussant) here referred to Zhang Qixian.

²⁰⁸ SHY, *li*, 15:27.

by the *zhaomu* ranks as "ridiculous" (*wang* 妄). ²⁰⁹ From Liu's viewpoint, the designation of *zhao* represented the father's way to look after his son and the designation of *mu* represented the son's way to take care of his father. ²¹⁰ As Liu put it, if "one receives the state and all-under-the-Heaven from his brother, he is ritually recognized as the latter's nominal son, despite the fact that his brother does not really pass the throne to a son; reciprocally, although one who passes the throne to his brother is not really the latter's father, he is ritually recognized as his brother's nominal father" 既已受國家天下,則所傳者,雖非其子,亦猶子道也;傳之者,雖非其父,亦猶父道也. ²¹¹ By the same token, Yang Shi 楊時(1053-1135), one of the major disciples of the Cheng brothers, lambasted the Han Confucian Wei Xuancheng for his utilitarian approach in defining ancestral rites. Yang argued, "if the descendants only make sacrifice to their ancestors for their merits, then they are actually selecting ancestors to venerate" 若以為其功德然後祭,是子孫得揀擇其祖宗而尊之. ²¹² For Yang, this highly utilitarian approach was anything but a genuine demonstration of filial piety.

In following a similar reasoning about filial piety, when Zhao Xiyan 趙希言 suggested the removal of Xizu and Shunzu's spirit tablets from the Imperial Temple after

²⁰⁹ Liu, "weixiong houyi," 為兄後議 (On succeeding the throne from brothers), *Gongshi ji* 公是集 (*Anthology of the Master Gongshi*), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1095, 41:6.

²¹⁰ Liu, "weixiong houyi," 41:3.

²¹¹ Liu, "weixiong houyi," 41:4.

²¹² Yang Shi, "Shilun: Wei Xuancheng" 史論.韋玄成 (Historical Notes on Wei Xuancheng), *Shi xiansheng aolunzhu* 十先生奧論註 (*Commentary on the Profound Speech of the Ten Masters*), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v. 1362, 9:8.

Zhenzong's death in 1040, Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061) opposed that suggestion and appealed to Wang Su's ancestral scheme of seven temples. Song Qi realized that Xizu was the officially authorized "first ancestor" of the Song imperial line. Therefore, a denial of his ritual superiority in the Imperial Temple would defy the spirit of filial piety and set a bad example for the subjects of the Song Empire. In 1059, in another controversy over the *zhaomu* positions of imperial ancestors, Zhao Lianggui 趙良規, the head of the Court of the Imperial Clan, argued for the necessity to place Taizu's tablet in the temple's central chamber, facing east. However, Wang Juzheng 王舉正, the head of the Bureau of Ritual, disagreed with Zhao's opinion and proposed that it was better to conform to the habitual practice of leaving the central place facing east vacant (虛東向之位). Song Qi and Zhao Lianggui's arguments countered the prevailing meritocratic view of ancestral rites.

In Renzong's time, Xizu's ritual status and the *zhaomu* order of the brother succession between Taizu and Taizong remained unsolved on the theoretical level. Renzong was a conservative monarch who favored conventional liturgical practices and tended not to fill the vacancy of the Great Ancestor position throughout his regime. Yet, the court's endeavor to link Taizu's regime to the notion of filial piety in the Qingli 慶曆 era did illustrate an inclination toward elevating Xizu's ritual status within the conceptual

²¹³ XCB, 129: 3059-60; SHY, *li*, 15:29-30; Deng, "Tianxia yijia dao yijia tianxia," 66.

²¹⁴ XCB 189: 4568-69; Deng, "Tianxia yijia dao yijia tianxia," 67.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

framework of filial piety.²¹⁶ Regarding the imperial *zhaomu* sequence, the decline of the meritocratic approach was predictable, although during Renzong's reign some conservative scholar officials still emphasized that Taizu's greatness should not be restricted to filial piety.²¹⁷

When Renzong died in 1063, the Commission suggested building one more chamber to house Renzong's spirit tablet in the Imperial Temple. One of the Commission's senior officers, Sun Bian 孫抃 (996-1064), claimed that an extra chamber was definitely necessary, given that Taizu and Taizong were generally regarded as belonging to the same generation in previous ancestral sacrifices. However, Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086) disagreed with Sun's suggestion. Sima argued that there was no need to add an extra chamber to store Renzong's tablet. Instead, he suggested removing Xizu's tablet from one of the original seven chambers, because Xizu did not establish the Song Empire by himself and lacked discernible contributions to occupy an ancestral chamber forever. In Sima's words, Xizu was not a "real king who received mandate from the Heaven." Once after Xizu's tablet was removed and placed in the subsidiary chamber, the tablets of other imperial ancestors could be accordingly altered and one vacant chamber would be formed naturally. The vacant chamber could be used to

²¹⁶ Song, Chunming tuichaolu, 41.

²¹⁷ As Song Mingqiu put it, "the contribution made by Taizu is so tremendous, how can it be solely represented by the merit of filial piety" 太祖功烈, 豈專以孝稱? Ibid.

²¹⁸ SHY, *li*, 15:34-35; XCB 198: 4809-11.

²¹⁹ XCB 198: 4810.

place Renzhong's tablet. ²²⁰ More importantly, according to Sima's plan, Taizu's ritual status would be affirmed if the court placed his tablet at the center of the temple, facing east.

Primarily based on Han, Jin and Tang establishment of ancestral temples, Sima asserted the necessity of facilitating a temple configuration consisting of three *zhao* and three *mu* temples. For Sima, the removal of Xizu's tablet from the temple fitted both "the ritual codes of ancient kings and also contemporary regulations" 於先王典禮及近世之制無不符合.²²¹ His way of argumentation was clearly a historical one, which emphasized the temporality of the ritual configuration of the Imperial Temple.

Against Sima's contention, Sun Bian and his Commission colleagues argued that Xizu's tablet was crucial to the imperial sacrificial structure of seven generations. Not surprisingly, they appealed to the cultural authority of the Three Dynasties. Yet, they claimed that "whereas the ritual system of later ages is different from that of the Three Dynasties, the settings of the Imperial Temple have to change to cater to contemporary conditions" 後世之禮既與三代不同,則廟制亦不得不變而從時. 222 Although Sun Bian's argument was also established on the concept of temporality, he devoted less attention to the historical precedents of ancestral temples. Sun actually focused more on

²²⁰ Sima Guang, "fumiao yi" 祔廟議 (On the ritual of tablet attachment held in the Imperial Temple), in Wenguo wenzheng simagong ji 溫國文正司馬公集(Anthology of Sima Guang, the Duke Wen of Rightness Culture), in Sibu congkan chubian suoben (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1969), v.46, 26:240; the same essay can also be found in another edition of Sima Guang's anthology, Chuanjia ji 傳家集 (Anthology left to the Descendants [of the Sima Family]), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v. 1094, 66:3.

²²¹ Sima Guang, "fumiao yi," Wenguo wenzheng Simagong ji, 26:240; Chuanjia ji, 66:3.

²²² SHY, *li*, 15:35; XCB 198: 4811.

the particularity of the nature of Song imperial ancestors. In Sun's words, before and during the Zhou period, "the designation of the Great Ancestor was not bestowed on the first king who received mandate from the Heaven. It merely referred to the first lord who received a fief from the king"所謂太祖,亦非始受命之主,特始封之君而已.²²³ Sun's distinction between the *shoumingzhizhu* 受命之主 (the first king who received mandate from the Heaven) and the shifengzhijun 始封之君 (the first lord who received a fief from the king) was certainly not his invention. The late-Tang ritualist Liu Mian 柳冕 (~730-~804) has already pointed out that it was ritually appropriate to bestow an ancestor with the taizu title, regardless of whether he was a king of shouming zhi zhu or a feudal lord of shifeng zhi jun.²²⁴ Inspired by Liu's understanding of the two different origins of the taizu designation, Sun Bian argued that Xizu was in effect the first Song ancestor whose ancestral temple had been established in practice, despite his humble beginnings and his dubious status as a shifeng zhi jun.²²⁵ Considering the status quo order of the Song ancestral temple setting. Sun worried that it might defy the "ritual intent of the ancient kings" 先王之禮意, if the court blatantly abrogated Xizu's temple. 226 The new emperor

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Jiu tangshu, 213: 4122. Gao Mingshi argued that the *shifeng zhi jun* should be a real founder of an empire (*chuangyezhe* 創業者). Yet, one cannot reach that conclusion based on Liu Mian's writing. Liu only stated that the *shifeng zhi jun* referred to the progenitor of a feudal lord and should be dignified as the *taizu* ancestor of the lord's lineage 故雖諸候,必有先也,亦以尊太祖焉. He never said that the progenitor of the feudal lord must be a real founder. Gao Mingshi, "Lifa yiyixiade zongmiao," 39.

²²⁵ SHY, *li*, 15:35; XCB 198: 4811.

²²⁶ Ibid.

Yingzong 英宗 (r. 1063-1067) was persuaded by Sun Bian. Eventually, Yingzong decided to preserve Xizu's chamber in the Imperial Temple throughout his reign.

Following Yingzong's death in 1068, a new dispute over Xizu's ritual status was triggered. In order to find a chamber to place Yingzong's tablet, the Commission of Ritual Affairs suggested to remove Xizu's tablet from the Imperial Temple. Zhang Fangping 張方平 (1007-1091), the head of the Bureau of Ritual, championed the Commission's solution and claimed that the new *zhaomu* sequence should also be adopted in state sacrifices, such as *di* and *xia* sacrifices. Zhang perceived the *zhaomu* sequence as something with mythical power: It regulated generations, rectified important imperial sacrifices, and "illuminated the essence of benevolence and integrity in the utmost extremity" 極仁義之本.²²⁷ In Zhang's opinion, only those long-lasting dynasties, like Han, Jin and Tang, were able to rectify the *zhaomu* sequence due to their longevity. In this sense, the removal of Xizu's tablet at the beginning of Shenzong's reign 神宗 (r. 1067-1085) not only represented the temporary success of the meritocratic approach in regulating Song temple rites, but it also showed the court's determination to resolve the disputed order of the *zhaomu* sequence and the ritual status of the Primal Ancestor.

2.3 Conclusion

Since the Shang period, ancient Chinese developed various ritual apparatuses to conceptualize their surrounding world. The *zhaomu* sequence as an essential part of imperial ancestral rites, together with other Confucian rites in relation to ancestral worship, was institutionalized during Zhou and Han periods. Given the central role

²²⁷ SHY, *li*, 15:36.

played by the *zhaomu* sequence in the Han discourse of sacrificial and death rites, two general Han interpretations of the nature of *zhaomu* could be recognized. The first defined the *zhaomu* sequence as a ritual manifestation of familial hierarchy, in which the *zhao* rank was always superior. Hence, the *zhaomu* sequence was used to distinguish seniors from juniors within a family or a clan. The *Xunzi*, the *Hanshi waizhuan* and Western Han Gongyang Confucians all indicated that the *zhaomu* sequence encompassed a hierarchical relationship. Huang Kan's 皇侃 (488-545) sub-commentary on the *Analects*, the *Lunyu yishu* 論語義疏 (*Elucidation of the Meaning of the Analects*) best represented this kind of interpretation. In Huang's account of Confucius' conception of *di* and *xia* sacrifices, he claimed that the character *zhao* conveyed a meaning of "illumination" (*ming* 明); hence, it represented the son's reverence to his father. In a reciprocal manner, *mu*, which carries the meaning of "respect (*jing* 敬)," signifies the due respect paid to the father by the son. ²²⁸ Evidently, Huang's definition assumed an unbalanced structure within the *zhaomu* order.

The second Han interpretation of *zhaomu*'s nature conceptualized it more like a genealogical marker. The *Summary of Sacrifice* of the *Book of Rites* solely stated that the *zhaomu* sequence was utilized to differentiate general relations between different kinship relations. It never claimed that the *zhaomu* sequence indicated a hierarchical order.

Likewise, in the main text of the *Ritual of Zhou* and other Confucian Classics, *zhao* and *mu* ranks were presented more as designations of different generations, rather than

²²⁸ He Yan 何晏 (~249), and Huang Kan 皇侃 (488-545), *Luyu jijie yishu* 論語集解義疏 (*Collective Elucidations of the Meaning of the Analects*), in *Zhibuzuzhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 (Taibei: Xingzhong shuju, 1964), 3:10.

stratified concepts. Moreover, there were also some Han interpretations that tended to approach *zhaomu* merely from a spatial perspective, which indicated its applicability in both spiritual and household aspects.

The centralization and intensification of Han imperial ancestral rites caused the collapse of the old Zhou orthodoxy of ancestral-worship on the conceptual level. The Han dynasty witnessed the emergence of different ritual discourses on temple configuration and court-temple relationship, in particular, a differentiation of political and religious spheres regarding most ancestral sacrifices. As a result, the Tang dynasty focused more on the practical aspects of temple rites, especially the number of temples and the Primal Ancestor's ritual status. The mid-and-late Tang ritual debates surrounding these practical issues revealed a profound conflict between the two ritual approaches of meritocracy and filial piety, which continued to shape the Northern Song ritual controversy. In the first half of the eleventh century, Xizu's ritual status became a focus of both ritualist concern and political vision. From Zhang Zhao and Song Si to Sima Guang, an advocacy of meritocracy was implied in the early Song narrative of ancestral rites. Miranda Brown argues that some Northern Song scholars' rediscovery of Han stele inscriptions contributed to the proliferation of local shrines dedicated to the worthies (shengci 聖祠), especially during the Southern Song period.²²⁹ In practice, the rite of enshrining worthies represented a long tradition of making sacrifices to someone who made concrete contributions to society. For instance Sima Guang asserted: "Since the Han period, the prefectural and commandery officials who had managed the people compassionately have

²²⁹ Miranda Brown, *The Politics of Mourning in Early China* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2007), 134-35.

been bestowed living enshrinements. Although this was not an institution of the ancient kings, it nevertheless emanated from the memories of worthies and thus should not be abrogated" 由漢以來,牧守有惠政於民者,或為之生祠。雖非先王之制,皆發於人之去思,亦不可廢也. 230 By the same reasoning, Sima and the other ritualists believed that the ritual authority of imperial ancestors should be rooted in their contributions that were perceptible to the people. Although there were other scholars (such as Sun Bian, Song Qi, Liu Chang and Yang Shi) who disagreed with this meritocratic approach and championed the ritual superiority of Xizu, a more sophisticated explanation of the reasoning of filial piety only appeared after Wang Anshi initiated his New Reform in 1069. The intrinsic relations between Wang's political reform and his advocacy of Xizu's ritual centrality, as well as scholar-officials' attitudes toward changes in ancestral rites during the transition period of the late eleventh century, is the focus of the next chapter.

One conclusive remark about the early Song ritual debates concerns how the unusual brother succession between Taizu and Taizong crystallized the tension between political interests and ritual practices. Zhenzong's hesitation in differentiating Taizu and Taizong's *zhaomu* ranks might be attributed to his anxiety about the potential stress between the two emperors' line of lineage. Indeed, a number of Song people realized the succession crisis in the power transition from Taizu to Taizong.²³¹ In Zhenzong's early reign, as the political climate was still very tense and sensitive, any ritual arrangements

²³⁰ Sima, Chuanjia ji, 71:2; Miranda, The Politics of Mourning, 135. Translation slightly modified.

²³¹ Chaffee, *Branches of Heaven*, 26-27. For a detailed analysis of the succession crisis between Taizu and Taizong, see Li Yuming 李裕民, "Jiekai 'fusheng zhuying' zhimi" 揭開"斧聲燭影"之謎 (To solve the mystery of 'the chopping sound of axe and the shadow of candle'), in *Songshi xintan* 宋史新探 (*New Investigations about the Song History*) (Xian: Shanxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 1999), 16-29.

related to the succession issue would be scrutinized through the lens of political crisis. In this light, Zhenzong's extreme cautiousness with respect to the *zhaomu* designation of his father Taizong reflected the emperor's centrist position in balancing the interest of the Taizong line and the Taizu line on both political and ritual dimensions. While Taizong's line has successfully monopolized the throne, supposedly Taizu's line would be ritually honored to serve as a form of psychological compensation. However, the court should also avoid a ritual belittlement of Taizong's status in the performance of ancestral sacrifices, as it would undermine the political authority of the present ruling family. Most of the Northern Song emperors' ritual decisions were characterized by this negotiating mechanism in referring to the balance of ritual and political power. Moreover, as the Northern Song court set strict limits on the imperial kin clansmen's access to power, the zhaomu sequence offered a kind of ritual indemnity to these clansmen. To some extent, the clansmen's lack of real political power was counterbalanced by the elevation of their ancestors' ritual status in the Imperial Temple. Although Taizu's descendants was barred from any substantive power for most of the time in the Northern Song period, ²³² the Song ritualists' incessant advocacy of an elevation of Taizu's ritual status pacified people's discontentment with the monopoly of the throne by Taizong's line. In Liu Chang's words, the transition of the emperor's absolutist power must be ritually "framed" (ge 格) by the zhaomu sequence. Otherwise, it would result in a crisis of legitimacy, as everyone would ask "where did the current emperor receive his mandate and the right of

²³² Chaffee, Branches of Heaven, 25-30.

governance" 則天下受之誰乎?²³³ A failure to answer this vital question could be disastrous and imperiled the future of the empire.

²³³ Liu, "weixiong houyi," 41:6.

CHAPTER 3: THE 1072 PRIMAL ANCESTOR DEBATE AND THE 1079 ZHAOMU DEBATE: TWO CASE STUDIES OF THE SONG RITUAL CONTROVERSY

The ritual controversy over ancestral rites during the Northern Song period was greatly accelerated and intensified by two major court debates during Song Shenzong's 宋神宗 (r. 1067-1085) reform of administration and officialdom during the Xining and the Yuanfeng eras (*Xifeng xinzheng* 熙豐新政). At Shenzong's court, with sophisticated ritual languages and vocabularies, ritual experts increasingly disagreed with each other about the ritual status of the Primal Ancestor in the imperial lineage and the correct arrangement of *zhaomu* sequence. The political context of ritual discussions had undergone a major transformation during this period and thus the discussions differed from earlier ones.

3.1 The 1072 Primal Ancestor Controversy

3.1.1 An Evaluation of Both Sides of the 1072 Debate

Shenzong's reign has usually been regarded as a watershed in Song history. He was a forward-looking emperor who was eager for a fundamental change. During his reign, the Song reformer Wang Anshi initiated the celebrated New Reform (xinfa 新法)—also referred as the Major Reform to distinguish it from the Minor Reform during the Qingli era 慶曆新政 (1043-1045). In the spring of the third year of the Xining 熙寧 era (1070), Wang was promoted to the position that was equivalent to the Grand Councilor (pinzhangzhengshi 平章政事, practically, a "prime minister" of the Northern Song

All things originate from Heaven; man originates from his ancestor. The purpose of ancient temple setting is to keep the less related [ancestors in the sacrificial sequence] without forgetting them, to take care of the distant [ancestors] without leaving them...Considering the sequence of seniority, and the priority of ancestral worship, even if the descendant has merit as great as that of the Sages, he cannot take precedence over his ancestor. This is the general Way of all-under-Heaven for thousands of generations. Since the imperial lineage prior to Xizu is untraceable, Xizu should be designated as the Primal Ancestor of the Song dynasty, as the same as the Zhou progenitor Zhi and the Shang progenitor Oi. Yet, nowadays Xizu's temple is removed and his spirit tablet is placed in the Subsidiary Chamber. This kind of practice defies the principle of filial piety and the spirit of serving the dead as serving the living, as it attaches the superior ancestor to his inferior offspring [in the ancestral space of the Subsidiary Chamber]. Occasionally, there may be some historical precedents for such a practice; yet we find no proof in the Classics. Under the sage regime of Your Majesty, it is the right time to remodel ancestral rites on the basis of decency.

²³⁴ For a brief introduction of the duty and power of the Song Grand Councilor, see E.A. Kracke, *Civil Service in Early Sung China:* 960-1067 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), 30-32.

Zase Extensive research has been done on the new policies carried out by Wang Anshi. For example, see James T. C. Liu. Reform in Sung China: Wang An-shih (1021-1086) and His New Politics (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 4-7; Henry R. Williamson, Wang An Shih, Chinese Statesman and Educationalist of the Sung Dynasty (London: A. Prosthain, 1935-37), 2:251-61, 290-303;322-346; Frederick Mote, Imperial China, 900-1800 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 138-144; Deng Guangming 鄧廣銘, Beisong zhengzhi gaigejia Wang Anshi 北宋政治改革家王安石 (Wang Anshi's Political Reforms during the Northern Song Dynasty) (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2007), 154-241; Qi Xia 漆俠, Wang Anshi bianfa 王安石變法 (Wang Anshi's Major Reform), (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1979), 100-168; 269-287; Ichio Higashi 東一夫, Ō Anseki shinpō no kenkyū 王安石新法の研究 (A Study of Wang Anshi's New Policies) (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1970), 394-920.For a comprehensive literature review of Wang's New Policies, see Li Huarui 李華瑞, Wang Anshi bianfa yanjiushi 王安石變法研究史 (A Literature Review of the Studies on Wang Anshi's New Reform) (Beijing: Renming chubanshe, 2004), esp. 327-599.

²³⁶ The exact date was the eighth day of the third month of 1072. SHY, *li* 禮 (ritual), 15:37. One of the core components of the New Policies, the Regulations on Market Trading (*shiyifa* 市易法), was also implemented at the third month of the same year.

萬物本乎天,人本乎祖。先天廟祀之制,有疏而無絕,有遠而無遺.....若夫尊卑之位,先後之序,則子孫雖齊聖有功,不得以加其祖考,天下萬世之通道也。竊以本朝自僖祖以上,世次不可得知,則僖祖有廟,與契稷無以異。今毀其廟,而藏其主夾室,替祖考之尊而下祔於子孫,殆非所以順祖宗孝心、事亡如存之義。求之前載,雖或有然,考合於經,乃無成憲。因情禮制,實在聖時。²³⁷

The timing of the increased implementation of Wang Anshi's Major Reform and the Secretariat-Chancellery's launching of the debate concerning Xizu's ritual status was not a coincident. The memorial quoted above no doubt represented Wang's opinion. In fact, Wang drafted the Secretariat-Chancellery memorial himself. As early as 1059, Wang has already submitted a celebrated memorial to Renzhong 仁宗 (r. 1022-1063), in which he proposed a core idea of his envisioned reform, i.e., the "regulatory system" (fadu 法度). Without considering the in-depth meaning of this notion, one might have difficulty perceiving Wang's intention in bringing up a ritual issue at the culmination of his Major Reform.

In my view, the answer resides in Wang's conception of *fadu* and in his criticism of conventional practice of statecraft and also in his functionalist perception of ritual as a key means to discipline the society. In his article "On Ritual and Music," Wang alleged

²³⁷ SHY, *li*, 15:37. Gu Donggao 顧楝高 (1679-1759) dated this memorial to the sixth year of the Xining era, which was 1073. Gu Donggao, *Wangjinggong nianpu* 王荊公年譜 (*A Chronicle of Wang Anshi, the Duke of County Jin*), in Wu Hongze 吳洪澤, Yin Bo 尹波, ed. *Songren nianpu congkan* 宋人年譜叢刊 (*Collections of chronicles of Song People*), (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2003), 1999. Yet Li Tao's *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* provided a detailed explanation on the dating of this memorial. Based on the compilation format of court documents, Li has persuasively proved that the correct year should be 1072, instead of 1073. See XCB, 232: 5629.

²³⁸ The draft can be found in Wang's anthology. See "Miaoyi dazi" 廟議箚子 (A draft memorial on temple rites), Wang, *Linchuan ji*, 42: 269.

²³⁹ "Shang Renzong huangdi yanshishu" 上仁宗皇帝言事書 (A letter to Emperor Renzong on some issues), Wang, *Linchuan ji*, 39: 243. For the significance of this letter in the formation of Wang Anshi's political thought, see Higashi, *Ō Anseki shinpō*, 955-957.

that the essence of ritual and music was reflected in the ancient model of regulatory system, legislative codes, and administrative policies (*fadu xingzheng* 法度刑政). For instance, he wrote: "The Way of the Ancient Kings that can be transmitted to the succeeding generations in words and that can be put into effect is regulatory systems, legislative codes, and administrative policies, rather than abstract motions of their spiritual enlightenment"是故先王之道可以傳諸言、效諸行者,皆其法度刑政,而非神明之用也.²⁴⁰ Although the Song government had numerous laws and codes at Wang's time, Wang still regarded the Song as suffering from a lack of "regulatory systems" because in many circumstances the laws and codes "failed to suit the regulatory system of the Ancient Kings"方今之法度,多不合於先王之法度故也.²⁴¹ In distinguishing himself from the conventional Confucian conception of moral politics, Wang advocated that the government should rule the world through a good "regulatory system," a system that governed society on the basis of concrete ancient regulations, codes, and politics.

But what constitutes the core element of a good regulatory system, aside from law codes (*xing* 刑) and administrative policies (*zheng* 政)? Wang provides the answer

²⁴⁰ "Liyue lun" 禮樂論 (On ritual and music), Wang, *Linchuan ji*, 66:423. Williamson, *Wang An Shih*, 362; Liu, *Refrom in Sung China*, 42. In this text and some others following, I consulted Williamson and Liu's translations, with some modification. Some scholars examined the usage of "Ancient Kings" or "Former Kings" 先王 in Wang Anshi's writings and argue that for Wang and other Northern Song Confucians this word conveys no special meaning (Zhang Yuan 張元, Cong Wang Anshi de xianwang guannian kanta yu Songshenzong de guanxi 從王安石的先王觀念看他與宋神宗的關係 (Exploring the relationship between Wang Anshi and Song Shenzong from the former's conception of the Ancient Kings), *Songshi yanjiuji* 宋史研究集 (*Studies on Song History*) (Taibei: Zhonghua congshu bianshen weiyuanhui, 1993), v.23, 273-299). Yet, the "Liyue lun" reveals that at least for Wang the institutions and regulations set up by the "Ancient Kings" are something concrete and practical. In other words, the Way of the ancient kings bears a specific indication in Wang's writings.

²⁴¹ "Yi shangdian dazi" 擬上殿箚子 (A draft memorial for palace presentation), Wang, *Linchuan ji*, 41:261; Liu, *Refrom in Sung China*, 43.

elsewhere in his writing. In an article entitled "On Laozi," ²⁴² Wang succinctly discussed the principle and various practices of the "Way" (*dao* 道). His main thesis was that Laozi was wrong in proclaiming a theory of non-interference. According to Wang, even though the Way itself was indeed obscure and abstract, Sages could still manage the world by following its traces, the "four techniques" (*sishu* 四術), i.e., propriety, music, legislative codes and administrative policies (*liyue xingzheng* 禮樂刑政). As the "four techniques" embodied the traces of the Way, a qualified ruler would take up his responsibility to "regulate the ten thousand things" based on these traces 所以成萬物者也. ²⁴³ Comparing Wang's use of words in "On Ritual and Music" and in "On Laozi," the heart of what he called the "regulatory system" was propriety and music. ²⁴⁴ In this context, Wang assumed that the Song government could re-establish the regulatory system of the Ancient Kings through a revival of their ritual traditions. ²⁴⁵

A group of officials, led by a political ally of Wang Anshi, Yuan Jiang 元絳 (1008-1083), soon bolstered Wang's suggestion of changing the setting of the Imperial Temple (*taimiao*). On behalf of the Secretariat, they submitted a second memorial suggesting that Xizu should be honored as the Primal Ancestor and his temple should

²⁴² "Laozilun" 老子論 (On Laozi), Wang, Linchuan ji, 68:435-36.

²⁴³ "Laozilun" 老子論 (On Laozi), Wang, Linchuan ji, 436.

²⁴⁴ Also see "Zhouli yixu" 周禮義序 (Preface to the *Commentary on Ritual of Zhou*). Wang, *Linchuan ji*, 84:529.

²⁴⁵ For a general introduction of Wang's revivalism, see Higashi, *Ō Anseki shinpō*, 937-40.

correspondingly be erected at the center of the whole Imperial Temple configuration. The reasoning illustrated in this memorial is quite interesting and deserves special attention:

From ancient times, all the Kings who received providence from Heaven and owned All-under-Heaven by their merits traced their imperial lines back to their "original lineages," and thus honored their ancestors..... At the beginning of the Song dynasty, when Taizu received his mandate, His Majesty confirmed that the clan temple system should begin with Xizu's temple. As we are unable to know the imperial lineage prior to Xizu, there is no doubt that Xizu should be honored as the Primal Ancestor. If someone argues that Xizu should not be honored as the Primal Ancestor unlike the cases of Qi in the Xia and Zhi in the Zhou [since Xizu did not make great contribution to the Song state as Oi made to Xia and Zhi made to Zhou], then everyone under Heaven would not be able to honor their ancestors, since descendants could surpass their ancestors [in the ritual sequence] based on merits and individual achievements... As the "Birth to the People" poem in the Book of Songs says: "Worship your Ancestor!" In the Zhou period, as all the merits of King Wen and King Wu originated from Houzhi [the Primal Ancestor of the Zhou dynasty], Houzhi was made parallel to the [Zhou] Heaven [in ritual sacrifices for the purpose of honoring him]. As the Book of Songs worshipped ancestors rather than merits, and described the merits of Wen and Wu rather than that of Houzhi, we know that the reason why Houzhi was made parallel to Heaven was not because the Zhou people appreciated his contribution to the dynasty, but simply because they worshipped him as their ancestor. Since the Qin and Han periods, official archives and records have been lost; and complete versions of the rites were no longer available. Therefore, the original meaning of ancestral worship began to fade away. Moreover, it is difficult to discuss this issue on the basis of diverse later Confucian discourse. Hence, after examining ancient Classics and taking into consideration worldly wisdom, we ministers conclude that Xizu's temple should be regarded as the Primal Ancestor temple, because it matches the natural norm of ancestral worship, instead of defying it.

自古受命之王,既以功德饗有天下,皆推其本統以尊事其祖......今太祖受命之初,立親廟自僖祖始。僖祖以上世次既不可得而知,然則僖祖之為始祖無疑矣。儻以謂僖祖不當比契稷為始祖,是以天下之不復知尊祖,而子孫得以有功加其祖考也......《詩序.生民》曰:尊祖也。文、武之功起於后稷,故推以配天焉。蓋言尊祖而不言尊有功,言文、武之功而不言后稷之功,則知推后稷以配天者,以尊祖,而非以尊有功也。秦漢以來,典章殘缺,祖宗廟祧始失先天所以尊祖之意。諸儒異論,無所據考。臣等考之經傳,質之人情,謂宜以僖祖之廟為太祖,則合於先天之禮意,無所悖戾。²⁴⁶

²⁴⁶ SHY, *li*, 15:37-38. This memorial was also preserved in Yuan Jiang's biography in the *Dongdou Shilue* 東都事略 (*Succinct Historical Record of the Eastern Capital*), with slightly different wording. The fact that the memorial appeared in Yuan's personal biography further proves that he drafted its final version due to his exceptional talent on composing official letters. See Wang Cheng 王偁 (12th cen.), *Dongdou*

Grounded on the reasoning that the Primal Ancestor has to be honored, Yuan Jiang and some other officials introduced a novel idea, "the original lineage" 本统, to claim the necessity of placing Xizu's temple at the center, facing east. They argued that merits and personal achievements should not be overrated in the practice of ancestral worship, as it contradicted the principle of filial piety. For those forebears who had a lot of achievements and made significant contributions to the founding of the empire, such as King Wen and King Wu in the Zhou context, their achievements should be traced back to their "original lineage," i.e., their first progenitor. In this sense, Xizu and Houzhi were generally alike in initiating the blood line of imperial succession. Genealogically, they should be designated as the first progenitor within the ritualized space of the Imperial Temple. In short, Yuan Jiang and his fellows argued that seniority rather than personal achievements should weigh the most in ancestral sacrifices, as only in the former one could recognized the "natural spirit of ancestral worship."

In contrast to Yuan Jiang's suggestion to elevate Xizu's ritual status, other officials emphasized concrete achievements and merits in judging the position of the Primal Ancestor—a strategy that aimed to distract attention from Xizu's unparalleled role in initiating the imperial lineage. The Hanlin Academician (hanlinxueshi 翰林學士) Han Wei's 韓維 (1017-1098) opinion exemplified this standpoint. Han's suggestion was fundamentally conservative. First, he argued that the central place in the Temple should

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Shilue 東都事略 (Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1967), 81:4b (hereinafter refers to as DDSL). For a superb introduction of the value of the *Dongdou Shilue* as historical source and its relationship with Li Tao's *Xu changpian*, see Chen Shu 陳述, "*Dongdou Shilue* juanren Wang Shang Cheng fuzi." 東都事略撰人王賞稱父子 (The composer of the *Succinct Historical Record of the Eastern Capital*, the father Wang Shang and the son Wang Cheng), *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 8.1 (1939): 129-138.

be reserved for the ancestor with the temple title of "Taizu"太祖: the title itself was a designation for the first powerful leader who consolidated the empire. Because Xizu was not the real founder of the Song dynasty, the court should not replace the spirit tablet of the Taizu of Song—Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤 (927-976)—with that of Xizu for the central position. Second, regarding Yuan Jiang's examination of the notion of "original lineage," it was unknown to the Song court who Xizu's father was; here, Han implied that Xizu did not originate from a heroic or celebrated father, an irreverent remark about the Song imperial clan. Thus, Han argued that one could not equate Xizu with ancient sage ancestors such as Qi and Zhi, who possessed charismatic prestige and had noble origins. ²⁴⁷

Han further legitimized the conventional arrangement of Xizu's ritual status by examining the spatial positioning of the whole temple configuration. In the light of his reasoning, as the Song temple setting gathered all tablets in one single temple-hall (which was different from a typical ancient setting that placed different tablets in different temples), the West Subsidiary Chamber (*xijiashi* 西來室), where Xizu's tablet was placed, was actually located on the right side of his son Shunzu's 順祖 chamber.

According to Han, given that the right side was symbolically superior, ²⁴⁸ the conventional

²⁴⁷ SHY, *li*, 15:37-38; DDSL, 81:5a.

SHY, *li*, 15:37-38; DDSL, 81:5a.

²⁴⁸ The perception that the right and the left are ritually unequal was not uncommon in the Middle Period of China, from the first century to the thirteenth century. Tang people usually regarded the right as superior in a host-guest seating plan. In general, the guest seat should be on the right, the host on left. Wang Dang 王讜 (fl. 1101-1110), *Tangyulin jiaozheng* 唐語林校證 (*Annotation of Tang Stories*), annotated Zhou Xunchu 周勛初 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 279. For sacrificial practices, Song people also regarded the right as more significant. In effect, right positions were usually reserved for ancestors with higher seniority. Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1308), *Qidong yeyu* 齊東野語 (*Rustic Words of a Man from Eastern Qi*), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju: 1983), 10:172-73.

practice actually accorded with the principle of patrilineal hierarchy because it spatially honored Xizu's ritual status as a father by letting him occupy the superior right side.²⁴⁹

Interestingly, Han admitted that Xizu's tablet should be placed at the center of the sacrificial space in *di* and *xia* sacrifices in order to manifest the correct *zhaomu* sequence.²⁵⁰ It seems that Han was hesitant to reduce Xizu's ritual status to a secondary level, at least on the dimension of state sacrifices. Hence, he suggested the preservation of Xizu's central place in these two grandiose state sacrificial rites. This inconsistency in ritual performance was noticed and severely criticized by later Confucians, such as Zhu Xi, and will be discussed in chapter 5.

Han Wei's suggestion to centralize Taizu's position in the temple architecture was further substantiated and elaborated upon by another Hanlin Academician, Sun Gu 孫固 (1016-1090). Despite his early personal friendship with Wang,²⁵¹ Sun was an unflinching conservative and a staunch member of the "anti-Wang Anshi" clique in politics.²⁵² At the very beginning of Shenzong's reign when the emperor asked for his advice, Sun had

²⁴⁹ 然今之廟室興古殊制, 古者每廟異宮, 今所以奉祖宗者,皆在一堂之上, 西夾室獨處順祖之右, 考之尊卑次序, 似亦無嫌. SHY, *li*, 15:38.

²⁵⁰ 至於禘祫, 自是序昭穆之際. 僖祖東饗, 禮無不順. SHY, li, 15:39.

²⁵¹ For their private friendship, see the Ming historian Ke Weiqi's 柯維騏 (1497-1574) comments of Sun Gu in his private history of the Song dynasty. By Ke's words, Sun Gu would rather "sacrifice his private friendship with Wang Anshi to avoid flattering Wang and taking his bait 寧輟其舊好,終不肯依阿受其誘餌." Songshi xinpian 宋史新編 (New Collection of Song History, hereinafter refers to as SSXP), (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1998), 115:7a. For a brief introduction about the historiographical value of Songshi Xinpian, see Chan Hok-lam 陳學霖, "Ke Weiqi Songshi Xinpian shuping" 柯維騏宋史新編述評 (Review on Ke Weiqi's New Collection of Song History), in Songshi yanjiuji 宋史研究集 (Studies on Song History) (Taibei: Zhonghua congshu bianshen weiyuanhui, 1990), v.20, 489-526.

²⁵² DDSL, 81:6a-7a.

already expressed his disagreement with Wang Anshi's promotion to be the Grand Councilor. 253 In 1172, Sun served as the Edict Attendant of the Tian Zhang Pavilion (*Tianzhangge daizhi* 天章閣待制), a close court position that provided him with numerous chances to discuss state policies with the emperor. In comparison with Han Wei, Sun's opinion on Xizu's ritual status was more straightforward. He explicitly asserted that Xizu did not deserve the Primal-Ancestor position in the Imperial Temple. According to Sun, only those heroes who made great contributions to all-under-Heaven could be the focal point of temple sacrifices offered to Heaven. As Xizu's contribution was so obscure—if there was any—his spirit should not be honored in an extraordinary way. Sun elaborated:

Xizu's virtue is non-illuminative to the populace and his grace does not clearly penetrate to later generations. If we equate him with Houzhi in ritual by regarding him as the Primal Ancestor, I am afraid that his spirit would not dare receive the central position [of the temple sacrifices] since it is inappropriate. By the same token, the spirit of the Lord on High would not receive the offerings since they were not accompanied by an appropriate "human partner."

今僖祖之德,不昭見於生民,不明被於後世,乃欲以齊后稷之廟,當始祖之禮。 臣恐僖祖之神,非所居而不受;上帝之靈,非所配而不饗.²⁵⁴

Like Han Wei, Sun took a rather eclectic attitude towards the ritual positioning of Xizu's tablet in such state sacrifices as the di and xia. More importantly, Sun thoroughly revealed the latent intellectual tension between the two groups of Northern Song scholar-officials. In his memorial, Sun severely criticized those officials who believed that the supreme ritual authority of the Three Dynasties ($sandai \equiv \uparrow \uparrow$) was unchanging. In Sun's

²⁵³ DDSL, 81:6a-b; SSXP: 115: 2a-2b. Also see SS, 341: 10874-10875.

²⁵⁴ SHY, *li*, 15:40.

opinion, the ancient rites were rooted in human emotions and could be adjusted to suit contemporary needs. In this light, officials who "championed ancient rites and institutions in an overwhelming way were actually defying the appropriateness of contemporary institutions" 所謂慕古而違當世之宜者也.²⁵⁵ Thus, Sun implied that concrete historical precedents from the Han and Tang experience were more compelling than the imagined practice of the Three Dynasties.

Wang Jie 王介(1015-1087), the Subeditor of the Imperial Archives, subsequently submitted another memorial to support Han Wei and Sun Gu. Wang's major premise was that ritual was selected to reflect the definite reason of indefinite things: "While there are infinite things in the world, the principles behind things are finite. The origin of ritual and, more specifically, the limit of seven temples in imperial ancestral worship clearly demonstrates the reasoning of ritual practice, that is, to manage infinite things with finite principles" 物無窮而理有限,以有限制無窮。此禮之所以起而天子所以七廟也. 256 Therefore, imperial ancestral worship set a limit on the number of ancestors who should receive offerings; otherwise, the emperor would have to offer sacrifices to an endless list of ancestors. Consequently, the sages set seven as the furthest generation to which the royal house could build temples; and nine as the furthest generation to which the royal house could offer sacrifices. In other words, an emperor "could build a temple up to his fourth great-grandfather and offer sacrifices up to his

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ SHY, *li*, 15:41; XCB, 236: 5748.

sixth great-grandfather. All of these are demarcated by ritual"七廟自顯祖之外,而祧亦 猶九族,至高祖而止也,皆以禮為之界也. ²⁵⁷

In his study of Qing ritualism, Chow Kai-wing stated that Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107) built a linkage between kinship organization and the system of "five mourning grades" (wufu 五服). As a result, at the utmost within the mourning system, commoners in late imperial China could worship ancestors up to their great-great-grandfather even though they had no rights to erect any ancestral temple. 258 We see in Wang Jie's memorial exactly what Chow referred to as the "worship of the four immediate ancestors." This kind of reasoning offered ancestral rites a peculiar demarcating power between two spaces: the space where interactions between the living and the dead still take effect, and the space where the sense of connectedness between these two worlds eventually disappears. Consequently, ritual demarcates generational boundaries and disciplinary levels of intimacy in both horizontal and vertical directions. Therefore, in the case of imperial sacrifice, it is totally reasonable to remove the temple of an ancestor beyond the seventh generation, since his spirit exceeded the space of interaction and cannot affect the living anymore.

Wang Jie also developed Han Wei's and Sun Gu's meritocratic approach in defining the ritual status of the Primal Ancestor. He argued that by definition the Primal Ancestor should be either a feudal lord with a fief or a king who received the mandate

²⁵⁷ SHY, *li*, 15:41; XCB, 236: 5748-49.

²⁵⁸ Kai-wing Chow, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 99-103.

²⁵⁹ Ibid. 100-102.

from Heaven to form a lineage 無始封之君, 則亦祖受命而王者耳. 260 Since Xizu belonged to neither one, he was not qualified for the Primal-Ancestor position. Thus, Wang suggested the court remove Xizu's tablet from the Imperial Temple as its ritual status exceeded the latter's normal configuration of seven temples. Ironically, although Wang alleged that Xizu should be classified as one of the two "yao" 祧 ancestors based on the ritual regulations recorded in the Jifa 祭法 (The Law of Sacrifice) chapter in the Book of Rites, 261 his acceptance of the authenticity of Jifa was not without reservation. 262 In much the same way, Sun Gu also cast doubt not only on the validity of Jifa but also on the entire collection of the Book of Rites as a reliable source. 263 This suspicion regarding the Book of Rites, especially the record of Jifa, largely reflected the sense of uncertainty that saturated the mind of most Song ritual scholars at the early stage of the paradigm shift from Tang textualism to Song textual criticism. 264

²⁶⁰ XCB, 236: 5749; SHY, *li*, 15:41.

²⁶¹ The temples which placed the spiritual tablets of the *yao* ancestors were correspondingly named as *yao* temples. Only seasonal sacrifices were offered to the *yao* ancestors, according to *Jifa*. Some Han and Qing scholars argued that the character *yao* denoted a meaning of "surpassing" in the context of *Jifa*. In this sense, a *yao* ancestor means an ancestor who surpasses the demarcation line drawn by ritual in sacrificial practices. See Zhu, *Liji xunzuan*, 694; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, v.4, 204.

²⁶² After he quoted a phrase from *Jifa*, Wang almost immediately acknowledged that the text itself might not be a ritual legacy of the ancient sage kings. SHY, *li*, 15:41.

 $^{^{263}}$ Sun argued that after the Qin 秦 (221-207 B.C.) destruction of ancient Confucian norms and text, the ritual Classics that were left were incomplete; sections of the text of the Classics were intermingled with the private writings and commentaries of Han Confucians. SHY, li, 15:39.

²⁶⁴ Suspicions on the authenticity of the *Jifa* chapter continued to grow throughout the transition period from Xining and Yuanfeng to the end of the Northern Song dynasty. A late Northern Song scholar, Lü Benzhong 呂本中 (1084-1145), who came from a family with strong scholastic background, also regarded the *Jifa* description of *di* 禘 and *xia* 祫 rites as suspicious. See Lü Benzhong, *Ziwei zashuo* 紫微雜說 (*Miscellaneous Speeches of Lü Benzhong*), *Quan Song biji* 全宋筆記, Series 3: Vol. 6, comp. Zhu Yian 朱 易安 et al. (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2006), 65-66.

Interestingly, Wang Jie adopted the notion of "righteousness of change" (bian zhi zheng 變之正) to explain the discrepancy between Xizu's ritual position in the di and xia sacrifices and in other temple rites. Since most temple rites were regularly held, centering Taizu's tablet in these rites symbolized Zhao Kuangyin's great contributions to the founding of the Song Empire. However, in the di and xia sacrifices, which were less frequently performed, 265 the centering of Xizu's tablet would be relatively acceptable because the court in these rites could still proclaim the principle of filial piety by advocating Xizu's prestige as the "furthest"—but not the "first"—ancestor. 266

The ritual debate between the Yuan Jiang clique and Han Wei, Sun Gu and Wang Jie was so difficult to resolve that more officials and scholars were drawn into the vortex of ritual politics in the second half of 1072. Some ritual experts, who had served in the Commission of Ritual Affairs for a long time, such as Liang Tao 梁燾 (1034-1097)²⁶⁷ and Zhang Gongyu 張公裕, chose to follow Han, Sun and Wang by opposing the suggestion of centering Xizu's tablet and honoring him as the Primal Ancestor. Liang argued that "even if a perfect imperial-temple setting of six temples was built during Taizu's reign, Xizu's temple would be counted as the third one, according to genealogical sequence; obviously, one could not designate him as the "first" ancestor" 若使廟數備六,則更當上推兩世,而僖祖次在第三,亦未可謂之始祖也.²⁶⁸ Instead, Liang and Zhang

²⁶⁵ Generally, *di* was performed once every three years, and *xia* once every five years.

²⁶⁶ SHY, li, 15:42; XCB, 236: 5750.

²⁶⁷ For Liang Tao's brief biography, see SSXP, 7a-9a; SS, 342:10887-10891.

²⁶⁸ SHY, *li*, 15:44.

suggested building a new "lateral temple" to house Xizu's tablet, a temple with Xizu's title (Xizu miao 僖祖廟).

However, some neophytes at ritual politics, such as the Associate Manager of the Commission of Ritual Affairs (tongzhiliyuan 同知禮院), Su Sui 蘇稅, tended to advocate a compromise in spatializing Xizu's ritual status. Against Sun Gu and Wang Jie's provocative idea of ranking Xizu among the yao ancestors—a move by which they emblematically removed Xizu from the correlating space where the living and the dead could still interact, Su highlighted the necessity of maintaining Xizu's status as the Primal Ancestor. However, since the "traces" (ji 迹) of Xizu's contributions were relatively obscure—in particular, compared with those of Qi and Houzhi, the Primal Ancestors of respectively Shang and Zhou dynasties—temple rites involving his spirit should be accordingly performed in a less solemn way. To illustrate the difference, Su suggested that the court placed Xizu's tablet in the Jingling Palace 景靈宮 (literally, the Palace of Grandiose Spirit) —an imperial architectural structure with deep Daoist symbolism built for special sacrificial purposes.²⁶⁹ By positing Xizu's spirit in a Daoist sacrificial space, Su seemingly attempted to reconcile the discrepancy between Xizu's deficiency of actual contributions and his supreme position in the genealogical sequence of the Song imperial family.

Moreover, since the relocation of Xizu's tablet would have far-reaching effects on the whole system of imperial sacrifice, Su also suggested the court call for a broader consultation that would include comments and reports from officials of different ranks

²⁶⁹ SHY, *li*, 15:45-46.

who came from the Department of State Affairs (*shangshusheng zhusi baiguan* 尚書省諸司百官), and, if possible, from court fortune-tellers (*bushizhe*) 卜筮者. ²⁷⁰ If these individuals made comments, they were not preserved in extant historical sources. Nonetheless, the *Songhuiyao*, the collection of Song official achieve, preserves some remnants of the comments made by officials from other ritual departments. Indeed, in the eleventh month of 1072, after Yuan Jiang, Sun Gu, Han Wei, and Wang Jie's memorials had been submitted to the Secretariat, Shenzong and his councilors decided to send them to the Court of Imperial Rites and Ceremonies for further discussion. ²⁷¹ Officials who served in the Commission of Ritual Affairs still played an important role in the discussion, since the Commission held the real power in finalizing ritual agendas. Yang Jie 楊傑, ²⁷² the Archivist of the Commission, together with another Associate Manager of the Commission, Song Chongguo 宋充國, and an Assistant Ritual Administrator of the

²⁷⁰ SHY, *li*, 15:46.

²⁷¹ In practice, the Court of Imperial Rites was not responsible for the performance of court sacrificial rites prior to the Yuanfeng era. See Zhu Yi 朱溢, "Cong jiaoqiuzhizheng dao tiandifenhe zhizheng: Tang zhi beiSong shiqi jiaosizhushenwei debianhua" 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 (From Suburban-Altar controversy to the separation of South-Altar and North-Altar sacrifices: the shift of the main tablet's position in state Altar sacrifice from Tang to Song), *Hanxueyanjiu* 漢學研究 27:2 (2009): 283-284.

²⁷² Yang Jie was a key player in the Xining-Yuanfeng ritual reform. According to the editor of his anthology, Zhao Shican 趙士獻, Yang was a ritual expert with a literati flavor. His poetry was deeply influenced by Ouyang Xiu, Wang Anshi and Su Shi. See Yang Jie, Wuweiji 無為集 (Anthology of Non-interference), in Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), xu (preface), v.1099, 1-2; 11:11,13. It is believed that most of the modifications to sacrificial music during the Yuanfeng period can be attributed to his endeavors. For Yang Jie's discussions on sacrificial music, see Wuweiji, 15:8-16. However, since he admired and was probably influenced by Buddhist teachings, he was severely criticized by some Southern Song Confucians. SSXP, 170:23a; DDSL, 115:8b. Yang was also an "academic friend" (jiangyou 講友) of the early Song pedagogical reformer, Hu Yuan 胡瑗 (993-1059). Wang Zicai 王梓材 (1792-1851), Feng Yunhao 馮雲濠 compiled, Gaoben Songyuanxuean buyi 稿本宋元 學案補遺 (Addendum to the Case Studies of Song and Yuan Scholarship in Manuscript Form), (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2002), 27.

Court of Imperial Sacrifices, Zhou Mengyang 周孟陽, asked for a reconsideration of Xizu's position in the *di* sacrifice.²⁷³ By differentiating the notion of "Primal Ancestor (*shizu*)" from the notion of "founding ancestor (*taizu*)," they claimed Xizu's legitimacy would parallel the spirit of the "Responding to Birth Deity" (*ganshengdi* 咸生帝) in court sacrifices.

Zhang Heng 章衡 (1025-1099), the nephew of the notorious reformer Zhang Dun章惇 (1035-1105), provided a brilliant summary of all the points discussed earlier concerning the elevation of Xizu's ritual status. According to Zhang, Xixu should not be classified as one of the two "yao" ancestors outside the ancestral space of seven temples. Since the imperial lineage prior to Xizu was untraceable, Xizu should be honored as the Primal Ancestor (echoing Yuan Jiang's point). 274 Second, as the ancient sage kings without exception traced their imperial lines back to their "original lineage," the principle of filial piety should take precedence over merit in determining the priority of genealogical sequence (again, echoing Yuan Jiang's point). 275 Third, if Xizu's tablet was placed on the right side of Shunzu (Xizu's son), it would still defy filial piety as it degraded the father's ritual status by spatially positioning him in a lateral direction

²⁷³ SHY, *li*, 15: 46-47.

²⁷⁴ "Since the imperial lineage prior to Xizu was untraceable, Zizu was by logic the First Ancestor of the Song dynasty, the same as Zhi and Qi (in Zhou and Shang cases). How can we destroy Xizu's temple and remove his tablet from it" 僖祖以上, 世次不可得而知. 則僖祖之為始祖, 與稷契無以異. 豈可毀其廟而遷其主乎? SHY, *li*, 15: 48.

²⁷⁵ "The ancient sage kings traced their imperial lines back to their "original lineage". Those with "thick virtue" will bring their offspring prosperity. Therefore, in tracing back to the origin of the clan, merits and fief lands should not be considered as the necessary conditions of the "First Ancestor"王者尊本統之祖,德厚者流光,故上推所始,非必有功與封國也,Ibid.

(against Han Wei's point to place Xizu's tablet in the West Subsidiary Chamber).²⁷⁶
Fourth, countering the recommendation of Zhang Gongyu and Liang Tao, Sun asserted that it was also inappropriate to build a new Xizu Temple as it would violate the *a priori* spirit of ancestral ritual.²⁷⁷

The 1072 debate lasted for approximately half a year, yet the court still could not reach a final decision. Consequently, the Secretariat-Chancellery made the choice on behalf of Emperor Shenzong. The emperor agreed to Yuan Jiang's plan and thus relocated Xizu and his wife's spirit tablets to the central chamber of the Imperial Temple in 1073. The *Songhuiyao* documented an interesting conversation between Shenzong and Wang Anshi that reveals how the elevation of Xizu's status was finally legitimized by Wang through a careful weaving of Confucian values and utilitarian reasoning. On the one hand, Wang admitted that he found no direct proof in the Confucian Classics of the practice of honoring an ancestor without merit. However, according to a sense of integrity (*yili* 義理), the factor of hereditariness should take precedence over merit in determining the priority of ancestors in the sequence of imperial lineage. ²⁷⁹ Regarding the

²⁷⁶ "Someone argues that it is appropriate to place Xizu's tablet on the right side of Shunzu, as the right side is symbolically more superior and will be consistent with the principle of filial piety. This is not correct. How could the inferior (descendant) occupy the magnificent center position yet the superior (ancestor Xizu) be placed on the lateral side? Could this be called a practice in accordance with ritual" 僖祖神主處順祖之右,議者以為以右為尊,尊卑無嫌,此不然也……何以堂皇正位,卑者都之,而列尊屬于榮廡之間,其可謂之禮乎? SHY, *li*, 15: 48-49.

²⁷⁷ "The so-called 'side temple' was not recorded in Ritual Classics" 別廟之制, 經典無文. SHY, *li*, 15: 49.

²⁷⁸ SHY, *li* 15: 50. Xizu's wife was posthumously bestowed the empress title of "Wenyi"文懿 in the year 960.

²⁷⁹ SHY. *li* 15: 49.

Zhou case, although the rise of Zhou as a new dynasty should be attributed to the two sage kings, King Wen and King Wu, neither of them were qualified for the ritual identity of the Primal Ancestor. Only the legendary ancestor, Houzhi, who gave birth to the entire Zhou lineage, could be regarded as a ritual counterpart of Heaven in both state and Imperial Temple sacrifices. By the same token, in the Song context, the only ancestor who could be compared to Houzhi in paralleling Heaven was Xizu; hence, Wang legitimized Xizu's ritual status.

On the other hand, by reiterating the *Book of Rites* statement mentioned in the early memorial, "all things originate from Heaven; man originates from his ancestor" 萬物本乎天, 人本乎祖, Wang legitimized Xizu's ritual status from a metaphysical perspective. Indeed, in his response to Shenzong's inquiry regarding why, despite a lack of merit, Gun 鯀, the legendary father of the sage king Yu 禹 was qualified for a central position in the suburban altar sacrifice, Wang argued that "the King always associates his Great Ancestor with Heaven in sacrificial practices; therefore, he makes offerings to both Heaven and his Great Ancestor in suburban altar sacrifice. If the ritual status of the Primal Ancestor is defined by merit, how could Gun—an ancestor without any merit—be honored by his son Yu" 王者天太祖, 故配天以祖。若以有功, 則郊鯀豈得為有功也?²⁸⁰ By bridging Xunzi's theory of induction between Heaven and the *taizu* (the Great Ancestor) with the meritocracy-versus-hereditariness context of the 1072 debate, Wang tactically formulated his own Primal-Ancestor approach through a distinction between

²⁸⁰ SHY, *li* 15: 50.

the heavenly Way (*tiandao* 天道) and the human Way (*rendao* 人道).²⁸¹ Unlike the human Way, which defines the ritual position of other departed ancestors based on their individual achievements, the heavenly Way determines the ritual status of the founding ancestor merely by his genealogical priority. In short, the more distant the ancestor was in genealogy, the more superior he became in ritual sequence. Hence, the designation of the Primal Ancestor solely marked the farthest ancestor.²⁸²

With Xizu's ritual status acknowledged as the Primal Ancestor in 1073, Wang Anshi vigorously pursued ritual reform in the succeeding years. His final decision, no doubt, constituted an important element of his broader scheme of re-establishing the ancient regulatory system through a revival of its ritual traditions. However, from a broader perspective of state policies, how should we conceive Wang Anshi's explicit intention to redefine the spirit of ancestral rites and his endeavor to highlight the notion of the Primal Ancestor by centering Xizu's ritual status? Li Xinchuan's 李心傳 (1166-1243) celebrated pen-note, *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji* 建炎以來朝野雜記 (*Miscellaneous Notes on Inner and Outer Politics since the Jianyan Reign*) offers us a valuable record to

²⁸¹ The phrase that "the King always associates his Great Ancestor with Heaven in sacrificial practices" 王者天太祖 first appeared in the "Lilun" 禮論 (Discussions on ritual) chapter of *Xunzi*. I am indebted to John Knoblock's translation here. See Knoblock, *Xunzi*, III, 58. The late Qing scholars Wang Xianqian 王 先謙 (1842-1917) interpreted the character 天 as a verb, which means "to parallel Heaven" (*peitian* 配天). Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 349.

²⁸² As Wang put it in an essay, "the most distant ancestor would be the most honored in the heavenly Way" 祖遠而尊, 故以天道事之. This essay, named "Jiaozong yi 郊宗議," (Discussion on suburban altar sacrifice), is best preserved in the extant Longshu edition (龍舒本) of Wang Anshi's anthology. See Wang Anshi, *Wangwengong wenji* 王文公文集 (*Anthology of Duke Wang*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 31: 1-2. For the alternative text in the Linchuan edition (臨川本), see Wang, *Linchuan ji*, 62:394.

trace the correlation between Wang's Major Reform and his special emphasis on Xizu's status. The note reads:

During the Song period, Taizu had given posthumous honorable titles to his ancestors to the fourth generation; every time there was a *di* or *xia* sacrifice, the old practice was to situate *zhao* and *mu* in opposite directions, but the seat facing east was left vacant. When Wang Jiepu [Anshi] became the Grand Councilor, he claimed that it was impossible to recognize the generations prior to Xizu; therefore, the ancestral temple of Xizu should be regarded as the temple of the Primal Ancestor [*shizu miao*], and as the same as the one to Houzhi in the Zhou context.

國朝自太祖追王四親以來,每遇禘給,祖宗以昭穆相對,虛東嚮之位。王介甫 用事,以為僖祖以上,世次不可知,則僖祖之有廟,與后稷官無以異。²⁸³

The fact that Wang Anshi was more inclined to elevate Xizu's status in the imperial lineage certainly reflects his desire to reach a comprehensive understanding of orthodox rites. It seems that Wang's endeavor to highlight Xizu's centrality in ancestral rites by placing his temple at the center of the temple complex, facing east, ²⁸⁴ carried a political indication that administrative and economic policies should be likewise

²⁸³ Li Xinchuan 李心傳 (1166-1243), *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji* 建炎以來朝野雜記 (*Miscellaneous Notes on Inner and Outer Politics since the Jianyan Reign*), Series 1, Vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), 68.

²⁸⁴ East is the superior position in a host-guest relationship; thus, placing Xizu's temple eastward indicated that he always occupies the guest position in relation to his descendants. Generally speaking, Song scholars shared the conviction that positioning eastward spatially represented a sense of superiority in ancient times. A Song scholar argued that the Han people always took the east as the superior one, according to the Records of the Grand Historian (Shiji 史記). See Zhao Yanwei 趙彥衛 (fl. 1195), Yunlu manchao 雲麓漫鈔 (Brief Notes Composed on Cloudy Mountains), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 33. The erudite Qing scholar Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682) had a brief mention of how the east was privileged in both the setting of ancestral remembrance and the host-guest relationship. With plenty of evidence he demonstrated that the east direction was in effect superior in the ancient setting. Thus, for the ritual program of imperial ancestral worship, Taizu's tablet was positioned at the center, with its front placing eastward. 古人之座以東向為尊, 故宗廟之際, 太祖之位東向; 即交際之禮, 亦賓東向, 主人西向. Gu Yanwu, Rizhilu 日知錄 (Record of Daily Studies), in Gu Yanwu quanji 顧炎武全集 (Complete Works of Gu Yanwu), (Shanghai: Shanghai gujichubanshe, 2011), v. 28, 18: 1078-1079; also, Yu Yingshi 余英時, "Shuo Hungmenyan de zuozi" 說鴻門宴的座次 (Discussion of the seating plan of Hungmenyan), in Shixue shija yu shidai 史學、史家與時代 (Historiography, Historians and History) (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2004), 70-77.

centralized in the central government under a unified political framework. Essentially, Wang's intention to strengthen Xizu's ritual status in the Imperial Temple at the very beginning of his Major Reform provided an ideological framework for an attempted consolidation of the ritual order that paralleled the institutional centralization of state policies and power. Wang's maneuver perfectly accorded with his reformist endeavor of establishing powerful centralized institutions, such as the Finance Planning Commission (zhizhi sansi tiaolisi 制置三司條例司) and the Capital Bureau of Market Trading (shiyisi 市易司).²⁸⁵ As Stephen Toulmin has illustrated in his Cosmopolics: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity, pre-modern philosophers and thinkers tended to underline "the interconnectedness of psychological and political issues with those that are cosmological and physical" and "represent them to us as aspects of a single whole." ²⁸⁶ In the context of imperial China, we find exactly the same trend of not only linking cosmos to politics but also conceptualizing ritual and politics as a single whole. From this perspective, Wang's ritual drive towards centralized authority was an acute strategy to reinforce the reformist defense against anti-reform interventions in the political arena. The elevation of Xizu's position, in this sense, emblematized the hidden agenda of Wang's New Politics.

3.1.2 Political Stance and Ritual Interest

Apparently, the difference of opinions about the definition of the Primal Ancestor of the Song royal lineage reflected the factional conflict between the Northern Song reformists under Wang Anshi's leadership and those officials whom historians have

²⁸⁵ For Wang's endeavor towards establishing a centralized financial government based on the *Zhouli* model, see Liu, *Reform in Sung China*, 85-90.

²⁸⁶ Stephen Toulmin, *Cosmopolics: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity* (New York: The Free Press, 1990), 67. Italics original.

generally designated as "conservatives," such as Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086), Sun Gu, Liang Tao, and Wang Jie. Yet, this difference may not be a real one. For one thing, the so-called conservative camp has been regarded by scholars for centuries as a monolithic party, but I will soon provide reasons for skepticism about that conclusion. Traditionally, scholars have pointed out that, politically most of the opponents adopted an adamant anti-reform posture, especially Sun Gu and Han Wei. As we have stated in the previous section, Sun objected to Wang Anshi's promotion at the very beginning of Shenzhong's regime. Furthermore, from Sun's biography, we know that his discussion on the ritual status of Xizu was highly applauded by an important veteran of the conservatives, Han Qi 韓琦 (1008-1075).²⁸⁷ Han Wei, who once has been a close friend of Wang Anshi, has already become an anti-reformist in 1072. Sun Gu in fact put Han in the anti-reform league of Sima Guang, Han Qi and Lü Gongzhuo 呂公著 (1018-1089), and recommended him, instead of Wang Anshi, as a possible candidate for the Grand Councilor. 288 Hence, it was no surprise that Han and Sun were categorized as two core members of the conservative "Yuanyou Party" (Yuanyoudang 元祐黨), with their names

²⁸⁷ Han Qi said, "Sun Gu's memorial would be an immortal one and last forever in the world" 此議足以傳不朽矣. DDSL, 81:6a; SS, 341: 10875.

²⁸⁸ SSXP, 115:2b, SS, 341: 10874.

inscribed on the notorious Stele of Yuanyou Partisans (*Yuanyou dangjibei* 元祐黨籍碑), ²⁸⁹ erected by Cai Jing 蔡京 (1047-1126), the brother of Wang Anshi's son-in-law. ²⁹⁰

However, if we examine this "monolithic" group more closely, we may find some variations in political posture within the Yuanyou Party. For instance, despite his hostility toward the New Policies under Wang Anshi's leadership, Wang Jie kept a good personal relationship with Wang Anshi and intellectually admired his scholarship. ²⁹¹ The Qing scholar Wang Zicai 王梓材 (1792-1851) even categorized him in *Songyuan xuean buyi* 宋元學案補遺 (*Addendum to the Case Studies of Song and Yuan Scholarship*) as a member of the New Learning fellowship. ²⁹² Liang Tao's case offers another example.

²⁸⁹ Although the Stele itself does not exist anymore, names on it were verified by later scholars. The Qing scholar Wang Chang 王昶 (1725-1806) preserved a detailed list of every Yuanyou partisan's name inscribed on the Stele in volume 144 of his encyclopedic collection of epigraphy, *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編 (*Collection of Inscriptions on Metals and Stone*). This annotated list is entitled "Yuanyou dangipei xingmingkao" 元祐黨籍碑姓名考 (Verification of the names on the stele of Yuanyou partisans). For Sun Gu and Han Wei, see Wang Chang 王昶 (1725-1806), *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (*Supplementary to the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), v.891, 144:16. For a more detailed description of Han Wei and Sun Gu's careers as Yuanyou Partisans, see Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 (1834-1894), *Yuanyou dangrenzhuan* 元祐黨人傳 (*Biographies of Yuanyou Partisans*), in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), v.517, 1:12-13.

²⁹⁰ For Cai Jing's life and the role he played in the factional conflict of the Northern Song dynasty, see SS, 472: 13721-28. However, the *Songshi* record of Cai Jing's life is inaccurate in many aspects. For an eminent analysis of Cai's biographical data, see Charles Hartman, "A Textual History of Cai Jing's Biography in the Songshi," in *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics*, ed. Patricia Ebrey and Maggie Bickford (Cambridge: Harvard University Asian Center, 2006), 517-564.

²⁹¹ The fact that Wang Anshi did write an appointment letter for Wang Jie's promotion also reveals their intimate relationship. In the appointment letter, Wang Anshi applauds Wang Jie as a real Confucian whose scholarship often has a sense of integrity.學問多中乎義理. "Wang Jie mishucheng zhi" 王介秘書丞制 (Appointment letter for Wang Jie's promotion to the Head of Palace Achieves), Wang, *Linchuan ji*, 51:322. Despite Wang Jie's personal friendship with Wang Anshi, he disagreed with Wang's reform and insisted on his own stand in an unflinching way. 與荊公遊甚款, 然未嘗降意少相下. Gu, *Wangjinggong nianpu*, 1982.

Although he was usually considered as echoing the diehard conservative Sima Guang, Liang sometimes defied the latter's will, especially in ritual affairs. In a ritual debate during Zhezong's 哲宗 (r. 1085-1100) reign, Liang objected to the convention advocated by the conservatives who suggested the Empress Dowager Gao (*Xuanren* 宣仁) should wear a full set of "emperor's garments" when presiding over the court from behind a screen.²⁹³ Additionally, despite Liang's obvious inclination to underplay Xizu's ritual status in the Imperial Temple, he still expressed his dissatisfaction with the Song arrangement of Imperial Temple rites in his day. Unlike Sima Guang, Han Qi, and Sun Gu, who thought the conventional practice of Imperial Temple rites was correct or decent because they were designed by the dynastic founders, Liang pursued a higher standard in his long career of ritual service. He had a longing for the perfect setting of Imperial Temple and Ancestral Temple rites that could match ancient models.²⁹⁴ Compared with his colleagues in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, it seems that Liang took a complicated attitude toward the tension between ancient rites and contemporary practices. Undoubtedly, Liang was politically conservative, yet he was generally positive toward a revival of ancient rites. The difference between Liang Tao and Wang Anshi regarding conceptions of ritual reform, in this sense, might be less than that between Liang and Sima Guang.

²⁹² Wang Zicai named Wang Jie as an academic friend of Wang Anshi. *Gaoben Songyuanxuean buyi*, 865; 874.

²⁹³ DDSL, 90:6a; SSXP, 115:8a.

²⁹⁴ For instance, Liang did criticize the utilitarian plan of building four temples, proposed by early Song ritualists such as Zhang Zao 張昭 and Reng Che 任徽, as a violation of ritual spirits, regarding to the deserved ritual status of the Son of Heaven. SHY, *li* 15: 44.

The reformist camp under Wang Anshi's leadership displayed similar pattern of diversity about ritual reform. Although historians of later generations are accustomed to describing Yuan Jiang as a "petty person" (xiaoren 小人) who always flattered Wang Anshi and enthusiastically supported Wang's New Policies, 295 Yuan successfully projected a positive image to some of his contemporaries. His superb talent in composing decrees and edicts won applause from his political enemies. 296 Su Song 蘇頌 (1020-1101), a brilliant writer and court astrologist, composed a tombstone epitaph for Yuan Jiang right after his death. Yuan appears as an exemplarily high official in this text. Certainly, Song tombstone epitaphs are typically characterized by a rhetoric of flattery. 297 However, the biographical data still reflects the general facts about the subject, especially his official career and the social expectation towards him. More importantly, as Su Song himself was neutral without clear party affiliation, 298 his epitaph provides historians with a more balanced description of Yuan's political life, including his compromising

²⁹⁵ DDSL, 81:5b; SSXP, 107: 7b; SS, 343: 10907.

²⁹⁶ As Wang Cheng succinctly put it, "(Yuan) as a gifted writer was praised by all kinds of celebrities of his time." 然甚工於文辭, 名流皆推許之. DDSL, 81:5b; SS, 343: 10907.

²⁹⁷ For general features of Song epitaph, see Angela Schottenhammer, "Characteristics of Song Epitaphs," in *Burial in Song China*, ed. Dieter Kuhn (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 1994), 253-306.

²⁹⁸ Under most circumstances, Su Song was neutral to the factional conflicts in the court. However, it seems that he and his family had a better relationship with reformists. Indeed, one of the ritual reformists we have mentioned before, Su Sui, was Su Song's brother. Moreover, Su Song's epitaph was written by a reformist and a member of Wang Anshi's New Party, Zeng Zhao 曾肇 (1047-1107), the brother of Zeng Bu 曾有 (1035-1107). See Zeng Zhao, "Zeng Susikong muzhiming" 贈蘇司空墓誌銘 (Epitaph to Su Song, the Great Minister), *Qufu ji* 曲阜集 (*Anthology of Qufu*), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1101, 3:31-41. Notably, Su Song has been served in the Court of Imperial Rites and Ceremonies, too.

tendency in factional conflicts, local construction, judicial contributions, and administrative talent.²⁹⁹

It is quite possible that Yuan by himself drafted the memorial that initiated the 1072 Primal Ancestor debate and the ensuing discussions on Xizu's ritual status. Yet, other officials also added to the reasoning of ritual reformation. Those who endorsed Yuan Jiang's memorial were indeed forerunners of those ritualists who called for a sweeping reform of court sacrificial rites at the beginning of the Yuanfeng reign. However, the relationship between their intellectual postures on ritual reform and their political affiliations is hard to discern. Xu Jiang's 許將 (1037-1111) official career exemplifies this obscurity. As one of Shenzong's most reliable agents and a clever diplomat, Xu started his court service in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (jixianyuan 集賢院) and the Commission of Ritual Affairs. In both institutions he accumulated a wealth of ritual knowledge and Classics learning. 300 Politically, Xu leaned more to the reformist camp. Yet, Xu was impeached and dismissed from his administrative position in the capital as the Prefecture of Kaifeng (zhi kaifeng fu 知開封府) by two partisans of the reformist camp, Cai Que 蔡確 (1037-1093) and Shu Dan 舒亶 (1041-1103).³⁰¹ In his later years, Xu dissuaded Emperor Zhezong from excavating Sima Guang's tomb as the

²⁹⁹ Su Song, "Taizishaobao Yuanjianzhanggong shendaobei" 太子少保元簡章公神道碑 (Tombstone Epitaph of the Duke Yuan Jianzhang, the Mentor of Crown Prince), in Su Song, *Suweigong wenji* 蘇魏公文集 (*Literature of Su, the Duke of Wei*), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1092, 52:1-12.

³⁰⁰ SS, 343: 10908.

³⁰¹ SSXP, 116:1b.

two powerful New Party ministers Zhang Dun and Cai Bian 蔡卞 (1048-1117) had suggested.³⁰² Seemingly, Xu did not hold rigidly to a single political stance. In many ways he manifested himself more as an eclectic, rather than a diehard of Wang Anshi's New Policies.³⁰³

Likewise, Wang Yirou 王益柔 (1015-1086), who also endorsed Yuan Jiang's memorial, kept good relations with Sima Guang and Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077), despite their obvious conservative attitudes toward state politics. 304 Shao Yong's anthology documents a poetic letter written by Wang Yirou to Shao. Moreover, Wang perhaps was the first reader, page by page, of Sima's voluminous work, *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (*Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government*). Indeed, in the Qing narrative of Song scholarship, Wang is even considered as one of the informal disciples of Sima Guang. 305 Zhang Heng's case provides another example. As the brother of the reformer Zhang Dun and a revivalist of ancient rites, Zhang submitted a memorial concerning the compiling and revision of court ritual collections at the beginning of Shenzong's regime; yet, on the other hand, he disobeyed Wang Anshi's orders and argued strongly with him

³⁰² As Xu advised to Zhezong, "To disinter one's tomb is an inappropriate behavior to conduct under your prosperous virtue" 盜墓非盛德事. DDSL, 96:5b; SSXP, 116:2a; SS, 343: 10910.

³⁰³ The official dynastic Song history evaluated Xu as a person who was used to changing his mind with ease. As Xu continued serving in the central government no matter which political camp was in charge of state policies, it was difficult for him to be categorized as either a reformist or a conservative, given his lack of a "determined vision or character" (*dinglun* 定論). SS, 343: 10923.

³⁰⁴ DDSL, 53:4b; SSXP, 87:15; SS, 286: 9634.

³⁰⁵ Gaoben Songyuanxuean buyi, 105.

at the court, ³⁰⁶ to say nothing of his private affiliation with members of the anti-Wang Anshi camp. ³⁰⁷

In the final analysis, political affiliation and stance did not necessarily affect scholar-officials' attitudes toward ritual reform, and vice versa. Officials such as Yuan Jiang, Xu Jiang, and Zhang Heng rose in contexts with deep imprints of Wang Anshi's New Policies, which evidently contributed to their positive attitudes towards the reform of Temple rites. However, it was noted that conservative officials, like Liang Tao and Wang Jie, partook in the same endeavor for ritual reform. If political stance fails to provide an adequate explanation, what is the key factor in the differentiation of liturgical understandings among these scholars?

Obviously, the answer lies in another dimension. Briefly, it concerns a gradual awakening of new consciousness of cultural revivalism that has been generally expressed in the scholar-official writings during Shenzong's time. As Chen Yi 陳繹 (1021-1088)³⁰⁸ succinctly put it in his memorial to Emperor Yingzong 英宗 (r. 1063-1067), one of the five most important "state principles" (*guoshi* 國是) was a thorough study of antiquity

³⁰⁶ SS, 347: 11008.

³⁰⁷ Chen Xiang, Guling ji 古靈集 (Anthology of Ancient Efficacy), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1093, 18:8; Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), "Song Zhangpingzi shiyu" 送章子平詩敍 (Poetry preface of sending Zhangpingzi), in Dongpoji 東坡集 (Anthology of [Su] Dongpo), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1107, 34:1-2; SSXP, 117:22b; Zengbu Songyuan xuean 增補宋元學案 (A Supplementary Volume of the Case Studies of Song and Yuan Scholarship, hereinafter refers to as ZBSYXA), compiled by Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695) and Quan Zuwang 全祖望 (1705-1755) (Taibei: zhonghua shuju, 1970), 5:11b.

³⁰⁸ Same as Yuan Jiang, Chen Yi was a celebrated writer and was praised by Yingzong because of his brilliant literary ability. He was later assigned to the Examining Editor of Court Records (*shilujiantao* 實錄檢討) under Yingzong's reign. SSXP, 109:9; SS, 329: 10614.

(qigu 稽古).³⁰⁹ Chen stated, "to learn from antiquity serves the purpose of governing the present world"觀古所以知今.310 It is worth noting that the term "gu" here denotes a specific period in ancient China, as does the "gu" that Sun Gu adopted in his memorial against Xizu's elevation to the Primal-Ancestor position to criticize those officials "who championed ancient (gu) rites and institutions were actually defying the appropriateness of contemporary institutions" 此臣所謂慕古而違當世之宜者也.311 Essentially, "gu" in both texts refers to the early reigns within the Three Dynasties. Hence, on the one hand, the difference between Chen Yi's and Sun Gu's attitudes toward the statecraft and cultural heritage of the Three Dynasties epitomizes the latent tension between the Northern Song scholar-officials who followed the rhetoric of the Three Dynasties narrative, such as Wang Yirou, Yuan Jiang, or even Liang Tao and Xu Jiang, and those who tended to follow the habitual ritual system built by the Song founders, such as Zhang Gongyu, Sun Gu, and Wang Jie. The conversation between Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039-1112) and Lü Dafang 呂大防 (1027-1097) on whether the South Altar and North Altar sacrifices should be combined perfectly exemplified this tension in conceiving rituals. When Lü questioned Su's claim that a combined state sacrifice failed to comply with the ritual practice of the Three Dynasties, Su answered:

Nowadays not only does the practice of a combined state sacrifice but also other ritual practices discard the Three Dynasties' model by following Han or Tang precedents. For instance, at ancient times, the Son of Heaven had seven ancestral temples; today the architectural complex of imperial ancestral temple has been

³⁰⁹ The full draft of Chen Yi's memorial to Yingzong was lost. Fortunately, in Su Song's anthology we find an epitaph of Chen that preserves its remnants. Su Song, *Suweigong wenji*, 60:1-2.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ SHY, *li*, 15:40.

modified to one single temple with nine chambers. At ancient times, ancestral temple sacrifices made offerings only to the emperor and the empress; today, all the wives [hou 后] of the emperor could receive offerings. The most important thing is to suit contemporary needs; there is no need to follow the rules of the Three Dynasties in a stubborn way. (emphasis mine)

今捨三代而從漢、唐者,非止一事矣: 天子七廟, 今乃一廟九室; 廟祀一帝一后, 今諸后並配。<u>事各嫡時, 豈必三代!</u>³¹²

On the other hand, political interests were attenuated in the intellectual atmosphere of ritual debates. The compromising approach adopted by most Song Confucians and ritualists allowed them to traverse the boundaries of established partisan politics. Even hardcore conservatives, such as Sun Gu and Han Wei, would admit that ritual was designed to suit contemporary needs; thus, controversies over concrete rites and ceremonies inevitably involved a negotiation process. After all, conventional designations such as "Yuanyou conservatives" and "New Policies reformists" are later constructs. Intellectual historians should avoid stereotyping these historical objects merely based on constructed conceptual frameworks.

To conclude, the differentiation of liturgical understandings among the New Policy reformists and the Yuanyou conservatives was associated more with their perceptions of the relationship between ancient rites and contemporary practices than with their political standpoints and affiliations. Despite the influence imposed by factional politics in the 1072 Primal Ancestor debate, it would be too hasty to conclude that this debate resonated with the different political concerns of both camps. In other words, the two worlds of political interest and ritual reformation did not necessarily

³¹² Su Zhe, Lungchuan luezhi 龍川略志 (Brief stories composed in the Lungchuan County), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 8:51-2.

overlap with one another. Instead, ritual reforms were more dependent on the interaction between the Song ancestral codes, usually called "zuzong zhifa" 祖宗之法, 313 and an emerging utopian vision based on the statecraft of the Three Dynasties (xianwang zhi zhi 先王之治). Certainly, the notion of ancestral codes constituted a variety of elements that even Song scholar-officials found difficult to present as a coherent system. In her celebrated work on the Song regulatory system, Deng Xiaonan has convincingly demonstrated that the formation of a comprehensive understanding of zuzong zhifa should be dated back to the reign of Renzong.³¹⁴ Once officials reached a consensus of understanding on the significance of zuzong zhifa, they progressively realized its remarkable power in manipulating politics. As Deng argued, through the political storms from Fan Zhongyan's Minor Reform to Wang Anshi's Major Reform, the political discourse of ancestral codes gained extra momentum due to increasing factional conflicts.³¹⁵ In a reciprocal manner, factional confrontation was correspondingly accelerated by different perceptions of these codes. As most Song political groups after the mid-Song period shared, in practice, the same rhetoric of factionalism and embraced a court-centered discourse of authority, disputations on the meaning and legitimacy of ancestral codes drove state politics towards polarization.³¹⁶

³¹³ Or, in other terms, "ancestral precedents" (zuzonggushi 祖宗故事). See Fan, Dongzhai jishi, 60.

³¹⁴ Deng Xiaonan 鄧小楠, Zuzong zhifa: beisong qianqi zhengzhi shulüe 祖宗之法: 北宋前期政治述略 (Invoking Imperial Ancestors' Instructions in Early Northern Song Politics), (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2006), 340-423.

³¹⁵ Deng, *Zuzong zhifa*, 430-440.

³¹⁶ For the rhetoric of factionalism and the court-centered discourse of authority during the Northern Song period, one may consult Ari Levine, *Divided by a Common Language*, 1-23, 161-180. There are a lot of discussions on the polarization of state politics in the post-Wang Anshi period, see, for instance, Luo

Wang Anshi's interest in establishing a new regulatory system (*fadu*) to replace the conventional one. As he proclaimed, "concerning the world today, my humble opinion is that we have to restructure the government and society according to the regulatory system of Ancient Kings, yet take warning from the rulers of the Middle Period" 然籍思今日之天下,尚宜取法於先王,而以中世人君為戒也.³¹⁷ By integrating the 1072 Primal Ancestor debate into the broad context of ancestral codes, Wang enhanced Xizu's prestige at the expense of Taizu's ritual status. By replacing Taizu's tablet at the center of the Imperial Temple with Xizu's tablet, Wang and his followers successfully undermined Taizu's authority as a symbolic source of the legitimacy of the conventional Song regulatory system. In other words, as the chief architect of the *zuzongzhifa*, Taizu was emblematically compelled to abdicate his sovereignty in the field of ritual politics. The revival of Xizu's ancestral power, in this light, offered the reformists "a common ancestor with a ritual center." ³¹⁸

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Jiaxiang 羅家祥, Beisong dangzheng yanjiu 北宋黨爭研究 (Research on Northern Song Factional Conflicts) (Taibei: Wenjing chubanshe, 1993), 109-178, esp. 165-173.

³¹⁷ XCB, 217:5287. Here the Middle Period 中世 apparently refers to the time period between Han and Tang, spanning from the second century before the Common Era to the ninth century. Yet, in a deeper sense, I believe Wang here also implicitly was criticizing the contemporary regulatory system in his time, since it appeared to him as the legacy of the ruling tactics of the Middle Period.

³¹⁸ I borrow this phrase from John Chaffee. See Chaffee, "Sung Discourse on the History of Chinese Imperial Kin and Clans," in *The New and the Multiple: Sung Senses of the Past*, ed. Thomas H. C. Lee (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2004), 367.

3.2 The Yuanfeng Ritual Reform and the 1079 Zhaomu Debate

3.2.1 The Yuanfeng Ritual Reform: Basic Context and the 1078 Scheme of Temple

Configuration

The 1072 Xining debate over Xizu's ritual status and its implementation in the Imperial Temple foreshadowed ritual innovations during the second phase of the Major Reform from 1077 to 1084. In the late spring of 1077, the elder one of the Cheng brothers, Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085), was promoted to the Chief of the Court of Imperial Rites and Ceremonies (*taichang cheng* 太常丞) due to his erudite knowledge of antiquity and contemporary affairs. Several months later, Chen Xiang 陳襄 (1017-1080), who had already served in the Court of Imperial Sacrifice for some years, was appointed to Ritual Manager (*liyi shi* 禮儀使). Subsequently, Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-1077) left his position in the Court, as his opinions on ritual affairs were at odds with his colleagues and superiors. A radical restructuring of the ritual bureau explicitly reflected the emperor's ambition to launch sweeping ritual reform corresponding to his larger scheme of bureaucratic reformation. Since the *Ritual of Zhou* provided the most comprehensive blueprint of bureaucracy among all the Confucian ritual Classics, Shenzong particularly requested it to be discussed at the Court Lecture (*jingyan* 經筵).

³¹⁹ XCB, 282: 6900.

³²⁰ XCB, 283: 6933.

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² When Huang Lü 黃履 (1030-1101), the Royal Reader-in-Attandance (*shidu* 侍讀), asked Shenzong about the next Classic that would be lectured upon, Shenzong answered: "Concerning the ritual, the music, the institution, and the discipline of Former Kings, the Zhou cases are the most detailed. Now is the time to have a lecture on the *Ritual of Zhou*" 先王禮樂法度莫詳於周, 宜講周禮. XCB, 285: 6972.

The next year of 1078 marked the initiation of the Yuanfeng ritual reform³²³ and witnessed the establishment of a new ritual department within the Court of Imperial Sacrifice, the Department of Prescribed Altar and Temple Rites (*taichang jiaomiaofengsi liwensuo* 太常郊廟奉祀詳定禮文所).³²⁴ In the same year, the court expanded the Administrative Office of South Altar Affairs (*tidian nanjiao shiwusuo* 提點南郊事務所)³²⁵ by integrating into it the Editorial Board of the Luminous Hall Regulations (*pianxiu mingtangshi suo* 編修明堂式所).³²⁶ Institutionally, these changes set the stage for the ensuing ritual reforms and stimulated discussions with respect to court sacrificial rites.

While Shenzong initiated his celebrated reform on officialdom and bureaucracy (*Yuanfeng gaizhi* 元豐改制) at the beginning of the Yuanfeng era, ³²⁷ institutional reforms further intensified the ritual controversy over the ritual status of Xizu, the number of ancestral temples, and, most importantly, the *zhaomu* sequence. Alongside the

³²³ 1078 is the first year that adopted the reign title Yuanfeng.

³²⁴ XCB, 287: 7012.

³²⁵ For the transition role played by the Administrative Office of South Altar Affairs prior to and during the 1078 Reform, see Lei Bo 雷薄, "Beisong xifeng jingshuzhengjiao tixi yanjiu"北宋熙豐"經術政教"體系研究 (Study of the "Classics Political Education System" in Xining-Yuanfeng Period of Northern Song Dynasty). (PhD diss., Peking University, 2013), 164-169; 176-178.

³²⁶ XCB, 287: 7029. "Mingtang," literary, the Hall of Illumination, refers to a divine architecture that was built for the emperor's sacrificial and meditative purposes. John Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 75-85. For a thorough study of the Mingtang building, especially the evolution of its architectural structure from ancient times to the Han dynasty, see Hwang Ming-chorng, "Ming-tang: Cosmology, Political Order and Monuments in Early China" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1996), esp. 7-10; 27-118.

³²⁷ Emperor Shenzong chose the era name Yuanfeng from several other choices based on Wang Anshi's etymological study of characters. Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1047-1118), *Shilin yanyu* 石林燕語 (*Discussions in the Stone Forest*), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 5.

management, Shenzong pursued the revision of the framework of imperial sacrificial rites based on the liturgical model of the Three Dynasties, in order to revive the ancient regulatory system as an entity—a practice apparently inspired by Wang Anshi's activist reading of the *Ritual of Zhou* as a constitutional text. As the revision primarily concerned with the formulation of ancestral rites held at the suburban altar and the Imperial Temple, it is commonly designated as the "Yuanfeng ritual reform over suburban altar and Imperial Temple rites" 元豐郊廟奉祀禮文 in primary sources. Aside from altar and Imperial Temple rites, the concrete performance of court sacrifices, the emblematic meaning of the South Altar as a ritualized space, and other ritual materials used in altar sacrifices were also meticulously addressed. Pyet, this reform only reached its culmination after the introduction of the *zhaomu* sequence in 1079. The Yuan compiled institutional history, *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (*Comprehensive Examination of Literature*), contains a thirty-volume collection of memorials and writings concerning

³²⁸ See Bol, "Wang Anshi and the *Zhouli*," *Statecraft and Classical Learning*, 229-51; also see my explanation of the translation of the *Zhouli* title in chapter one, 4.B.

³²⁹ SHY, *li* 28:55. Also see XCB, 291: 7124; 292: 7136-37, 7138-39.

³³⁰ The official *Song History* dates the *zhaomu* debate to the first year of the Yuanfeng era, that is, 1078. Yet Li Tao's *Xu zizhi tong jian changbian* dates it to the first month of the second year of the Yuanfeng era, which is 1079. According to *Xu Changbian*, in this year the emperor ordered some scholars to finalize the official edition of the ancient Chinese dictionary, *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (*Analytical Dictionary of Characters*). Probably the editors of the *Song History* confused this event with the 1079 *zhaomu* debate and failed to recognize that the debate occurred in the second year of Yuanfeng, when Lu Dian 陸佃 (1042-1102) was appointed to the DPATR. XCB, 296: 7195.

the Yuanfeng ritual reform and the ensuing ritual debates, ³³¹ and was compiled and edited by an official in the Court of Imperial Sacrifice named Yang Wan 楊完. ³³²

According to the *Xu changpian*, the Yuanfeng ritual reform lasted for four years and a number of celebrated *Hanlin* 翰林 scholars, academicians, and officials from the Court of Imperial Sacrifice participated, including Huang Lü, Li Qingchen 李清臣 (1032-1102), Wang Cun 王存 (1023-1101), Sun E 孫諤 (fl.1051-1109) and Chen Xiang. Additionally, Emperor Shenzong commissioned other ritual experts, such as Yang Wan, to further examine the regulations drafted by them. 334 As the controversy over ceremonial details increased in intensity, other officials were ordered to review the tentative

³³¹ Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254-1323). Wenxian tongkao 文獻通考 (Comprehensive Examination of Literature, hereinafter refers to as WXTK) Jinji 經籍 14 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 187:1598. The Song bibliographer Chao Gongwu 晁公武 (fl. 12th century) compiled an edition of thirty-one volumes in his celebrated Junzhai dushuzhi 郡齋讀書志 (Annotated Bibliography Composed in the Prefecture Residence). In all three extant editions of Junzhai dushuzhi, Yang Wan's collection was recorded as consisting of thirty-one volumes (Yuanben zhaode xiansheng Junzhai dushuzhi 袁本昭德先生郡齋讀書志 (the Yuan edition), Yiyunshusheben Junzhai dushuzhi, 藝芫書舍本郡齋讀書志 (The Heng-Wang edition, compiled by the Qing bibliographer Wang Shizhong 汪士鍾, 校衢本, 汪本), and Hengben Junzhai dushuzhi 衢本郡齋讀書志 (the Heng-Wang edition, compiled by the late Qing scholar Wang Xianqian, the 王本). See Song Yuan Ming Qing shumu tiba congkan 宋元明清書目題跋叢刊 (Collections of Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Bibliographies), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), Houzhi 後志, 1: 5 (the Yuan edition 袁 本); 2: 10-11 (the Heng-Wang edition 汪本); 2:11 (the Heng-Wang edition 王本). Yet another Song bibliographer Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (fl. 1211-1249) recorded it as thirty. Chen Zhensun, Zhizhai shulujieti 直齋書錄解題 (Annotated Bibliography of Chan Zhizhai) (Taibei: Guangwen shuju, 1968), 5:15b. According to Sun Meng, for both the title and the volume number of Yuan Wan's collection Wenxian tongkao were adopted the bibliographical record of the Zhizhai shulujieti. The extra volume in Junzhai dushuzhi, in his opinion, should be a table of Contents (目錄一卷). See Chao Gongwu, Junzhai dushuzhi, annotated Sun Meng 孫猛, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), 83-84.

³³² Chen Zhensun titled the compiler Yang Wan as the Editor of the Institute for the Veneration of Literature (崇文院校書). Possibly Yang was promoted to that position as a reward for his editorial labor. *Zhizhai shulujieti*, 5:15b.

³³³ XCB, 287: 7012; Junzhai dushuzhi, 83.

³³⁴ Ibid.

conclusion raised by these Yuanfeng ritual reformers. The final product of the whole process of discussion was the promulgation of Yang Wan's liturgical collection in the fourth month of 1082.³³⁵ Unfortunately, since most volumes of the collection were lost in the chaos of the Song-Yuan transition, I can only reconstruct the history of the Yuanfeng ritual reform and the ensuing 1079 *zhaomu* debate based on other records, including some private anthologies of Song ritualists, commentaries on ritual Classics, and excerpts of official records in the *Xu changpian* and the Yuan compiled *Song History*.³³⁶

Among modern scholars of ritual studies, there has been a trend to demarcate a boundary between ritual theories and ritual practice. Ritual theories and concrete performances have been generally conceptualized as separate entities. However, in the context of imperial China, when ritual experts compiled ritual codes, they tended to weave theories and practice together by incorporating concrete performative details into the general principle of ritual acts. The convergence of ritual theories and ritual practice resulted in a proliferation of state ritual regulations full of liturgical details, precedents, and discursive commentaries—altogether arranged in an annotative way to present the dynamic process of ritual making. These types of ritual regulations and codes, usually designated as yizhu 儀註 (ritual exegesis), yingeli 因革禮 (modifications of rites), and

³³⁵ Zhizhai shulujieti, 5:15b. Chao Gongwu criticized Tang Wan's collection for lacking of a clear framework. As a result, although it provided a lot of details concerning the Yuanfeng ritual reform, readers found it difficult to follow. *Junzhai dushuzhi*, 83.

³³⁶ I cannot find a detailed description of the 1079 *zhaomu* debate in *Xu changpian*. Given that this voluminous source usually documented historical events in a far more specific and comprehensive way than the Yuan compiled *Song History* did, it is odd that this debate was largely overlooked by its eminent editor Li Tao. Regarding this debate, Li Tao merely mentioned that Lu Dian was ordered to take charge of the revision of suburban-altar and temple rites 陸佃兼詳定郊廟奉祀禮文 See XCB, 296: 7195.

³³⁷ Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford University Press, 1992), 19-24.

xinyi 新儀 (new rites and regulations), constitute the main body of the official ritual text of the Northern Song dynasty.³³⁸

Since the compilation of the *Kanbao tongli* 開寶通禮 (*General Ritual Regulations of the Kaibao Era*) under Taizu's 太祖 (r. 968-976) reign, ritual codes and regulations have been were dominated by a conventional adoption of Tang liturgical traditions. *Kanbao tongli* itself was a slight modification of the Tang *Kanyuanli* 開元禮 (*Ritual Regulations of the Kaiyuan Era*). 339 While the *Kanbao tongli* inherited the ritual tradition of the Tang dynasty, later ritual codes, such as the *Taichang yingeli* 太常因革禮 (*Modifications of Imperial Rites and Ceremonies*), the *Lige xinpian* 禮閣新編 (*New Collections of Ritual Pavilion*), and the *Qingli siyi* 慶曆祀儀 (*Sacrificial Ceremonies of the Qingli Era*), all served as supplementary notes to the *Kanbao tongli*. 340 To borrow a term from modern historian Zhang Wenchang, most of the official ritual codes prior to the Yuanfeng ritual reform were primarily "administrative codes," 341 rather than a comprehensive scheme of court rites. Concerning the early Song textual tradition of ritual codes, there was a tendency to favor the established and conventional paradigm of

³³⁸ Zhang Wenchang 張文昌, Zhili yijiao tianxia: Tang Song lishu yu guojia shehui 制禮以教天下: 唐宋禮書與國家社會 (Governing the World by Managing Ritual: Tang Song Ritual Text and State and Society), Guoli Taiwan daxue wenshi congkan 國立臺灣大學文史叢刊 v. 142, (Taibei: Guoli Taiwan daxue chuban zhongxin, 2012), 133-228.

³³⁹ Zhang, *Zhili vijiao tianxia*, 138-160.

³⁴⁰ For a brief description of the Song state ritual making revolving around the *Kanbao tongli*, see Hui Jixin 惠吉興, *Songda lixue yanjiu* 宋代禮學研究 (*A Research on the Doctrine of Rite of Song Dynasty*) (Baoding: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 2011), 90-93.

³⁴¹ Xinzheng lidian 行政禮典. Zhang, Zhili yijiao tianxia, 228.

liturgical structure but marginalized reformist concerns. In this light, the Yuanfeng ritual reform posed itself as a challenge to this ritual conventionalism that suffocated the vitality of both the theoretical and practical arenas of Song court ritual. As a result, the ritual code compiled by Su Song at the end of the Yuanfeng era was entitled as the *New Ritual of the Yuanfeng Era (Yuanfeng xinli* 元豐新禮), since it marked a critical moment in changing the policies of ritual making from conventionalism to reformation.³⁴²

By considerating this wider spectrum of state ritual making, we may better understand why Shenzong had an anti-conventionalist tone for the ensuing changes at the very beginning of the Yuanfeng ritual reform. Regarding temple rites, ritualists who worked in the Department of Prescribed Altar and Temple Rites (hereinafter refers to as DPATR) endeavored to formulate a static and clear-cut model of the Imperial Temple configuration in 1078, in order to echo Shenzong's plan to diminish the overbearing bureaucracy. Accordingly, DPATR officials asserted that their new scheme for the Imperial Temple perfectly corresponded to the regulations of the previously compiled *Ritual Regulations of the Xining Era (Xining yi* 熙寧儀), a ritual code which aimed at transforming the entire court ritual complex based on the Zhou ritual. Leaving aside the negligible difference between the DPATR scheme and the *Ritual Regulations of the Xining Era*, 343 the former was likely a reiteration of Wang Anshi's conception of the

³⁴² According to the Southern Song scholar Ye Mengde, the *New Ritual of the Yuanfeng Era* was textually an integration of *Kanbao tongli* and Yang Wan's liturgical collection of the Yuanfeng Ritual Reform. However, differing from *Lige xinpian* and *Taichang yingeli*, the *New Ritual of the Yuanfeng Era* regulated the ritual exegesis of the Reform as elementary statutory laws, rather than supplementary administrative codes. Ye, *Shilin yanyu*, 8.

³⁴³ For instance, in the Yuanfeng setting Shunzu's 順祖 tablet has already been removed from the Imperial Temple. SS, *Zhi* 59, 2574.

Temple configuration (which was in effect implemented after the 1072 debate).

Nevertheless, the DPATR scheme separated itself from the Xining setting in a crucial way: it emphasized the necessity to lodge spirit tablets in separate temples, rather than in one single temple. Hence, it proposed an architectural complex of multiple temples.

Additionally, it was concerned more with the ritual (*zhaomu*) sequence of these temples.

The *Xu changpian* provides a valuable record of its reasoning:

According to the Zhou setting, ancestral rites of those who ranked above the level of *mingshi* [*shi* with honorable titles] should be performed in a way that the tablets of grandfathers, fathers, and sons are separately placed in separate temples, in order to show respect to ancestors and not to blaspheme them. As the *Law of Sacrifices* chapter in the *Liji* says, "A *shi* of the highest level has two ancestral temples." The *Spring and Autumn Annals* documents the temples of Duke Heng and Duke Xi [of Lu]. He *Betrothal Gift* chapter in the *Rites and Ceremonies* records, "Someone received ritual coins from some temples." The *Question of Master Zheng* reads, "When tablets are taken from their temples or returned there, it is required to keep other travelers out of the tablet's way." All these examples illustrate that the principle of separation holds true from the rank of Lords and Dukes to the rank of *mingshi*. Only the lowest *shi* officers of feudal lords will bring together the tablets of their fathers and grandfathers and make offerings to them in a single temple. However, since the Later Han Emperor Guangwu

³⁴⁴ In 1040, Zhao Xiyan has already purposed to establish multiple temples. However, it was severely criticized by his colleague Song Qi. Song emphasized the long tradition of placing all tablets in one ancestral temple since the first day of the Song dynasty. He argued that "the practice of using seven chambers to spatially represent seven temples has been adopted for a long time" 國朝以七室代七廟, 祖宗相承, 行之已久. XCB, 129: 3059-60; SHY, *li*, 15:29. Although Renzong adopted Song's conventionalist approach, Zhao's provocative idea of reviving the ancient configuration of seven temples was later reiterated by the DPATR officials under Shenzong's regime. The different treatment of Zhao Yiyan-DPATR and Song Qi's ancestral plans revealed the enormous disparity between the two regulatory systems of Renzong and Shenzong, respectively the conventional one and the reformist one.

³⁴⁵ Shishi 適士 means shangshi 上士 in this context. That is, the government officer with the highest grade. The Sacred Books of China, v.4, 205. In addition to two ancestral temples, shishi could also build an altar (tan 壇) for presenting seasonal sacrifices.

³⁴⁶ Duke Heng was Duke Xi's grandfather. The fact that they possessed their own temples demonstrated the principle of separation in dealing with the placement of spiritual tablets or temples.

³⁴⁷ Here the DPATR scholars failed to quote the whole sentence and as a result obscure its meaning. The completed sentence is: 主, 出廟入廟, 必蹕. The character *bi* 蹕 denotes a meaning of traffic control in ancient ritual Classics. See Zhu Bin. *Li ji xun zuan*, 298-99. I consult James Legge's translation here. See *The Sacred Books of China*, v.4, 325.

frugally merged all Han Imperial Temples from Gaozu to Pingti into one Imperial Temple and used it to store all Han ancestral tablets, succeeding dynasties followed his way and thus defied the ritual spirit by degrading them to the level of the lowest *shi* of Zhou. Therefore, we ministers, based on the traces of the *Rites and Ceremonies*, and the designations left in the *Dictionary of Erudition*, and the measurement documented in the *Record of [Zhou] Technique*, now submit a diagram with a configuration of eight temples and different chambers, in which the Primal Ancestor Temple is placed at the center, while other temples were alternatively assigned to its right and left sides according to the *zhaomu* order.

周制,由命士以上,父子異宮,祖禰異廟,所以致恭而不凟也。〈祭法〉曰:「適士二廟」;《春秋》書「桓宮、僖宮」;〈聘禮〉有之「某君受幣於某宮」;〈曾子問〉曰:「主,出廟,必蹕」。是人君達於命士,莫不然也。惟諸候之下士,則父子同宮而居,祖禰共廟而祭。後漢光武儉不中禮,合高祖以下至平帝為一廟,異室同堂,屈萬乘之尊,而俯同周之下士,歷代因循不革。臣等以《儀禮》求其迹,以《爾雅》辯其名,以〈考工記〉約其廣深,謹圖上八廟異宮,以始祖居中,昭穆為左右以進。348

This memorial was drafted by the celebrated ritualist Chen Xiang.³⁴⁹ It represented the opinion of a majority of ritual reformists in the DPATR. Primarily, these ritualists called for a renovation of Imperial Temple rites by adding new temples or temple-like extensions to the current Imperial Temple complex, based on the records of the three ritual Classics—the *Rites and Ceremonies*, the *Book of Rites*, the *Ritual of Zhou*—concerning the configuration of multiple temples. Imperial Temples of previous dynasties, other than the Zhou ones, were severely criticized for being too frugal and austere; therefore, they failed to show reverence to the ancestral spirits that rested therein.

The final draft submitted by the DPATR in 1078 was an architectural complex of eight temples. According to the DPATR scheme, Xizu was kept as the Primal Ancestor as

³⁴⁸ XCB, 292:7138-9.

³⁴⁹ In Chen's anthology, I found an original draft of this memorial, named "bamiao yigong" 八廟異宮 (a temple configuration of eight separate temples and different chambers). The wording is almost exactly the same. See Chen, *Guling ji*, 9:2.

he had always been since the fifth year of the Xining era; his temple was placed at the center of the whole configuration. The temples of Yizu 翼祖, Taizu 太祖, Taizong 太宗, and Renzong 仁宗 were placed on the right side, along the *mu* sequence; on the left were the temples of Xuanzu 宣祖, Zhenzong 真宗, and Yingzong 英宗, along the *zhao* sequence. The whole setting was oriented towards a north-south direction with all the temples facing north towards Xizu's Temple (Figure 1):³⁵⁰

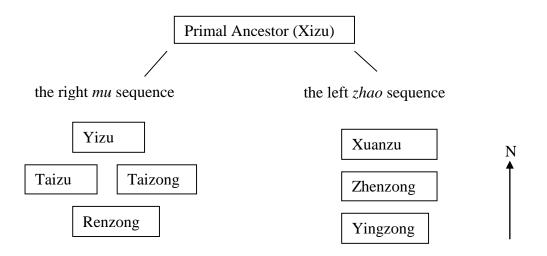


Figure 1. The 1078 DPATR Draft of the Song Zhaomu Sequence

³⁵⁰ 元豐元年, 詳定郊廟禮文所圖上八廟異宮之制, 以始祖居中, 分昭穆為左右。自北而南, 僖祖為始祖; 翼祖、太祖、太宗、仁宗為穆, 在右; 宣祖、真宗、英宗為昭, 在左。皆南面北上. SS, 106: 2573.

oriented along an east-west axis, with the Primal Ancestor facing east. Before fathoming into the concrete arrangement of this *zhaomu* order, I will first examine the identity of some DPATR ritualists in order to illustrate the grey area between ritual and politics in the 1079 debate.

3.2.2 DPATR Ritualists: Political Stance and Ritual Interest

The DPATR ritualists who drafted and championed this setting came from diverse backgrounds. Chen Xiang, one of the main drafters of the Yuanfeng ritual reform, resembled Liang Tao in both political and intellectual aspects. ³⁵¹ Politically, he was no doubt a conservative, as reflected in his strong stance against the Green Sprouts Policy (*qingmiao fa* 青苗法), a key component of Wang Anshi's Major Reform. ³⁵² Yet, similar to Liang Tao, he pursued a revival of ancient rites and joined the Court of Imperial Sacrifice prior to Shenzong's accession. ³⁵³ As a Fuzhou native, Chen also actively exerted his influence to attract the southern scholars' attention to the Way of antiquity and the study of the Classics. At an early age, Chen was interested in discussing abstract

³⁵¹ Today, scholars can still find some excerpts of the Yuanfeng Ritual Reform in Chen Xiang's anthology, most of them concerned the specific ritual details of the South Altar sacrifice. Chen. *Guling ji*, 9:1-37. Also see Lei, "Beisong xifeng jingshuzhengjiao," 206-207.

³⁵² DDSL, 85-5a-b; SSXP, 103: 2a; SS: 321:10420. The editors of *Siku quanshu* greatly praised Chen for his courage to oppose Wang Anshi's opinion at the heyday of the latter's power in the Xining period. Indeed, they regarded his disagreement with Wang as one of the two main achievements in his life. See Chen, *Guling ji, tiyao* 提要: 1. Chen also advised Shenzong to demote Wang Anshi to satisfy the people who suffered under Wang's New Policies. SS, 321: 10420.

³⁵³ According to the biographical sketch composed by Ye Zuyi 葉祖洽 (1046-1117), Chen was appointed the Doctor of the Court of Imperial Sacrifice at the second year of the Jiayou 嘉祐 era (1057), under Renzong's reign. See Chen, *Guling ji*, 25:16.

topics and concepts with his hometown friends.³⁵⁴ His official career in Changzhou 常州 from 1061 to 1062 was also appraised as remarkable, for his installation of Classical Studies into prefectural schools.³⁵⁵ As Chen's intimate friend Liu Yi 劉彝 (1029-1086) succinctly summarized, what characterized Chen the most was his tendency to "exercise local administration and politics based on the Classics"以經術政事更相琢磨.³⁵⁶

Chen's association of politics with the Classics no doubt echoed Wang Anshi's conception of the relationship between "regulatory system" (fadu 法度) and "ritual and music" (liyue 禮樂). Although politically Chen disagreed with Wang's radical and revolutionary ideas in conducting institutional reforms and promoting Classical Studies, he never denied the necessity of such endeavors. What he found questionable was the means Wang adopted to launch the reform. Not only did Chen reveal himself as a true admirer of ancient sage kings when Shenzong consulted him about the implementation of the Green Sprout Policy, 357 but he also strove to imitate ancient model officials in order to "create a well-ordered world as great as the one of the ancient golden age"致治如 古.358 Taking consideration these factors, one is able to understand why Chen

³⁵⁴ Some of Chen Xiang's hometown friends later joined the central government and became celebrated scholars in ritual scholarship, such as Chen Lie 陳烈 (1012-1087) and Zhou Ximeng 周希孟 (~1013-1054). Chen, *Guling ji*, 25:13-4; SS, 321: 10419.

³⁵⁵ Chen, *Guling ji*, 25:17.

³⁵⁶ Liu Yi, "Chenxiansheng citang qi 陳先生祠堂記 (A Record on Master Chen's Ancestral Hall)." Chen, *Guling ji*, 25:28.

³⁵⁷ DDSL, 85:6b.

³⁵⁸ Liu, Luxiansheng citang qi, in Guling ji, 25:30; DDSL, 85: 7a; SSXP, 103: 2a-3a. Being aware of Chen Xiang's revivalist mind, in his compilation of the writings of Song officials Zhu Xi quite justly collected most of Chen's words and deeds concerning revivalism and his integration of Classical Studies and administration. See Zhu Xi, Sanchao mingchen yanxinglu 三朝名臣言行錄 (Words and Deeds of Song

enthusiastically participated in the project of ritual reform even near the end of his life, and why he recommended scholars with clear commitments to New Learning scholarship.³⁵⁹

Huang Lü, another main drafter of the Yuanfeng ritual reform in the DPATR, was the exact opposite of Chen Xiang. As an apparently hardcore defender of the New Policies, Huang was especially notorious for making false accusations against conservative officials and sowing discord among reform leaders. Regardless their political interests, Sima Guang and Liang Tao, as well as Cai Que and Zhang Dun, were all victims of Huang's cunning maneuvers. ³⁶⁰ Ironically, although Huang regarded himself as a reformer, his name was inscribed on the Stele of Yuanyou Partisans, ³⁶¹ possibly because his opportunistic approach to politics eventually irritated Cai Jing and other seniors in the reformist camp. It is not unreasonable that the determined general Li Gang 李綱 (1083-1140), who led the fight against Jurchen's invasion in the Jingkang Incident (*Jingkang zhi bian* 靖康之變), ingeniously avoided mentioning any political issues in his poetic elegy to his grand-uncle Huang. ³⁶²

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Celebrated Officials in Three Reigns), in Sibu congkan, (Shanghai: shangwu yinshuguan, 1919), v.1094-1101, 14: 1a-3b.

³⁵⁹ The best example was Lu Dian, a scholar who followed Wang Anshi's Classical Studies. We will discuss him in detail in the following sections. Chen, *Guling ji, tiyao*: 3.

³⁶⁰ SSXP, 107:6a; SS, 328: 10573.

³⁶¹ Wang Chang, "Yuanyou dangjipei xingmingkao," *Jinshi cuibian*, 144:17; Lu Xinyuan, *Yuanyou dangrezhuan*, 1:17-18. Even more ironically, Huang's name was listed with Cai Jing--the one who inscribed Huang's name on the Stele of Yuanyou Partisans--on a list of "scholars who attacked the Yuanyou officials" in *Song Yuan xuean*. ZBSYXA, 96:18b. Clearly, this result was encompassed by his two-facedness.

³⁶² Li Gang 李綱 (1083-1140), "Ji Huang dazizheng wen" 祭黃大資政文 (Elegy to the Grand Minister Mentor), *Liangxi ji* 梁谿集 (*Anthology of Li liangxi*), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji zhupanshe, 1987), v.1126, 165: 5-6.

Despite his political opportunism, Huang was a formidable scholar of ancient rites, especially Altar sacrifices. Historical sources show that he played a key role in solving one of the most controversial problems with respect to Shenzong's ritual reform, i.e., whether or not the South Altar and the North Altar sacrifices should be combined. By tracing back to the ritual performance of the Three Dynasties, Huang convincingly proved that altar sacrifices with different configurations should be separately held at the South Altar and the North Altar. In general, Huang reflected the DPATR reformists' consensus in championing ancient rites.

Unlike Chen Xiang and Huang Lü, other officials of the DPATR displayed a certain ambiguity regarding their political positions. Despite his previous inclination to support the implementation of Wang Anshi's New Policies, Sun E, a high-ranking official in the Court of Imperial Sacrifice, showed his sympathy towards the conservatives and attempted to prevent them from being persecuted too much by the grand councilor Zhang Dun during Huizong's reign. Intellectually, Sun also had enough courage, at the height of the Wang Learning, to reject Wang's interpretation of the *Book of Documents*. Likewise, Wang Cun, once a close friend of Wang Anshi, later

³⁶³ For a brief summarization, see Zhu Yi, "Cong jiaoqiuzhizheng dao tiandifenhe zhizheng," *Hanxueyuanjiu* 27:2 (2009): 282-288.

³⁶⁴ DDSL, 96: 6b-7b; SS, 328: 10573-10574.

³⁶⁵ Whereas Sun advised the Emperor Huizong about the danger of clique politics and suggested the court reconcile the reformists and the conservatives, he was personally persecuted by Zhang Dun and other reformist leaders. SSXP, 117: 20; SS, 346: 10984; ZBSYXA, 96:7b. Concerning New Policies, Sun in particular realized the benefits of implementing the Hired Service System (*muyifa* 募役法, or *mianyifa* 免役法) in local administration. See *Gaoben Songyuanxuean buyi*, 824.

³⁶⁶ However, Sun E's criticism of Wang Anshi's commentaries on Classics methodologically was still confined within the analytical framework of the Wang Learning. According to the Qing scholar Wang Zicai, Sun preferred to criticize Wang based on Han Confucian commentaries. See *Gaoben Songyuanxuean*

disagreed with Wang's political reforms, denied helping prosecute the reformist Cai Que during the literary inquisition of Cai's Poems on the Chegai Pavilion (*Chegaiting shian* 車蓋亭詩案). ³⁶⁷ Due to their centrist stance, Sun E and Wang Cun were discriminated against by both conservative and reformist camps and, infelicitously, had their names inscribed on the Stele of Yuanyou Partisans. ³⁶⁸

Intellectually, Wang Cun was the same kind of revivalist as Huang Lü and Chen Xiang. He agreed that the South Altar and the North Altar sacrifices should be distinguished from each other by reclaiming the ancient configuration preserved in the *Ritual of Zhou*.³⁶⁹ More importantly, according to the reformist Zeng Zhao's 曾肇 (1047-1107) biographic sketch, Wang built a private family shrine for his ancestors "in the ancient manner" (*ru gufa* 如古法) after he retired from the central government.³⁷⁰ Theoretically, Wang's action resonated with the court's long-standing endeavor to encourage scholar-officials to build their own family shrines; yet, in effect, his practice seriously challenged the conventional way of ancestral worship among scholar-official families in his time—a way that considered building family shrines as inappropriate and

buyi, 825. Yet Wang's ritual learning and Classic studies were mostly characterized by their adaptation to the interpretations of Han Confucians. We will address this in detail in chapter five.

³⁶⁷ DDSL, 90:1b; SSXP, 115:1b; SS, 341: 10873; ZBSYXA, 96:7b.

³⁶⁸ Wang Chang, "Yuanyou dangjipei xingmingkao," *Jinshi cuibian*, 144:15, 28; Lu Xinyuan, *Yuanyou dangrezhuan*, 1:11, 6:11.

³⁶⁹ DDSL, 90:1a. Zeng Zhao 曾肇 (1047-1107), "Wangxueshi cun muzhiming" 王學士存墓誌銘 (Epitaph to Wang Cun, the Academician), in *Mingchen beizhuan wanyan zhi ji* 名臣碑傳琬琰之集 (*Collection of Eminent Epitaphs and Biographic Sketches on Celebrated Officials*), ed. Dagui 杜大珪 (fl. 1194), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1092, 30:12.

³⁷⁰ DDSL, 90:1b-2a; Zeng, "Wangxueshi cun muzhiming," 30:16-17. *Song Yuan xuean* also recorded that Wang Cun has built a family shrine immediately after he returned to his hometown. ZBSYXA, 96:7b.

inefficient. Wang Cun was not only an advocate of ritual revivalism, but he concretized it in practice.³⁷¹

Turning back to the political background of DPATR officials, Li Qingchen, one of the chief directors of the entire ritual reform, also revealed himself to be a centrist throughout his life. As the son-in-law of Han Qi's elder brother, ³⁷² Li's political career was more associated with that of other conservatives, or at least the pro-conservative camp. Without Han Wei and Ouyang Xiu's recommendation, Li would have been unable to serve as an archivist in the Imperial Library at a relatively young age. ³⁷³ Nonetheless, leaving aside his personal affiliation with the conservative elders, Li behaved like a reformist most of the time. Song official record shows that Li had no reservation about supporting Emperor Shenzong's desire "to restructure statecraft, in order to continue the glory, the enterprise, and the spirit of the Three Dynasties, and to create a new order" 欲繼三代絕蹟制度文理,燦然一新. ³⁷⁴ Recognizing Li's reformist tendency, Song historians vigorously criticized him for "starting to undermine the conservative Yuanyou policies for his own interests, i.e., to seize the Grand Councilor position" 首變元祐之政

³⁷¹ Since Renzong's reign, scholar officials were encouraged to establish their family shrines in their hometown. See Luo Congyan 羅從彦 (1072-1135), *Zunyaolu* 遵堯錄 (*Writing in revering for the Sage King* Yao), *Quan Song biji*, Series 2: Vol. 9, comp. Zhu Yian, et al. (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2006), 155. Also, Zhao, *Yunlu manchao*, 78-9; Ye, *Shilin yanyu*, 8-9.

³⁷² DDSL, 96:2a-3a; Chao Bozhi 晁補之 (1053-1110), "Zhizhengdian daxueshi ligong xingzhuang" 資政殿大學士李公行狀 (Biographic Sketch of Duke Li, the Grand Secretary of the Hall of Aiding Statecraft), in Chao Bozhi, *Jili ji* 雞肋集 (*Anthology of Insipid Things*), *Sibu congkan chubian suoben*, (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1967), v.56, 62: 484a.

³⁷³ Chao, "Zhizhengdian daxueshi ligong xingzhuang," 485a; DDSL, 96:3a; SSXP, 107:1a-2b.

³⁷⁴ Chao, "Zhizhengdian daxueshi ligong xingzhuang," 487b.

以取相位.³⁷⁵ However, this kind of rhetoric, which was fundamentally shaped by an antireformist, pro-conservative stereotype, failed to notice that Li actually rescued a lot of conservatives from political persecutions and suppressions in the post-Yuanyou period. Thanks to Chao Bozhi's 晁補之 (1053-1110) detailed biographic portrait of Li Qingcheng, which is well preserved in Chao's anthology, we are able to reconstruct a more holistic image of Li's personality and political stance. A meticulous comparison of Li's biography in Chao's anthology and its modified version in Du Dagui's 杜大珪 (fl. 1194) collection of Song biographies illustrates how Li's centrist stance was deliberately underplayed, or even erased, in later texts.³⁷⁶

Moreover, if one reads Chao's original copy of Li Qingcheng's biography carefully, he might find some similarities between Li's and Wang Anshi's intellectual endeavors. Both of them emphasized the priority of empowering ritual-based politics in Song government and society. When Li was a civil examination candidate, he had underscored the role of ritual in determining the promotion and demotion of clerks ($li \not\equiv$) in his answer to the imperial examination question concerning court ritual. This own life, which was intertwined with a series of bureaucratic and ritual reforms in almost

³⁷⁵ DDSL, 96:3b.

³⁷⁶ For instance, Du deleted a short passage in his revised version of Chao's biography that described Li's great endeavor to bring the talented conservative officials back to the central government at the beginning of Huizong's reign. SeeChao, "Zhizhengdian daxueshi ligong xingzhuang," 489a; Du, *Mingchen beizhuan wanyan zhi ji*, 49:9.

³⁷⁷ In Li's own words, "to esteem ritual in order to demote those without merit" 崇禮制黜無功. Chao, "Zhizhengdian daxueshi ligong xingzhuang," 485a; DDSL, 96:3a.

every ritual department,³⁷⁸ symbolized the key role played by ritual in the broad spectrum of Song officialdom.

While I am arguing that the differentiation of liturgical understandings among scholar-officials in the 1072 Xining debate was rooted more in the tension between ancient rites and contemporary practices, rather than in their political standpoints and affiliations, the tension between ancient rites and contemporary practices had decreased by the time when the DPATR was set up in 1078 due to two factors. First and foremost, although DPATR officials came from different political backgrounds, they reached a consensus on the presupposition of revivalism. None of them considered the contemporary practice of court sacrificial rites at the time to be decent and satisfactory. Therefore, the real controversial issue of the Yuanfeng ritual reform shifted from the question of whether ancient rites should be adopted to the questions of what these ancient rites actually were and how they should be performed.

Second, unlike the Xining period, when Wang Anshi and his political allies still had the authority to dominate in the ritual controversy, the Yuanfeng era witnessed the awakening of Shenzong's own consciousness in defining the overlapping area in between ritual and politics.³⁷⁹ In this sense, the Yuanfeng ritual reform reflected more of Emperor Shenzong's own will, rather than the partisan interest of any specific party.³⁸⁰ Certainly,

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³⁷⁸ Li successively served at the Court of Imperial Sacrifice, the Commission of Ritual Affairs, the DPATR, the, Ritual Manager of the mausoleum of Empress Gao (*xuanren huanghou shanlin liyishi* 宣仁皇后山陵禮儀使), and the Director of the Bureau of Rites throughout his career. See Chao, "Zhizhengdian daxueshi ligong xingzhuang," 485b-489a.

³⁷⁹ Some historians have already noted the ascendency of Shenzong's own will in politics from Xining to Yuanfeng. In particular, it was reflected in the emperor's attitude towards Wang Anshi and other reformists' suggestions. See Luo, *Beisong dangzheng yanjiu*, 97-108.

ritual revivalists, such as Chen Xiang and Li Qingcheng, might find their ritual interests to accord with that of the emperor, yet it did not necessarily indicate that they dominated the 1078 Reform. The final blueprint of the Yuanfeng ritual reform was a compromised one—a clear fact was that some Song conventional practices continued to survive after the reform, despite the lack of textual evidence in the Classics for those practices. Only Shenzong had the power to make the final decision. Under this circumstance, defenders of conventional Song practices of ancestral rites outside the DPATR were less willing to argue against DPATR decisions, since doing would mean taking the risk of ruining the state principle (guoshi) designed by Shenzong. Along with the ascendancy of the discourse of guli 古禮 (ancient rites) and reclaiming the Three Dynasties in the development of the Song ritual learning, revivalism increasingly became a motif of Song state principles during the Yuanfeng era.

Although the tension between revivalism and conventionalism decreased in the ritual dimension after the 1078 Yuanfeng reform, controversies over specific ritual details of Altar and Imperial Temple rites came to light in the succeeding years. One of the main issues that attracted most ritualists to deal with was the division of the South Altar Sacrifice to the Heavens and the North Altar Sacrifice to the Earth, involved honoring the Heavenly Lord and the Earth Deity respectively. ³⁸¹ As we have seen, Huang Lü, Chen

³⁸⁰ In a broad sense, Shenzong dominated the whole scheme of the Yuanfeng Reform on officialdom and bureaucracy too. In his examination of the historical sources preserved in Ye Mengde's *Shilin yanyu*, Wang Yingcheng 汪應辰 (1118-1176) persuasively argued that the Yuanfeng Reform on officialdom had little to do Wang Anshi's Major Reform in the Xining period. Seemingly the Song people had already noticed that the Song reformation process should be divided into two separate stages. Wang, *Shilin yanyu bian* 石林燕語辯 (*Disputations on the Discussions in the Stone Forest*), Ye, *Shilin yanyu*, Appendix I, 202.

³⁸¹ The Song official Pang Yuanying 龐元英 (fl. 1078-1082), Ouyang Xiu's son-in-law, also considered the division of the South Altar Sacrifice into two separate sacrifices as the main thesis of the

Xiang, and Li Qingcheng all devoted great attention to this issue. Equally important, yet scarcely discussed by modern scholars, was the *zhaomu* sequence of spirit tablets and ancestral temples.

3.2.3 The 1079 *Zhaomu* Debate: Lu Dian and He Xunzhi

Given that Xizu's status as the Primal Ancestor was authorized and implemented in court sacrificial rites after the 1072 debate, the only problem concerning the *zhaomu* sequence was the arrangement of the other Song ancestors. ³⁸² Two DPATR ritualists, Zhang Zao 張璪 (d. 1093) and He Xunzhi 何洵直 (*jinshi*, 1078), contributed a lot to the process of figuring out a correct *zhaomu* sequence. ³⁸³ Their final scheme delineated a *zhaomu* sequence in which every ancestor temple was placed alternately on the left and the right side of the central Primal Ancestor temple, a scheme of "eight temples with different chambers"(*bamiao yigong* 八廟異宮). By quoting the earlier *Xining Ritual Regulations*, ³⁸⁴ He and Zhang also attached a diagram of *bamiao yigong* to their memorial, in which "Xizu was justly placed at the center, facing east; along the south side Shunzu, Xuanzu, Zhenzong and Yingzong was arranged in the order of *zhao*; along the north side Yizu, Taizu, Taizong and Renzong was arranged in the order of *mu*" 号

Yuanfeng Ritual Reform in his pen-note (biji 筆記) concerning court institutions. See Pang, Wenchang zalu 文昌雜錄 (Miscellaneous Records of the Department of State Affairs), Quan Song biji, Series 2: Vol. 4, comp. Zhu Yian, et al. (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2006), 160-161.

³⁸² SHY, 674.

³⁸³ XCB, 287: 7012.

³⁸⁴ As we have repeatedly demonstrated in the foregoing, at the heart of the 1072 Ritual debate was the elevation of Xizu's ritual status in the ancestral line of the royal house. In this sense, the ratification of the *Xining Ritual Regulations* codified Xizu's superior ritual status in the Imperial Temple and added a performative aspect to it by regulating details involved in Temple rites.

《熙寧儀》: 僖祖正東向之位, 順祖、宣祖、真宗、英宗南面為昭, 翼祖、太祖、太宗、仁宗北面為穆.³⁸⁵

To a large extent, the bamiao yigong scheme and the zhaomu sequence suggested by Zhang and He represented the DPATR conception of the Imperial Temple configuration. However, Lu Dian 陸佃 (1042-1102), one of Wang Anshi's most gifted disciples in Classical Studies and also a formidable expert in ancestral rites, ³⁸⁶ vigorously criticized this sequence. In contrast to He and Zhang, Lu suggested a more provocative scheme, in which the *zhaomu* order was interpreted as the embodiment of a strict patrilineality in a connotative way. In short, Lu argued that both zhao and mu sequences in the He-Zhang plan should be altered to accord with the principle of "zhao for father and mu for son" (fuzhaozimu 父昭子穆). According to Lu, ancestral temples of Yizu, Taizu, Taizong, and Renzong should be arranged along the zhao sequence, since ancestors in these temples were the fathers of those who situated in their exact opposite temples; temples of Xuanzu, Zhenzong, and Yingzong should be arranged along the mu sequence, since ancestors in these temples were the sons of those who situated in their exact opposite.³⁸⁷ The differences between He and Lu can be best illustrated by two diagrams (Figure 2 and Figure 3):

³⁸⁵ SS, 106: 2574.

³⁸⁶ SS, 343: 10917-10920; 10923; Liu Chengguo 劉成國, Jinggong xinxue yanjiu 荊公新學研究 (A Study of Wang Anshi's New Learning) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), 64-65.

³⁸⁷ Lu Dian, "Zhaomu yi 昭穆議" (Discourse on the *zhaomu* sequence), in *Taoshanji* 陶山集) *Anthology of the Pottery Mountain*(, *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji zhupanshe, 1987), v.1047, 6:13. Also, SS, 106: 2574.

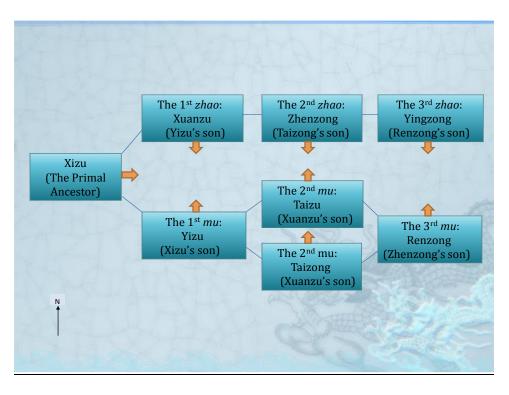


Figure 2. The Zhaomu Sequence Suggested by He Xunzhi in the 1079 Debate

From the above diagram we notice that ancestors on the right side of Xizu, along the *mu* sequence, were the fathers of those on the *zhao* sequence: Yizu was Xuanzu's father; Taizu and Taizong were brothers and Taizong was Zhenzong's father; Renzong was Yingzong's father. It is worth noting that although Shunzu was categorized as a *zhao* ancestor in He's scheme, according to the *Xining Ritual Regulations*, he did not appear in the *bamiao yigong* diagram quoted by Lu Dian in his memorial against He's scheme. Considering that Lu had personally experienced the 1079 *zhaomu* debate and the fact that Shunzu as the farthest ancestor should have already been removed from the Imperial Temple in Shenzong's time, we take Lu's record as more reliable. Hence, in Figure 3, I

³⁸⁸ SS, 106: 2573; Lu, "Zhaomu yi," *Taoshanji*, 6:13.

draw He and Lu's diagrams based on the latter's anthology, *Taoshanji* 陶山集—*taoshan* literally meant the "pottery mountain." It was Lu Dian's courtesy name.

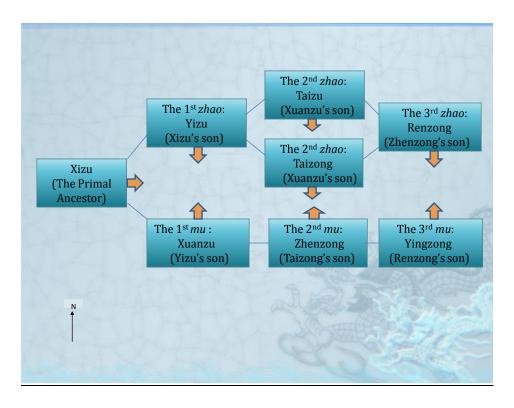


Figure 3. The Zhaomu Sequence Suggested by Lu Dian in the 1079 Debate

Obviously, Lu's diagram simply exchanged the positions of *zhao* and *mu* ancestors compared with He and Zhang's plan; yet, he concurred with the configuration of eight temples and the differentiation of the Taizu Temple and the Taizong Temple. As Lu's scheme switched the positions of *zhao* and *mu* ancestors, now temples on the left *zhao* rank were reserved for the ancestors who were senior to their *mu* counterparts; correspondingly, the *mu* rank temples were used to place the tablets of the "sons," facing north to their fathers on the exact opposite.

The Records of Ritual Affairs (lizhi 禮志) in the official Song dynastic history outlines the general ideas involved in this zhaomu debate and its result, that the court adopted He and Zhang's scheme, yet rejected the suggestion to build extra temples for placing tablets separately. Nevertheless, it fails to provide us adequate evidence to explore the underlying rationales of both sides in this debate. Fortunately, some of He, Zhang and Lu's arguments concerning the 1079 zhaomu debate are preserved in Liji jishuo 禮記集說 (Collective Explanations of The Book of Rites), a voluminous collection of Song interpretations and commentaries on the Book of Rites, compiled by the erudite Southern Song ritual expert, Wei Shi's 衛湜 (fl.1205-1224). Before we probe into it further, we must firstly pay some attention to the life and thought of Lu Dian, as well as the key text of his conception of the zhaomu sequence, the "Discourse on the zhaomu sequence" (zhaomu yi 昭穆謙).389

Lu Dian was born in a poor family in the Shanyin 山陰 County of the Prefecture of Yuezhou 越州 (today's Shaoxing, Zhejiang). As his circumstance was limited, he grasped every chance of learning in a self-disciplined manner. It was said that Lu's family was too poor to afford the expense of buying candles. As a result, Lu read and studied books by the moonlight every night. Although Lu learned the Confucian Classics from Wang Anshi at a relatively young age and was usually regarded as Wang's best disciple in Classical Studies, politically he had reservations about Wang's Major

³⁸⁹ Lu, *Taoshanji*, 6:10-14.

³⁹⁰ SSXP, 116:6a; SS, 343: 10917.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

Reform, especially the implementation of the Green Sprout Policy. 392 Wang recognized this and decided to "let Lu focus on the study of Classics, in order to keep him away from real politics" 專付之經術, 不復諮以政. 393 After Wang's retirement, Lu was gradually introduced to the arena of ritual policy by some reformist leaders. However, similar to Wang Cun and Li Qingchen, Lu manifested himself as a centrist who opposed any kind of political persecution and retribution. 394 His centrist stance finally led to his own demotion in the middle of Huizong's reign and the listing of his name on the Stele of Yuanyou Partisans. 395

Intellectually, Lu was an enthusiastic follower of Wang in both ritual learning and traditional etymology. Although Lu was not a good writer, according to Zeng Bu 曾布 (1035-1107), a utilitarian reformist politician of the post-Wang Anshi period, his expertise in the Classics, especially in the ritual Classics, was widely recognized by the court and other scholar-officials. ³⁹⁶ The imperial edict concerning Lu's promotion to the Royal Lecturer in Attendance (*shijiang* 侍講) praised him for being "fond of antiquity

³⁹² DDSL, 97:3b-4a; SSXP, 116:6a-b; SS, 343: 10917; Liu Chengguo, *Jinggong xinxue yanjiu*, 64-5.

³⁹³ SSXP, 116:6b; SS, 343: 10918.

³⁹⁴ Even Ke Weiqi, a historian who unjustly attributed the collapse of the Northern Song Dynasty to Wang Anshi's New Policies and his New Party, admitted that among all reformists Lu was exceptionally fair and friendly to the conservatives. SSXP, 116:9b.

³⁹⁵ SSXP, 116:7a; Wang Chang, "Yuanyou dangjipei xingmingkao," *Jinshi cuibian*, 144:17, 22; Lu Xinyuan, *Yuanyou dangrenzhuan*, 1:16-17.

³⁹⁶ Zeng Bu 曾布 (1035-1107), Zenggong yilu 曾公遺錄 (Posthumous Memoir of Master Zeng), Quan Song biji, Series 1: Vol. 8, comp. Zhu Yian et al. (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2006), 194. Yet even Zeng acknowledged Lu's erudition in Classics and regarded him as a potentially talented official. See Zeng, Zenggong yilu, 226.

and familiar with the Classics" (haogu zhijing 好古知經).³⁹⁷ Moreover, Emperor Shenzong personally ordered Lu's further promotion to the Subeditor of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (jixian jiaoli 集賢校理), with the promotion edict applauding him as "clever and erudite."³⁹⁸ His erudition in ritual details, in particular ritual garments³⁹⁹ and other minute but symbolically significant ritual items used in sacrificial rites, such as the richly engraved sacrificial dish (yapan, 牙盘, literally, the "plate of tooth"),⁴⁰⁰ and the fabric used to cover sacrificial vessels (shubu, 疏布, literally, the "sparse cloth"),⁴⁰¹ has earned him a reputation as one of the greatest ritualists among his contemporaries.⁴⁰²

The key text of Lu Dian's *zhaomu* argument, the "Discourse on the *zhaomu* sequence," was collected in his anthology, *Taoshanji*. The original copy of *Taoshanji* was lost and was restructured after the twelfth century, which resulted in the disappearance of

³⁹⁷Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019-1083), "Lu Dian jian shijiang zhi" 陸佃兼侍講制 (Edict on the Promotion of Lu Dian to the Concurrent Post of Royal Lecturer in Attendance), in *Yuanfeng laigao*, 21:162.

³⁹⁸ XCB, 298: 7256.

³⁹⁹ For instance, consider Lu Dian's debate with He Xunzhi over the dress code of the emperor in the Altar Sacrifice and in which way his sacrificial coat (daqiu 大裘, a peculiar kind of fur coat with over a dozen symbolic images drawn on it) should be designed. The whole debate perfectly illustrates how well Lu addressed specific ritual details. Lu, Taoshanji, 5: 1-18; Li Po 李朴 (1063-1127), Fengqingmin gong yi shi 豐清敏公遺事 (Posthumous Deeds and Words of the Dignified Master Feng), Quan Song biji, Series 2: Vol. 8, comp. Zhu Yian, et al. (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2006), 139; Fang Shao 方勺 (1066-????), Bozhai bian 泊宅編 (Writings about the Village where My Home Resides), Quan Song biji, Series 2: Vol. 8, comp. Zhu Yianet al. (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2006), 218-219.

⁴⁰⁰ DDSL, 97: 3b-4a.

⁴⁰¹ Chao Yuezhi 晁說之 (1059-1129), *Chaoshi keyu* 晁氏客語 (*Guest Speech of the Chao Family*), *Quan Song biji*, Series 1: Vol. 10, comp. Zhu Yian, et al. (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2006), 102.

⁴⁰² Shenzong once even claimed that "there has never been anyone like Lu, who could explicate ritual in such a detailed and clear manner, except the two giants in pre-Song Ritual learning, Zheng Xuan and Wang Su" 自王鄭以來言禮未有如佃者. SSXP, 116:7a.

some essays. The *Taoshanji* in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*) collection is a result of Qing editors' endeavor to recollect Lu's scattered works and based primarily on the Ming compilation, the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (*Vast Documents of the Yongle Era*). The extant copy contains only one single volume of Lu's memorials on state sacrificial rites. According to the *Siku* editors, these essays accurately summarized some major controversies in the Yuanfeng ritual reform over Altars and Temple rites. *403* Within them, the one entitled "Discourse on the *zhaomu* sequence" (Zhaomu yi) offers a first-hand record of He, Zhang, and Lu's different conceptions of the *zhaomu* issue. Throughout his memorial, Lu criticized He and Zhang for ignoring the factor of seniority and hence defying the "ritual intent" (*liyi* 禮意) of ancestral rites. Since his account represents a typical understanding of the nature of *zhaomu* from the viewpoint of patrilineal hierarchy, I quote it at length here:

Your subject Lu Dian, the Court Gentleman of Manifest Virtue, the Secretary of the Heir Apparent, the Subeditor of the Academy of Assembled Worthies, the Academician of the Hall for the Veneration of Governance, and the Ritual Officials who was in charge of detailing the ritual text of suburban-altar and temple offerings, modestly saw Zhang Zhao and He Xunzhi's memorial on ancestral temple and *zhaomu* that has been passed down from the Grand Council. Their *zhaomu* scheme, which suggested placing Xuanzu, Zhenzong, Yingzong among the zhao sequence and Yizu, Taizu, Taizong, and Renzong among the mu sequence, in my view, disturbed the sequence of seniority and hence violated ritual spirit. My humble opinion is: zhao and mu designate father and son respectively. Zhao conveys a meaning of illuminating the inferior; mu conveys a meaning of revering the superior. Being a father, one should be designated as a zhao ancestor and be placed along with the zhao line, thus he could illuminate the inferior; being a son, one should be designated as a mu ancestor and be placed along with the mu line, thus he could revere the superior. How could we be stubborn [to cling to the principle that the *zhaomu* order should never be altered]? According to the *Law of Sacrifice* in the *Book of Rites*, as one [the emperor] makes offerings to one's fifth-generation ancestor in the "yao" temple, he makes offerings to his sixth-generation ancestor in a "dan" hall and to his seventh-

⁴⁰³ Lu, *Taoshanji*, tiyao:1-2.

generation ancestor at a "shan" altar. 404 Someone obstinately argues that dan is always located on the right and shan on the left. My opinion is grounded on the Zhou practice. When Taiwang [King Wen's grandfather] needed to be removed from the Zhou genealogical sequence, the sacrifice to him at the right dan hall was cancelled and Taiwang received his offerings at the left shan altar; similarly, when Wangji [King Wen's father] needed to be removed from the Zhou genealogical sequence, the sacrifice to him at the left yao temple was cancelled and Wangji received his offerings at the right dan hall. Obviously, there is no problem with shifting and altering the left shan altar and the right dan hall. Hence, what Xun Zhi has argued, that zhao ancestors are always kept as zhao, mu ancestors are always kept as mu, and ancestors on the left [zhao] rank and those on the right [mu] rank cannot shift to the other side, is simply incorrect.

宣德郎守太子允集賢校理充崇政殿說書詳定郊廟奉祀禮文臣陸佃:臣伏覩中書省批下張璪何洵直所論宗廟昭穆欲以宣祖為昭,翼祖為穆;真宗為昭,太祖、太宗為穆;英宗為昭,仁宗為穆。尊卑失序,非禮意也。竊謂昭穆者,父子之號,昭以明下為義;穆以恭上為義。方其為父,則稱昭,取其昭以明下也;方其為子,則稱穆,取其穆以恭上也。豈可膠哉?謹按〈祭法〉曰:「去祧為壇,去壇為墠」。議者以為壇立於右,墠立於左。臣以周制言之,太王親盡去,右壇為墠;王季親盡去,左祧為壇。左右遷徒無嫌。則洵直謂昭常為昭、穆常為穆、左者不可遷於右、右者不可遷於左之說,非矣。405

According to Lu, He Xunzhi argued that tablets or temples in *zhao* and *mu* positions should be only moved along their own axes. In other words, all ancestors of the *zhao* rank can only shift along the *zhao* line. Likewise, all ancestors of the *mu* rank can only shift along the *mu* line. Taking the Song imperial lineage as an example, the original setting prior to Yingzong's death should be depicted like the one in Figure 4:

⁴⁰⁴ In contrast to the temples, which stored the spirit tablets of those ancestors who could still affect the living people by using their spiritual power, the *dan* hall and the *shan* altar were built to offer sacrifice to those ancestors who no more affect the livings.

⁴⁰⁵ Lu, "Zhaomu yi," *Taoshanji*, 6:10-11.

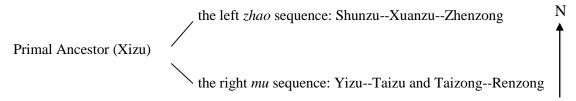


Figure 4. Lu Dian's Perception of the Zhaomu Setting up to Renzong

As a clear fact, all the ancestors in the zhao temples were the fathers of those who were situated in the temples directly across from them: Shunzu was Xizu's son and Yizu's father; Xuanzu was Yizu's son and Taizu and Taizong's father; Zhenzong was Taizong's son and Renong's father. This sequence caused no problem as it perfectly fit into the ritual paradigm of zhaomu sequence, in which the principle of "zhao-father and mu-son" was embodied. Nevertheless, the demise of Emperor Yingzong (Emperor Shenzong's father) led to a new *zhaomu* controversy. Given a seven-temple/tablet configuration, supposedly the farthest ancestor in the imperial line, except the Primal Ancestor, should be removed from the Imperial Temple complex. Along with the removal of Shunzu's tablet, it was necessary for the court to figure out Yingzong's tablet or temple position in relation to other ancestors' in the *zhaomu* sequence. By firmly holding the principle that "zhao ancestors were always kept as zhao, mu ancestors were always kept as mu" 昭常為昭, 穆常為穆, He Xunzhi, as well as Zhang Zhao, insisted that Yingzong's tablet or temple should shift upward along the zhao axis and substitute for the zhao position left by the removal of Shunzu. Consequently, Shunzu's temple was replaced by that of Xuanzu, Xuanzu by Zhenzong, and Zhenzong by Yingzong. The setting then would look like Figure 5:

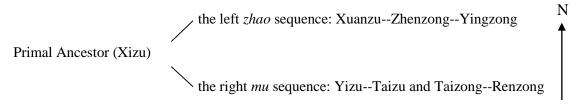


Figure 5. He Xunzhi's Perception of the Zhaomu Setting up to Renzong

If, as Lu Dian repeatedly mentioned, the patrilineal hierarchy within the *zhaomu* sequence should be maintained in a manner that causes a *zhao* ancestor to be always higher in seniority than its *mu* counterpart, then He and Zhang's scheme becomes inappropriate because it "disturbs the sequence of seniority" 尊卑失序. ⁴⁰⁶ By emphasizing the paternal relationship in the *zhaomu* system, Lu advocated a free shift of ancestors between the *zhao* and the *mu* positions in an interchangeable way, based on the factor of seniority.

Moreover, Lu further challenged the idea that *zhao* and *mu* positions only move along their own axes by addressing the arrangement of spirit tablets in the *heshi* 合食 or the *hexiang* 合饗 sacrificial rite (which literally meant ancestors share the offerings altogether). He made an interesting hypothesis in the "Discourse on the *zhaomu* sequence" by arguing:

Supposed that within a Grand-Master family, according to the generational sequence, the father and the great-grandfather were categorized as *zhao* ancestors and the grandfather and the great-grandfather were categorized as *mu* ancestors. When all the ancestors assemble in the sacrificial rite of "sharing

⁴⁰⁶ Lu, "Zhaomu yi," Taoshanji, 6:10.

^{**}Equation 1.5 **Equation** (Appendix and Autumn Annals)** (Appendix Annals)** (Appendix Annals)**, a Han Classicist commentary on the historical annals of the Lu state in the Spring and Autumn period. It is recorded that for the *xia** sacrifice*, all the spiritual tablets, no matter they are belonged to the removed temples or existing temples, should be assembled and share offerings together in the Great Ancestor Temple. See *Gongyang Zhuan**, Duke Wen**, 2nd yr., in *Chunqiu Sanzhuan** 春秋三傳* (Three Commentaries on the Spring and Autumn Annals)** (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 216.

Offerings," they definitely would sit in accordance with the *zhaomu* sequence. Under this circumstance, the general principle is that those with low seniority should not take precedence over those with high seniority. Would [Zhang] Zao and other ritualists still insist that "*zhao* is always *zhao* and *mu* is always *mu*?" If we cling to what they have argued, then in the sacrifice of "sharing offerings," the great-grandfather would occupy the superior position, but the great-great-grandfather the inferior; by the same token, the father would take precedence in seniority over the grandfather. Thus, clinging to the *zhaomu* sequence does not conform to the nature of *zhaomu*: that is, a ritual embodiment of the father-and-son relationship, in which *zhao* denotes a meaning of illuminating the inferior [son], and *mu* denotes a meaning of revering the superior [father].

假令大夫昭穆,以世次計,曾祖適為昭,高祖適為穆;父適為昭,祖適為穆。同時合食,則將偶坐而相臨。義不得以卑而踰尊。則璪等將令「昭常為昭,穆常為穆」乎?如此則曾祖居尊高祖居卑、父居尊祖居卑矣。非所謂父昭子穆、昭以明下、穆以恭上之義。⁴⁰⁸

In Lu's eyes, *zhao* positions should be reserved for those ancestors with higher seniority. Placing the grandfather and the great-great-grand father along the *mu* line is just like "letting the fathers beg for food from those preceding them (their sons) in the sacrificial lineage" 實屬父行乞于上世之次. 409 In Lu's opinion, this was definitely intolerable as it severely violated the Confucian ideal of filial piety. Someone like Zhang Zao might argue that if a *zhao* ancestor could move to a *mu* position, or vice versa, then the names of *zhao* and *mu* as designations of ancestral spirits might create confusion—living people might find difficult to recognize which ancestor is *zhao* and which one is *mu*. However, Lu refuted this argument by revealing the very essence of *zhaomu* sequence. Given that *zhao* and *mu* respectively designate father and son, if "*zhao* ancestors could never be moved to *mu* positions, and vice versa, then an ancestor who once served his father as a son could never be designated as a father in his ancestral line,

⁴⁰⁸ Lu, "Zhaomu yi," *Taoshanji*, 6:11.

⁴⁰⁹ Lu, "Zhaomu yi," Taoshanji, 6:12.

despite the existence of his son" 苛為昭者不復為穆, 為穆者不復為昭, 則是昔常事父 為之子者, 今雖有子, 不得為父. ⁴¹⁰ Therefore, although acknowledging that the shift in position between *zhao* and *mu* ancestors possibly confuses people in understanding these designations, ⁴¹¹ Lu's arrangement does convey the message of filial piety through a symbolic representation of father-and-son relationships in ancestral worship.

The more detailed and specific explanation of Lu Dian's zhaomu argument may have been preserved in his private commentary on the Book of Rites, the Liji jie 禮記解 (Explanations of the Book of Rites), a forty-volume manuscript which has been lost at least since the early Qing period. The eminent Song ritualist Wei Shi 衛是 (fl.1205-1224) listed it as one of the forty-nine commentaries that he had employed to compile the Liji jishuo, his own commentary on the Book of Rites. In addition to the Liji jie, Wei also documented another edition of Lu's commentary on the Book of Rites, and titled it the Liji xinjie 禮記新解 (New Explanations of the Book of Rites)—possibly a revised edition of the Liji jie. In annotating a key phrase in the Wangzhi 王制 (Royal Regulations) chapter, 414 Wei Shi quoted words from both the Liji jie and the Liji xinjie to explicate the

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

 $^{^{411}}$ From Lu's memorial, we know that Zhang Zhao did criticize Lu's provocative idea of freely shifting ancestors between *zhao* and *mu* positions as "obscuring the designations of father and son" 亂父子之名. Ibid.

^{**}In his comprehensive study of the literature on Classics, the Qing scholar Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629-1709) cited Wei Shi's opinion of Lu's *Liji jie*. According to Wei, most of Lu's opinions are good ones; but sometimes he read too much into the text because of his obstinacy to Wang's *On Characters* 陸氏說多可取,間有穿鑿,亦字說之誤也. See Zhu Yizun. *Jingyi kao* 經義考 (*Bibliographical Examinations on the Meaning of Classics*) (Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 141:745.

⁴¹³ Wei Shi. *Liji jishuo* 禮記集說 (hereinafter refers to as LLJS), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.117, *mingshi* 名氏 (author names): 4.

zhaomu sequence of the Son-of-Heaven's lineage. Thanks to Wei's quote, I can scrutinize Lu's *zhaomu* argument on the basis of his own research in a more comprehensive way.

The first part of the quoted text in *Liji jijie* is a summary of the "Discourse on the *zhaomu* sequence," starting from Lu's conception of patrilineal hierarchy: "*Zhao* and *mu* respectively designate father and son. *Zhao* conveys a meaning of illuminating the inferior; *mu* conveys a meaning of revering the superior" 昭穆者, 父子之號, 昭以明下 為義; 穆以恭上為義. "15 Then Lu presents several counter arguments beginning with "someone may argue that (*shuozhe yue* 說者曰/*huozhe yue* 或者曰)"—here "someone" no doubt refers to He Xunzhi and Zhang Zhao—and returns to his own argument by showing how these counter arguments are relatively weak and thus cause no real problems. For the sake of analysis, we have reorganized Lu Dian's quoted text in *Llji jijie* into four sections, each of which contains a counter argument to Lu's original argument and Lu's response to it. The first counter argument goes as follows:

Someone may argue that in the *Zuo Commentary* Ta Bo and Yu Zhong are designated as *zhao* to their father Ta Wang, 416 yet Hao Zhong and Hao Shu are designated as *mu* to their father Wang Ji; 417 likewise, Guan, Cai, Cheng, Huo are designated as *zhao* to their father King Wen, 418 yet Han, Jin, Ying, Han are designated as *mu* to their father King Wu. 419 One may also argue that King Wen

^{**}He [ancestral] temple configuration of the Son of Heaven consists of three *zhao* temples and three *mu* temples; and the one of his Great Ancestor [Dazu]; there are altogether seven temples" 天子之廟, 三昭三穆, 與大祖之廟而七. See Zhu Bin. *Li ji xun zuan*, 183; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, v.3, 220.

⁴¹⁵ Wei, LLJS, 30:28; Lu, "Zhaomu yi," *Taoshanji*, 6:10.

⁴¹⁶ Correspondingly, Ta Wang is a *mu* ancestor in relation to his sons, Ta Bo and Yu Zhong.

⁴¹⁷ Wang Ji is a *zhao* ancestor in relation to his sons, Hao Zhong and Hao Shu.

⁴¹⁸ King Wen is a *mu* ancestor in relation to his sons, Guan, Cai, Cheng, Huo.

⁴¹⁹ King Wu is a *zhao* ancestor in relation to his sons, Han, Jin, Ying and Han. All these names are the names of the Zhou ancestors. The reasoning demonstrated here is that both *zhao* and *mu* as genealogical designations could be adapted to indicate either a father or a son, depending on the order of that particular

genealogically should always be situated at the *mu* rank of the Zhou lineage, that describes "King Wen as a *mu* ancestor" based on the record of the *Book of Documents*. Accordingly, King Wu should always be situated at the *zhao* rank of the Zhou lineage. [Following the principle that *zhao* ancestors are always *zhao*, *mu* ancestors are always *mu*], when Wang Ji was removed from the Zhou temple setting, then King Wu should be accordingly moved to Wang Ji's Temple as a *zhao*, yet King Wen remains at his *mu* position; and King Kang should be moved to King Wu's Temple as a *zhao*, yet King Cheng remains at his *mu* position; and King Mu should be moved to King Kang's Temple as a *zhao*, yet King Zhao remains at his *mu* position.

說者或以《左傳》大伯、虞仲,大王之昭; 虢仲、虢叔,王季之穆; 管、蔡、郕、霍,文之昭也, 邗、晉、應、韓, 武之穆也。又以《書》稱「穆考文王」, 乃謂文王世次居穆; 武王世次居昭。王季親盡而遷, 則武王入王季之廟為昭, 文王仍為穆; 康王入武王之廟為昭, 成王仍為穆; 穆王入康王之廟為昭, 昭王 仍為穆。⁴²⁰

Lu's response to the first counter argument can be divided into two parts. In the first part, he reiterates the point that it is "inappropriate to let the son occupy the *zhao* position at the expense of degrading the father as a *mu* ancestor, since this kind of practice disturbs the *zhaomu* system and therefore violates the spirit of ritual" 子復為昭, 父更為穆, 尊卑失序,亂昭穆, 非禮意. 421 In the second part, he attempts to differentiate the genealogical sequence (*shici* 世次) from the ritual sequence of ancestral temples (*miaoci* 廟文). By conceptualizing *shici* as the "natural" sequence of genealogy, Lu claimed that the *zhaomu* title used in *shici* only served to indicate the order of an ancestor. 422 Therefore, regarding the Zhou case:

ancestor in his genealogy. Hence, *zhao* and *mu*, in the light of this reasoning, have nothing to do with a father-son relationship.

⁴²⁰ Wei, LJJS, 30:29.

⁴²¹ Wei, LJJS, 30:30.

⁴²² Ibid.

From Houzhi to King Wu, there are altogether sixteen ancestors in the genealogy of Zhou. This is called *shici* [genealogical sequence]. As the principle of the removal of ancestors from the temple system does not apply to *shici*, counting successively from the first *zhao* ancestor Bu Zhu [Houzhi's son] and the first *mu* ancestor Ju Tao [Bu Zhu's son] downwards to the later generations, genealogically Wang Ji should be a *zhao* and King Wen should be a *mu*. ⁴²³ Since the *Zuo Commentary* derives all the *zhao* and *mu* based on *shici*—which means *zhao*'s son must be a *mu* and *mu*'s son must be a *zhao*, we will find that ancestors such as Ta Bo, Yu Zhong, Guan, Cai, Cheng and Huo become *zhao* ancestors of Zhou, and Hao Zhong, Hao Shu, Han, Jin, Ying and Han become *mu* ancestors of Zhou. What Du Yu has stated, i.e., "Ta Bo, Yu Zhong are *zhao* ancestors of the Zhou lineage, according to *shizi*," is perfectly correct.

蓋周自后稷至文武十有六世,此世次也。世次無遷法,故自不窋為昭,鞠陶為穆,推遷而下,王季當昭次,文王當穆次故。《左傳》以世次推之,則昭生穆,穆生昭,而大伯、虞仲、管、蔡、郕、霍,於周為昭;虢仲、虢叔、邗、晉、應、韓,於周為穆。杜預所謂「以世次計,故大伯、虞仲,於周為昭」,是也。

However, unlike *shici*, the temple sequence (*miaoci*) had to follow the principle of the removal of ancestors from the temple system. Although the genealogical sequence of an imperial house could extend endlessly as long as it existed, the setting of the Imperial Temple was limited to the number of ancestors to whom one could make formal sacrifices; thus, the number of ancestors in the *miaoci* would not exceed six in most cases, considering the general imperial temple configuration of seven temples (without counting the one of the Primal Ancestor, as the principle of the removal of ancestors does not apply to the Primal Ancestor). In other words, as a ritual indicator of the most recent six ancestors—what one may aptly called "the tail of *shici*," symbolically the *miaoci*

⁴²³ This principle was usually designated as the method of "qian" 遷 in ritual Classics. It was described briefly in the Sangfu xiaoji (Record in the Dress of Mourning) chapter in Liji. See Zhu, Liji xunzuan, 497; Legge, The Sacred Books of China, v.4, 43.

⁴²⁴ Wei, LJJS, 30:30.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

embodies the intermediate space in which interactions between the living and the dead still exist. In Lu's view, ancestors within this sequence should be served "in a manner similar to the way that the living would be served"以事生之禮事之. 426 Considering the patriarchal structure of Confucianism, it is not surprising that Lu regarded patriarchy more specifically, the hierarchical relationship between father and son—as the very essence of the zhaomu system. In the light of this reasoning, if emperors present themselves as perfect models for their subjects in terms of ritual performance, they would have to reallocate the zhao and mu positions of the imperial miaoci every time a newly departed emperor (in forms of spirit tablets) was moved into the Imperial Temple complex. Even though every ancestor has already been assigned to either a zhao or a mu title based on his priority in the shici, that title would undergo changes within the context of miaoci.⁴²⁷ To cite the Zhou case again, despite the mu position of King Wen in the Zhou shici, King Wen should be reallocated to a zhao position when his son King Wu is placed in the temple across from his, in order to conform to the "zhao-father and mu-son" principle.428

The second counter argument raised by Lu Dian concerns the ritual of attachment (fumiao 衬廟) that was held in the Imperial Temple. Opponents of the "zhao-father and mu-son" principle argued that the Tan Gong 檀弓 (Wingceltis Bow) chapter of the Book of Rites stated: "The next day, the ritual of attaching the spirit tablet of the departed next

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ By Lu's own words, it is the shift of the zhaomu sequence itself (zhaomu yiyi.昭穆移易). Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

to that of his grandfather was performed"明日, 祔於祖父. 429 In this case, the ritual performance of attaching the tablet of the departed to that of his grandfather also carries a suspicion of impropriety, since it situates the son in a higher position than his father in the ancestral space. Ritualists like He and Zhang might argue—and indeed they would have good reason to argue, if one insists that the more superior *zhao* position should be always reserved for the father's tablet—that the *fumiao* ritual is inappropriate, because it underrates the father's status in the ancestral space. However, since the *fumiao* ritual as a legacy of the Three Dynasties is unquestionably valid, according to the Confucian reverence for antiquity, the presupposition that *zhaomu* embodies the hierarchical relation between fathers and sons in the spiritual domain must be wrong.

Lu refuted this argument in a quite dexterous manner. First, he illustrated that on the level of ritual performance the practice of *fumiao* is inapplicable to the *qianmiao* 遷廟 occasion, i.e., the ritual of removing and transferring the ancestor's spirit tablet/temple from one position to another. Definitely, the *fumiao* ritual is decent, as He and Zhang indicated. Nevertheless, as the *Tan Gong* chapter recorded, the Zhou practice of mourning and grieving has a ritual sequence: "the *fumiao* ritual is carried out right after the ritual of wailing" 卒哭而衬;⁴³⁰ and "the *qianmiao* ritual is performed twelve months after the *fumiao* ritual, when the son of the departed begins to wear the mourning garment

⁴²⁹ Wei, LJJS, 30:31. For the original text in the *Book of Rites*, see Zhu, *Liji xunzuan*, 132; I am indebted to Legge's translation here. See Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, v. 4, 171. Translation slightly modified.

⁴³⁰ Wei, LJJS, 30:31. Zhu's annotation states that in the *fumiao* ritual the spiritual tablet of the departed should be attached *only* to that of his grandfather with the same *zhao/mu* title 惟祔於同昭穆之祖. Zhu Bin. *Liji xunzuan*, 133.

of the *lian* grade" 練而後遷廟.⁴³¹ Hence, Lu Dian questioned how *fumiao* and *qianmiao* could be performed in the same manner over such a long duration of time. According to Lu, the logical conclusion is that one cannot use the *fumiao* principle to explain the *qianmiao* practice, as well as the formulation of the temple sequence.

Moreover, hypothetically, Lu urged people to consider the subtle situation of the two tablets within the grandfather's temple in the ritual performance of *fumiao*. In the Zhou context:

When the tablet of King Mu was attached to that of his grandfather [King Kang] in the *fumiao* ritual, as Wang Ji had not yet been removed from the temple setting, the *zhaomu* sequence remained unchanged. Since King Mu and his grandfather King Kang both belonged to the *zhao* rank genealogically, his tablet was placed in the latter's temple. This is what *Tan Gong* chapter called "to attach the spirit tablet of the departed next to that of his grandfather." *As the grandson's tablet was merely attached to that of his grandfather, he should not be regarded as dominating his grandfather's temple*; therefore, the attachment of the tablet of King Mu to his grandfather's temple should be beyond any suspicion about giving the father's authority to his son in the temple complex. (emphasis mine)

且穆王初祔未練,則王季未遷,昭穆未動;與祖昭穆同班,則祔於康王之廟,所謂祔於祖父也。<u>祔於祖父,則非專其廟</u>。而襲其處自無壓父之嫌。⁴³²

In short, as the tablet of the grandson only served as a secondary medium in his grandfather's temple, the coexistence of these two tablets in one temple did not necessarily indicate that the father's authority was undermined in the *fumiao* ritual.

Hence, whereas the *fumiao* ritual could not be used as a pretext for ignoring the factor of seniority in the *zhaomu* sequence of ancestral temples (*miaoci*), we still have to

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Ibid.

distinguish between *zhao* and *mu* positions of tablets based on the "*zhao*-father and *mu*-son" principle in the context of Imperial Temple sacrifice.

The third counter argument is closely related to the second one. Lu postulated that someone might quote the Han Confucian scholar Liu Yin 劉歆 (ca. 50 B.C.-A.D. 23) on *qianmiao* to substantiate the claim that *zhao* ancestors and *mu* ancestors are only allowed to shift along their own lines, but never be permitted to cross lines. As Lin Yin put it, "what we called the removal of tablets from the temple could be summarized: Place the grandson's tablet in his grandfather's position, then the grandfather's position will be occupied by the grandson's tablet, and so on; hence, a legitimate zhaomu sequence gradually emerges in this successive replacement of grandfathers by grandsons" 孫居王 父之處, 正昭穆, 則孫常興祖相代, 此遷廟之殺也. 433 Regarding this new testimony, Lu argued that the first part of Liu's sentence is only meaningful if it is read as "to attach the grandson's tablet next to his grandfather's position" 孫從王父之位, rather than "to place the grandson's tablet in his grandfather's position" 孫居王父之處. 434 If the grandson's tablet is not substituting for, but only attaching to, his grandfather's tablet in the latter's temple, it cannot be said that a zhao ancestor was replaced by another zhao. Lu is deliberately misrepresenting Liu Yin's text to be a portrait of the *fumiao* ritual, rather than the *qianmiao*.

The last argument is quite straightforward. According to the *Ritual of Zhou*, two Zhou officials of the Spring Bureau, the *xiao zongbo* (Vice Minister) and the *xiaoshi*

⁴³³ Wei, LJJS, 30:32. For Lin Yin's original text, see Wang Xianqian, *Hanshu buzhu* 漢書補注 (Supplementary Commentaries on the Two Histories of Han) (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2006), 43:20.

⁴³⁴ Wei, LJJS, 30:32.

(Minor Scribe), were respectively in charge of "differentiating the tablets and temples based on the *zhaomu* order" 辨廟祧之昭穆 and "classifying the genealogical *zhaomu* record" 奠繫世, 辨昭穆.⁴³⁵ If *zhao* ancestors and *mu* ancestors were only allowed to shift vertically along their own lines, there would be no need for the Zhou court to set up special officials to sort out the *zhaomu* sequence. ⁴³⁶

Summarizing Lu Dian's responses to the four counter arguments, there are three aspects to which he devoted the most attention: first, the generation-skipping relationship between grandfathers and grandsons in the ritualized space of the Imperial Temple; second, the difference between *fumiao* and *qianmiao* in relation to the principle of patriarchal hierarchy; third, the change in the nature of *zhaomu* when it was shifted from the context of *shici* to that of *miaoci*. In all three aspects, He Xunzhi strongly disagreed with Lu Dian. His reply letter, a tit-for-tat response to Lu, was quoted at length by Wei Shi in the *Liji jijie*. We will briefly deal with some of his main points and see how they critically challenged Lu's interpretation of *zhaomu* sequence and ritual spirit.

Concerning the generation-skipping relation between grandfather and grandson in the ritualized space of the ancestral temple, He Xunzhi declared that "in ancient times the tablets of grandsons were always placed where their grandfathers' [tablets] were located, whether in a palace, a chamber, or an ancestral temple" 古者宮寢宗廟,皆以孫居王父之 處."437 Starting from the Primal Ancestor, *zhao* ancestors and *mu* ancestors are arranged

⁴³⁵ Wei, LJJS, 30:31; Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, Zhouli Zhengshi zhu, 5:18b; 6:40a.

⁴³⁶ Wei, LJJS, 30:32.

⁴³⁷ Wei, LJJS, 30:33.

successively according to the genealogical order: If the father is a *zhao*, then his son must be a *mu*, and his grandson again becomes a *zhao*. As a result, the grandfather always bears the same *zhaomu* title as his grandson. Considering the generation-skipping principle in defining ancestral affiliation, He argued that those ancestors who are situated in the *zhao* positions could never be switched to the *mu* positions and vice versa because, in defining the *zhaomu* sequence, the relationship between grandfathers and grandsons always takes precedence over the one between fathers and sons. In this light, shifting ancestors interchangeably between *zhao* and *mu* positions undermines the generation-skipping principle with respect to sacrificial rites.

Interestingly, He Xunzhi also introduced numerological concepts to explicate why the principle of generation-skipping is central to not only the *zhaomu* sequence but also to the entire structure of ancestral worship. He reasoned:

As Numbering starts from One, develops in Two, and finishes at Three, the Dao bears One, and One bears Two, and Two bears Three. The human species developed to their full after Three is born. The xiao zongbo office is responsible for distinguishing between the relations among grandfather, father, and son, as well as classifying the degree of intimacy. Master Zheng [Xuan] regarded the Three Clans as the clan of grandfather, the clan of father, and the clan of son these designations are the appropriate names of human species. Thus, the ancient kings grounded the nature of gratitude, the degree of intimacy, and the mourninggrade system all in this. As the Sangfu xiaoji [Record in the Dress of Mourning] puts it, "In counting kindred [and the mourning grade to be worn by them], the three closest degrees expanded into five, and those five again into nine. The mourning diminished as the degrees ascended or descended, and the collateral branches also were correspondingly less mourned for; and the mourning for kindred thus came to an end. 438 Take a duke's clan as an example. The duke's grandson takes his grandfather's courtesy name as his surname. Thus, [as Xunzi declared], ritual has three roots, and the forebearers are the root of kinship. 439 This is the reason why the grandson should be attached to his grandfather's temple [rather than his father's] in sacrificial practice.

⁴³⁸ Zhu Bin. *Liji xunzuan*, 495; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, v.4, 42.

⁴³⁹ Wang, Xunzi jijie, 349; See John, Xunzi: A Translation and Study, III, 58.

蓋數始於一,立於二,成於三。故道生一,一生二,二生三。而人之族屬,至於三則備矣。小宗伯掌三族之別,以辨親疏。鄭氏以三族謂父、子、孫,人屬之正名。先王於此別恩義、等親疏,而服制皆起於是焉。〈喪服小記〉曰親親,以三為五,以五為九,上殺、下殺、旁殺,而親畢。以氏族言之,則公孫之子,以王父字為氏。是以禮有三本,而先祖為類之本。此孫從王父之義也。440

Through an emphasis on the notion of "Three Clans" (sanzu 三族) in shaping kinship relations, 441 He Xunzhi defined the generation-skipping principle as the very essence of Confucian sacrificial rites. Hence, the ritual affiliation between grandfather and grandson serves as the minimal unit of the liturgical model practiced in ancestral worship. Within the three-tier kinship system, ritual messages transmit directly from the top grandfather to the bottom son, and "the three closest degrees become expanded into five (mourning grades), and those five again into nine" 以三為五,以五為九一 eventually, so the number nine indicates the furthest ancestor to whom the Son of Heaven could make offerings. As a result, both the mourning and the sacrificial systems were based on this grandfather-and-grandson affiliation. Bearing the expansion of familial affiliations in mind, we may better understand why He quoted Xunzi's celebrated saying—that "forebearers are the root of kinship" 先祖為類之本—to justify his own conception of the generation-skipping principle. In He's eyes, it was not the "ancestor" (zuxian 祖先) but the "grandfather" (zufu 祖父) who mattered the most in ordering

⁴⁴⁰ Wei, LJJS, 30:34.

⁴⁴¹ Tsuyoshi Kojima 小島毅 has argued that some New Learning scholars probably shared an obsession with the number "Three" in their configuration of court ritual music and musical instruments. See Tsuyoshi Kojima, "Tuning and Numerology in the New Learning School," in *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics*, ed. Patricia Ebrey and Maggie Bickford (Cambridge: Harvard University Asian Center, 2006), 219-222.

kinship relations; thus, it laid a foundation not only for the hierarchical structure of Confucian clans and families, but also for the order of the spiritual world regarding ancestral worship.

By adopting a tripartite numerology, He Xunzhi seemingly attempted to approach the zhaomu sequence from a more metaphysical perspective. However, his objection to Lu Dian's differentiation of *fumiao* and *gianmiao* was a bit banal, if not mediocre. He Xunzhi, too, quoted Lin Yin's saying from the *History of the Former Han*, and acclaimed it as "the most erudite and sound judgment" regarding the zhaomu issue 劉歆之論最博而 篤.442 However, as we have analyzed, Lu's interpretation of Liu Yin's phrase reads more like a deliberate misreading of the generation-skipping principle in the *qianmiao* ritual, rather than a direct response to the *zhaomu* issue itself. He Xunzhi unwisely spills too much ink on the similarities between the ritual performance of *fumiao* and *qianmiao*. 443 Yet, he fails to state that the *zhaomu* sequence in *fumiao* also follows the principle of generation-skipping, in which a zhao ancestor always shifts along the zhao line, and likewise for the mu side. Nor does he prove that the grandfather's position in the temple is actually *replaced* by his grandson's tablet in *fumiao*—not as Lu argued, that the tablet of the son is attached to that of the grandfather and serves only as a secondary medium. In short, at least from the impression given by Wei Shi's quotation, He Xunzhi could not respond to the *fumiao* issue in an accurate and succinct manner. Perhaps he was a bit confused by Lu Dian's skillful elaboration on the coexistence of both the grandfather and

⁴⁴² Wei, LJJS, 30:35.

⁴⁴³ Wei, LJJS, 30:35-6.

the grandson's tablets in one temple. Consequently, He Xunzhi failed to mention the simple fact that the *zhaomu* sequence remained unchanged in *fumiao*. After all, there was no need for He to struggle with the *fumiao* situation as it had nothing to do with the shifting pattern of the *zhaomu* sequence—supposedly was his main focus. Unfortunately, he fell in the trap set by Lu Dian and was distracted from his original goals.

Although He agreed with Lu that the *qianmiao* ritual was only performed twelve months after the *fumiao* ritual, when the son of the departed began to wear the mourning garment of the *lian* grade 是練時遷廟也, 444 he denied any difference between the temple sequence (*miaoci*) and the genealogical sequence (*shici*) regarding a correct *zhaomu* order. As he put it, "although the temple sequence might change over the passage of time, the *zhaomu* order would never change" 廟次雖遷, 唯昭穆之班一定不移. 445 Following Lu, He examined all the Zhou ancestors and most of their *zhaomu* designations in the Classics, but reached a different conclusion. Quoting also from the *Zuo Commentary*, He Xunzhi argued that Guan, Cai, Cheng, Huo, together with the other sons of King Wen, were designated as the "*zhao* of Wen" 文之昭也 (despite their identity as sons), because "King Wen was a *mu* ancestor with respect to both *miaoci* and *shici*" 文王於廟次世次皆 當為穆. 446 By the same token, as the sons of King Wu, Han, Jin, Ying and Han were

⁴⁴⁴ Wei, LJJS, 30:35. Indeed, I highly doubt if He himself recognized that he shared the same convention with Lu Dian in this issue, as he discussed in a disapproval tone while addressing Lu's understanding of the right time to perform the ritual of *qianmiao*.

⁴⁴⁵ Wei, LJJS, 30:37.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

designated as the "mu of Wu" 武之穆也, because "King Wu was a zhao ancestor with respect to both miaoci and shici" 武王於廟次世次皆當為昭. 447 He explained:

In the cases of King Wen and Da Wang, their sons were titled as the *zhao* of their fathers, namely, the *zhao* of King Wen and the *zhao* of Da Wang; yet, in the cases of King Wu and Wang Ji, their sons were titled as the *mu* of their fathers, namely, the *mu* of King Wu and the *mu* of Wang Ji. All of them are the sons of their fathers. However, their designations in relation to their fathers turn out to be either *zhao* or *mu*. Hence, one knows the order of *zhaomu* is fixed and this principle is applicable to both *miaoci* and *shici*. The *Book of Documents* mentions "the temple of seven generations." The *Book of Rites* says: "The ancestral temple configuration of the Son of Heaven consists of three *zhao* temples and three *mu* temples." The *Book of Documents* uses the word "generation," while the *Book of Rites* adopts the word "*zhaomu*." Obviously they are saying the same thing, and there is no reason to distinguish the "genealogical sequence" from the notion of *zhaomu*.

文王、大王,其子對父皆稱昭,曰文王之昭,大王之昭;武王、王季,其子對父皆稱穆,曰武王之穆,王季之穆。其為子,一也,對父或稱昭,或稱穆,知昭穆為定班,而廟次世次未始異也。《書》曰「七世之廟」。《記》曰「天子七廟,三昭三穆」。《書》言「世」而《禮》言「昭穆」,則「世」與「昭穆」,無不同之理。448

Hence, He Xunzhi argued that both the genealogical sequence and the temple sequence were characterized by the same *zhaomu* order. Moreover, He also quoted the *Discourse of the States* (*Guoyu* 國語) to prove that "the affair of ancestral temple" 宗廟之事 was practically aligned with "the genealogical sequence of *zhaomu*" 昭穆之世 in the ancient Chu 楚 shamanistic practice of worshiping ancestral spirits. 449 According to

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Wei, LJJS, 30:37-8.

⁴⁴⁹ Wei, LJJS, 30:38. For the original context in *Guoyu*, see Dong Zengling 董增齡, *Guoyu zhengyi* 國語正義 (*The Corrected Meaning of Discourse on the Spring-and-Autumn States*), (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1985), 18:2a. Interestingly, the Qing commentator Dong Zengling simply understood *zhaomu* in *Guoyu* as ancestral markers that defined fathers and sons in the genealogical line.

He Xunzhi, whereas genealogy (*shi* 世) and *ancestral temple* (*zongmiao* 宗廟) are conceptually identical to each other in sacrificial practices, once the departed one became a *zhao* ancestor in the genealogical sequence, he should also be displayed as a *zhao* spirit in the ancestral temple.

Similarly, Zhang Zao embraced the idea that the temple sequence (*miaoci*) and the genealogical sequence should adopt the same *zhaomu* setting. Following Lu Dian's reasoning and considering the Zhou context again, the tablet of King Wen would be moved to a *zhao* position in the Imperial Temple, yet remains in its original *mu* position during the sacrificial rite of "sharing offerings"; thusly, King Wen could then be referred to as either a *zhao* ancestor or a *mu* ancestor, depending on the ritualized space in which he was engaged. In Zhang's eyes, such a practice certainly "disorganizes the *zhaomu* sequence as genealogical designations" 亂昭穆之名. 450 Zhang argued that it is not worth worrying about the apparently inappropriate positioning of the sons in the *zhao* positions and their fathers across from them in *the mu* positions. When an ancestor is designated as a *zhao* one, the ancestor's position in the temple sequence of seniority "is only determined according to his relations to other *zhao* ancestors on the left side" 其位在左 自為尊卑, regardless his personal relations to the ancestors on the right *mu* line (including his father across from him). 451

⁴⁵⁰ Wei, LJJS, 30:44.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

3.3 Conclusion

The 1079 *zhaomu* debate between Lu Dian, He Xunzhi and Zhang Zhao has left us a rich legacy of Song ritual scholarship. In particular, the debate reveals the intellectual tension within the reformist camp. The conflict between Lu and He/Zhang in a broader sense demonstrates that the real controversial issue involved in the Yuanfeng ritual reform concerned not whether or not ancient rites should be adopted, but how they should be performed. Undoubtedly, ritualists on both sides of the *zhaomu* debate championed the DPATR scheme of ritual reforms; otherwise, they would not have been able to join the DPTAR when the reforms began. 452 Politically, although Lu had reservations about Wang Anshi's Major Reform, he devoted his entire life to Wang's Classical Studies. Zhang and He, on the other side, manifest themselves more as political opportunists than as responsible reformists. Zhang, in particular, gained a bad reputation among the Yuanyou conservatives because of his skillful use of flattery, 453 along with the fact that his brother was a close friend of Wang Anshi. 454 He Xunzhi, once a brilliant candidate who achieved second place in the 1067 palace examination, 455 was also

⁴⁵² We know that He Xunzhi was among the first group of ritualists who joined the DPATR at the beginning of the Ritual Reform in 1078. XCB, 287: 7012. Lu Dian joined the DPTAR in the second year of Yuanfeng (1079). XCB, 296: 7195; Zhang Zhao joined the next year. XCB, 304: 7401.

⁴⁵³ DDSL, 83:4a.

⁴⁵⁴ SSXP, 107:4a; SS, 328: 10569. Zhang's bad reputation might also be attributed to his prosecution of Su Shi in the Wutai Inquisition of Su's poetic writings (*Wudai shian* 烏臺詩案), working together with the Censor Li Ding 李定. SSXP, 107:4b.

⁴⁵⁵ In that year there were altogether 306 candidates in the palace exam. See *Song dengke jikao* 宋登科記考 (*Records and Accounts of those who Passed the Civil-service Examination in the Song Dynasty*), ed. Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2009), 285; SHY, *xuanju* 選舉, 2:10.

impeached by Liang Tao and Liu Anshi 劉安世 (1048-1125) for his insincerity and vicious conduct in his later years. 456

Setting aside their personal weaknesses and political positions, both He Xunzhi and Zhang Zhao undoubtedly contributed significantly to the implementation of ritual reforms during their services in the DPATR. Through their assiduous labors, a lot of the perplexities concerning the performative aspect of court sacrificial rites were temporarily—if not permanently—dispelled. More importantly, their discussions on specific ritual details deepened our understanding of the relationship between ritual and politics. In the broadest sense, it is observed in the 1079 *zhaomu* debate how the connotation of a particular ritual sequence was deliberately associated with established Confucian principles. Neither the principle of generation-skipping nor the principle of "*zhao*-father and *mu*-son" could be separated from core reasoning about filial piety. In this sense, the 1079 *zhaomu* debate provides a lens through which one can grasp the convergence of state orthopraxy with liturgical orthodoxy in the textual world. 458

⁴⁵⁶ XCB, 431:10420-21, Liu Anshi, in particular, argued that good scholar-officials usually considered He's words and deeds as inappropriate; as Liu put it, "He is a man of ill reputation according to the 'public opinion' (gongyi 公議)," XCB 432:10421. There is no need to mention that here this "public opinion" just represented the judgment of the conservative camp. In contrast, as one of the most important post-Yuanyou reform leaders, Zeng Gong in his draft decree for He's promotion to the Lecturer of the Court of Imperial Rites and Ceremonies applauded him as "being able to suit contemporary needs based on his training as a Classicist" 夫能據經之說適今之宜. Zeng, Yuanfeng laigao, 20: 158.

⁴⁵⁷ Zhang Zhao, in particular, made great contributions to the Yuanfeng reform of officialdom as he, together with other Hanlin academicians, revised Tang institutions based on the *Tang liudian* 唐六典 (*Six Functional Branches of the Tang Bureaucracy*). SS, 161: 3769. Their work paved the ground for the simplification of offices and bureaus during Shengzong's bureaucratic reform.

⁴⁵⁸ For the concept of orthopraxy, that is, the correct practice of ritual, see Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 191-197. Noteworthy, Bell differentiates two different kinds of ritual traditions (orthodoxic and orthopraxic) and links ritual in an orthopraxic tradition more with some religious activities for sustaining a holistic cultural heritage. In contrast, James Watson emphasizes more the performative aspect of ritual orthopraxy and argues for a more pluralistic and discursive understanding of

To further explicate this discrepancy, we need to take notice of how different DPATR ritualists, as well as those who participated in the earlier 1072 debate on the Primal Ancestor, conceptualized the ritual authority of the Three Dynasties. Briefly, it is possible to classify them into three types: the conventionalist, the revivalist, and the centrist, each of which encompasses a list of officials with different political backgrounds. The table below lists all three types and marks their basic political stance:

Table 1. Officials Involved in the 1072 Primal Ancestor Debate and the 1079 *Zhaomu* Debate: Intellectual Interests and Political Positions

The conventionalists:	The revivalists:		The centrists:	
Han Wei (C)	Wang Anshi	(R)	Su Sui	(~R)
Sun Gu (C)	Yuan Jiang	(R)	Song Chongguo	(?)
Zhang Gongyu (?)	Yang Jie	(R)	Zhou Mengyang	(?)
Wang Jie (~C)	Xu Jiang	(R/C)		
	Chen Yi	(~C)		
	Wang Yirou	(~C)		
	Li Qingchen	(R/C)		
	Liang Tao	(C)		
	Huang Lü	(O)		
	Wang Cun	(~C)		
	Chen Xiang	(C)		
	Sun E	(~C)		
	Lu Dian	(C)		
	He Xunzhi	(O)		
	Zhang Zhao	(~R)		
	Zhang Heng	(~C)		

Index: R: politically reformist; C: politically anti-reformist, conservative; ? political positions unknown; O: opportunist; ~R: pro-reformist; ~C: pro-conservative; R/C: political stance shifting between reformist and conservative

Certainly, the categories given here do not necessarily represent a fixed set of characteristics. James T. C. Liu once admitted that his classification of officials according

ritual practices in various non-religious contexts. See James Watson, "The Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites: Elementary Forms, Ritual Sequence, and the Primacy of Performance," in *Death Rituals in Late Imperial and Modern China*, ed. James Watson and Evelyn Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 3-19; James Watson, "Anthropological Analyses of Chinese Religion," *China Quarterly*, no. 66 (June, 1976): 355-364; also Donald Sutton, "Ritual, Cultural Standardization, and Orthopraxy in China: Reconsidering James L. Watson's Ideas," *Modern China*, no. 33 (Jan., 2007): 3-21.

to political behavior just indicated "a range of behavioral patterns which overlap." The same is true here when intellectual criteria are applied. Officials, such as Liang Tao, Zhang Heng, and Li Qingchen, can never be entirely reduced to stereotypes when we consider their complicated and even contradictory speeches and writings. Categorization, after all, only serves as an analytical tool to bring our attention to selected noteworthy attributes.

As we have argued earlier, the intellectual interests of most Song ritualists in the ritual debates did not coincide with their political stance. In general, members who belonged to the conventionalist type reached a consensus in rejecting radical changes and reforms, because they believed changes and reforms would cause a shift in the "state principle" (guoshi) and accordingly increase the burden of government expenditure—a typical conservative posture represented by Han Wei and Sun Gu. However, the revivalist type was composed of diverse political actors. Chen Yi, Wang Yirou, Li Qingchen, Liang Tao, Huang Lü, Wang Cun, Chen Xiang, Sun E, Lu Dian, He Xunzhi, Zhang Zhao and Zheng Heng, as a wide spectrum of revivalists, ranged from conservatives and pro-conservatives to reformists, pro-reformists and opportunists. Interestingly, among the sixteen ritual revivalists analyzed so far, only three of them—Wang Anshi, Yuan Jiang, and Yang Jie—embraced a totalistic reform agenda on the political level. The other thirteen appear to have been more like revisionist than

⁴⁵⁹ Liu, Reform in Sung China, 71.

⁴⁶⁰ Ji Xiaobin, *Politics and Conservatism in Northern Song China: the Career and Thought of Sima Guang (A.D.1019-1086)* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2005), 10-19; 181-185; also see Peter Bol, "Government, society, and State: On the Political Visions of Ssu-ma Kuang and Wang An-shih," in *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China*, ed. Robert Hymes and Conrad Schirokauer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 128-192.

revolutionary reformers. However, within the grandiose framework of ritual innovation initiated by Emperor Shenzong, the conceptual difference between revision and reformation was diminished to such a degree that the diversified nature of the Northern Song ritualists vanished under the camouflage of a universal pursuit of restructuring court sacrificial rites. Considering the diversity concealed in the words and deeds of these ritual manipulators, people should avoid polarizing identities which would reduce the complexity of the reformist agenda to factional conflict.

Nonetheless, from the perspective of intellectual history, the two ritual debates in 1072 and 1079 did reflect a latent collective consciousness underlying the mindset of most Confucian revivalists after the mid-Northern Song period: a consciousness that aimed to restructure the state orthopraxy to suit the liturgical orthodoxy of ancient rites recorded in the ritual Classics. In the eyes of Song ritualists, the *zhaomu* sequence was not a trivial matter. It signified not only the generational sequence of ancestry but also the line of political succession and the tension between meritocracy and hereditariness in fashioning dynastic order. In this light, the ritual controversy that revolved around the Primal Ancestor in 1072 and the *zhaomu* order in 1079 resulted in intertwining intellectual discourse and political power in an apparently dogmatic fanaticism about ritual formality. The Southern Song poet You Mao 尤袤 (1127-1194) put it: "As the manifestation of the sequence of seniority, *zhaomu* is closely related to the cardinal values of Confucianism. How could it be easily changed" 夫昭穆尊卑之序,所以關綱常

係事體者甚大。豈易輕變 $?^{461}$ It is to these links to intellectual and political power that I will further elaborate in the next chapter.

⁴⁶¹ You Mao 尤袤 (1127-1194). *Liangxi yigao* 梁谿遺稿 (*The Posthumous Manuscript composed beneath the Liang River*), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chupanshe, 1987), v.1047, 2:2.

CHAPTER 4: TENSION AND NEGOTIATION: THE DYNAMIC OF NEW LEARNING SCHOLARSHIP AS A NEW DISCIPLINE MATRIX

New Learning scholarship has for a long time been depicted as a monolithic intellectual tradition, in which Wang Anshi's commentaries on the Classics served as the ultimate authority for interpretation. However, an analysis of the intellectual background and the Classical Studies of Wang's disciples clearly illustrates how scholars with varying scholarly training and interests in the Classics constituted Wang's Learning community and the backbone of the later New Learning community. Although the diversity of Wang Learning (wangxue 王學) was somewhat undermined during the Xining and Yuanfeng periods, its comprehensiveness continued in the intellectual transition and gradually changed from Wang's private scholarship to a mature scholarship consisting of various traditions.

Moreover, in the ritual writings of Wang's disciples I can also find pluralistic accounts of the Classics. Regarding the configuration of the ancestral temple complex and the *zhaomu* system, the meaning of the *Ritual of Zhou*, the bible of Wang's New Learning, as well as Wang's own commentary upon it, were further complicated by a series of intellectual endeavors that sought to reconcile the tension between different interpretations of ancient rites. In practice, some New Learning scholars adopted a rather flexible attitude towards using various Classics as their textual evidence to champion their ritual standards and, if necessary, political claims. Their accounts of imperial ancestral rites and the *zhaomu* sequence contributed greatly to the development of the New Learning tradition in the late Northern Song. A close reading of these arguments

and narratives compels us to conceptualize the New Learning movement as a dynamic process, which in its formative stage was not fully clear and consistent, and exclusiveness was scarcely conceivable.

4.1 Spectrum of the New Learning Tradition

4.1.1 A Reappraisal of the New Learning Community:

Academic Lineage and Cultural Context

New Learning scholarship as a notion is hardly a modern construction. When Wang Anshi was still in charge of state politics, his political opponents adopted terms, like "kinship partisans" (qindang 親黨) and "new officials" (xinren 新人), to describe officials who embraced Wang's Major Reform. The term "kingship partisans," probably first raised by Liang Tao, conveyed an implicit meaning that all the reformists in the Major Reform were to some extent Wang's relatives by blood and marriage. However, if one carefully examines the list of "kinship partisans" drawn up by the Yuanyou conservatives at that time, one finds only two—Wang Anli 王安禮 (1034-1095), Wang's younger brother, and Xie Jingwen 謝景溫 (1021-1097), the son-of-law of Wang Anli—are actually Wang's kin members; the others are either Wang's political allies or admirers of his scholarship, ranging from Cai Que, Zhang Dun, Zeng Bu, Shu Dan, Lü Huiqing 呂惠卿 (1032-1111), An Tao 安燾 (jinshi, 1059), Pu Zongmeng 蒲宗孟 (1022-1088), Lu Jiawen 呂嘉閏, Zhao Tingzhi 趙挺之 (1040-1107), to Zeng Zhao, Lu Dian, Huang Lü,

⁴⁶² Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730-1797). Xu zizhi tongjian 續資治通鑑 (Continued Comprehensive Mirror to Aid the Government) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964), 81:2055. Modern scholars like Shen Songqin 沈松 勤 also stresses the affinal relations between the reformers of the New Party. Shen, Beisong wenren yu dangzheng 北宋文人與黨爭 (Factional Conflicts and the Literati Group of the Northern Song Period) (Beijing: Renming chubanshe, 1998), 184.

Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031-1095), Ye Zuyi 葉祖洽 (1046-1117), Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043-1121) and Peng Ruli 彭汝礪 (1042-1095). Interestingly, the list did not include Wang Anshi's son, Wang Pang 王雱 (1044-1076), and the husband of Wang Anshi's younger sister, Shen Jizhang 沈季長 (1027-1087).

Although Liang Tao and many other Yuanyou conservatives were inclined to classify all the participants of the Major Reform into one monolithic political camp, one can still distinguish two distinct types within this broad spectrum: those who energetically participated in the concrete practices of the New Policies, 463 and those who considered Wang Anshi's academic achievements more compelling than his political goals. As a significant component of Song political history, much research has been done on Wang's political allies. 464 It is his academic followers, or, in traditional terminology, his "indoor-disciples" (menren 15人), that we wish to examine more in this chapter.

As I have repetitively argued, it is necessary to distinguish Wang Anshi's academic followers and admirers from his political allies when discussing the development of the New Learning community. Certainly, some reformers during the Xining and Yuanfeng periods exhibited both identities in their words and deeds. For instance, Lü Huiqing was at first both an admirer of Wang's scholarship and an advocate of the Major Reform. 465 In 1073, just one year after the court affirmed Xizu's ritual status

⁴⁶³ In James Liu's term, the "executive type." Liu, *Reform in Sung China*, 73-74.

⁴⁶⁴ Liu, Reform in Sung China, 59-79, esp.70-79; Luo, Beisong dangzheng yanjiu, 82-97;

⁴⁶⁵ The Taiwanese scholar Cheng Yuanmin 程元敏 has (arguably) claimed that the original title should be Sanjing yi--or, more precisely, Shijing yi 詩經義 (Meaning of the Book of Songs), Zhouli yi 周禮義 (Meaning of the Ritual of Zhou), and Shangshu yi 尚書義 (Meaning of the Book of Documents), instead of Sanjing xinyi. See Chen, Sanjing xinyi jikao huiping 三經新義輯考彙評 (Collection of Excerpts and

in the Imperial Ancestral Temple, Emperor Shenzong ordered Wang Anshi, Lü, and Wang Pang to supervise the compilation of the *New Meanings of the Three Classics* (*Sanjing xinyi* 三經新義) in the Bureau of Annotating the Classics (*xiuzhuan jingyijiu* 修撰經義局). 466 However, a sudden dispute occurred between Wang Anshi and Lü Huiqing after two years, which led to the divergence of both their scholarship and political goals. 467 Although Lü identified himself as a faithful follower of Wang Anshi's scholarship, his revision of Wang's commentaries on the *Book of Songs* was severely criticized by Wang. 468 Interestingly, in an audience with Shenzong, Lü stated that he was "always familiar with Anshi's scholarship; for every item of the text [of the *New Meanings*], if I thought it was correct, Anshi would consent to it; if I thought it was incorrect, Anshi would agree with my opinion, too" 臣於安石之學素所語識。凡讀文字, 臣以為是, 安石是之; 不然,安石所否. 469 Even though Lü and Wang disagreed with each other in the way of compiling the *New Meanings*, both shared the same "disciplinary matrix" in constructing a new standard of learning. 470 Lü possibly thought that he and

Evaluations of the New Meanings of the Three Classics, hereinafter refers to as SSXYJKHP) (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2011), 759-767.

⁴⁶⁶ XCB, 243:5917.

⁴⁶⁷ XCB, 268: 6563-6567; also, see Su Zhou 蘇籀 (b. 1091), Luancheng xiansheng yiyan 欒城先生遺言 (Last words of Master Luancheng), Quan Song biji, Series 3: Vol. 7, comp. Zhu Yian, et al. (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2006), 155.

⁴⁶⁸ In a conversation with Shenzong, Lu complained that he did not understand why Wang was angry about his new revision, as his revision was based primarily on Wang's learning on Classics. Considering this piece of textual evidence came from Lu's family history, it might understate the difference between Lu and Wang in Classical Studies. XCB, 268: 6566-67.

⁴⁶⁹ XCB, 268:6566.

⁴⁷⁰ See Chapter One, Elucidation of some key concepts, item C for further information.

Wang participated in the same trend to normalize the Song system through the administrative process of standardizing textbooks for the civil service examinations.⁴⁷¹ While the entire civil examination system shifted from literary writing to Classical Studies in 1071, and the *Three New Meanings* was installed as the standard examination text in 1075, both the New Learning community and those political reformers who revolved around Wang Anshi expanded outward at a rapid rate.⁴⁷²

To investigate the formation and expansion of an intellectual community, it is often useful to trace the academic lineage of its founders. Song scholars provided three major explanations about Wang Anshi's intellectual origins. They first associated Wang's scholarship with some Han and Tang Confucians, especially their commentaries and annotations on the Classics. Chen Shixi 陳節錫 (1057-1125) and Chen Guan 陳瓘 (1057-1124), two opponents of Wang's political reforms, traced Wang's scholarship on the Classics back to Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200) and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648). Additionally, the two Chens also noted that Buddhist teachings had some influence on Wang. Thus, they argued that the whole New Learning discipline was contaminated by heterodox doctrines; yet, the two Chens failed to provide any concrete evidence.

⁴⁷¹ XCB, 243:5917.

⁴⁷² Concerning the shift of the Song examination policies in the second half of the eleventh century, see John Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China: A Social History of Examinations* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 66-77, esp.69-73 for Wang Anshi's alteration of examination curriculum in 1071; also see Benjamin Elman, A *Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 12-19. For Wang Anshi's reform on the civil service examinations, see Kazunari Kondō 近藤一成, "Wang Anshi de keju gaige" 王安石的科舉改革 (Wang Anshi's reform on the civil service examinations), in *Riben zhongqingnian xuezhe lun zhongguoshi: songyuanmingqing juan* 日本中青年學者論中國史: 宋元明清卷 (*Essays on Chinese History from Young Japanese Scholars—Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing periods*) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 136-166.

⁴⁷³ SSXYJKHP, 665.

From a more positive perspective, the Qing scholar Quan Zuwang 全祖堂 (1705-1755) acclaimed Wang's Classical Studies to be "succinct and comprehensive, because his method followed the private intellectual tradition of Kong and Zheng" 荊公解經,最有孔鄭諸公家法,言簡意該. 474 What Quan has designated as "private tradition" (*jiafa* 家法) was a common term adopted by High Qing scholars to describe the Classical Studies of the Later Han period (Eastern Han dynasty, 25–220), in contrast to the "master tradition" (*shifa* 師法) of the Former Han period (Western Han Dynasty, 206 B.C. – A.D. 9). 475 According to the two Chens and Quan, despite Wang's radical position on state politics, he still paid some attention to the tradition of commentary and academic disciplines set up by the "former Confucians"(*xianru* 先儒). The celebrated Southern Song poet Lu You 陸游 (1125-1210), the grandson of Lu Dian, actually provided us a concrete example of Wang's respect of former Confucians:

The Left Administrator [of the Department of State Affairs, the official title of Lu Dian] once told me that day and night Duke Jing [the honored title of Wang Anshi] had a volume of the *Corrected Meanings of the Book of Songs* at hand. Therefore, most of the characters in that volume are very faint [as a result of Wang's diligent studying efforts]. Nowadays the world said that Duke Jing neglected the teaching of former Confucians. This is simply not true.

⁴⁷⁴ The original character is "gai"該, obviously the homophone of another character "gai"賅. ZBSYXA, 98: 10b.

⁴⁷⁵ See for instance, the "shifa" entry in Wang Mingsheng's 王鳴盛 (1722-1797) Shiqishi shangque 十七史商権 (Discussion on the Seventeen Official Dynastic Histories) (Taibei: Guangwen shuju, 1971), 27:187-188; Wang's distinction of jiafa and shifa was influential in conceptualizing Han Classical Studies from the late Qing to the twentieth century. The hui-ethnic 回族 Qing scholar Jiang Xiangnan 蔣湘南 (1795-1854) had composed a short essay on exploring the jiafa of Han Confucians. See Jiang, "Jingshi jiafa shuo" 經師家法說 (On the private traditions of Han Classicists), in Qijinglou wenchao 七經樓文鈔 (Selections of the Seven Classics Pavilion) (Chengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1991). 9. For a brief summary of shifa and jiafa as conceptual apparatus in approaching Han Confucianism, see Pi Xirui 皮錫瑞 (1850-1908), Jinxue lishi 經學歷史 (History of Chinese Classical Studies) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 136.

先左丞言: 荊公有《詩正義》一部, 朝夕不離手, 字大半不可辨。世謂荊公忽 先儒之說, 蓋不然也。⁴⁷⁶

Since the *Corrected Meanings of the Book of Songs* was compiled by the Tang Confucian Kong Yingda, the fact that Wang Anshi was drawn to Kong's annotation adequately displayed his positive attitude toward Han and Tang traditions of commentary. While Chao Yuezhi 晁說之 (1059-1129) might be right in claiming that Wang Anshi always regarded the behavior of ancient sage Kings (Yao 堯 and Shun 舜) and the principle of the Three Dynasties as the guideline of his own writing, 477 Wang personally never ignored Han and Tang commentaries.

The second Song account of Wang's academic origins explicitly contradicted with the first one. In denying the link between Wang's scholarship and the commentary tradition of "former Confucians," some Southern Song Confucians, such as Zhu Bian 朱 弁 (1085-1144) and Li Pi 李壁 (1157-1222), identified Wang with a novel Northern Song intellectual enterprise of radicalism. ⁴⁷⁸ In this light, early Song heretics in Classical Studies, such as Wang Zhen 王軫, Jia Changchao 贾昌朝 (998-1065), and Liu Chang 劉 敝 (1019-1068), opened the way for Wang Anshi's scholarship by illuminating a new way of annotating the Classics. In particular, Jia's *Junjing yinbian* 群經音辨 (*Clarification of the Pronunciation of Characters in Various Classics*) and Liu's *Qijing*

⁴⁷⁶ Lu You, *Laoxuean biji* 老學庵筆記 (*Pen-notes of the Studio of Elder Learning*), in *Song Yuan biji* xiaoshuo daguan 宋元筆記小說大觀 (*The great collection of Song and Yuan Pen-notes and Jottings*), (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), v.4, 3454.

⁴⁷⁷ 王荊公著書立言,必以堯舜三代為則. Chao, Chaoshi keyu, 91.

⁴⁷⁸ SSXYJKHP, 666-67.

xiaozhuan 七經小傳 (A Brief Sketch of the Seven Classics) were recognized by some Southern Song scholars as the inspirational sources of Wang's Classical Studies. ⁴⁷⁹ In fact, Wang did write a tombstone epitaph for Jia Changchao, in which he praised Jia for introducing the sagely learning of the Three Dynasties to the emperor and not clinging to the traditional commentaries of previous dynasties. ⁴⁸⁰ Chao Gongwu, a Southern Song bibliographer, also attributed to Jia the Song convention of discussing court policies through quoting Classics and ancient regulations. Chao went so far to claim that before Jia there were no officials who had ever advocated a thorough study of the ancient cultural heritage. The statement itself was, of course, an exaggeration. ⁴⁸¹ But, considering their intellectual communications and Jia's particular emphasis on the "ancient meanings and pronunciations" of characters (guyin guxun 古音古訓), ⁴⁸² it is reasonable to deduce that Jia inspired Wang to remodel Song scholarship based on an innovative method of analyzing characters. ⁴⁸³

The similarity between Wang's scholarship and Liu Chang's approach to Classical Studies was even more evident. Wu Zeng 吳曾 (fl.1127-1160), a scholar of the transition

⁴⁷⁹ Zhu Bian, *Quwei jiuwen* 曲洧舊聞 (*Old stories of Quwei*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 2:109; SSXYJKHP, 666.

⁴⁸⁰ "Zeng sikongjiansizhong Wenyuan Jiaweigong shendaobei" 贈司空兼侍中文元賈魏公神道碑 (Tombstone epitaph of the Duke Wei Jia Wenyuan, the Director of the Chancellery, and the Honored Grand Minister), in Wang, *Linchuan ji*, 87: 543-44.

⁴⁸¹ Junzhai dushuzhi, 159.

⁴⁸² See Jia's Preface to his *Junjing yinbian* 群經音辨 (*Clarification of the Pronunciation of Characters in Various Classics*), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.222, *yuanxu* 原序 (original preface):1-2. Noteworthy, Jia conceived the character *zhao* 昭 as a verb which conveys the meaning of illuminating (*ming* 明). *Junjing yinbian*, 3:4.

⁴⁸³ See Liu Chengguo, *Jinggong xinxue yanjiu*, 39-40.

period from the Northern Song to the Southern Song, provided a valuable review of the shift of the intellectual trend towards anti-textualism after the Qingli era (1041-1048). According to Wu, "pre-Qingli scholars really knew how to respect Han-Tang textual traditions of annotating commentaries and sub-commentaries. However, after Liu Yuanfu (Chang) composed the *A Brief Sketch of the Seven Classics*, new interpretations that were different from the teaching of former Confucians emerged"慶曆以前,多尊章句註疏之學,至劉原甫為七經小傳,始異諸儒之說.⁴⁸⁴ Concretely, Liu Chang and Ouyang Xiu had suspicions of both the text and structure of some Han and Tang commentaries that anticipated the compilation of the *New Meanings on the Three Classics*.⁴⁸⁵ Considering the role played by Liu, Jia, and Ouyang in shaping Wang's conception of early commentaries, it is no exaggeration to conclude that the Qingli skepticism did set the stage for the rise of New Learning scholarship in the later Xining and Yuanfeng eras.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸⁴ Wu Zeng, Nenggaizhai manlu 能改齋漫錄 (Scattered Records from the Studio of Possible Change) (Taibei: Mudu chubanshe, 1982), 28.

⁴⁸⁵ Like Wang Anshi and Liu Chang, Ouyang believed that the study of Classics should be remodeled based on a rational evaluation of the commentaries' explanation. Ouyang, in particular, argued that commentaries should be simple, straightforward, and understandable. He further stated that many Song scholars at his day became confused by the novel points made in the (Han and Tang) commentaries and failed to grasp the true meaning of the Classics. Based on a rationalist thinking, Ouyang went so far that he even questioned the authenticity of the ten appendices (*shiyi* 十翼) of the *Book of Changes*. James T.C. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu, An Eleventh-Century Neo-Confucianist* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), 85-99, esp., 91-94.

^{**}Host Southern Song scholar. Wang noticed that prior to the Qingli era, scholars were more inclined to read the commentaries written by Han and Tang Confucians. After *Qijing xiaozhuan** was published, scholars turned more to those new interpretations of Classics. The paradigm shift reached its culmination when Wang Anshi proclaimed the *New Meanings* on the Three Classics*. Afterwards, the learning of Han Confucians was demeaned as cheap mud 視漢儒之學若土埂. Moreover, the practice of making Lecture Notes (*jiangyi** 講義**) at the Court Lectures (*jingyan** 經筵**) also contributed to the exclusive tendency in Classical Studies, as the Lecture Notes cut the text of Classics into separated pieces. Wang, *Kunxue jiwen** 因學紀聞 (*Records about Difficulties in Learning*), *Siku quanshu**, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.854, 8:39-40.

Nonetheless, if Wang Anshi's scholarship was primarily driven by a kind of iconoclasm, how do we conceive his strong interest in studying the commentaries of "former" Confucians? Perhaps, historians can approach this apparent contradiction from the mechanism of knowledge production. In an influential research concerning the transformation of the mode of knowledge production in modern society, social scientist Michael Gibbons and his colleagues argued that "knowledge is always produced under an aspect of continuous negotiation and it will not be produced unless and until the interests of the various actors are included." Although Gibbons' statement is used to define the new mode of knowledge production in the post-industrial era, it also helped explain the process of knowledge accumulation in some traditional societies. For Classical studies in China, the exegetical writings of earlier scholars served as vital actors in the negotiation between various old and new intellectual paradigms. On the level of knowledge accumulation, Wang Anshi, like other conventional Confucians (shisu zhi ru 世俗之儒) of his days, 488 relied mostly on the commentaries and sub-commentaries of former Confucians to study the Classics. Yet, what made Wang, Liu Chang and Jiang Changchao distinct from their contemporary counterparts was that their own research went beyond the textual space of traditional commentaries and sub-commentaries by calling for a new explanatory system based on a utopian understanding of the Three Dynasties. In other

⁴⁸⁷ Michael Gibbons et al., *The New Production of Knowledge: The Dynamics of Science and Research in Contemporary Societies* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 1994), 4.

⁴⁸⁸ In commenting Wang Anshi's opinion in the 1072 Primal Ancestor debate, Cheng Yi 程頤(1033-1107) had already juxtaposed Wang with other "conventional Confucians." As Chen said, Wang's opinion concerning the placement of Xizu's tablet "after all is more compelling than that of the conventional Confucians" 介甫所見, 終是高於世俗之儒. Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), Zhuzi yulei 朱子語類 (Thematic Discourses of Master Zhu, hereinafter refers to as ZZYL) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 107:2664.

words, both Oingli skepticism and Wang's scholarship embraced novelty at the expense of discarding some of the fruits of the Han-Tang disciplinary matrix. Institutionally, the implementation of the New Meanings in the civil service examination system actualized this new interpretative paradigm. This change aimed to cultivate not literati, but Confucian Classicists (*jingru* 經儒), as well as professionals in bureaucratic administration. 489 Given this context, it is totally conceivable that Wang Pizhi 王闢之 (jingshi: 1067), Xu Du 徐度 and Wang Jucheng 王居正 (1087-1051) assessed Wang's scholarship as anti-conventional that characterized by "whimsy and peculiarity" (wuweixingi 務為新奇). 490 In the broad sense, Wang developed the pragmatic spirit of the early Qiling scholarship and accordingly undermined not only the Han-Tang commentary tradition of textualism but also the whole learning mechanism of traditional Classicism. Wang Anshi, Liu Chang and other Qiling scholars regarded commentaries on the Classics as meaningful only when they could convey political interests, especially pro-reform ideas. Hence, the New Meanings of the Three Classics not only crystallized New Learning scholarship but also provided textual evidence for the Major Reform. 491

⁴⁸⁹ Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定, "Wang anshi de lishiheyi zhengzhe"論王安石的吏士合一政策 (Wang Anshi's policy to include the clerks in officialdom), in *Riben xuezhe yanjiu zhongguoshi lunzhu xuanyi* 日本學者研究中國史論著選譯 (*Selected Japanese Scholarly Essays on Chinese History*) vol.5, ed. Liu Qunwen 劉俊文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), 451-490.

⁴⁹⁰ Wang, "the Classical Studies of the Duke [Jing] focused on explicating the meaning of characters, in the worst case the followers of Wang's learning merely pursued whimsy and peculiarity, and gave strained interpretations and analogies 公之治經, 尤尚解字. 末流多務新奇, 浸成穿鑿. *Shengshui yantanlu* 澠水燕談錄 (*Record of Chatting on the Sheng River*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 10:126; SSXYJKHP, 670, 695.

⁴⁹¹ Kondō, "Wang Anshi de keju gaige,"157-159.

Cheng Guan's memorial in 1111 aptly summarized the New Learning logic of interpreting the Classics:

As Anshi desires to change the operating system of safeguarding the Imperial Palace, he first invents some new interpretations about the Classics. Subsequently, he mixes these interpretations with the imperial edicts of Emperor Shenzong, suggesting that the operating system must be changed immediately. Since the reform [of the operating system] originated from the precedents [of Shenzong], it can be expected that the present emperor will follow; likewise, since the reform is rhetorically embellished by Wang's technique of interpreting the Classics, it can prevent scholar-officials from raising objections secretly.

安石欲變宿衛之法,先於經義創立新說,然後造為神考聖訓,謂當急變其法。 蓋託於先訓,則可必聖主之遵行;文以經術,則可以禁士大夫之竊議。⁴⁹²

By intertwining his interpretations with Shenzong's imperial edicts, Wang politicized his own commentaries and thereupon profoundly transformed the textual tradition of the Classics through a state authorization process. Zhu Yi 朱翌 (1098-1167) stated that Wang "frequently cites the Classics to legitimize his acts; hence, the New Policies are made to accord with the *Zhou Bureaucracy*" 荊公作事, 動輒引經為證, 故新法之行, 亦取合於《周官》之書.⁴⁹³ Since Wang increasingly posited the Classics in a reform context, some Song scholars did criticize him for overtly obeying, but covertly opposing, the Confucian Way.⁴⁹⁴ In their opinion, the pragmatic tendency in Wang's

⁴⁹² XCB, 243: 5922; Also see Chen Guan, Siming zunyaoji 四明尊堯集 (The Siming Anthology of the Reverence of Yao), Siku quanshu cunmu congshu 四庫全書存目叢書 (Collections of Works on the Extant Bibliography of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries), (Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1997), v.279, preface: 8.

⁴⁹³ Chen Gu 陳鵠. Xitangji qijiu xuwen 西塘集耆舊續閏 (Sequel to the Old Sayings in the West Hall Collections) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 1:33. Also see Hoyt Tillman, Utilitarian Confucianism: Ch'en Liang's Challenge to Chu Hsi (Cambridge: Harvard East Asian Monographs, 1982), 38-39.

⁴⁹⁴ For instance, see Ling Zhiqi's 林之奇 (1112-1176) criticism of the *Three New Meanings*. SSXYJKHP, 695-696.

learning had strongly overpowered its Confucian identity. Hence, this tendency demoted the learning itself to an equivalent of heterodox Buddhist and Daoist traditions.

It is worth noting that there is a serious terminological issue about the naming of the New Learning discipline. From the perspective of intellectual history, the naming process involves the periodization of its evolution. At the early stage of the New Learning movement, due to Wang Anshi's unparalleled personal influence over his disciples and academic admirers, Song scholars usually designated New Learning as Wang Learning, or the Learning of Jiepu (介甫之學, Jiepu being Wang Anshi's courtesy name), or the Learning of Linchuan (臨川之學, Linchuan being Wang Anshi's birth place). Considering the capricious nature of Wang's mind, Wang Learning underwent rapid transformations throughout his life. In a most recent monograph, Yang Tianbao 楊 天保 illustrates how Wang Anshi's early scholarship was fundamentally different from its late manifestation in the political context of Xining and Yuanfeng reforms. According to Yang, Wang Learning should be divided into three stages: the "primordial Wang Learning" (yuanshengtai de Wangxue 原生態的王學), the "officially authorized Wang Learning" (guanxuehua de Wangxue 官學化的王學) in the Major Reform, and the syncretic Wang Learning at its final stage (wangi Wangxue 晚期王學).⁴⁹⁵ Yang's main thesis is the claim that only the early Wang Learning can reflect the true nature of Wang's scholarship. Yang further asserts that the conventional use of the word "New Learning"

⁴⁹⁵ Yang Tianbao 楊天保. Jinling wangxue yanjiu: Wang anshi zaoqi xueshu sixiang de lishikaocha, 1021-1067 金陵王學研究: 王安石早期學術思想的歷史考察, 1021-1067 (Research on the Wang Learning of Jinling: A Historical Survey on the Early Thought of Wang Anshi, 1021-1067) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2008), 41-45.

among modern scholars blurs the line between so-called "primordial Wang Learning" and "officially authorized Wang Learning." Furthermore, Yang claims that as a term invented by the conservative partisans, the word "New Learning," should exclusively refer to late Wang Learning, since the term itself was more of a politicized and ideological construct, rather than of a genuine intellectual tradition. ⁴⁹⁷ Consequently, Yang argues that research on Wang Learning requires a methodological turn from the question of "What is Wang Learning" to the question of "How was Wang Learning formed." ⁴⁹⁸ Undoubtedly, the "How" question is important in many ways. Equally important, yet less addressed in Yang's work and other studies concerning the scholarship of Wang Anshi, is the evolving process of Wang Learning from a highly individualized curriculum to a mature disciplinary matrix in the second half of the twelfth century.

From the perspective of socio-economic history, Song prosperity rapidly increased from the eleventh to the twelfth century. The great prosperity brought about by "liberal" policies greatly affected the daily life of Confucian elites. Textual communication among scholar-officials was enhanced by the advancements of printing technology and transportation network. In general, literate people enjoyed greater

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⁴⁹⁶ Yang, *Jinling wangxue*, 42-43.

⁴⁹⁷ Yang, *Jinling wangxue*, 63-69.

⁴⁹⁸ Yang, *Jinling wangxue*, 38-40.

⁴⁹⁹ Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past: A Social and Economic Interpretation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), 113-199; Robert Hartwell, "Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750-1550," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42:2 (1982): 383-95; Shiba Yoshinobu 斯波義信, *Commerce and Society in Sung China*, trans., Mark Elvin (Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, 1970), 126-164.

social mobility and were allowed to enter the ruling class through success in civil service examinations or participation in local administrative work. ⁵⁰¹ Indeed, the Wang family of Linchuan was a beneficiary of this rising social mobility. According to the detailed biographical sketch of Wang Anshi, composed by the Qing scholar Chai Shangxiang 萘 上翔 (1717-1810), the member of the Wang family who first won the highest *jinshi* rank in the imperial examination was Wang Guanzhi 王貫之 (967-1028), the younger brother of Wang Anshi's grandfather, Wang Yongzhi 王用之 (959-1036). ⁵⁰² Until Wang Anshi's time, there were altogether over 10 *jinshi* in the Linchuan Wang family, which made it a typical example of the new rising class of "petty" scholar-officials. ⁵⁰³ In contrast to the

⁵⁰⁰ Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*, 131-145,179-184; L.C. Goodrich, "The Development of Printing in China and its Effects on the Renaissance under the Sung Dynasty," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3 (1963): 36-43.

⁵⁰¹ For basic statistical data concerning the rise of the literate people's social mobility based on Tang and Song dynastic historical records, see Sun Guodong 孫國棟, *Tang Song zhiji shehui mengdi zhi xiaorong* 唐宋之際社會門第之消融 (The diffusion of social classes during the Tang-Song transition), in Sun, *Tang songshi luncong* 唐宋史論叢 (*Essays on Tang and Song History*) (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2000), 259-282.

⁵⁰² Chai Shangxiang, Wang Jinggong yanpu kaolue 王荊公年譜考略 (Evaluation on the biographic sketch of Wang Anshi, the Duke of Jing, hereinafter refers to as YPKL) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 226-37. Several tombstone epitaphs composed by Wang Anshi also provided some basic information about Wang Guanzhi: 1) the epitaph of Wang Guanzhi, "Zhukelangzhong shuzu muzhiming" 主客郎中叔祖墓誌銘, Wang, Linchuan ji, 87:512; 2) the epitaph of Wang Guanzhi's son, Wang Shixi 王師錫, "Shufu Linchuan Wangjunmuzhiming" 叔父臨川王君墓誌銘 (Epitaph to my uncle, the gentleman Wang of Linchuan), Wang, Linchuan ji, 93:584; 3) and the epitaph of Wang Guanzhi's daughter, the lady Wang, "Wangfuren muzhiming" 王夫人墓誌銘 (Epitaph to the lady Wang), Wang, Linchuan ji, 100:628. Based on Chai's evaluation and these epitaphic materials, Yang Tianbao made an interesting hypothesis, arguing that besides the jinshi Wang Guanzhi 王貫之, there was another brother of Wang Anshi's grandfather whose name was Wang Guanzhi 王觀之. The second Wang Guanzhi was an executive official who failed to pass the civil exam. Therefore, he was hardly mentioned in the biographies of the Wang family due to the Song discrimination of executive officials (nengli 能吏). Yang, Jinling wangxue, 104-111.

⁵⁰³ Chai documented 8, YPKL, 226. Yet Yang persuasively proved that the Wang family had produced at least 10 *jinshi*. Yang, *Jinling wangxue*, 111-113.

great clan of most conservative families, such as the Sima family of Sushi 涑水, the Han family of Xiangzhou 相州, and the Lü family of Lantian 藍田, the Wang family was smaller in size and accordingly more limited in resources. Financially, families like the Wang family of Linchuan primarily relied on serving as civil officials. Hence, the civil service examinations served as the most significant means by which individual scholars from less wealthy families could improve their family conditions.

While the young Wang Anshi was frequently frustrated by economic and daily issues, his turn away from the normal path of civil examination career (*juye* 學業) toward Confucian Classicism progressively came to the surface, along with his rapid promotion in the Song government and his brothers' ensuing success in the *jinshi* examination. Since the eleventh century, tension between the pursuit of academic interests and the pressure of living needs was an enduring one within the newly born *shi* 士 class. Considering the diverse understanding of the word *shi* and its different manifestations in the broad context of what the Japanese scholars has named the "Tang-Song transition," the Song-type *shi* class is always difficult to characterize and define. A *shi* in any Song text and context could denote a literati, a Confucian, a village scholar, or a combination

⁵⁰⁴ Wang Anshi's elder brother Wang Anren 王安仁 (1015-1051) got the *jinshi* degree in 1049; his younger brother Wang Anli 王安禮 (1034-1095) got the *jinshi* degree in 1061, another younger brother Wang Anguo 王安國 (1028-1074) was bestowed a honored *jinshi* degree (*ci jinshi jidi* 賜進士及第) in 1068. YPKL, 226.

⁵⁰⁵ The most famous argument concerning the rise of the Song *shi* class as new social and political elites was first proposed by Naitō Konan 内藤湖南 (1866-1934). See Naitō, "Gaikakuteki To-So jidai kan" 概括的唐宋時代觀 (A brief view of the Tang-Song transition). *Rekishi to chiri* 歴史と地理, 9:5 (1922): 1-12. For the various facets of the "Tang-Song transition" theory, or, the "Naitō Hypothesis," see *Riben xuezhe yanjiu zhongguoshi lunchu xuanyi*, vol. 1, ed. Liu Qunwen (Beijing: Zhonghua shujiu, 1992), 153-242. Li Huarui, "Tangsong biangelun de youlai yu fazhan—dai xulun" 唐宋變革論的由來與發展: 代緒論 (The origin and development of the theory of Tang-Song transition: an introduction), in *Tangsong biangelun de youlai yu fazhan*, ed. Li Huarui (Tianjing: Tianjing renming chubanshe, 2010), 1-39.

of any of these identities. Hence, the formation of the Song *shi* class turned out to be a discursive process that defied simple categorization. On the one hand, it would be too hasty to conclude that most Tang aristocratic families had disappeared and been replaced by the new "middle-class" elites or the class of petty-*shi* (*hanmeng shiren* 寒門士人) in Song officialdom. ⁵⁰⁶ An earlier generations of historians, such as Qian Mu, Sun Guodong, and E.A. Kracke, tended to focus on the factor played by meritocracy in the rise of the new *shi* class in the Tang-Song transition. ⁵⁰⁷ However, as Robert Hymes and other social historians have convincingly illustrated, statistical data might be unreliable, considering the fragmentary nature of Song primary materials and the methodology the researchers dealt with the nature of the new-rising *shi* class. ⁵⁰⁸ Hymes' own study on some Fuzhou families shows that under most circumstances the Song elites who accessed government offices came from families with wealth, previous success in exams, or other social connections to already influential families. ⁵⁰⁹ Moreover, the influence of aristocratic families continued through means of privileges (*yin* i), controlled

⁵⁰⁶ Sun Guodong names some of the Song families with traceable genealogical records as "middle-class families" (*zhongdeng jiading* 中等家庭), a rather modern designation for the Song elites. Sun, *Tang Song mengdi*, 281.

⁵⁰⁷ Sun, *Tang Song mengdi*, 281-82; E.A. Kracke, "Family vs. Merit in Chinese Civil Service Examinations under the Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 10 (1947): 105-23; also see Sudō Yoshiyuki 周藤吉之, *Sōdai kanryōsei to daitochi shoyū* 宋代官僚制と大土地所有 (*The Land Ownership Principle of Song Bureaucrats*) (Tōkyō, Nihon Hyōronsha, 1950), 48-77.

⁵⁰⁸ For instance, Hymes pointed out that Kracke's research on Song social mobility is problematic, since his statistical data from 1148-1256 only took into account three immediate paternal generations (grandfather, father, son) in defining the petty-*shi* class. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-Chou Chiang-Hsi*, in *Northern and Southern Sung* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 34-40.

⁵⁰⁹ Hymes, Statesmen and Gentlemen, 46.

sponsorship (ren 任 or baoren 保任), and other special recruitment channels in the Song bureaucracy.⁵¹⁰

On the other hand, what Robert Hartwell and Hymes have summarized as a rise of localism did shape the self-recognition process of Song elites by providing them an ethical perspective to view themselves. ⁵¹¹ In fact, the shift from national to local strategies was a direct result of the awakening of the new *shi* consciousness, i.e., a consciousness that attempted to define the *shi* class as a group of social elites outside the realm of officialdom. In a reciprocal manner, the localization of the *shi* class justified its self-sufficient identity by attaching ethical concerns to its social background.

Participation in local administration and social welfare projects greatly satisfied the *shi* population who failed the civil service examinations and were also blocked from other recruitment channels. Many scholars and Confucians gradually became localists and favored affinal alliances with other elite families to consolidate the mobility they had already achieved. ⁵¹² Consequently, a more localized marriage strategy and other social ties contributed to the formation and development of most petty-*shi* families at the village

⁵¹⁰ For discussions about the Song *yin* privilege, see Winston Lo, *An Introduction to the Civil Service of Sung China: With Emphasis on Its Personnel Administration* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 103-109; Umehara Kaoru 梅原郁, "Sōdai no on in seido" 宋代の恩蔭制度 (The Sung privilege system of official appointments), in Sōdai kanryō seido kenkyū 宋代官僚制度研究 (*A Study of Song Bureaucracy*) (Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1985), 423-500. For the sponsorship system in personnel administration, see Kracke, *Civil Service in Early Sung China*, 102-189.

⁵¹¹ Robert, Hartwell, "Demographic, Political and Social Transformation of China," 365-442; Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen*, 210-218; Peter Bol, *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 58-75.

⁵¹² Hugh Clark, *Portrait of a Community: Society, Culture, and the Structures of Kinship in the Mulan River Valley (Fujian) from the Late Tang through the Song* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2007). 300-305.

and county levels.⁵¹³ However, a less discussed component in this historical portrait of the Song *shi* class deals with its intellectual orientation, i.e., how Song *shi* elites conceptualized their own intellectual backgrounds in the context of the formation of the new *shi* class. Considering this context, Wang Anshi's case deserves more attention.

Geographically, early Wang Learning represented the scholarship of Song southerners (nanxue 南學), or, more specifically in Song administrative terms, the scholarship of the Western Jiangnan Circuit (江南西路, modern western Jiangxi 江西). Prior to Wang Anshi, Ouyang Xiu (native place: Yongfeng, Jizhou 吉州永豐) and Li Gou 李觏 (1009-1059, native place: Nancheng, Jiangchang Military Prefecture 建昌軍南城) represented the local intellectual tradition of the Western Jiangnan Circuit. He have just discussed the link between Ouyang's skepticism and the radicalism of Wang's New Learning. The intellectual affiliation between Wang and Li Gou is more complicated. At the first glance, in a utilitarian sense, both Wang and Li studied the Ritual of Zhou as a constitutional text and declared that it provided a comprehensive scheme for managing an ideal government on what Li called "a road to Grand Peace" (zhitaiping zhishu 致太平之書).515 After Hu Shi 胡適 claimed that Li Gou was another

⁵¹³ Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen*, 82-104; Noteworthy, the localized strategy might not be adoptable to families with high ranking officials, such as the Grand Councilor families. Beverly Bossler's study demonstrated how some Song grand councilors sought affines of "comparable political status" regardless geographical obstacles. See Bossler, Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status, and the State in Sung China (960-1279) (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1998), 78-94, esp. 87-94.

⁵¹⁴ For a brief summary of the geographical distribution of Song thoughts, see He Yousen 何佑森, "Liang Song xuefeng de dili fenbu" 兩宋學風的地理分佈 (Geographical distribution of the patterns of Song thought), *Xsin Ya hsueh-pao* 新亞學報 (*New Asia Journal*), 1:1 (August, 1955): 331-379.

Wang Anshi who could not receive support from the emperor, most other modern scholars have viewed Li as the forerunner of Wang. State As a result, Li Gou's thematic analysis of the Ritual of Zhou, i.e., his On the Means to the Grand Peace (Zhouli zhi taiping lun 周禮致太平論), has generally been considered as one of the most significant sources of the New Learning theory of statecraft and Classical Studies. Indeed, in his introduction to the On the Means to the Grand Peace, Li anticipated a reform-oriented state and severely criticized the Han and Tang commentary traditions and the conventional trend of literary studies.

Nevertheless, methodologically, Li Gou's writing on the *Ritual of Zhou* was an elaboration of the examination tradition of policy questions (*celun* 策論) since the Han dynasty. Most of his concerns in the *On the Means to the Grand Peace* were derived from a rethinking of the applicability of Zhou feudalism to his contemporary world. Since Li fully realized the complexity of his own society, he interpreted Zhou institutions and

⁵¹⁵ Li Gou, *Ligou ji* 李觏集 (*Anthology of Li Gou*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 70; For a succinct analysis of Li Gou's life and thought, see Hsieh Shan-yüan, *The Life and Thought of Li Kou*, 1009-1059 (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1979).

⁵¹⁶ 一個不曾得君行道的王安石. Hu Shi, "Ji Li Kou de xueshuo" 記李覯的學說 (Some words on Li Guo's scholarship), in *Hu Shi wenji* 胡適文集 (*Anthology of Hu Shi*) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chuban she, 1998), 3: 25-40; For those who followed Hu Shi's understanding of the Li-Wang relationship, see, for instance, Jiang Guozhu 姜國柱, *Ligou sixiang yanju* 李覯思想研究 (*A Study on Li Gou's Thought*) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1984), 156; Hou Wailu 侯外廬, *Zhongguo sixiang tongshi* 中國思想通史 (*A Comprehensive History of Chinese Thought*) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1957-1963), 4: 398; Jaeyoon Song, *The Book of Grand Peace (Taiping zhi shu): The Ritual of Zhou and State Activism in Northern Song* (960-1127) *China*. Manuscript (Forthcoming), 82; Xia Changpu 夏長樸, *Li Kou yu Wang Anshi yanjiu* 李覯與王安石研究 (*A study of Li Kou and Wang Anshi*) (Taibei: Daan chubanshe, 1989), 213-256.

⁵¹⁷ Li Gou, "Ji Zhouli zhi taiping lun shangzhugongqi" 寄周禮致太平論上諸公啓 (An introductory letter to your gentlemen about On the Means to the Grand Peace), in Zhijiang Lixiansheng wenji 直講李先生文集 (Anthology of Master Li, the Lecturer), in Sibu congkan (Shanghai: shangwu yinshuguan, 1919), v. 1664-1671, 26: 187.

regulations in a contextualized manner. Sometimes, like Wang Anshi, Li emphasized the necessity of state intervention in the economy, especially controlling market prices. His commentary on the Bureau of Treasurer (*quanfu* 泉府) undoubtedly shared the same fiscal activism as Wang's New Policies, particularly, the Green Sprouts Policy and the Regulations on Market Trading. ⁵¹⁸As Li said, "If the sovereign does not attempt to manage [the market], powers will be in the hands of merchants. If merchants have the power to control the market, they would be able to decide the price of the goods" 君不理, 則權在商賈; 商賈操市井之權, 斷民物之命. ⁵¹⁹ Likewise, for enriching the state and the people, Li also proposed an activist management agenda through which the government takes full responsibility for arranging the labor force and natural resources. ⁵²⁰

Nevertheless, Li astonishingly turned to localism while discussing issues of justice and morality. He argued that it was ridiculous to regulate the whole world in exactly the same way.⁵²¹ Since it is impossible to unify the mind of the people, regional differences and local customs should be respected and maintained. Li's argument here contrasts sharply to Wang Anshi's ultimate goal, i.e., "to construct an integrated whole in

⁵¹⁸ Li, *Ligouli*, 90-91. Many facets of the Green Sprouts Policy and the Regulation on Market Trading have been well researched. See Qi, *Wang Anshi bianfa*, 109-113, 135-140; for a historiographical review of studies on these two policies, see Li, *Wang Anshi bianfa yanjiushi*, 446-450, 457-460.

⁵¹⁹ Li, *Ligouli*, 90; I am indebted to Jaryoon Song for this translation, with some wording slightly modified. Song, *The Book of Grand Peace*, 104.

⁵²⁰ Li, *Ligouli*, 81-82.

⁵²¹ "As to the one thousand and eight hundred states within the Four Seas, their state policies might be different; how could the minds of the people be the same? To manage them with one regulatory system would be like gluing woods to a harp and hoping it could perform the variations of the five notes" 蓋四海之内,千八百國,國政或異,人心豈同,苟執一以御之,是膠柱而鼓瑟,欲盡五聲之變,不可得也. Li, *Ligouli*, 101.

which morality and custom are both unified" (*yidaote tongfengsu* 一道德同風俗).⁵²² In a letter responding to his close friend Wang Hui 王回 (1023-1065),⁵²³ Wang Anshi defended his decision to punish local clerks and junior officials in his term of office at Jiangdong 江東:

Since I arrived in Jiangdong, day by day I have been criticized by those *drifting* and vulgar shi. It seems that what I have insisted on is something that fails to please the world and conform to conventional practices. However, since my friends [like you] also regard conventional practices as correct, I began to doubt myself and repent my past conducts. Yet, after a deep self-reflection I come out with the following: In antiquity, when morality was consolidated to unify the customs of all-under-Heaven, people had no different opinions on what the capable shi had done. Nowadays, every household has its own dao and everyone has his own understanding of morality. Facts are distorted by prejudices, emotions and personal biases. How could you hastily conclude that your doubts about my words are not the result of distorted facts and people's biased opinions? [emphasis mine]

自江東,日得毀於*流俗之士*,顧吾心未嘗為之變。則吾之所存,固無以媚斯世,而不能合乎流俗也。及吾朋友亦以為然,後忖然自疑,且有自悔之心。徐自反念: <u>古者一道德以同天下之俗,士之有為於世也,人無異論;今家異道,人殊德,又以愛憎喜怒變事實而傳之。</u>則吾友庸詎非得於人之異論、變事實之傳、而後疑我之言乎?⁵²⁴

It would be a shallow reading if we see this passage as a mere proof of Wang Anshi's authoritarian personality. Wang's letter reveals a critical moment in his self-

⁵²² Wang's political ally, Lü Huiqing, in many ways duplicated Wang's pursuit of an "integrated whole." See footnote 11 and also Liu's debate with Sima Guang in 1069. In this debate concerning the meaning of one particular passage in the *Book of Documents*, Liu required Shenzong to interrogate Sima in order to "achieve the oneness of the discourse."(*shi yilun huiyi* 使議論歸一). Sima Guang, *Sushui jiwen* 涑 水記聞 (*Records of the sushui County*) (Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 337.

⁵²³ Since most of Wang Hui's writings had lost, we are not clear about his thought. For a brief introduction of his life, see Yuan Beibei 袁貝貝, "Wang Hui kao"王回考 (An examination on Wang Hui's life). Wenzhou daxue xuebao 溫州大學學報 25:6 (Nov., 2012): 77-82.

^{524 &}quot;Da Wang Shenfu shu" 答王深甫書 (A letter to Wang Shenfu). Wang, Linchuan ji, 72:464.

realization. Psychologically, the time Wang wrote this letter—sometime between 1058 and 1059—represented the awakening of a new *shi* identity among some Song elites. This new groups of *shi* elites intentionally created this identity to distinguish themselves from the "drifting and vulgar shi" group (流俗之士). 525 In Wang's letter, one can easily comprehend the ideological foundation upon which the Xining and the Yuanfeng ritual reforms were grounded, that indicated a redefinition of the right kind of shi. As the modern historian Douglas Shonicki argued, in the factional conflict during the Qingli era, Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989-1052) has already criticized his political opponent, the Grand Councilor Lü Yijian 呂夷簡 (979-1044), for failing to employ the "worthy and capable man" (xianneng 賢能). 526 From a broad perspective, Wang's advocacy to unify the standard of morality and local customs in his letter to Wang Hui represented the culmination of the anti-conventionalist tendency since the Qingli era, although his rhetoric was more radical toward conventional practices than Fan Zhongyan's memorials. This anti-conventional reasoning was more explicitly presented in one of Wang's memorials concerning the civil service examination reform, submitted in 1069:

My humble opinion is that in antiquity official recruitment was rooted in schools. Hence, once morality was consolidated on the upper level, customs on the lower level would naturally be accomplished [by following example]; capable and talented people were able to achieve something...... At present, if the court wishes

⁵²⁵ Although Wang had already stressed the difference between the "masses" (zhongren 眾人) and gentlemen (junzi 君子) in an early letter to Sun Zhengzhi 孫正之 in 1042, the juxtaposition of capable shi (youweizhishi 有為之士) and the "drifting and vulgar shi," as I so far noticed, appeared only after Wang was appointed to the Judicial Commission of the Eastern Jiangnan Circuit (didian Jiangdong xingyu 提點 江東刑獄) in 1058. "Song Sun Zhengzhi xu" 送孫正之序 (A farewell letter to Sun Zhengzhi), Wang, Linchuan ji, 84:533-34.

⁵²⁶ Douglas Shonicki, "Employing the Right Kind of Man: the Role of Cosmological Argumentation in the Qingli Reforms," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 38 (2008): 60-66.

to trace ancient regulations and institutions, and to redress the problems [of our government], it is necessary to avoid rapid change. First, it is appropriate to exclude parallel-prose writing in the civil service examinations so that scholars can focus on studying the meanings of the Classics. Moreover, it would also give some time to let the court build [more official] schools. [After schools are built and scholars are led away from parallel-prose writings], the court could discuss the education and recruitment methods of the Three Dynasties and implement them in all-under-Heaven. Consequently, the antiquity could be revived.

伏以古之取士,皆本於學校。故道德一於上,而習俗成於下。其人材皆足以有為於世......今欲追復古制,以革其弊,則患於無漸。宜先除去聲病對偶之文,使學者得以專意經義,以俟朝廷與建學校。然後講求三代所以教育選舉之法,施於天下,庶幾可復古矣。527

Against the conventional practice of normalizing parallel-prose as the standard for the examinations, Wang sought to install an orthodox curriculum of Classics Learning at the heart of the civil service examination system. Consequently, the composition of essays on the Classics replaced the creative writing of parallel-prose and poetry in the *jinshi* examinations. Furthermore, based on his own vision of the regulatory system of the Three Dynasties, Wang attempted to establish more official schools for the selection of talented officials. His juxtaposition of "capable worthies" (*youwei rencai* 有為人材) and "drifting and vulgar *shi*" in the 1069 memorial anticipated the increased confrontation between the executive officials of the reformist camp and the conventionalists of the conservative camp in the succeeding years.

Alongside civil service examinations and concrete policies, Wang Anshi's conception of a standardized intellectual norm also disturbed the mindset of most

⁵²⁷ "Qi gaiketiaozhi dazi" 乞改科條制箚子 (A draft memorial on civil examination reforms). Wang, *Linchuan ji*, 42:269.

⁵²⁸ Benjamin Elman composed a succinct timeline for the civil examination curriculum reform in the late twelfth century. See Elman, A *Cultural History of Civil Examinations*, 731.

Northern Song scholars. One of the most criticized aspects of Wang's New Meanings is that it compelled other Song scholars to follow Wang Anshi's "private learning" (sixue 私學), instead of letting scholars choose from other possibilities. Sima Guang once complained that "Wang Anshi should not substitute the learning of former Confucians with his private learning" 王安石不當以一家私學欲掩蓋先儒. 529 From the perspective of literary composition, Su Shi questioned Wang Anshi's totalistic understanding of writing and morality too. 530 Historical sources suggested that most Northern Song scholars perceived Wang Learning as a highly integrated system of Buddhism, Daoism, Legalism, some Han and Tang commentary traditions, a variety of pre-Qin heterodox ideas, and Wang's etymological analysis of characters (zixue 字學). However, none of these sources provides a detailed explanation about how all these materials were integrated. How do we understand the disjunction between the discursiveness of Wang Anshi's scholarship and his seemingly uncompromising pursuit of a monolithic interpretative system?

The question can be answered from two perspectives. First, consider again the factor of localism in Wang Anshi's life. As we have pointed out, Wang was born in a new tradition of the learning in the South. Chen Mingsheng 程民生, a modern Chinese historian who specializes in Song local culture, has compared southern skepticism with the northern textualism and concluded that the former was more speculative and

⁵²⁹ XCB, 371: 8976.

⁵³⁰ SSXYJKHP, 696. For other criticisms on Wang Anshi's holistic view of morality, scholarship and politics, see SSXYJKHP, 697-702.

innovative.⁵³¹ What Chen fails to note is that in contrast to the northern learning, which inarguably continued the great tradition of the Han and Tang Confucianism, the learning in the South during the twelfth century was basically characterized by a trend of eclecticism. Ouyang Xiu, Wang Anshi, Liu Chang and many New Learning scholars were uniquely well-known for their broad interests not only in the Confucian Classics but also in minor traditions. Wang's letter to Zeng Gong has been frequently quoted as an example to prove his erudition:

For a long time, the world has been unable to see the entity of the Classics. If one only reads the Classics, one will fail to understand their real meaning. Hence, my reading list covers everything from the works of the hundred schools of thought to medical texts, such as [Huang Di's] Canon of Eight-one Diseases, [Huang Di's] Conversations concerning Medical Questions, Materia Medica and other minor scriptures. I also inquire from everyone, including farmers and women workers [for those details in the Classics]. Only then I am able to understand the basic structure of the Classics and be free of doubt. Scholars of later ages have lived in a different time from the one of the ancient kings. Therefore, if we could not understand all the texts, we could not understand the Sages' teaching.

世之不見全經久矣, 讀經而已, 則不足以知經。故某自百家諸子之書, 至于《難經》、《素問》、《本草》、諸小說, 無所不讀。農夫、女工, 無所不問, 然后于經為能知其大體而無疑。蓋后世學者, 與先王之時異矣, 不如是, 不足以盡圣人故也。⁵³²

As Peter Bol has mentioned, Wang Anshi believed the coherence of the Classics and attempted to achieve this coherence through a comprehensive reading of miscellaneous materials.⁵³³ In other words, Wang's inclusive attitude toward the process

⁵³¹ Chen Mingsheng, *Songdai diyu wenhua* 宋代地域文化 (*Song Local Culture*) (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 1997), 315-321.

^{532 &}quot;Da Zengzigu shu," Wang, Linchuan ji, 73:469.

⁵³³ Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, 228-229.

of knowledge accumulation served as a prerequisite for his understanding of the Classics. In Wang's view, in order to see the entity of Classics, it is inadequate to read only the commentaries and sub-commentaries. In a letter to Wu Zijing 吳子經, Wang argued that "according to my own learning, the *Book of Songs* and the *Three Ritual Classics* could be explained reciprocally, as their principle is the same" 乃如某之學, 則惟詩禮足以相解, 以其理同故也.⁵³⁴ This approach of mutual interpretation, in addition to a comprehensive learning of a variety of intellectual traditions, lies at the heart of Wang's Classical Studies. Furthermore, in Wang Anshi's era, geographical discrimination and biases were still perpetuated by northerners in court politics. Regarding civil service examinations, prefectural quotas have been continuously adjusted to balance the candidate numbers of advanced southeastern prefectures and backward northwestern prefectures. ⁵³⁵ Northerners like Sima Guang argued that regional quotas were necessary because they guaranteed a regional balance within the state bureaucracy. 536 However, under most circumstances, these quotas practically restricted candidate numbers from the southern prefectures, regardless regional disparities in economic and educational development. Sima Guang once explicitly asserted that southerners from Hu Nan 湖南, Hu Bei 湖北 and Fu Jian 福 建 should not be permitted to serve in the central government, specifically in the

⁵³⁴ "Da Wuxiaozong shu" 答吳孝宗書 (A letter to Wu Xiaozong, Zijing is his courtesy name). Wang, *Linchuan ji*, 74:474.

⁵³⁵ Edward, Kracke, "Region, Family and Individual in the Chinese Examination System," in *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 251-268.

⁵³⁶ Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China*, 120-123.

Secretariat-Chancellery, because they were flimsy and superficial.⁵³⁷ Psychologically, Wang's advocacy for an encyclopedic curriculum could be aptly read as a counterreaction to the political discrimination of the northerners in his time. The substitution of the southerner's new interpretative system for the conventional textualism intellectually legitimized the southerner's ascendency in officialdom. The product of this substitution process in the Northern Song period, no doubt, was the New Learning movement.

One can also approach the tension between the discursiveness of Wang Learning and its exclusive tendency in both intellectual and political fields from the interactions between Wang and people surrounding him. During the formative stage of Wang Learning, examination culture had a great influence on Wang Anshi's personal scholarship. Among Wang's early teachers, friends, and disciples, Chen Shimeng 程師孟 (1015-1092), Chen Yi, Hu Shunyuan 胡舜元 (1019-1099), Lang Jian 朗簡 (969-1056), Ma Zhongshu 馬仲舒 (d. 1046), Ma Zun 馬遵 (1011-1057), Sun Shi 孫适 (1027-1055), Yuan Jiang, Yu Jing 余靖 (1000-1063) and Zeng Zhiyao 曾致堯 (950-1007) were all deeply embedded in the examination field. Yang Tianbao's detailed study of their intellectual interactions with Wang persuasively illustrated that early Wang Learning was more inclined to a utilitarian approach of achieving degrees and practicing administrative skills, rather than establishing a new scholarly paradigm. ⁵³⁸ For instance, in his letter to

537 閩人狡險, 楚人輕易, 今二相皆閩人, 二參政皆楚人, 必將援引鄉黨之士, 充塞朝廷,天下風俗,何以得更淳厚. Xu Qianxue 徐乾學 (1631-1694). Zizhi tongjian houbian 資治通鑑後編 (Sequel of the Comprehensive Mirror to Aid the Government), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.342-45, 77:18. A more detailed description of Song regional discrimination can be found in Qian Mu's Guoshi dagang 國史大綱 (An Outline of Chinese History) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2010), 581-589.

⁵³⁸ Yang, Jinling wangxue, 145-182.

Ma Zhongshu, Wang mentioned how his own learning greatly helped improving Ma's examination skills.⁵³⁹ Likewise, Wang's correspondence with Hu Shunyuan also reveals how the achievement of *jinshi* degrees in the civil service examinations was generally regarded as a manifestation of filial piety by the intelligentsia of the Western Jiangnan Circuit, the nurturing soil of the early Wang Learning.⁵⁴⁰ Regarding literary composition and administrative skills, the interactions between Wang and Chen Shimeng, Lang Jian, Yu Jing and Yuan Jiang undoubtedly contributed to the pragmatic nature of the late Wang Learning.

However, during the late period of Renzong's 仁宗 (r. 1022-1063) reign, increasing contacts between Wang and other high-ranking conventionalists led to his indepth reflection on the very essence of learning. Consequently, a more individualized academic discipline formed during Wang Anshi's period of lecturing at Jiangning 江寧, from 1064 to 1067. ⁵⁴¹ In contrast to the preparation stage of Wang Learning, the Jiangning stage of lecturing witnessed a sharp turn toward a comprehensive study of

^{539 &}quot;Ma Hancheng muzhiming"馬漢臣墓誌銘 (Epitaph of Ma Hancheng), Wang, *Linchuan ji*, 96:600.

⁵⁴⁰ "Song Hu Shucai xu" 送胡叔才序 (A letter to Hu Shucai), Wang, *Linchuan ji*, 84:534; For a brief sketch of the relationship between Wang Anshi and Hu Shunyuan, see *Gaoben Songyuanxuean buyi*, 873; Yang, *Jinling wangxue*, 172-173.

⁵⁴¹ Lu Dian traced his fellowship with Wang back to 1066. See Lu, "Shenjun mubiao"沈君墓表 (Gravestone inscription of Mr. Shen), *Taoshanji*, 16:11. Among the secondary sources I have read, Liu Chengguo pays special attention to Wang's lecturing period at Jiangning and focuses mainly on the regional characteristics of the Jiangning community. It seems that Liu tends to percept Wang's Jiangning disciples as an extension of the Southern scholarship (*nanxue* 南學). Wang's intent to justify political reforms based on Classics, according to Liu, was also originated from this period. Liu Chengguo, *Biange zhong de wenren yu wenxue: wang anshi de shengping yu chuangzuo kaolun* 變革中的文人與文學: 王安石的生平與創作考論 (*Literati and Literary in Transformation: An investigation on the Life and Writings of Wang Anshi*) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2011), 148-169.

different Confucian Classics. Although Wang had already composed a new commentary on the *Book of changes* as early as 1058, ⁵⁴² it was not until the Jiangning period that he highlighted the internal coherence among the Classics. According to Lu Dian's firsthand description of Wang's Jiangning lectures, Wang particularly emphasized the significance of the "basic structure" (dati 大體) of the ancient Way. 543 Accordingly, after high antiquity, this "basic structure" split into separate parts, but supposedly every existing Classics and various texts of minor traditions preserved a part. In other words, every piece of text shares a part of the perfectness of the ancient Way. Therefore, a careful integration of all these texts would reveal the "basic structure" and the "oneness of the Way" (Daozhiyi 道之一).544 In order to achieve the "oneness of the way," Wang asserted the importance of studying the nuanced nature of the mind (xinxing 心性), which in essence resonated with the ethics-based ontology of the two Cheng brothers.⁵⁴⁵ But, in contrast to them, Wang was less concerned with a philosophical interpretation of selected Classics; instead, he preferred to understand the Classics as an integrated whole which could be explained only in a comprehensive way. To grasp the secret of the Way, one has to "see the entity of the Classics." 546

⁵⁴² It was the *Yijie* 易解 (Explanations of the *Book of Changes*). Liu Chengguo, *Jinggong xinxue* yanjiu, 21-28.

⁵⁴³ Lu, "Da Li Bi shu" 答李賁書 (A reply to Li Bi), *Taoshanji*, 12:7.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ Liu Chengguo, *Biange zhong de wenren yu wenxue*, 162-65.

^{546 &}quot;Da Zengzigu shu," Wang, Linchuan ji, 73:469.

4.1.2 An Investigation of the Classical Studies of New Learning Scholars

Unfortunately, the discursiveness of Wang Learning, which was rapidly developed during his lecturing period at Jiangning, has been overlooked in recent studies. Under the influence of the highly stereotyped descriptions of Wang Learning, which were mainly constructed by the Song conservatives, later historians and scholars have approached Wang Learning ahistorically and have not considered the dynamics of its development. In general, modern researchers take the Wang Learning's most sophisticated form as the officially authorized from the *Three Meanings* after the Xining era. Hence, Wang Learning has long been conceptualized as a totalistic, narrow, and uncreative intellectual discipline. Wang Anshi's disciples, in particular, were ridiculed and lampooned by their contemporaries in both vernacular and elite literature. Popular drama performances adopted sarcastic expressions, such as "the learning the Book of Songs from Lu Nongshi (Lu Dian), and the learning the Book of Changes from Gong Shenzhi (Gong Yuan)" 學詩於陸農師, 學易於龔深之, to mock the ignorance of those scholars who merely knew to memorize the New Learning commentaries on the Classics. 547 Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1047-1118), a celebrated Southern Song literati, complained that many post-Xining scholars could not memorize the Five Classics, not to mention traditional commentaries on the Classics.⁵⁴⁸ Ye certainly implied not only the

⁵⁴⁷ Chen Shidao 陳師道 (1053-1102), Houshan tancong 後山談叢 (Discussions of Chen Houshan, Houshan is the courtesy name of Chan Shidao) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 1:24. In the same volume, Chen also recorded how two of Wang's disciples, Wang Wujiu 王無咎 (~1024-1069) and Li Zongmeng 黎宗孟, were nicknamed sarcastically as "copist" (mohuashou 模畫手) and "alternative storehouse" (zhuanbanchang 轉般倉) by the world, because they know nothing except Wang Learning. Chen, Houshan tancong, 1:25.

⁵⁴⁸ Ye, *Shilin yanyu*, 8:115.

exclusiveness of Wang Learning, but also its deconstructive power against traditional textualism. In the eyes of these Song scholars, the paradigm shift caused by elevating Wang Learning and changing civil service examination policies was simply anti-intellectualism for political suppression.

Nevertheless, understanding of Wang Learning will be more thorough if we perceive it as a dynamic process and the Jiangning period as the starting point of its intellectual construction. Despite the rapid expansion of Wang Anshi's private scholarship during his lecturing career at Jiangning, the inchoate New Learning community, which was mainly composed of Wang's early disciples and friends, still reflected more diversity and discursiveness than recent historians have realized. Although modern historians, such as Liu Chengguo and Yang Tianbao, have devoted some attention to the Jiangning period, an in-depth analysis of the intellectual backgrounds of Wang's disciples is still needed. As the magnitude of such a project goes beyond the scope of my current research, I will focus on what is most related to my theme, i.e., the New Learning interests, training and writings in Classical Studies.

(1) New Learning Scholarship on the *Book of Changes*

Gong Yuan 龔原 (*jinshi*, 1063) best represented the study of the *Book of Changes*. Considering the supreme status of *the Book of Changes* among all Confucian Classics and Gong's personal relationship with Wang Anshi, ⁵⁴⁹ Gong has been commonly

⁵⁴⁹ Gong was the husband of the daughter of Wang Anshi's sister. In other words, he was Wang's nephew by marriage (*shengxi* 甥婿). See "Changanxian taijun Wangshi muzhi" 長安縣太君王氏墓誌 (Epitaph to the lady Wang, the Grant Lord of the county Changan), Wang, *Linchuan ji*, 99:620.

regarded as the most prominent disciple of Wang's Classical Studies. Although his political career was not a very successful one, ⁵⁵⁰ Gong was well respected by both the reformist and conservative camps for his loyalty to Wang; moreover, he had taught Zou Hao 鄒浩 (1060-1111), a pro-Daoxue scholar. ⁵⁵¹ Probably for these reasons Huang Zongxi and Quan Zuwang prioritized Gong's contribution in constructing the lineage of the New Learning tradition. ⁵⁵²

Although Gong Yuan was an expert in the learning of the *Book of changes*, his work covered quite a wide spectrum of Classics. Although most of his writings are lost, there remains a ten-volume lecture notes on the *Book of changes* (*Yi jiangyi* 易講義, or *Zhouyi xinjiangyi* 周易新講義),⁵⁵³ a seventeen-volume supplementary lecture notes on the *Book of changes* (*Xiujieyiyi* 續解易義),⁵⁵⁴ a ten-volume commentary on the *Book of changes* (*Yichuan* 易傳),⁵⁵⁵ some writings on the *Analects* and the *Mencius* (*Lunyu xinjie* 論語新解, *Mengzi xinjie* 孟子新解),⁵⁵⁶ and a ten-volume diagram of the *Ritual of Zhou*

⁵⁵⁰ In 1079, Gong was caught up in a corruption scandal involving receiving gifts from civil exam candidates. However, his debate with Sima Guang and other conservatives after Wang Anshi's retirement might contribute more to his demotion in later years (and possibly the stigmatization of himself in historical records). XCB, 299:7275-7276; SS, 353:11151-11152; DDSL, 114:7b-8a.

⁵⁵¹ ZBSYXA, 35:7a-b.

⁵⁵² ZBSYXA, 98:1a. In *Songyuan xuean*, Quan in particular quoted Wang Cheng's evaluation of Gong in DDSL, which says: "Gong was diligent and he respected Wang Anshi in the field of Classical Studies throughout his life" 力學,以經術尊敬介甫,始終不易也. ZBSYXA, 98:13b.

⁵⁵³ Chen, Zhizhai shulujieti, 1:15b; Junzhai dushuzhi, 41.

⁵⁵⁴ SS, 202: 5037.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁶ SS, 202: 5068; DDSL, 114:8a.

(Zhouli tu 周禮圖).⁵⁵⁷ In addition, Gong's work also includes a one-volume annotation of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, and some notes on the *Book of Songs* and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.⁵⁵⁸ Obviously, Gong's Classical Studies was comprehensive and his interests encompassed most of the Classics.

Other disciples of Wang Anshi, who showed special interest in the learning of the *Book of changes*, include Gu Dang 顧棠, Yang Qi 楊驥, Wang Xie 汪澥, Cheng Zhuo 成倬, and Ge Nanzhong 耿南仲 (*jinshi*, 1082). According to the Qing *Siku* editors, Ge's *New Lecture Notes of the Book of changes* (*Zhouyi xinjiangyi* 周易新講義) was still used in the Court Lectures of the Heir Apparent Chao Huan 趙桓 (1100-1156), the late Emperor Qinzong (r.1126-1127), near the end of the Northern Song dynasty. ⁵⁵⁹ Gu Dang composed a three-volume, annotated category of the *Book of changes* (*Zhouyiyilai* 周易義類), which, like most other New Learning texts, has been lost. Chen Chensun mentioned that Gu's preface discussed a lot of former Confucians. ⁵⁶⁰ Hence, Gu's case demonstrates what a superficial observation it would be if one views all the followers of Wang Learning as merely anti-traditionalists who rejected all Han and Tang commentaries.

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⁵⁵⁷ SS, 202: 5050

⁵⁵⁸ DDSL, 114:8a.

⁵⁵⁹ Ge Nanzhong 耿南仲, Zhouyi xinjiangyi 周易新講義 (New Lecture Notes of the Book of Changes), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.9, tiyao: 1.

⁵⁶⁰ Chen, Zhizhai shulujieti, 1:13a.

Likewise, the cases of Wang Xie and Cheng Zhuo demonstrate complexities of academic lineages and an intellectual community. Before studying the Classics with Wang Anshi, Wang Xie was a former student of the great Song lecturer Hu Yuan 胡瑗 (993-1059) with regard to the *Book of changes*. ⁵⁶¹ Likewise, Cheng had already been deeply embedded in the *Book of changes* before he met Wang Anshi. ⁵⁶² We have no idea how and to what extent their former experience of studying the *Book of changes* shaped their later studies within the broad spectrum of Wang Learning or, how their scholarship interacted with Wang Anshi's personal learning, and to what extent the interaction process reciprocally restructured Wang Learning of the *Book of changes*. Yet, what one should bear in mind is that the factor of reciprocity usually played a key role in these intellectual communications. Wang Xie's contemporaries once lamented that Wang Xie was unable to be consistent with Hu Yuan's scholarship and was finally contaminated by the tide of New Learning 然惜其守安定之學不終, 而染於新經之說.563 However, from Hu Yuan's disciple to one of the main advocates of the *Three New Meanings*, ⁵⁶⁴ the shift of Wang Xie's intellectual identity in itself illustrated ambiguity and nuance of in their thinking.

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⁵⁶¹ SS, 354:11165.

⁵⁶² Liu Chengguo, *Jinggong xinxue yanjiu*, 74.

⁵⁶³ ZBSYXA, 98:14b.

⁵⁶⁴ According to the *Song History*, Wang Xie was among the first generation of scholars who advocated the *Three New Meanings*. SS, 354:11165.

(2) New Learning Scholarship on the Book of Songs and the Book of Documents

As mentioned, Gong Yuan had composed some notes on the *Book of Songs*; yet, Wang Pang, Lü Huiqing, Cai Bian and Lu Dian substantially established New Learning scholarship on the *Book of Songs*. Specifically, Wang Pang and Lü Huiqing served as the main drafters of the (*New*) *Meaning of the Book of Songs* (*shijin y*i 詩經義). ⁵⁶⁵ However, as the political and philosophical disagreement between Wang and Lü increased after 1075, the final draft of the *Meaning of the Book of Songs* reflected Wang Anshi and Wang Pang's private views, instead of an integrated interpretative text of the entire New Learning on the *Book of Songs*. By the same token, Cai Bian's *Detailed Explication of the Animals and Plants Recorded in the Book of Songs* (*Shixue minghu jie* 詩學名物解) revealed itself more to be a strict adoption of Wang's etymological study than a methodological advancement in the scholarship on the *Book of Songs*. ⁵⁶⁶ Shen Jizhang also coauthored with Lu Dian a lecture note on the *Book of Songs*. ⁵⁶⁷ Like Cai Bian's *Detailed Explication*, this lecture note was an addendum to the *Meaning of the Book of Songs* and in essence followed Wang's teachings. ⁵⁶⁸

Similarly, Wang Learning of the *Book of Documents*, which was mainly preserved in the extant excerpts of the *Meaning of the Book of Documents* (*Shangshu yi*

⁵⁶⁵ XCB, 268:6565.

⁵⁶⁶ Indeed, Chengsun attributed Cai Bian's strained interpretations in the *Shixue minghu jie* to his obstinacy to Wang Anshi's etymological studies. *Zhizhai shulujieti*, 2:13b;

⁵⁶⁷ Gaoben Songyuanxuean buyi, 877.

⁵⁶⁸ XCB, 229:5570.

尚書義), should be perceived as an officialized compilation of Wang's private Learning. Wang Pang and Cai Bian, rather than Wang Anshi himself, made more contributions to its compilation. See Cai also wrote a commentary on the Book of Documents (Shangshu jie 尚書解), which was probably a more individualized writing, with more references to the commentaries of former Confucians and explanations of other Wang Learning scholars. Unfortunately, it disappeared in the chaos of the Song-Yuan transition.

In constructing a lineage of Wang Learning of the *Book of Documents*, it is important to note the role played by Wang Ling 王令 (1032-1059). Both Chao Gongwu and Chan Chengsun noted that some commentaries in the *Meaning of the Book of Documents* absorbed the Classic studies made of this earlier genius. ⁵⁷¹ Although both the *Songyuan xuean* and Wang Zicai's *Addendum to Songyuan xuean* failed to include Wang Ling under the school of New Learning, Wang Anshi's epitaph for Wang Ling detailed their intellectual affiliation. ⁵⁷² As Wang Ling never claimed to be a follower of the Wang school, he has been usually studied by modern scholars as a poet, instead of a New Learning scholar. Yet, his contribution to Wang Learning of the *Book of Documents* was

Scheme (Hongfan 洪範). Junzhai dushuzhi, 55; this essay is preserved in Wang's anthology. See Wang, Linchuan ji, 65:411-19. Yet, the officially authorized Meaning of the Book of Documents, as Chao Gongwu correctly pointed out, was mainly drafted by Wang Pang. Junzhai dushuzhi, 57. Jingyi kao, 79: 439. (Moreover, according to Quan Zuwang, Lu Dian also inherited Wang Anshi's learning of the Book of Documents. ZBSYXA, 98:15b.

⁵⁷⁰ Jingvi kao, 79: 440.

⁵⁷¹ Junzhai dushuzhi, 135; Zhizhai shulujieti, 3:25b.

⁵⁷² "Wang Fengyuan muzhiming"王逢原墓誌銘 (Epitaph to Wang Ling). Wang, *Linchuan ji*, 97:605-06.

undoubtedly real. From the perspective of community formation, Wang Ling's example should lead us to reexamine the definition of community identity, especially in its formative stage.

(3) New Learning Scholarship on the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, and Philology

It is a conventional perception that Wang Anshi and his disciples devoted scarce attention to the *Analects*, in contrast to the Daoxue emphasis of the Four Books (*sishu* 四書) as a coherent philosophical system. However, in practice, both Wang Anshi and his son Wang Pang composed some writings on the *Analects*. 573 Wang Pang's annotations were adopted by Xie Liangzuo 謝良佐 (1050-1103), a major student of the Cheng brothers, to establish his own *Commentary on the Analects* (*Lunyu jie* 論語解). 574 The two encyclopedic scholars of Wang Learning community, Gong Yuan and Lü Huiqing also contributed to the New Learning studies on the *Analects*. Yet, it was not until the emergence of Chen Xiangdao's 陳祥道 (1053-1093) *Complete Explanations on the Analects* (*Lunyu quanjie* 論語全解) that the scholarship was fully developed.

Bibliographer Chao Gongwu accurately documented this work as an examination manual

⁵⁷³ Junzhai dushuzhi, 136; SS, 202:5067. Concering Wang Anshi and Wang Pang's commentaries on the Analects, There are some differences between Chao Gongwu's record and the record in the Song official dynastic history (Song Shi). For instance, according to Chao, Wang Pang had written a colloquial explanation (kuyi □義) for his father's commentary on the Analects. However, in Song Shi, this work was entitled the Explanation on Analects (Lunyu jie 論語解). Junzhai dushuzhi, 136; SS, 202:5067.

⁵⁷⁴ In his *Kunxue jiwen*, Wang Yinglin gave one reference of how Xie's *Lunyu jie* cited words from Wang Pang's commentary. However, that reference, i.e., "the profound effect of teaching in enlightening the masses" 教之化民也深, is in fact more related to the *Book of Filial Piety (Xiaojing* 孝經) than to the *Analects. Kunxue jiwen*, 7:26.

used in the civil service examinations during the pro-reformist Shaosheng 紹聖 era (1094-1098).⁵⁷⁵ As Chen's specialty was ritual learning, the present edition of the *Complete Explanations on the Analects* emphasized the practice of ritual, especially on the practice of ancient rites. Chen frequently adopted texts of the three ritual Classics to explicate the conversation between Confucius and his disciples.⁵⁷⁶ In this sense, Chen's work further demonstrates Wang's basic doctrine, that the Classics could be comprehended by using them to explain one another.⁵⁷⁷

Wang Anshi's personal inclination towards the *Mencius* has been discussed by many scholars. However, given the rather inferior status of the *Mencius* in relation to other Confucian Classics in the eleventh century, one should be cautious about overstating the role played by the *Mencius* in normalizing the discipline matrix of Wang Learning.⁵⁷⁸ Wang Anshi and Wang Pang composed draft commentaries on the *Mencius*, which were later standard textbooks for the civil service examination, but both commentaries are no longer extant.⁵⁷⁹ However, among Wang's numerous disciples, only

575 紹聖後皆行於場屋. Junzhai dushuzhi, 136.

⁵⁷⁶ For instance, see how Chen explained Confucius' response to Sima Nu's 司馬牛 inquiry of benevolence in the *Yanyuan* 顏淵 chapter. Chen Xiangdao, *Lunyu quanjie* 論語全解 (*Complete Explanations on the Analects*), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.196, 6:16-17. For more examples, see Chen, *Lunyu quanjie*, 2:7-8; 3:25-26; 7:7-8; 7:28-29;

⁵⁷⁷ Yet, the *Complete Explanations on the Analects* scarcely adopted analysis of characters. ZBSYXA, 98:15b.

⁵⁷⁸ A clear evidence of the relatively inferior status of the *Mencius* is that it was excluded from the category of the first rank Classics in civil service examinations. Hence, Chao Gongwu put it under the category of philosophy (*zibu* 子部), instead of Classics. *Junzhai dushuzhi*, 414-422.

⁵⁷⁹ Junzhai dushuzhi, 420; Zhizhai shulujieti, 3:25b.

Gong Yuan, Wang Xie and Xu Runcheng 許允成 continued his scholarship on the *Mencius*. ⁵⁸⁰ The relatively low popularity of *Mencius* studies contrasted sharply to the proliferation of Wang's philology, especially after Wang Learning was officially authorized.

The publication of Wang Anshi's *On Characters* (*Zishuo* 字說) in the late Xining era marked a philological turn in the disciplinary matrix of Wang Learning. Once *On Characters* was published, many scholars endeavored to study and annotate it in different ways. Lecturers and teachers of the Imperial College (*taixue* 太學), such as Tang Si 唐耜, Han Jian 韓兼, and Liu Quanmei 劉全美 (*jinshi*, 1085), annotated *On Characters* from phonetic and phonological approaches. ⁵⁸¹ Tang, Han, and Liu's endeavors eventually led to the culmination of character studies in both the education of civil officials and the academic training of Classicists. However, the success of Wang's philology in the Song should be attributed largely to the great effort made by his early Jiangning disciples. Among them, the most famous ones were Yang Qi 楊驤, Xu Junping 徐君平, and in particular, Lu Dian, who enriched character studies by developing Wang's graphic analysis of characters. ⁵⁸²

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⁵⁸⁰ Liu Chengguo, Jinggong xinxue yanjiu, 94, 97; Junzhai dushuzhi, 420; ZBSYXA, 98:15b.

⁵⁸¹ Lu, *Laoxuean biji*, 3468; among their annotations, Tang Si's *Explications of Characters* (*zishuo jie* 字說解) received the greatest attention from his contemporaries. See *Junzhai dushuzhi*, 166.

⁵⁸² See Chao Gongwu's introduction of Lu Dian's *Piya* 埤雅 (*Glossary dictionary*). *Junzhai dushuzhi*, 167.

(4) New Learning Scholarship on the Spring and Autumn Annals

There are many stories concerning Wang Anshi's hatred of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. The Chinese idiom, "crappy and flimsy report" (*duanchaolanbao* 斷朝爛報), originated from Wang's mockery of the *Annals*. Cai Shangxiang has already reported on this illusion in his well-argued essay, "A disputation on Duke Jing's disbelief of the *Annals*" (Jinggong buxin Chunqiu bian 荊公不信春秋辯).⁵⁸³ If one examine the works of Wang's disciples and followers carefully, one can further undermine this illusion. Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031-1095), a prominent New Learning scholar and scientist, composed a chronicle and a lineage chart of the twelve states in the *Annals*.⁵⁸⁴ Wang's best disciples, Gong Yuan and Lu Dian, also wrote some treatises on the *Annals*.⁵⁸⁵ In a letter to his friend, the scholar Cui, Lu summarized the sequence of Classical Studies based on Wang Anshi teaching:

If scholars want to study the Classics, they should start from the nearest [easiest] one. Only if one finished studying the *Book of Songs*, one could start to study the *Book of Documents*; only if one finished studying the *Book of Documents*, one could start to study the *Book of Rites*. After one finished all three Classics, one would be able to understand the *Annals*.

學者求經,當自近者始。學得《詩》,然後學《書》;學得《書》,然後學 《禮》。三者備,《春秋》其通矣。⁵⁸⁶

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⁵⁸³ YPKL, 388-396.

⁵⁸⁴ The Secret of the Annals (Chunqu jikuo 春秋機括). Junzhai dushuzhi, 123; SS, 202: 5059.

⁵⁸⁵ Lu's work is named *The late Commentary on the Annals* (*Chunqu houzhuan* 春秋後傳). SS, 202: 5059. Lu Dian's son, Lu Zai 陸宰 (1088-1148) has composed a supplementary note to this *Late Commentary* too. ZBSYXA, 98:20b. There is sufficient reason to believe that the Learning of the *Annals* was a private learning of the Lu family.

⁵⁸⁶ Lu, "Da Cui Zifang xiucai shu"答崔子方秀才書 (A reply to scholar Cui). *Taoshanji*, 12:12.

According to Lu, Wang argued that some preparation was necessary before studying the *Annals*, since it is most difficult. A scholar has to study other Classics in order to study the *Annals*. In Lu's eyes, the *Annals* represented the "exterior Way of the Uncrowned King" (*suwang* 素王, i.e., Confucius), just as the *Book of changes* embodied the "interior Way of the Mysterious Sagehood" (*xuanseng* 玄聖). ⁵⁸⁷ Only a combination of the exterior Way of *suwang* and the interior Way of *xuanseng* could reveal the truth of Classicism. ⁵⁸⁸ Obviously, the *Annals* had a place in the curriculum of Wang Learning, at least at its formative stage. ⁵⁸⁹

Furthermore, the *Annals* was frequently quoted by some New Learning scholars in their writings. For instance, in two memorials concerning the measurements of the Imperial Temple and the performance of Temple sacrifices, Lu Dian quoted a myriad of texts from the three commentaries on *the Annals* to substantiate his points. *On Temple's Measurement (miaozhi yi* 廟制議), Lu cited the *Corrected Meaning of the Zuo Commentary on the Annals (Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義) to argue that the columns in the Imperial Temple have to be painted black and coated with

⁵⁸⁷ Like the Uncrowned King, the "Mysterious Sacredness" refers to Confucius as a sage who fails to access to the throne which he deserves. The phrase "the Way of the Uncrowned king and the Mysterious Sacredness"玄聖素王之道 came from the *Way of Heaven* chapter (*tiandao* 天道) of the *Zhuangzi*. Wang Xianqian, *Zhuangzi jijie* 莊子集解 (*Collective Annotation on Master Zhuang's Discourse*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shujiu, 1999), 114.

⁵⁸⁸ Yang Yanling 楊彥齡. Yanggong bilu 楊公筆錄 (Brush records of Master Yang), Quan Song biji, Series 1: Vol. 10, comp. Zhu Yian, et al. (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2006), 152.

⁵⁸⁹ See Yang Tianpao, "Cong chunqiuxue chuanru yixue"從春秋學轉入易學 (Turning from the learning of the *Annals* to the learning of the *Book of Changes*), in *Songxue yanjiu jikan* 宋學研究集刊 (*Collections of Studies on Song Intellectual History*) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2010), 131-47, esp., 138-141.

chalk powder.⁵⁹⁰ In the other texts, Lu named the *xia* sacrifice as a "significant ritual affair" (*dashi* 大事), based on textual evidence retrieved from both the *Gongyang* 公羊 and the *Guliang* 穀梁 commentaries.⁵⁹¹ Lu's well-structured comparison of these two commentaries in an epitaph also demonstrates his proficiency with the text and the methodology of scholarship on the *Annals*.⁵⁹²

(5) New Learning Scholarship on the Three Ritual Classics

Wang Anshi's ritual learning has long been stereotyped as a monolithic system. In reviewing the 1072 debate of the Primal Ancestor, the conservative Song scholar Shao Bo 部博 (d. 1158) explicitly claimed that Wang "despised the study of ritual and took an abnormal stand on (ritual learning)" 王荊公薄禮學,又喜為異。593 To a large extent, Shao's short statement expressed the conventional prejudice toward Wang Learning. In the eyes of anti-Wang Learning scholars, the officialized *New Meaning on the Ritual of Zhou* (*Zhouli xinyi* 周禮新義) primarily represented Wang's ritual learning. By reducing Wang Learning of ritual Classics to a mere study of the *Ritual of Zhou*, they amplified the exclusive tendency in late Wang Learning. In the post-Wang Anshi period, scholars

⁵⁹⁰ 春秋正義曰:《禮》,楹, 天子諸候黝堊. Lu, "Miaozhi yi"廟制議 (Discourse on the structure of the Imperial Temple), *Taoshanji*, 6:4. The *Corrected Meaning of Zuo's Commentary on Annals* was first composed by Tu Yu's 杜預 (222-284) and later annotated by Kong Yun-da's 孔穎達 (574-648).

⁵⁹¹《公羊》曰: 大事者何? 大祫也;《穀梁》曰: 大事者何? 大是事也, 著祫嘗. The character *zhu* 著 here serves as a verb, means "to differentiate."蓋著, 猶別也. Lu, "Miaoji yi"廟祭議 (Discourse on Temple sacrifices), *Taoshanji*, 6:16.

⁵⁹² Lu, "Li sili muzhi" 李司理墓誌 (Epitaph of the County Manager Li), *Taoshanji*, 14:9-11.

⁵⁹³ Shao Bo, *Shaoshi wenjian houlu* 邵氏聞見後錄 (*Sequel to Shao Bo's Hearsay*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 1:6.

generally regarded questioning the authenticity of the *Ritual of Zhou* as the most effective way to reveal the falsity and superficiality of Wang Learning.⁵⁹⁴ However, scholarship on the *Ritual of Zhou* was far from representing a comprehensive picture of Wang's ritual learning, or the ritual studies of the entire New Learning community. Among all the Classics, the three ritual Classics received the greatest attention from Wang's disciples and academic followers. A comprehensive study of concrete rites, ceremonies and ritual principles defines the very essence of New Learning. Statistical research of the ritual writings of Wang's disciples will help illustrate this comprehensiveness. The following table surveys the major ritual writings of most New Learning scholars:

Table 2. A Survey of Ritual Writings of the Wang-New Learning Scholars

No.	Author	Title	Volume	Sources
1	Wang Anshi 王安石	New Meaning on the Ritual of Zhou (Zhouli xinyi 周禮新義) ⁵⁹⁵	22 volumes (excerpt preserved in YLDD)	SKQS, 91:1-3; SSXYJKHP vol2; JZDSC, 81-82
2	Wang Anshi	Essential Meanings of Ritual Classics (Lijing yaoyi 禮經要義)	2 volumes (lost)	JZDSC, 1094
3	Wang Anshi	Exploration on the Book of Rites (Liji faming 禮記發 明)	1 volume (lost)	LJJS, mingshi: 5

⁵⁹⁴ See *Shaoshi wenjian houlu*, 3: 23; also Hu Hong 胡宏 (1105-1155), "Jilun Zhouli" 極論周禮 (A thorough discussion on the *Ritual of Zhou*), *Hu Hong ji* 胡宏集 (*Anthology of Hu Hong*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 259-260.

⁵⁹⁵ Among the three New Commentaries authored by Wang Anshi, it is convinced that only the *New Meaning on the Ritual of Zhou* was written by Wang himself. See Cai Tao 蔡絛, *Tieweishan congtan* 鐵圍 山叢談 (*Dense talks on Mountain Tiewei*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 56.

4	Wang Zhaoyu 王昭禹 (fl. 1080)	Detailed Explanations of the Ritual of Zhou (Zhouli Xiangjie 周禮詳解)	40 volumes	SKQS, 91: 197-199
5	Lu Dian 陸佃	Ritual Diagrams (Li xiang 禮象)	15 volumes (lost)	SS, 202: 5049
6	Lu Dian	Explanations of the Book of Rites (Liji jie 禮記解)	40 volumes (lost)	SS, 202: 5049
7	Lu Dian	Meanings on Rites and Ceremonies (Yili yi 儀禮義)	17 volumes (lost)	SS, 202: 5050
8	Lu Dian	A New Interpretation on Ritual Discussions (Shuli xinshuo 並禮新說)	4 volumes (lost)	SS, 202: 5050; LJJS, mingshi: 4.
9	Lu Dian	Discussions on the Sacrificial Coat (Daqiu yi 大裘議)	1 volume (preserved in TSJ)	SS, 202: 5050
10	Chen Xiangdao 陳祥道(1042- 1093)	Ritual Manual (Lishu 禮書)	150 volumes	SKQS, 130:1-3; SS, 202: 5050; ZZSLJT, 2:27b; JZDSC, 90
11	Chen Xiangdao	Detailed Explanations of Ritual Regulations (Lili xiangjie 禮例詳解)	10 volumes (lost)	SS, 202: 5050
12	Chen Xiangdao	Annotations on Rites and Ceremonies (Zhujie Yili 註解儀禮)	32 volumes (lost)	SS, 202: 5050
13	Chen Yang 陳暘 (1064-1128)	Book of Music (Yue Shu 樂書)	200 volumes	ZBSYXA, 98:20b.
14	Gong Yuan 龔原	Diagrams of the Ritual of Zhou (Zhouli tu 問禮圖)	10 volumes (lost)	SS, 202: 5050

15	Yang Wan 楊完	Yuanfeng Ritual Reform over Suburban Altar and Temple Rites (Yuanfeng jiaomiao fengsi liwen 元豐 郊廟奉祀禮文)	30 volumes (lost, excerpt preserved in GLJ, YH, and other Song anthologies)	WXTK, 187:1598; JZDSC, 83-84
16	He Xunzhi 何洵直(jinshi, 1078)	On Ritual (Li lun 禮論)	1 volume (lost, excerpt preserved in LJJS)	SS, 202: 5050
17	Fang Que 方愨	Explanations of the Book of Rites (Liji jie 禮記解)	20 volumes (lost, excerpt preserved in LJJS)	ZZSLJT, 2:24b-25a; SS 202: 5050
18	Ma Ximeng 馬 希孟	Explanations of the Book of Rites (Liji jie 禮記解)	70 volumes (lost, excerpt preserved in LJJS)	ZZSLJT, 2: 25a; SS, 202: 5050
19	Yang Xun 楊訓	Explanations of the Book of Rites (Liji jie 禮記解)	20 volumes (lost)	GBSYXABY: 876
20	Cheng Zongyan 鄭 宗顏	Annotations on the Records of Craftsmanship (Kaogongji zhu 考工記註)	1 volume	JYK, 129

Index of sources: SS: Songshi yiwenzhi 宋史藝文志; SKQS: Siku quanshu 四庫全書; JZDSC: Junzhai dushuzhi 郡齋讀書志; ZZSLJT: Zhizhai shulujieti 直齋書錄解題; JYK: Jingyi kao 經義考; ZBSYXA: Zengbu Song Yuan xuean 增補宋元學案; GBSYXABY: Gaoben Songyuanxuean buyi 稿本宋元學案補遺; WXTK: Wenxian tongkao 文獻通考; SSXYJKHP: Sanjing xinyi jikao huiping 三經新義輯考彙評; LJJS: Liji jishuo 禮記集說; GLJ: Gulingji 古靈集; TSJ: Taoshanji 陶山集; YH: Yuhai 玉海; YLDD: Yongle dadian 永樂大典.

Among the twenty works listed above, only four of them deal with the study of the *Ritual of Zhou* (1, 4, 14, 20). In contrast, seven out of twenty works (3, 6, 9, 10, 17, 18, 19) focus on the *Book of Rites*; two works (7, 12) focus on the *Rites and Ceremonies*; five works concern general ritual principles and ritual practices (2, 5, 8, 11, 16); one

examines the evolution of ritual music and the scales of instruments (13); one addresses the Yuanfeng Ritual Reform (15). There is a notorious story about the exclusiveness of Wang Learning, that Wang Anshi craftily persuaded Emperor Shenzong to shelve the conventional Court Lecture on the *Book of Rites*, due to his personal hatred of ritual details recorded in this Classic. ⁵⁹⁶ However, not only in a 1065 correspondence with his close friend Zeng Gong did Wang present his interest in studying the *Book of Rites*, ⁵⁹⁷ but also the entire New Learning group demonstrated a significant percentage (7 out of 20, i.e., 35%) on the learning of the *Book of Rites*. Throughout the internal transition from the individualized and arbitrary character of Wang Learning to the more coherent and systematic trend in New Learning, Wang's disciples and followers underwent significant intellectual transformations. Nevertheless, as late as to Huizong's reign, most of them still maintained the discursiveness that could be traced back to Wang Anshi's Jiangning period of lecturing. The learning of Xining and Yuanfeng (*Xifeng zhixue* 與學之學)

⁵⁹⁶ Both Zhu Bian and Lu You recorded this story in their pen-notes. According to Zhu's description, since Wang was not familiar with the content of the *Book of Rituals*, in a Court Lecture he was almost embarrassed by Shenzong's question concerning the ritual of changing the mat of a deceased (yize 易簣). Yet, Wang smartly shift the discussion topic from ritual details to the ritual principle, and persuaded Shenzong that the Court Lecture on the *Book of Rituals* should be shelved, because it contains too much distracting, miscellaneous details.禮記多駁雜. See Zhu, *Quwei jiuwen*, 9:208; Lu, *Laoxuean biji*, 3539.

⁵⁹⁷ Zeng Gong's letter to Wang Anshi informs us that Wang has once admitted his special interest to "compose some writings after reading the *Book of Rituals*"所云讀《禮》, 因欲有所論著. Zeng, "Yu Wang Jiefu disanshu" 與王介甫第三書 (The third letter to Wang Anshi), *Yuanfeng laigao*, 16: 127. Cai Shangxiang dated this letter to the 1065 winter--by a simple process of deduction, one can date Wang's previous letter to Zeng to sometime between 1064 and 1065, which precisely falls into the early stage of Wang's lecturing period in Jiangning (1064-1067). YPKL, 400. Li Zhen, the modern biographer of Zeng Gong's detailed biography, also followed Cai's dating. Li Zhen 李震, *Zeng Gong nianpu* 曾鞏年譜 (*The Biography of Zeng Gong*) (Su Zhou: Suzhou daxue chubanshe, 1997), 216-17. If the dating is correct, Zeng's letter serves as a compelling evidence to prove the formation of Wang Learning on the *Book of Rituals* during the Jiangning era.

periods, in the final analysis, is a rather discursive disciplinary matrix in relation to Classical studies.

On the level of ritual learning, although the scholarship on the *Ritual of Zhou* was privileged in the civil service examinations institutionally, studies concerning other ritual Classics and liturgical details have never been prohibited within and outside the New Learning community. Indeed, the New Learning insistence on both an integrated interpretative system and a principle of discursiveness resulted in a variety of intratextual and inter-textual tensions and negotiations within their own writings. Taking the *zhaomu* sequence as an example, I will next demonstrate how the evolution of New Learning textualism was complicated by these tensions and negotiations.

4.2 New Learning Interpretations on the Zhaomu Sequence

4.2.1 Consolidation of the *Zhaomu* Hierarchy

There could be no better text for a manifesto of the New Learning than Wang Anshi's Foreword of the New Meaning on the Ritual of Zhou (Zhouliyi xu 周禮義序). The first sentence of this succinct text proclaims the birth of the New Learning disciplinary matrix as an officially authorized scholarship: "Scholars have long indulged themselves in conventional learning. The emperor sympathizes with this phenomenon and decides to cultivate scholars based on new techniques for studying the Classics"士弊於俗學久矣。 聖上閔焉, 以經術造之. 598 These new Classical techniques (jingshu 經術), as we have already pointed out, were a combination of miscellaneous studies (zaxue 雜學), graphic

⁵⁹⁸ "Zhouliyi xu" 周禮義序 (Foreword of the New Meaning on the Ritual of Zhou), Wang, Linchuan ji, 84:529.

analysis of characters, and an emphasis on mutual interpretations between Classics. ⁵⁹⁹ Methodologically, New Learning scholars followed and modified these techniques. Yet, with regard to concrete subjects and questions, they did not necessarily concur with one another. In fact, New Learning's ritual studies was dialectic, ambiguous, and even self-contradictory.

In the last chapter, we saw how the principle of patrilineal hierarchy characterized Lu Dian's conception of the *zhaomu* sequence. An examination of the related passages in the *New Meaning on the Ritual of Zhou* would further reveal the construction of this principle in New Learning ritual scholarship. In interpreting the responsibility of the *xiao zongbo* 小宗伯 (Vice Minister) office in the Bureau of Spring (*chun guan* 春官), Wang Anshi argued that the left side of the imperial palace should be reserved for the Imperial Temple, because metaphysically the left side embodies *yang* 陽, "the dwelling place of the humanly Way"人道之所鄉. 600 Therefore, as the deceased ancestors should be served in a manner similar to the way that the living would be served, the place where they dwell, i.e., the Imperial Temple, should be built on the left-*yang* side. 601 Similarly, in the *zhaomu* sequence, the left *zhao* position always conveys an implicit meaning of illumination; it embodies the power of *yang*. Wang succinctly put it: "*zhaomu* refers

⁵⁹⁹ For more details about the methodology of Wang's Classical Studies, see Wu Yifan 吳依凡, Sanjing xinyi yu Wang Anshi xinxue de xingcheng 三經新義與王安石新學的形成 (The New Meanings of the Three Classics and the Formation of Wang Anshi's New Learning) (MA Thesis, National Chengchi University, 2011), 84-106.

⁶⁰⁰ 左,陽也.人道之所鄉, 故左宗廟. Wang Anshi, Zhouguan xinyi 周官新義 (New Meaning on the Ritual of Zhou), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.91, 8:18.

⁶⁰¹ 位宗廟於人道之所鄉, 不死其親之意. Ibid.

respectively to two things: while *zhao* denotes a meaning of scrutinizing the inferior, *mu* denotes a meaning of respecting the superior" 昭穆者, 昭以察下為義, 穆以敬上為義. 602 In commenting the duty of the *xiaoshi* 小史 (Minor Scribe) office, Wang further elaborated this hierarchical understanding of the *zhaomu* sequence: "The father is designated as a *zhao* and the son is designated as a *mu*; the successive sequence of fathers and sons is called a generation; what comes from the (accumulation of) generations is lineage. To ascertain genealogy of one's family is to recognize the origin of lineage; to distinguish *zhao* and *mu* is to comprehend genealogical sequence" 父謂之昭, 子謂之穆. 父子相代, 謂之世. 世之所出, 謂之繫. 奠繫世, 以知其本所出; 辨昭穆, 以知其世序. 603

Comparing Wang's text with Lu's "Discourse on the *zhaomu* sequence," we see a clear continuity in New Learning scholarship in referring to the hierarchical structure of *zhaomu*. Lu concluded "*zhao* conveys a meaning of illuminating the inferior; *mu* conveys a meaning of revering the superior" 昭以明下為義; 穆以敬上為義. ⁶⁰⁴ This statement was obviously a slight modification of Wang's "*zhao* denotes a meaning of scrutinizing the inferior, *mu* denotes a meaning of respecting the superior" 昭以察下為義;穆以恭上為義. ⁶⁰⁵ The synonymous affiliation between the characters *ming* 明 and *cha* 察 and *gong* 恭 and *jing* 敬 reveals continuity underlying the ritual learning of the Wang-Lu lineage. The etymological origin of these two compound words, "perspicacious

⁶⁰² Ibid.

⁶⁰³ Wang, Zhouguan xinyi, 11:10.

⁶⁰⁴ Lu, "Zhaomu yi," *Taoshanji*, 6:10.

⁶⁰⁵ Wang, *Zhouguan xinyi*, 8:18.

investigation" (mingcha 明察) and "due respect" (gongjing 恭敬), can be traced back to a second-century hagiographic supplement to the Analects, the Kongzi jiayu 孔子家語 (School Sayings of Confucius). 606 Thus, it is possible that Lu deliberately used the two characters ming and jing to epitomize the New Learning emphasis on character analysis and miscellaneous text.

Moreover, Lu Dian in his debate with He Xunzhi also developed Wang Anshi's conception of *zhaomu*'s function in comprehending genealogical sequence (*shixu* 世序). 607 By distinguishing genealogical sequence (*shici* 世次) from the ritual sequence of ancestral temples (*miaoci* 廟次), Lu strengthened and enriched Wang Anshi's conception of the *zhaomu* sequence as a ritual representation of paternity. After all, Lu Dian's *zhaomu* discourse is essentially an elaboration of Wang's *zhaomu* theory in the *New Meaning on the Ritual of Zhou*, where Wang referred to the formulation of genealogical sequence and the "distinction between superior and inferior" 有尊卑焉,於是乎辨廟祧之 昭穆. 608

Among the extant commentaries on the *Ritual of Zhou*, Wang Zhaoyu 王昭禹's (fl. 1080) *Detailed Explanations of the Ritual of Zhou (Zhouli Xiangjie* 周禮詳解)

Su and the evolution of the text of the *Kongzi jiayu*, see R. Kramers, *K'ung Tzu Chia Yu: The School Sayings* (Leiden: Brill, 1950), 15-36; 54-90. In the *Kongzi jiayu* text, the two words *mingcha* and *gongjing* were used by Confucius to praise his disciple Zilu 子路. Wang Su, *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 (*School Sayings of Confucius*), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.695, 3:19. The same reference also appeared in *Hanshi waizhuan*, see Han, *Hanshi waizhuan jishi*, 205-206.

⁶⁰⁷ See Chapter 3.

⁶⁰⁸ Wang, Zhouguan xinyi, 8:19.

provides the most comprehensive New Learning interpretation of this Classic. In his forthcoming monograph, the *Book of Grand Peace*, Jaeyoon Song analyzes some of its passages concerning education and social welfare. ⁶⁰⁹ However, a comprehensive study of Wang Zhaoyu's work is still absent in Western scholarship of Song intellectual history. This can be attributed to two reasons. The first is the limitation of sources. In fact, except for this commentary, there is no other materials that can provide more information about Wang Zhaoyu's life and thought. Previously, only his courtesy name was known: Guangyuan 光遠. 610 Fortunately, in a sixteenth-century edition of the Yuan scholar Qiu Kue's 丘葵 (1244-1333) Zhouli bumang 周禮補亡 (Addendum to the Ritual of Zhou), I find a catalogue of the Song commentators on the Ritual of Zhou. According to Qiu's catalogue, Wang Zhaoyu had the same native place as Wang Anshi. 611 How would this regional factor contribute to the intellectual affiliation between the two Wangs? Without further information, we are unable to answer this question. Even the prominent Song bibliographer Chen Zhensun failed to provide any biographical notes about Wang Zhaoyu. Yet, Chen did mention that Song scholars used the Detailed Explanations of the Ritual of Zhou to prepare for the civil service examinations. 612 It seems that Wang Zhaoyu's work as an examination manual echoes the temperament of early Wang Learning, which focused primarily on achieving degrees. More accurately, it should be

⁶⁰⁹ Song, The Book of Grand Peace, 278-337.

⁶¹⁰ ZBSYXA, 98:19b; LJJS, mingshi: 4.

⁶¹¹ Qiu Kui. Zhouli bumang 周禮補亡 (Addendum to the Ritual of Zhou), compiled by Gu Kejiu 顧可久 (1485-1561). Harvard Yenching Rare Book Collections, the Ming edition (1465-1620), block-printed by Li Qi 李緝, Catalogue of commentators on the Ritual of Zhou 治周禮姓氏: 2.

⁶¹² Zhizhai shulujieti, 2:21b.

said that the main current of Wang Learning had never been separated from its examination-oriented context. Wang Zhaoyu's *Detailed Explanations*, as well as the writings of Wang Anshi, Wang Pang, Cai Bian, Gu Dang, Tang Si and Gong Yuan, were not excluded from textbooks and examination manuals until the end of the Northern Song.

A second difficulty with Wang Zhaoyu is that the *Detailed Explanations* largely repeats what Wang Anshi had written in the New Meaning on the Ritual of Zhou. A common understanding is that the *Detailed Explanations* merely duplicated the *New Meaning*, which made the former of no value in developing the New Learning tradition. However, regarding the discussion on the zhaomu sequence, Wang Zhaoyu consolidated and improved Wang Anshi's *zhaomu* theory by adding some new elements in a similar manner to what Lu Dian and He Xunzhi had done. In fact, Wang Zhaoyu was the first to recognize the tension between the duties of the Vice Minister (xiao zongbo) and the Minor Scribe (xiaoshi) in the Ritual of Zhou. According to the Ritual of Zhou, both xiao zongbo and xiaoshi were in charge of sorting and arranging the zhaomu sequence (bian zhaomu 辨昭移). What is the difference between these two functions of bian zhaomu? Why were there two officials dealing with the same job in the idealized vision of the Zhou bureaucracy? A failure to answer these questions might have resulted in a collapse of the whole New Learning interpretive system and the textual authority of the *Ritual of* Zhou, since it could easily lead to further questioning of the text's rationality and authenticity. Although this problem was overlooked in Wang Anshi's *New Meaning*, Wang Zhaoyu did attempt to solve it in his *Detailed Explanations*. In annotating the "bian zhaomu" phrase of the xiao zongbo section, Wang stated:

SORTING AND ARRANGING THE ZHAOMU SEQUENCE:613 [For the ancestral temple configuration of the Son of Heaven,] it consists of three zhao temples and three mu temples, and one to his Great Ancestor; there are altogether seven temples. The *zhaomu* sequence manifests the degrees of seniority. Hence, it must be well discussed and arranged. [In the Ritual of Zhou,] the Vice Minister is in charge of the *zhaomu* sequence, and the Minor Scribe, too. Why is this happening? Because what the Vice Minister manages is the sequence of *zhaomu*; the Minor Scribe, in contrast, takes the responsibility of sorting the *zhaomu* text and documents. Since ancient times, Yu had not preceded Gun [the father of Yu]; Tang had not preceded Qi [the fourteenth-generation ancestor of Tang], King Wen and King Wu had not preceded Bu Zhu [ancestor of King Wen and King Wu]. Therefore, even though the son is a worthy or a sage, he could not precede his father [in the zhaomu sequence]; likewise, even though the new spirit is the most powerful, he could not precede the earlier deceased ones [in the zhaomu sequence]. Everything that is arranged according to the *zhaomu* system has to follow the sequence.

辨廟祧之昭穆: 合為三昭三穆,與大祖之廟而七焉。昭穆之序,尊卑之殺,不可以不辨也。小宗伯辨廟祧之昭穆,而小史又辨昭穆,何也? 小宗伯所辨,其序也;小史所辨,其書也。自昔禹不先鯀,湯不先契,文、武不先不窋。蓋子雖賢聖,不得先其父;新鬼雖大,不得先其故。凡以昭穆所辨,其序故如此也。

In other words, the Zhou Vice Minister took the responsibility to figure out the principle of the *zhaomu* sequence, while the Minor Scribe took good care of genealogical records and documents. In annotating the *xiaoshi* passage, Wang Zhaoyu explained what he meant by the "*zhaomu* text and documents" (*shu* 書). According to him, all these documents refer to the record of successive lineages and ancestral lines (*xishi* 繋世).⁶¹⁵

⁶¹³ The part in full caps is the subheading of the passage.

⁶¹⁴ Wang Zhaoyu, Zhouli Xiangjie 周禮詳解 (Detailed Explanations of the Ritual of Zhou), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.91, 18:2.

⁶¹⁵ Wang, Zhouli Xiangjie, 23:11. Xi 系 refers to the imperial genealogical record, also called dixi 帝 系, shi 世 refers to the genealogical record of the feudal lords, also called shiben 世本. See Jia Gongyan's 賈公彦 sub-commentary of the Ritual of Zhou. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200). Zhouli Zhengshi zhu, 6:40a. For a Han genealogical re-tracing of the lineage of ancient kings, see the Dixi 帝系 chapter (Imperial Lineage) in the Dadai liji 大戴禮記 (Records of Ritual by the Dai Senior), Wang Pingzhen 王聘珍 (18th. cent.), Dadai liji jiegu 大戴禮記解話 (A Critical Interpretation of the Records of Ritual by Dai Senior) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 126-130.

Hence, by integrating a sound reasoning of documentation into the textual ruptures within the *Ritual of Zhou*, not only did Wang ameliorate the New Learning conception of the *zhaomu* ritual, but he also elucidated the main text of the Classics in a way that challenged the commentary tradition of "leaving the suspicious part untouched" (*cun er bulun* 存而不論).

Furthermore, based on a graphic analysis of the character yao N, Wang Zhaoyu explained why the zhaomu sequence should be regarded as a ritual representation of the extension of ancestral lines. According to Wang, both the left radical $(shi \neq 1)$ and the right component $(shao \neq 1)$ of the character yao are semantic components that connote a meaning of "manifestation." Since the two yao temples and the tablets placed therein bear the spirits of the yao ancestors, they manifest the beginning of an ancestral line. Therefore, concerning the zhaomu sequence, Wang Zhaoyu stated:

While there are *zhao* temples, their origin has already been manifested in the [left] *yao* temple. [Along with the left *yao* temple] *zhao* temples aligned with *zhao* temples, up to three. Likewise, for the three *mu* temples, their origin has already been manifested in the [right] *yao* temple. [Along with the right *yao* temple] *mu* temples aligned with *mu* temples, up to three. Hence, the three *zhao* temples and the three *mu* temples conduct ancestral spirits downwards according to the principle of integrity; in addition to the temple of the Primal Ancestor, the three *zhao* temples and the three *mu* temples conduct ancestral spirits according to the principle of benevolence.

廟有昭也, 而祧以兆之, 故昭與昭為三; 廟有穆也, 而祧以兆之, 故穆與穆為三。三昭三穆, 以義率祖順而下之也。三昭三穆, 與太祖之廟而七, 以仁率親等而上之也。⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁶ Wang, Zhouli Xiangjie, 19:21.

⁶¹⁷ 今所神事者兆於此,故謂之祧. Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid.

By associating the *zhaomu* sequence with the Confucian virtue of benevolence and integrity, Wang Zhaoyu successfully attached a moral dimension to the spatial arrangement of ancestral temples. This, in particular, resonates with the Confucius' teaching of sacrificial rites in the *Kongzi yanju* 孔子燕居 (*Confucius at home at ease*) chapter in the *Book of Rites*, that "seasonal sacrifices, such as *chang* and *di*, are used to express benevolent feelings toward ancestors in the *zhaomu* sequence" 嘗締之禮, 所以 仁昭穆也. 619 By reiterating the profound link between morality and ancestral worship in the early Confucianism, Wang Zhaoyu developed an introspective view of the zhaomu sequence and thus bridged exterior ritual performance with an interior sense of virtue. This introspective vision, seen from a broader perspective, distinguished itself critically from the institutional approach that dominated the mainstream of New Learning ritual studies. In this light, Wang Zhaoyu's *zhaomu* theory demonstrated the negotiation process within the New Learning fellowship, by which early traditions and moralistic thinking were not rejected, or expelled, but rather restructured. Wang's zhaomu argument was followed by a discussion on the service of the yao-preservation office (守祧, preserving the spirit tablets in ancestral temples). Within the text, it was stated: "As it is said, the temples were, respectively, his father's, his grandfather's, his great-grandfather's, his great-great-grandfather's, and his high ancestor's. A sacrifice was offered every month at all of these. The temples of the more remote ancestors were called the *yao* temples, and at

⁶¹⁹ Zhu, Liji xunzuan, 746; Legge, The Sacred Books of China, v.4, 271.

these only the seasonal sacrifices were offered" 蓋曰: 考廟, 曰王考廟, 曰皇考廟, 曰顯考廟, 曰祖考廟, 皆月祭之. 遠廟為祧, 享嘗乃止. 620

Although Wang did not cite his source here, a simple verification of the above passage reveals that it came from the *Jifa* chapter in the *Book of Rites*. In the final analysis, the *Book of Rites* constituted a crucial part to the New Learning conceptions of ancient ancestral rites.

4.2.2 The Ritual Manual's Criticism on Lu Dian's Zhaomu Theory

Compared with Wang Zhaoyu's annotative commentary on the *the Ritual of Zhou*, Chen Xiangdao's *Ritual Manual (Lishu* 禮書) was an ambitious enterprise that addressed most of the ritual questions and controversies in a thematic way. Chen, whom the Northern Song scholar Li Zhi 李廌 (1059-1109) praised as an erudite ritualist, experienced a frustrating political career. Because of his profound knowledge in ritual learning, Chen was finally appointed to the Court of Imperial Rites and Ceremonies as a Lecturer (*taichang boshi* 太常博士) in 1089. However, throughout his life this was the highest official rank he would ever achieve. Chen was also implicated in his father's crime. The predicament of his political life might also be attributed to his New

⁶²⁰ Wang, Zhouli Xiangjie, 19:21.

⁶²¹ Li Zhi, *Shiyou tanji* 師友談記 (*Discussions with teachers and friends*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 33.

⁶²² Li dated Chen's promotion to the Lecturer of the Court of Imperial Rites to 1093. Yet, XCB dates it to 1089 (XCB, 422:10210). Miao Lu examines this dating issue and persuasively proves that the XCB record is more reliable. See Miao Lu 苗露, "Songdai jingxuejia Chen Xiangdao shengping kaozheng" 宋代經學家陳祥道生平考證 (Verification of the life of the Song Classicist, Chen Xiangdao), *Journal of Suihua University* 綏化學院學報 32:1 (Feb. 2012): 87.

⁶²³ Li, Shiyou tanji, 33.

Learning identity. Yet, the fact that Chen was promoted to be the Lecturer at the height of conservative domination during the Yuanyou era (1086-1094) demonstrated that his ritual learning was so extraordinary that even the conservatives could not turn a blind eye. 624 The crystallization of Chen's ritual studies is fully reflected in his *Ritual Manual*. In 1090, Chen further expanded the content from 100 volumes to 150 volumes. 625 The conservative historian Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041-1098) applauded this final edition as a more sophisticated version of Nie Chongyi's 聶崇義 (d. 962) *Collected Commentaries on the Illustrations of the Three Ritual Classics* (Sanlitu jizhu 三禮圖集註). Considering the supreme authority of Nie's work in ritual manual in Chen's time, 626 Fan's remark is a good indication of how Chen's work was generally perceived in his contemporaries.

One of the most important strengths of Chen's work is the well-depicted illustrations at the beginning of each volume. His depiction of the seven ancestral temples of the Son of Heaven provided a valuable record of the Imperial Temple configuration, including its walls, entrances and basic structure (See Appendix A). Moreover, in volume seventy-one, Chen also attached a precise diagram of how ancestral tablets should be

⁶²⁴ Based on a careful scrutiny of the related XCB records, Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫 proved that the conservative scholar Fa Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041-1098) has twice recommended Chen Xiangdao's ritual writings. Except the *Ritual Manual*, Fan also suggested the Court of Imperial Rites and Ceremonies to pay some attention to Chen's commentary on the *Rites and Ceremonies*, a thirty-two volumes work on the liturgical details of regular rites (*Yili zhu* 儀禮註). Yu Jiaxi, *Siku tiyao bianzheng* 四庫提要辨證 (*Examination on the Synopsis of the Siku Collections*) (Kunming: Yunnan renming chubanshe, 2004), 49.

⁶²⁵ XCB, 450:10808.

⁶²⁶ See Jin Zhongshu 金中樞, "Songdai de jingxuedangdaihua chutan: Nie chongyi de sanlitu xue" 宋代的經學當代化初採: 聶崇義的三禮圖學 (A preliminary research of the modernization of Song Classical Studies: Nie Chongyi's learning in the *Illustrations of the Three Ritual Classics*), *Cheng Kung Journal of Historical Studies* 成功大學歷史學報 10 (Sept. 1983): 77-104. For the wide spreading of Nie's *Collected Commentaries* at the beginning of the Northern Song period, see *Shengshui yantanlu*, 10:122.

placed in *di* and *xia* sacrifices according to the *zhaomu* sequence. Without Chen's diagrams and charts, it is impossible to visualize some basic arrangements in the practice of imperial ancestral worship, especially the spatial orientation of temples and ancestors.

Chen's discussion concerning ancestral temples and temple sacrifices concentrated on several key topics. His explication of the general configuration of the Imperial Temples (miaozhi 廟制) served as one of the best reviews of the pre-Song ritual controversy over the numbers of ancestral temples. The controversy was an enterprise launched by Zheng Xuan's conception of ancestral temple settings. According to Zheng, the ideal seven-temple arrangement of the Son of Heaven, recorded in the Wangzhi 王制 (Royal Regulations) chapter of the Book of Rites, should be considered more as an exceptional case in the Zhou dynasty, rather than a general principle of temple configuration. The usual setting, argued by Zheng, should be a configuration of five temples. Yet, by citing the Tang Confucian Kong Yingda's sub-commentary on the Book of Rites, Chen successfully revealed that Zheng's argument was not based on solid evidence from the Classics, but on some suspicious passages from Eastern-Han apocryphal texts, such as the Determination of Destiny (Jun mingjue 鈞命決) and the Verification of Destiny (Qi mingzheng 稽命徵) in the Mysterious Ritual (Liwei 禮緯). 628

⁶²⁷ Chen Xiangdao, *Lishu* 禮書 (*Ritual Manual*), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.130, 71:1-2.

⁶²⁸ Chen, Lishu, 67:13; Liji zhengyi, vol.12: 448. The Determination of Destiny is an annotative text on the Book of Filial Piety. Lü Kai 呂凱, Zheng Xuan zhi chenweixue 鄭玄之讖緯學 (Zhen Xian's Learning of Apocryphal Text) (Taipei: Jiaxin shuini gongsi wenhua jijinhui, 1977), 440-41. Interestingly, according to the Qing scholar Ma Guohan's 馬國翰 (1794-1857) compilation of scattered apocryphal texts, there was a disjunction between the record of the Determination of Destiny and that of the Verification of Destiny regarding the number of Zhou ancestral temples. The former said Zhou "had six temples, plus one that passed to the descendants" 周六廟,至於子孫七; Yet the Verification of Destiny, stated that "the Son of

Hence, Zheng's theory was far from flawless because it found no textual evidence in any of the orthodox Confucian Classics.

Nonetheless, Chen also charged Wang Su 王肅 (195-256), Zheng Xuan's greatest opponent, because of Wang's insistence on a strict configuration of seven temples. To distinguish himself from Wang, Chen argued for a more flexible arrangement of ancestral temples by quoting some anti-Wang Su arguments from the writings of former Confucians. One of them reads: "If the Son of Heaven has seven ancestors, there should certainly be seven temples; if the Son of Heaven has less than seven ancestors, a five-temple setting is enough. Yet, for the feudal lords, even if they have more than five ancestors, they cannot exceed the limitation of five temples" 天子七廟,有其人則七;無其人則五. 若諸候廟制,雖有其人,不得過五. 629

Like Wang Zhaoyu, Chen also explicated the character *yao* based on its semantic components and defined it as the "manifestation of the transition of ancestral spirits." ⁶³⁰ By definition, the Son of Heaven with seven ancestors designates his fifth and sixth

Heaven had five ancestral temples, two *zhao*, two *mu*, and one of the Primal Ancestor."天子五廟,二昭二穆,以始祖為五. *Jun mingjue* and *Qi mingzheng*, *Yuhan shanfang jiyishu* 玉函山房輯佚書 (*The Jade-Case Mountain Studio Compilation of Scattered Books*) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), v.2, 58:31 (2187); 54:25 (2048). Apparently, Zheng Xuan's argument of a five-temple configuration is mainly based on the text of the *Verification of Destiny*.

⁶²⁹ Chen, *Lishu*, 67:14; 67:17. Yet, Chen in somewhere else argued that the seven temples of the son-of-Heaven symbolize the furthest extent influenced by the imperial clan's virtue. Numerologically, the number Seven and Five respectively emblematize the "utmost benevolence and integrity" of the emperor's and feudal lords' spiritual power. 仁之至,義之盡. LJJS: 30:25. In other words, seven and five are fixed numbers in referring to temple construction. Accordingly, he son-of-Heaven should not degrade his imperial temples from seven to five, even though he may not have seven ancestors. The discrepancy in Chen's narrative concerning the number of temples may be attributed to a possible change in his thought. It is quite possible the more malleable *Lishu* account was a product of Chen's late understanding of ancestral temples.

ancestors as the two *yao* ancestors. Since feudal lords take their Primal Ancestors as *yao* ancestors, the character *yao* in the context of Zhou feudalism also means "origin."⁶³¹ However, according to Chen, if there were over seven ancestors, the two *yao* temples should not count toward the seven temples of the Son of Heaven.⁶³² In other words, the demarcation line between the two *yao* ancestors and the *zhao* and *mu* ancestors was a distinct one, despite the rather flexible numbers of *zhao* and *mu* ancestors. Thus, sacrificial space changed when the ancestor was removed from the *zhaomu* sequence and was placed successively in the *yao* temple, the *dan* 增 hall, and on the *shan* 墠 altar. This acute perception of boundaries in the sacrificial space based on the text of the *Book of Rites* (mainly the *Law of Sacrifice* chapter) added to the graphic analysis of the character *yao*, and illustrated the New Learning understanding of temple rites.

In the above, we illustrate how some basic concepts of temple rites and configuration evolved in the textual world of New Learning scholarship and contributed to a more sophisticated disciplinary matrix of ritual studies, in which early interpretations were fairly assimilated and integrated. Nevertheless, sometimes the integration process was more dialectic. For instance, by revising the earlier model drafted by Nie Chongyi, Chen Xiangdao's depiction of the Luminous Hall (*mingtang* 明堂) as a three-by-three architectural complex of five sacrificial chambers (of five phases) and four ancestral

⁶³¹ Ibid.

⁶³² Chen, Lishu, 67:17.

temples linked cosmic elements to temple sacrifices. 633 Concerning the removal of ancestral tablets, Chen was particularly interested in maintaining a principle of flexibility. To him, whether or not a temple or a tablet is removable depended solely on the merits of that particular ancestor. As Chen put it, "while the *zhaomu* sequence of ancestors is rather fixed, ritual and propriety refers to the constancy of the sequence. However, when merit is the deciding factor, there is no such thing as an unchangeable guideline. This is the intent of ritual" 父昭子穆, 而有常數者, 禮也; 祖功宗德, 而無定法者, 義也. 634 Chen thus implied that ancestors with great merits should not be placed on the removal list—a viewpoint contrasted sharply with Wang Anshi's anti-meritocracy stand in the 1072 debate.

Similarly, in conceptualizing the *zhaomu* sequence, Chen also distinguished himself fundamentally from Wang Anshi, Lu Dian and Wang Zhaoyu. Since his *zhaomu* argument in the *Ritual Manual* is so crucial to our understanding of the tension within the New Learning ritual theory concerning ancestral temple rites, I quote it at length here:

The ancestral temple might be changed or destroyed, yet the *zhaomu* sequence should never be altered in any way. While the *Zuo Commentary on the Annals* mentioned Dawang as a *zhao* ancestor and Wang Ji as a *mu* ancestor, it also mentioned King Wen as a *zhao* ancestor and King Wu as a *mu*. This proves that the *zhaomu* sequence of genealogy should never be altered. The *Grave Maker* office [*Zhongren*] in the *Ritual of Zhou* is in charge of imperial graves and burials. [In the burial ground] the tomb of the Former King [the Primal Ancestor] is always situated in the middle, and other tombs are arranged on both sides according to the left-*zhao* and right-*mu* setting. This proves that the *zhaomu* sequence of the burial grounds should never be altered. The *Rites and Ceremonies* records that [after the ritual of three sacrifices of repose, the Master of

⁶³³ Chen, Lishu, 89:1; Nie Chongyi, Sanlitu jizhu 三禮圖集註 (Collected Commentaries on the Illustrations of the Three Ritual Classics), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.129, 4:2, 24.

⁶³⁴ Chen, Lishu, 68:4-5.

Ceremonies] finishes the "stop-wailing" sacrifice and the tablet of the deceased is placed in the ancestral temple according to the order of genealogy. ⁶³⁵ As the Sangfu xiaoji [Record in the Dress of Mourning] in the Book of Rites said, the ritual of attachment [fu] must be performed according to the zhaomu sequence; thus, it is in accordance with the generation-skipping principle. 636 This proves that the zhaomu sequence of tablet attachment should never be altered. While honorary title or designation is bestowed in a sacrifice, the Manager of Serviceman⁶³⁷ will ask the ones [who would be granted titles] to proceed forward following the zhaomu sequence. Also, according to the Ji Tong chapter [The Summary of Sacrifice in the Book of Rites, whenever an honorary title or designation is bestowed, the people who are given the titles should proceed alternately, in which a zhao is always aligned with a zhao, a mu is always aligned with a mu. This proves that the zhaomu sequence in the ritual of granting titles should never be altered. Lastly, as the *Da zhuan* [Great Treatise] put it, when all the family members gather together to share the food, the seating plan should be arranged according to the zhaomu sequence. This proves that the zhaomu sequence in the rite of food sharing should never be altered. Regarding affairs for the living, such as granting titles and food sharing, the zhaomu sequence should not be altered; likewise, regarding affairs for the dead, such as burial rites and the fu ritual, the zhaomu sequence should not be altered. (Considering all these situations,) it is quite possible to know the *zhaomu* in the ancestral temple.

In the original text of the *Rites and Ceremonies*, it only records that the ritual of tablet-attachment (*fu* 祔) follows an order of descent (*ban* 班), yet it fails to mention how this *ban* is arranged in practice. The great Qing ritual specialist, Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 (1717-1796) provided no sub-commentary on this particular phrase. The only thing we know about the *ban* here is that it is written as *pang* 胖 in the Han New Text tradition, according to Zheng Xuan's commentary. Zheng himself simply annotated it as *ci* 次 (order). Lu Wenchao, *Yili zhushu xiangjiao* 儀禮注疏詳校 (*Detailed Revision of Commentaries and Sub-commentaries on the Rites and Ceremonies*), annotated by Chen Donghui 陳東輝, Peng Xishuang 陳喜雙 (Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiusuo, 2012), 285; John Steele, *The I-Li, or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial* (Taibei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1966), v.2, 93. The two characters 卒 哭 has been commonly understood as "to stop wailing" (John Steele). Yet actually it referred to a particular sacrifice that holds after the three sacrifices of repose, according to Kong Yunda's explanation. "Zhuhou qianmiao" 諸候遷廟 (The removal of Feudal Lords' Tablets), *Da Dai Liji jiegu*, 198.

⁶³⁶ The word *zhongyi* 中一 here means to skip one generation in the ritual of tablet attachment. The original text in *Sangfu xiaoji* reads, "The tablets of the deceased maternal relatives (wives and concubines) should be attached to their grandmothers; if there has been no such grandmothers, these tablets should be attached to their great-grandmothers, according to the generation-skipping principle of the *zhaomu* sequence" 其妻袝於諸祖姑, 妾附於妾祖姑, 亡則中一以上而袝, 袝必以其昭穆. Zhu, *Liji xunzuan*, 497. Legge had completely misunderstood this passage as he failed to recognize the meaning of *zhongyi*. Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, v.4, 51.

⁶³⁷ Serviceman, Sishi 司士, an office of the Zhou bureaucracy.

宗廟有迭毀,昭穆則一成而不可易。《春秋》《傳》言:大王之昭,王季之穆。又言:文之昭,武之穆。此世序之昭穆不可易也。《周官.冢人》掌公墓之地,先王之葬居中,以昭穆為左右。此葬位之昭穆不可易也。《儀禮》曰:卒哭,明日以其班祔。《禮記》曰:祔必以其昭穆,亡則中一以上。此祔位之昭穆不可易也。司士:凡祭祀賜爵,呼昭穆而進之。〈祭統〉凡賜爵,昭為一,穆為一,昭與昭齒,穆與穆齒,此賜爵之昭穆不可易也。〈大傳〉曰:合族以食,序以昭穆,此合食之昭穆不可易也。生而賜爵、合食,死而葬、附,皆以世序而不可易。則廟之昭穆可知矣。638

Chen's main thesis, i.e., the *zhaomu* sequence should never be altered under various circumstances, astonishingly contradicts to Lu Dian's *zhaomu* theory. As we have seen, Lu insisted that the *zhao* and *mu* positions should be allocated in such a way that the superior *zhao* positions were always reserved for the fathers. However, like He Xunzhi and Zhang Zao, Chen embraced a generation-skipping principle in arranging the *zhaomu* sequence. Although Chen, He and Zhang all agreed that the *zhao* positions are higher than the *mu* positions in terms of ritual status, they took the relationship between grandfathers and grandsons to be more important than the one between fathers and sons. To quote Chen again:

According to the *Guliang Commentary*, if one makes sacrifices first to his father then to his grandfather, this is called an inverse sacrifice. For an inverse sacrifice, there is no such thing as a *zhaomu* sequence. A lack of the *zhaomu* sequence indicates an absence of ancestors. An absence of ancestors indicates disrespect for Heaven. Hence, a real gentleman will never violate the principle of honoring ancestors just because of his personal affection [for his father].

穀梁曰: 先親而後祖, 逆祀也。逆祀, 則是無昭穆也。無昭穆, 則是無祖也。 無祖, 則無天也。君子不以親親害尊尊。⁶³⁹

⁶³⁸ Chen, *Lishu*, 69:10; also compare Wei Shi's quote in *Liji jishuo*, with slightly different wording. LJJS, 30:27-28.

⁶³⁹ Chen, Lishu, 69:9.

Here Chen adopted the notion of "inverse sacrifice" from the Guliang commentary to substantiate his *zhaomu* argument. Because the dignity of ancestors (zunzun 尊尊) is more important than the factor of personal affection (qinqin 親親), the principle of generation-skipping matters more in the arrangement of the *zhaomu* sequence. When the newly deceased is designated as a zhao ancestor, his tablet should always be placed in a zhao temple, despite his father's mu temple on the opposite side. Chen further compared the unalterable generation-skipping principle of the zhaomu sequence to the ritual performance of spiritual medium (shi \vdash). According to Chen, in ancestral sacrifices the son always plays the role as a medium and sits on the superior south side. His father, in contrast, stands on the inferior north side. ⁶⁴⁰ However, this does not cause any problem to the ritual sequence of sacrifices, because the son as a medium spiritually incarnates his grandfather's being. In other words, whenever a zhaomu sequence is engaged, a ritualized space is immediately established, thereby the hierarchical structure of á familial relationship manifests itself in a new order. The key point is that the new order does not necessarily accord with the conventional structure of patrilineality. By citing examples from the commentaries on the *Annals*, as well as some key passages from the Book of Rites, Chen discreetly legitimized the zhaomu order that symbolically highlights generational-skipping paternal members (grandfathers) rather than immediate members (fathers). After all, like He and Zhang, Chen's *zhaomu* conception structured the natural order of seniority primarily in the spiritual realm of

640 Chen, Lishu, 69:11.

ancestry, but less associated with the secular affection between fathers and sons in the usual familial life of Confucianism.

4.2.3 Differentiation and Codification: the Making of the New Regulations of the Five

Categories of Rites of the Zhenghe Era

Along with the evolution of the New Learning ritual scholarship, a further differentiation occurred. As two representatives of the New Learning ritualists, Fang Que 方慤 and Ma Ximeng 馬晞孟 have long been praised for their expertise on the learning of the *Book of Rites*. Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) in particular acclaimed Fang and Ma's commentaries on the *Book of Rites* to be valuable and therefore should not be overlooked because of their New Learning identity. Fang's twenty-volume *Explanation on the Book of Rites* is as supplementary to the *New Meanings on the Three Classics*, since the *Book of Rites* was not included in the New Learning curriculum for examinations. Ma achieved his *jinshi* degree during the Xining era and was considered a diehard follower of Wang's ritual learning. In contrast, Fang studied in the official school at Kaifeng and only got access to officialdom through a submission of his writings. Hoth of them belonged to the so-called southerners, and Ma's hometown was the same as Ouyang Xiu's.

⁶⁴¹ ZZYL, 87:2227.

⁶⁴² Zhizhai shulujieti, 2:24b-25a.

⁶⁴³ ZBSYXA, 98:19b.

⁶⁴⁴ Zhizhai shulujieti, 2:25a

⁶⁴⁵ ZBSYXA, 98:19b.

Despite their obvious New Learning background, Fang and Ma distinguished themselves from Wang Anshi's orthodox interpretation of ritual Classics and ritual details to a certain degree. For instance, whereas Wang Anshi claimed that the ritual status of the Primal Ancestor should be defined by his genealogical priority rather than merit, Fang and Ma tended to attribute the supreme status of the Primal Ancestor Temple to the concrete achievements of the Primal ancestor. The title "Primal Ancestor," in Fang's opinion, is a designation of the dynasty's founder. Following this reasoning, only Song Taizu was qualified for the Primal Ancestor position—again, a conclusion that sharply contradicts with Wang's point in the 1072 debate.

In a less radical manner, Ma also suggested that the Primal Ancestor Temple should be reserved for dynasty founders. ⁶⁴⁷ Yet, he recognized the discrepancy within the text of the *Book of Rites* in describing the temple of the Primal Ancestor. As Ma argued, although the *Royal Regulations* (*Wangzhi*) chapter implies meritocracy in determining the ritual status of the Primal Ancestor, the *Law of Sacrifice* (*Jifa*) chapter, on the contrary, underplays the factor of merit in ancestral worship. For Ma, it was more appropriate to explicate the Primal Ancestor problem with a certain degree of flexibility. In other words, it was acceptable for ritual specialists to construct different understandings of "meritorious ancestors." Even though some ancestors were less "meritorious" than other ancestors, their ritual status could still be based on passages from the *Law of Sacrifice*. According to Ma, as the *Law of Sacrifice* stated that one can "remove the Primal

⁶⁴⁶ LJJS, 30:24.

⁶⁴⁷ LJJS, 109:10.

Ancestor [tablet] from the usual sacrificial sequence and place it in a *dan* hall," it makes sense to prioritize those less-meritorious ancestors in the performance of imperial ancestral worship. 648 Not only did Ma's skillful interpretation of the *Book of Rites* reconcile the "meritocracy-hereditary" dilemma embedded in the Primal Ancestor problem, but it also reminded his contemporaries to pay more attention to the fact that this ritual Classic, which contains the most comprehensive information about imperial sacrifice and ancestral worship, was in essence a collection of essays, rather than a monograph with consistent arguments.

Regarding the *zhaomu* sequence, Fang Que, in particular, provided a philosophical explanation based on the *Book of Rites*. In annotating a famous passage in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, he distinguished two kinds of *zhaomu* sequence, the *zhaomu* of the deceased and the *zhaomu* of the living:

The ritual of imperial ancestral temple is not only used to prioritize the *zhaomu* sequence of the deceased, it is also used to order the *zhaomu* of the living people. The three *zhao* and three *mu* system, which is mentioned in the *Royal Regulations*, refers to the *zhaomu* of the deceased. In contrast, the *zhao* and *mu* mentioned in the *Summary Account of Sacrifices* refer to the *zhaomu* of the living people.

宗廟之禮, 非特序死者之昭穆, 亦所以序生者之昭穆焉。〈王制〉所謂三昭三穆, 即死者之昭穆也;〈祭統〉所謂羣昭羣穆, 即生者之昭穆也。⁶⁴⁹

In another place, where Fang explained what the "zhao and mu" (qunzhao qunmu 羣昭羣穆) means in the Summary Account of Sacrifices (Jitong), he further articulated the difference between these two zhaomu. Fang suggested that the zhaomu sequence

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁹ LJJS, 129:30.

involved in the temple sacrifices (the *zhaomu* of the living) should be referred to the "secular *zhaomu* (*renzhi zhaomu* 人之昭穆). By nature, it is different from the "spiritual *zhaomu*" (*shenzhi zhaomu* 神之昭穆) since it emphasizes the social hierarchy within the living family. In other words, the "secular *zhaomu*" is dominated by human emotions, more specifically, familial affections. Since the father-and-son tie reflects the highest degree of intimacy (*qinshu* 親疏) within a family, it determines the "secular *zhaomu*" order; that is why some people consider the *zhaomu* as a ritual tool to differentiate the status of fathers and sons. 650 Nevertheless, while dealing with sacrifices in the ancestral shrines and temples, the order of ancestors is determined by the "spiritual *zhaomu*." By indicating that the "spiritual *zhaomu*" is the dominating one between the two *zhaomu*, Fang was actually undermining the role played by personal affection in approaching the *zhaomu* sequence. 651 His implication, that the *zhaomu* should be "spiritually oriented toward ancestors," thoroughly echoes Chen Xiangdao's argument in the *Ritual Manual*, yet contradicts Lu Dian and Wang Zhaoyu's advocacy of the patriarchic principle.

The case study of the *zhaomu* problem clearly illustrates how different New Learning scholars in the post-Wang Anshi period interpreted and developed Wang Learning of ritual and ritual Classics. Certainly, it constituted an important part of intellectual transitions in the twelfth-century China. From a broad perspective, the dominance of New Learning in both the intelligentsia and the examination realm receded in the Yuanyou (1086-1094) and Yuanfu (1098-1100) eras, when conservatives regained

⁶⁵⁰ LJJS, 115:30.

⁶⁵¹ 然昭穆以神為主,故人於廟中乃稱之. Ibid.

power under the regency of the Empress Dowager Xianren (r. 1086-1093). The burning of the woodblocks of Wang Anshi's *New Meaning on the Ritual of Zhou* in 1186 marked the beginning of a series of anti-Wang Learning actions during the Yuanyou period. However, once Zhezong (r.1085-1100) took over the court after the death of the Empress Dowager in 1093, no one could stop the young emperor from re-launching the New Policies and continuing Shenzong's legacy. As the pendulum swung back to the reformist side, Wang Learning gradually recovered from political suppression. Moreover, if we trust Sima Guang's record, since Wang Learning had been implemented for quite a long time and students were accustomed to it, it was almost impossible to eradicate its influence from academic studies and civil service examinations. Definitely, the ebbs and flows of Wang Learning were closely associated with the continuous changes of political atmosphere. But political factors alone cannot explain the proliferation of intellectual discourse in times of crisis, or even the decline of learning in times of

⁶⁵² A lecturer of the Imperial Academic (guozijian siye 國子司業), Huang Yin 黃隱, was particularly active in these movements. As Huang went too far in opposing Wang's Learning, even some conservatives found his behavior unbearable and criticized him as hysterical and insane. Lü Tao 呂陶 (1028-1104), a close friend of the Su brothers and a core member of the Sichuan faction (shudang 蜀黨), impeached Huang as an opportunist who only dare to slander Wang Learning after seeing that the state policy had been changed. Likewise, the censor Shangguan Jun 上官均 (1038-1115), who had been vigorously criticizing Wang's New Policies from 1170, also accused Huang of being a vile and ignorant petty-man. As a professional Classicist, Shangguan assured that Wang Learning had some strengthens and deserved a better treat for its comprehensive interpretation of all the six Classics. The New Meanings of the Three Classics, in Shangguan's mind, should be preserved as the textbooks of civil service examinations. However, most senior conservatives showed no interest in adopting Shangguan's suggestion. Among them, only Liu Zhi & 挚 (1030-1097) admitted that Wang Anshi's Classicism and his commentaries were in a broad sense better than those of the other Confucians' 故相王安石訓經旨, 視諸儒義說得聖人之意為多. The conservatives' indifference towards the centrist view within their own party consequently led to the polarization of factional conflicts during the first half of Huizong's reign (r. 1100-1126). XCB, 390: 9496-9501; also ZBSYXA, 98:11a-b.

⁶⁵³ Sima Guang, "Qi Xianxing jingming xing xiuke dazi" 乞先行經明行修科箚子 (A draft memorial on changing the curriculum of civil service examinations), *Wenguo wenzheng Simagong ji*, 52:393.

prosperity. The dynamic evolution of the ritual scholarship of Wang Learning illustrates how internal tensions and differentiation contributed to an expansion of interpretative space between the text of the Classics and related commentaries. However, one should not demarcate the intellectual realm from the political one in a clear-cut manner. In the third year of the Yuanfu 元符 reign (1100), Cai Jing 蔡京 (1047-1126), together with Lu Dian, Huang Shang 黃裳 (1044-1130) and other ritualists, suggested a new plan of temple configuration, in which Shenzong's ancestral temple was elevated to the *zhao* position. ⁶⁵⁴ Through a symbolic elevation of the emperor's status in the ancestral temple, these reformers emblematically dignified Shenzong's achievements in initiating the New Policies. It seems that Cai's proposal marked a re-launch of the New Policies, along with Huizong's ascendancy to the throne. Eventually, the accumulation and aggregation of new explanations on the ritual Classics led to a magnificent cultural monument in Huizong's reign: the compilation of a new ritual code, the *New Forms for the Five Categories of Rites of the Zhenghe Era* (*Zhenghe wuli xinyi* 政和五禮新儀).

Although there were many concrete ritual regulations and codes that were made before the Zhenghe era, no one could compare in magnitude with the *New Forms*. Patricia Ebrey has briefly discussed the main structure of this new ritual code and the setting of the new Bureau for Deliberating on Ritual (*yili ju* 議禮局). Her research shows that Huizong actively participated in the ritual discussions with the officials in the Bureau. ⁶⁵⁵ The final version of the *New Forms*, which was issued in 1113, reflected the

⁶⁵⁴ SHY: *Li*, 15:52.

⁶⁵⁵ Patricia Ebrey, Emperor Huizong (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 243-252.

emperor's will to re-order the world based on a fivefold ritual structure derived from the *Ritual of Zhou*, under the *da zongbo* 大宗伯 (the Great Minister) entry: auspicious (*ji* 吉), funeral (*xiong* 凶), guest (*bin* 賓), military (*jun* 軍), and celebratory (*jia* 嘉). Due to its structural resemblance to the Zhou ritual matrix, scholars conventionally read the *New Forms* as a Song concretization of the Zhou's rule of ritual, in contrast to the Tang *Kanyuanli*. Indeed, Huizong's ambition to inherit the glorious cultural legacy of Zhou was explicitly stated in his preface to the *New Forms*:

The Yin dynasty followed the ritual of the Xia: wherein it added to or subtracted from Xia's ritual should be known. The Zhou dynasty followed the ritual of Yin: wherein it added to or subtracted from Yin's ritual should be known. Even though some others may follow the (ritual of) Zhou at the distance of hundreds generations, the Zhou's legacy should be known. The all-under-Heaven of our time is thousands of years after the Zhou, and the Dao in history has never been as obscure as nowadays......In reference to today's customs, I imitate ancient statecraft by adding to and subtracting from [the Zhou ritual system] according to the Dao; first adopting it, then spreading it out and practicing it to the extent that the spirits of hundreds of generations is summoned, and after the lapse of hundreds of generations, the order still persists. Thereupon, my rule of ritual matches the kingship of the kings of hundreds of generations. [By ritual] Everything comes to the final unity, and this is what [the *Analects*] called "to inherit the Zhou legacy after hundreds of generations.

商因於夏禮,所損益可知也;周因於商禮,所損益可知也。其或繼周,百世可知也。今天下去周千有餘歲,道之不明,未有疏於此時也......朕因今之俗,倣古

of the state in sacrificial affairs 以吉禮事邦國之鬼神示; funeral rites are used to express the sadness of the state;以凶禮哀邦國之憂; guest rites are used to strengthen the ties between the central court and other feudal states 以賓禮親邦國; military rites are used to intimidate the states 以軍禮同邦國 (the character tong 同 here is equivalent to wei 威, literally means to threaten, according to Jia Gongyan's subcommentary); the celebratory rites are used to look after the people 以嘉禮親萬民. Noteworthy, the original text in the da zongbo also includes other categories of rites and the fivefold ritual structure is not as obvious as the one in the Tang Kanyuanli 開元禮 (Ritual Regulations of the Kaiyuan Era). As the fivefold ritual structure was codified by the Kanyuanli, a more accurate expression of the relationship between the New Forms and the Ritual of Zhou should also involve the intermediate role of the Tang Kanyuanli in the history of the fivefold ritual structure. Zhouli zhengshi zhu, 5:10a-13a.

之政,以道損益而用之。推而行之,由乎百世之後,奮乎百世之上。上等百世 之王,若合符契。⁶⁵⁷ 其歸一揆,所謂百世而繼周者也。⁶⁵⁸

The repetitively used word "baishi" 百世 (hundreds of generations) was quoted from the *Analects*, referring to Confucius' subtle response to his disciple's questioning of historical memory. What Confucius originally meant is that ritual legacies could be transmitted downwards to hundreds of generations. Nonetheless, by citing Confucius' response in the middle of his preface, Huizong was attempting to assert a transmission of the ritual legacy of high antiquity from Zhou sage kings to his own reign. The word "baishi" implied that during the hundreds of generations between Zhou and Song there was actually nothing worth mentioning in terms of cultural heritage, not even the achievements of Han and Tang empires. Only the one who could revive the splendor of the ancient "rule of ritual" deserved to be named as Zhou's successor (ji Zhou 繼周). In this light, the "ritual lineage" (litong 禮統) that was transmitted directly from Zhou to Song was a cultural alternative of the "daotong" 道統 (the succession and transmission of the Way) notion. 659 In fact, similar to the more complicated daotong idea later proposed

^{657 &}quot;To order world after the lapse of hundreds of generations" 由乎百世之後 and "to match the kings of hundreds of generations" 上等百世之王 both came from the *Mencius*.

⁶⁵⁸ Zheng Jiuzong 鄭居中 (1059-1123) et al. Zhenghe wuli xinyi 政和五禮新儀 (New Forms for the Five Categories of Rites of the Zhenghe Era), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.647, yuanxu 原序 (Original Preface): 3.

⁶⁵⁹ For an in-depth analysis of the evolution of the Song daotong concept, see Christian Soffel and Hoyt Tillman, Cultural Authority and Political Culture in China: Exploring Issues with the Zhongyong and the Daotong during the Song, Jin and Yuan Dynasties (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2012), 87-109, esp. 90-94; concerning the causes and effects of the Southern Song construction of daotong, see Liu Zijian 劉子健 (James. T.C. Liu), "Songmo suowei daotong de chengli"宋末所謂道統的成立 (The formation of the so-called "the lineage of the Way" at the end of Song), in Liu, Liangsongshi yanjiu huibian 兩宋史研究彙編 (The Collective Essays on the Northern Song and Southern Song History) (Taibei: Lianjing, 1987), 249-282, esp., 277-82. For some pre-Daoxue uses of this word and Zhu Xi's understanding and consolidation of the daotong idea, see Yu Yingshi (also, Yu Ying-shih) 余英時, Zhu Xi de lishi shijie: Songdai shidafu

by Zhu Xi, Huizong and the New Learning scholars' perception of *litong* also assumed a huge gap between high antiquity and Song cultural legacy of over hundreds of generations. In short, *daotong* and *litong* are the two sides of the same coin of Song revivalism. It was not others, but Huizong, who noticed and mentioned in his preface that his ritual enterprise and policies were accomplished "by adding to and subtracting from [the Zhou ritual system] according to the Way" 以道損益而用之. 660

Alongside the character "Zhou" 周, the word "xianwang" 先王 (ancient kings) also appeared up to five times in the preface of the New Forms. This high frequency reference of Zhou and ancient kings could be aptly explained by Huizong's belief in the New Learning doctrine of legitimizing political reforms by ritual reformation. Although Huizong elsewhere also pointed to the importance of meeting contemporary needs, his ultimate goal was still to "renew the people in order to resemble the grandeur of the Three Dynasties"作新斯人,以追三代之隆. 661 To fulfill this purpose, the most efficient way was to politicize the ritual scholarship of the New Learning in an overwhelming manner, i.e., to compile a new state ritual code. Thus, Huizong deliberately quoted the

zhengzhi wenhua de yanjiu 朱熹的歴史世界: 宋代士大夫政治文化的研究 (The Historical World of Zhu Xi: A Research on the Culture and Politics of Song Scholar-officials) (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi: Sanlian shudian, 2004), 7-35.

⁶⁶⁰ Zhenghe wuli xinyi, yuanxu: 3.

¹⁶⁶¹ Zhenghe wuli xinyi, yuanxu: It is worth noting that here Huizong intentionally quoted the phrase "to renew the people"作新斯人 from the imperial edict of Wang Anshi's posthumous promotion to the Grand Mentor (taifu 太傅) drafted by Su Shi to praise the enlightening function of the New Forms for the Five Categories of Rites. Indeed, the meaning of this phrase in its original reference is a bit subtle. In a satirical sense, Su stated that Wang Anshi "is capable to renew the people, because he take all the conventional teachings and legacies of the hundred schools as worthless chaff" 糠秕百家之陳迹,作新斯人. See Su, "Wang Anshi zeng taifu zhi"王安石贈太傅制 (The promotion edict of Wang Anshi's posthumous promotion to the Grand Mentor), Dongpo quanji 東坡全集 (Completed Anthology of Su Dongpo), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1108, 106:22.

first sentence of Wang Anshi's Foreword to the *New Meaning on the Ritual of Zhou* (*Zhouliyi xu*) to reiterate the intellectual orientation of the whole *New Forms* project and also to indicate the continuation of the Major Reform under his reign: "Scholars have long indulged themselves in conventional learning" 士弊於俗學 (久矣). 662 Against conventional learning, the *New Forms* codified New Learning ritualism by weaving into the state cult a vast body of ancient rites. Hence, it separated antiquity from conventionality based on a ritual embodiment of the Way.

4.3 Conclusion

In many ways New Learning scholarship has been underrated. Since Wang Anshi's time, scholars have tended to marginalize New Learning by deliberately overlooking its diversity and comprehensiveness. There are quite a number of Song sources, mostly anecdotal, that help to construct a stereotype of the New Learning community as a group of opportunists, arrogant students and bad scholars. Wang Pizhi wittily described how most of Wang Anshi's disciples refused to be called his students in the political uproar during the Yuanyou era and later turned back to the New Learning community when they found Wang was honored by the court again. 663 Sometimes, the New Learning community was even associated with political corruption and malpractices in the civil service examinations. 664 Although some Ming and Qing scholars presented a

⁶⁶² Zhenghe wuli xinyi, yuanxu: 1.

⁶⁶³ Shengshui yantanlu, 10:127.

⁶⁶⁴ Wei Tai 魏泰. *Dongxuan bilu* 東軒筆錄 (*Brush records of the Eastern Eave*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 6:71.

revisionist view of Wang Anshi's scholarship, few of these accounts devoted much attention to the learning of his disciples.

The modern reevaluation of the New Learning community probably originated from Liang Qichao's 梁啟超 (1873-1929) celebrated biography of Wang Anshi. 665 Following Liang's line of reasoning, Luo Jiaxiang, Liu Chengguo and Yang Tianbao progressively approach the New Learning community from a less-biased perspective. By unfolding the tensions within some of the so-called New Learning texts, my study of ancestral rites and the *zhoamu* sequence adds to this scholarship. Concerning ancestral temple rites and the zhaomu sequence, my study recognizes at least two different approaches within the New Learning community: one defended meritocracy and the generation-skipping principle in positioning the zhaomu sequence in defining the Primal Ancestor, represented by Chen Xiangdao, He Xunzhi, and Fang Que. The other one emphasized *zhaomu*'s ritual implication, that it should reflect the secular order of seniority and familial relations (especially the one between fathers and sons). Lu Dian and Wang Zhaoyu exemplified this approach. Both approaches drew inspirations from Wang Anshi and the broad Wang Learning; yet, neither of them manifested itself to be a simple reiteration of Wang's narrative. The fact that most New Learning scholars took Wang as their "common master" (zhongzhu 宗主) did not imply a closure of any internal communication among themselves, nor a stagnancy of creativity in interpreting the Classics. The Qing scholar Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 (1738-1801) proclaimed a famous

⁶⁶⁵ Liang Qichao, Wang Anshi zhuan 王安石傳 (Biography of Wang Anshi) (Haikuo: Hainan chubenshe, 1993), 182-197.

statement in the Wenshi yongyi 文史通義 (General Principles of Historical and Literary Studies): "a scholar cannot study by himself without a real master; yet, [in the process of studying] he must not be bounded by the biases of his master's intellectual tradition" 學者不可無宗主,而必不可有門戶.666 The ritual studies of New Learning scholars reflected precisely what Zhang attempted to express: traditional scholars could study rather independently in their intellectual pursuits with no fear of modifying and rectifying their great master's points and arguments, even though that might result far-reaching changes of their commonly-shared intellectual tradition.

An examination of the New Learning explanation of ritual details also opens new questions concerning the great transformation of the Song Learning (songxue 宋學). The confrontation between the New Learning and "coarse learning" (suxue 俗學) not only accelerated the shift in Song Learning from Han and Tang textualism to Song skepticism and then to a pragmatic understanding of the Classics, but it also impacted Daoxue. Yu Yingshi, for instance, argues that the Northern Song Daoxue campaign initiated by the two Cheng Brothers was a counter-movement to Wang's New Learning. 667 His is a great observation, which I can support with evidence from the views of ritual. From Wang Anshi's New Meaning on the Ritual of Zhou to his disciples' ritual learning, and eventually to the codification and the crystallization of New Learning ritual scholarship in the New Forms for the Five Categories of Rites of the Zhenghe Era, the Song court and

⁶⁶⁶ Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 (1738-1801), Wenshi yongyi 文史通義 (General Principles of Historical and Literary Studies) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 523.

⁶⁶⁷ Yu, *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie*, 36-64, esp.54. For a well-elaborated argument on the similarities between Wang Anshi and later Daoxue scholars, see Hoyt Tillman, *Utilitarian Confucianism*, 43-45.

intelligentsia gradually consolidated its own "ritual lineage" (litong 禮統). The direct transmission of cultural heritage from Zhou to Song gradually became a shared convention among most New Learning scholars. Although Wang Anshi, Lu Dian, He Xunzhi, Wang Zhaoyu, Chen Xiangdao, Fang Que and Ma Ximeng interpreted the three Ritual Classics' text in a variety of ways, none of them denied the significance of the revival of ancient rites. The famous literatus Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039-1112), a dogmatic opponent of Wang's New Policies, once argued that propriety and music" (liyue 禮樂) should be less valued as the basic criteria of statecraft, because the Han and Tang dynasties were no less eminent than the Three Dynasties, albeit the latter's supremacy in propriety and music. 668 According to the record of Su Zhe's grandson, Su Zhou 蘇籀 (b. 1091), many scholars, including Sima Guang, had difficulties understanding Su Zhe's disparagement of ritual as something irrelevant to statecraft. 669 However, it was Su Zhe, an expert in ritual scholarship, who was sensitive enough to realize the profound relationship between the implementation of Wang Anshi's New Policies and the growing trend of ritual revivalism. Thus, Su's reservation about the efficacy of propriety and music in assisting statecraft should be read as a protest against the intellectual foundation of the New Policies.

At Su's time, only a few conservative scholars could recognize the grand political agenda underlying the New Learning pursuit of propriety and music as clearly as Su. In another way, Su's argument indicates that the ritual lineage from Zhou to Song actually

⁶⁶⁸ Su, Luancheng xiansheng yiyan, 150-151.

⁶⁶⁹ Su, Luancheng xiansheng yiyan, 151.

served as the transmission of the Way (daotong) in the broad New Learning context. In the imperial edict concerning Lu Dian's promotion to the Right Administrator of the Department of State Affairs (shangshu youzheng 尚書右丞), it was recorded that Lu "received gratitude from Shenzong, because he was an early follower of the learning of the Way" <u>蚤缘道學</u>, 被遇神宗. 670 It is also worth noting that it was Zou Hao, a half-New Learning half-Daoxue scholar, who drafted this promotion. Zou's anthology and Chen Xiangdao's Complete Explanations on the Analects, indeed, revealed a New Learning understanding of the learning of the Way; moreover, the works of these two scholars were later borrowed and developed by the Southern Song Daoxue scholars. 671 After all,

⁶⁷⁰ Zou Hao,"Lu Dian chu shangshu youzheng zhi" 陸佃除尚書右丞制 (Edict of Lu Dian's promotion to the Right Administrator of the Department of State Affairs), *Daoxiang ji* 道鄉集 (*Anthology of the Home of Dao*), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1121, 17:5. Emphasis mine.

⁶⁷¹ For instance, Zou Hao composed a promotion edict for Chen Guan, and in it he praised Chen as a person of "subtle and profound understanding of the learning of the Way" 道學淵微. "Chen Guan chu yousi zhi" 陸瓘除右司制 (Edict of Chen Guan's promotion to the Right Manager). Daoxiang ji, 16:6; in a formal excuse letter to the Bureau of Regulations (chiju 敕局), written in the name of Su Shi's friend Qian Jiming 錢濟明, Zou also adopted the term Daoxue to describe Qian's personality (ququ daoxue 區區道學). "Dai Qian Jiming xiechiju xiangdingqi" 代錢濟明謝敕局詳定啟 (A detailed excuse letter to the Bureau of Regulations, concerning Qian Jiming's promotion), Daoxiang ji, 24:7. Chen Xiangdao's use of the term Daoxue is also quite interesting. Seemingly he adopted the term from the Dictionary of Erudition (Erya 🔞 雅), especially Xing Bing's 邢昺 (932-1010) commentary on it. Xing, who inherited the Han and Tang traditions of textualism, was among the first generation of Song Classicists. His erudition was generally applauded by later Song Classicists. Possibly, it was Xing's character studies that attracted New Learning scholars to study his celebrated sub-commentary on the Dictionary of Erudition. In annotating the Erya entry of "ruqie rucuo" 如切如磋 (literally, to cut and file, in the Analects it was quoted by Zigong 子貢 to describe the constant procedure of learning rites. Originally from the Book of Songs), Xing explicitly said that what one is "cutting and filing" (a metaphor of daily practice and study) in the process of learning rites comes out to be verse and prose, and also "the learning of the Dao" (daoxue). 如切如磋者,詩文也,道學也 (Xing, Erya Zhushu 爾雅注疏(Commentaries and Sub-commentaries on the Dictionary of Erudition), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.221, 3:19). Chen Xiangdao developed Xing Bing's annotation and argued that daoxue should be understood as to use the Way (Dao) to regulate one's own learning. Moreover, daoxue serves as the preparation stage of self-cultivation (zixiu 🖹 修). 先道學後自修也. From the learning according to the Way to self-cultivation, the Way is accordingly polished and eventually accomplished. 自道學至於自修,然後道可成. Chen, Lunyu quanjie, 1:11. In another place, Chen claimed that virtue and is rooted in the learning of the Way 德性本於道學. Lunyu quanjie, 4:22; Chen further elaborated his argument on the relationship between morality and the learning

for the members of the New Learning community, the learning of ancient rites embodied their learning of the Way. Ritual revivalism, consequently, became the core doctrine of their "daoxue."

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of Dao. In annotating a phrase of the Book XI (xianjin 先進, priority) of the Analects, Chen argued that virtue embodies the practice of Dao. Additionally, the learning of text (wenxue 文學) after all is a learning of Dao.文學則道學而已. Although the Cheng (Yi)-Zhu (Xi) adoption of the term "daoxue" has been usually regarded as the first intellectual endeavor to extract the term from its Daoist context and distinguish it as a specific learning of morality or nature of mind (see, for example, Zhou Mi's brief sketch of Daoxue as a Southern Song invention. Zhou asserted that it was not until Zhu Xi's time that the term Daoxue gained its true meaning. Qidong yeyu, 11:202), it seems that the Confucian borrowing of this term was actually initiated by some New Learning scholars. Therefore, the ethical meaning conveyed by the term Daoxue was invented by New Learning scholars, rather than the Daoxue Confucians. When some of them turned to the school of the Cheng brothers, such as Zou Hao, they brought with them this new, ethic-oriented understanding of the term daoxue, which finally resulted in the proliferation of "Daoxue" discourse and Daoxue scholars in the Southern Song. In short, New Learning scholars served as important "brokers" in the chain of borrowing process regarding the term daoxue: i.e., Daoists--New Learning scholars--the two Cheng brothers and their disciples--Zhu Xi--Southern Song Daoxue scholars--the Daoxue biography in the official dynastic Song History.

CHAPTER 5: THE SOUTHERN SONG DAOXUE PERCEPTION OF IMPERIAL ANCESTRAL RITES AND THE ZHAOMU SEQUENCE

As early as the 1980s, Hoyt Tillman has noticed some important similarities between Wang Anshi's New Learning and Southern Song Daoxue doctrines. Tillman's observation is still compelling regarding the ritual realm, where imperial ancestral rites are involved. As aforementioned, ritual revivalism constituted the essence of the New Learning's "the Way of Learning." Following this line of reasoning, this chapter revealed how the ritual studies of the Southern Song Daoxue fellowship were profoundly shaped by the ritual campaign that was initiated by the New Learning scholars. As known, twelfth-century Daoxue scholars made great syntheses of previous commentaries on ritual Classics. By focusing on several major Southern Song Daoxue writings, I question the dichotomous view of New Learning and Southern Song Daoxue scholarship as two totally confronting intellectual traditions. Furthermore, I argue that the Southern Song Daoxue revivalism of ancient rites could only be comprehended as a reaction to Wang Anshi's ritual campaign and—in a broader sense—the New Learning advocacy of restoring the antiquity of the Three Dynasties.

5.1 Re-conceptualizing the Primal Ancestor and the Zhaomu Controversy

5.1.1 The Daoxue Ritualism and Zhu Xi's Rediscovery of the 1079 Zhaomu Controversy

The ritual learning in Southern Song Daoxue scholarship is a complicated theme in Chinese intellectual history. The conventional understanding of Song Learning assumes its speculative nature and considers it as the opposite of the more substantial

⁶⁷² Tillman argued that both Daoxue and Wang Anshi shared some basic assumptions, including the idea of the restoration of antiquity and the pursuit of the Way. Tillman, *Utilitarian Confucianism*, 42-44.

Han Learning. Nevertheless, neither New Learning nor Daoxue was restrictedly speculative in nature. Substantiated studies of ritual texts and liturgical details serve as a crucial part of their disciplinary matrixes. Both New Learning and the Daoxue scholarship posited themselves somewhere between the Han Learning and the commonly perceived speculative Song Learning: methodologically the former, yet theoretically the latter. Indeed, the new ritual writings composed by Wang Anshi and other New Learning scholars took advantage of the rich repository of ritual texts provided by former Confucians. Taking this as their point of departure, New Learning scholars developed a pragmatic framework, in which old commentaries and new interpretations were intertwined in a peculiar way to address contemporary affairs. While New Learning Classicism and ritual studies conveyed an implication of political reform, the Daoxue approach to ritual has political impact but less concerned with reformist intentions.

Much has been said about the exclusion of the Daoxue clique from the central government and the suppression of the Daoxue scholarship in late twelfth-century China. Yet, few studies have focused on the relationship between Daoxue ritualism and the conduct of real politics. Yin Hui's 殷慧 insightful study of Zhu Xi's criticism of Zhao Ruyu's 趙汝愚 (1140-1196) demolition of Xizu's ritual status illustrates how specific liturgical details were deliberately associated with the maintenance of imperial solidarity and the avoidance of political crisis in succession. At the beginning of Southern Song,

⁶⁷³ James Liu, "How did a Neo-Confucian school become the state orthodoxy?" *Philosophy East and West* 23: 4 (1973): 483-505. Conrad Schirokauer, "Neo-Confucians under Attack: The Condemnatino of Wei-hsueh," in *Crisis and Prosperity in Sung China*, ed. John Winthrop Haeger (Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1975), 163-198.

⁶⁷⁴ Yin Hui, "Zhu Xi lixue sixiang yanjiu" 朱熹禮學思想研究 (A Study of Zhu Xi's Ritual Thought) (Ph.D. diss., Hunan University, 2009), 235-43. For a general discussion of some Song political crises in

Ruyu as an imperial clansman was Taizong's descendant, Zhao might have wanted to dispel any doubts on his ambition to the throne through an elevation of Taizu's ritual status. Politically, as Yin Hui argues, Zhao's practice of ancestral rites served as an effective way to express his fidelity to Taizu's lineage, which monopolized the crown from Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127-1162) to Ningzong 寧宗 (r.1194-1224). However, Zhao was also a Daoxue leader of whom Zhu Xi had great expectations. To better understand the disputation between these two Daoxue leaders regarding ancestral rites, it is necessary to look back into the confrontation between the New Learning community and the Daoxue pioneers in the Northern Song period.

Song conservatives tended to associate New Learning with Buddhist, Daoist, and Legalist doctrines, ⁶⁷⁵ yet few of them were able to look squarely at its potency in bridging the exterior art of governance (*waiwang* 外王) and the interior cultivation of morality (*neisheng* 內聖) within the ideological framework of Confucianism. The obstinate conservative Chen Guan tended to view Wang Anshi's scholarship as two distinct parts: one dealt with moral cultivation (*daode xinming* 道德性命); the other concerned the practical aspect of statecraft, including policy making, administration and bureaucratic operation (*xinming dushu* 刑名度數). ⁶⁷⁶ When Chen adopted the term "*xin*"刑 (criminal)

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succession, see John W. Chaffer, *Branches of Heaven: A History of the Imperial Clan of Sung China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 25-30, 132-35, 179-81. For Zhao Ruyu's role in court politics, see Chaffer, *Branches of Heaven*, 189-95.

⁶⁷⁵ SSXYJKHP, 673-82.

⁶⁷⁶ SSXYJKHP, 679-80.

to describe Wang Anshi's private learning, he was indicating that Wang's learning was contaminated by Legalist ideas (fajia 法家). However, by differentiating moral cultivation from statecraft, Chen unintentionally provided New Learning scholars an effective alibi to legitimize their reform campaigns. On the one hand, reformers could justifiably claim that their reforms would strengthen the empire and bring prosperity to its people, regardless of the reformers' lack of interest in moral cultivation. On the other hand, New Learning scholars might argue that the learning itself was compelling and illuminative, despite various social and political problems brought about by the Major Reform. Since Chen divided politics and morality into two opposite factions, he was unable to perceive Wang Anshi's political reforms and New Learning scholarship as an integral whole. From the perspective of statecraft, Chen could certainly criticize Wang for his audacious interpretations of the regulatory system of the Three Dynasties and interpreted them as a dangerous challenge to the Song ancestral codes. However, ideologically, Chen failed to explain why these interpretations problematized concrete policies and statecraft. It was not until the emergence of the Daoxue fellowship that Wang Anshi's New Learning encountered its greatest rival in the intellectual arena, especially with regard to the perception of the relationship between morality and politics.

Among the Daoxue pioneers of the Northern Song period, Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085) was a notable figure. He served in the Court of Imperial Rites and Ceremonies as the Chief Officer in 1077 and worked together with Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-1077) for several months. Both Cheng and Zhang were ritual experts and showed deep interests in ancient rites. At the beginning of the Major Reform, they shared with Wang Anshi the same goal of restoring the regulatory system of the Three Dynasties.

Cheng Hao once composed an essay about how to improve emperorship, in which he argued that ideal emperorship could only be achieved through "a thorough study of antiquity and a rectification of learning" (*qigu zhengxue* 稽古正學). 677 He further claimed that a good ruler should:

A good ruler should obey the teachings of the sages and follow the statecraft of ancient kings in a persistent way. He should not be distracted and obstructed by the miscellaneous policies of later generations; by the same token, his mind should not be easily puzzled and turned aside by conventional ideas and habitual ways. A good ruler has to trust and follow the Way to the utmost sincerity, as well as to know himself to the utmost clarity. As a result, it can be expected that the ruler will not stop his steps until his regime is able to resemble the grandeur of the Three Dynasties.

以聖人之訓為必當從,先王之治為必可法;不為後世駁雜之政所牽滯,不為流俗因循之論所遷惑;信道極於篤,自知極於明,必期致治如三代之隆而後已也。678

Without mentioning Cheng Hao's name, it is easy to confuse his words here with any piece of Wang Anshi's political writings. By embracing a restoration of antiquity and opposing to conventional ideas, Cheng's perception of emperorship resonated perfectly with the New Learning doctrine of the "exterior art of governance."

Despite their shared conviction of establishing a new socio-political order based on the reasoning of revivalism, Northern Song Daoxue pioneers rejected Wang Anshi's idea that ideal statecraft was a natural product of the development of the art of governance. As the Daoxue doctrine presupposed moral cultivation in achieving the art of governance, Wang's reformist endeavor was at best problematic, because his own

⁶⁷⁷ Chen, "Lun zhengxue lixian"論正學禮賢 (On ratifying correct learning and honoring worthies), Luo, *Zunyaolu*, 202.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid.

learning was contaminated by non-Confucian ideas that originated from Buddhism,
Daoism and other miscellaneous studies. In the eyes of most Northern Song
conservatives, what made the New Learning even more dangerous was that it
manipulated Confucian values and words from the Classics to disguise its deviant nature.
In other words, it was impossible to find a righteous "Way of moral cultivation" in the
New Learning. ⁶⁷⁹ It did not mean that all conservative scholars considered Wang Anshi a
villainous person. Yet, they charged that Wang's understanding of some key concepts in
Confucianism—the Way, morality and Heaven—were inadequate and erroneous. By
prioritizing the role played by moral cultivation in fostering political culture and ignoring
the transcendental elements in New Learning scholarship, Southern Song Daoxue
scholars tactically highlighted their originality in constructing a "neo-Confucian"
tradition, in which Confucianism could rival Buddhism and Daoism for highly
sophisticated philosophy and metaphysical concepts.

Daoxue scholars privileged moral cultivation and orthodox learning in practicing statecraft, they generally embraced a highly integrated conception of the relationship between morality and politics. In his comment on Chen Guan's criticism of Wang Anshi, Zhu Xi asserted that the relationship between interior moral cultivation and exterior statecraft resembled the way that "the shadow follows the shape; it was impossible to separate them" 如影隨形,則又不可得而分別也.⁶⁸⁰ It seems that Zhu Xi concurred with

⁶⁷⁹ Yu, Zhu Xi de lishi shijie, 49-56.

⁶⁸⁰ Zhu Xi, "Du liangchen jianyi yimo" 讀兩陳諫議遺墨 (Reading the posthumous words of the two Chen censors), in *Huian xiansheng zhuwengong wenji* 晦菴先生朱文公文集 (*Literary Collections of Master Zhu Huian*), in *Sibu congkan chubian suoben* (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1969), v.58-59, 70: 1285.

Wang Anshi in establishing a universal standard of morality and reviving the regulatory system of the Three Dynasties. However, Zhu thought that Wang's basic understanding of morality and cultural values was distracted by a myriad of heterodox ideas.⁶⁸¹ Hence, for Zhu Xi, the more coherent the New Learning disciplinary matrix was, the more dangerous it would be for Confucians to study it.

Like the New Learning ritualists, Southern Song Daoxue scholars also conceptualized the revival of ancient rites in relation to state governance and social stability. The compilation of the *Comprehensive Commentary and Explanation of the Rites and Ceremonies (Yili jingzhuan tongjie* 儀禮經傳通解, hereinafter refers to as the *Comprehensive Commentary*) integrated the Daoxue understanding of ancient rites and its ritual scholarship. As one of the two major ritual writings composed by Zhu Xi, the *Comprehensive Commentary* represented Zhu's lifetime endeavor to rejuvenate ritual studies. ⁶⁸² After Zhu returned to his hometown in 1197, he spent most of his late years in the composition of this work. Unfortunately, Zhu failed to complete the compilation and could not see the publication of the *Comprehensive Commentary*. Right before his death, Zhu was still discussing this work with his disciple Huang Gan. ⁶⁸³ Huang Gan

⁶⁸¹ "Du liangchen jianyi yimo," *Huian ji*, 70:1284-85.

⁶⁸² The other one is the *Zhuzi jiali* 朱子家禮 (*Zhu Xi's Family Rituals*). For a reliable English translation, see Patricia Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rite*.

^{683 &}quot;Yu Huangzhiqing shu"與黃直卿書 (A letter to Huang Gan), *Huian ji*, 29: 462. Zhu Xi was dead at the ninth day of the third month in 1200. This letter to Huang Gan was written at the eighth day of the third month. The *Ritual Text* (*lishu* 禮書) mentioned in it no doubt referred to the *Comprehensive Commentary and Explanation of the Rites and Ceremonies*, as Zhu Xi was sill concerning about the composition of funeral rites. For other parts (most possibly referring to the part of sacrificial rites), Zhu requested Huang to "complete the compilation based on the explanatory guidance made by him" 其他並望參考修例以作修成.

complemented the two sections of funeral rites and sacrificial rites; a local official named Zhang Fu 張虑 (*jinshi*, 1196) published them together at Nankang 南康 in 1223, three years after Zhu Xi's death. However, Huang was only able to compile a draft version for the part of sacrificial rites during his lifetime. He collected a variety of rites yet did not split them into different volumes. Consequently, Yang Fu, Zhu Xi's disciple who specialized in ancient rites, revised Huang's draft and added more new materials into it. The final product was Yang's *Sacrificial Rites: An Extension on the Comprehensive Commentary and Explanation of the Rites and Ceremonies* (*Yili jingzhuan tongjie xujuan: jili* 儀禮經傳通解續卷祭禮, hereinafter refers to as the *Sacrificial Rites*). As Huang Gan's draft version was also compiled in the *Siku* collection, we have two different editions of the *Sacrificial Rites* to compare and analyze for discussing the fundamental Daoxue approach of ancestral rites. ⁶⁸⁴

Before probing into the *Sacrificial Rites*, it may be useful to understand Zhu Xi's basic assumptions about imperial rites. Zhu was essentially a revivalist in terms of ritualism. However, as Julia Ching argued, Zhu's revivalist tendency did not necessarily mean that he wanted to replicate ancient rites without changes.⁶⁸⁵ Zhu stated that it was difficult to fully adopt ancient rites to the new social circumstances of his time for

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⁶⁸⁴ For a general briefing of these two editions, see Ye Chunfang's 葉純芳 introduction in the newly published edition of Yang Fu's Sacrificial Rites. Yang Fu, Yili jingzhuan tongjie xujuan: jili 儀禮經傳通解續卷祭禮 (Sacrificial Rites: An Extension on the Comprehensive Commentary of the Rites and Ceremonies, hereinafter refers to as, YLJZTJ: JL), compiled by Yue Chunfang and Hashimoto Hidemi 橋本秀美, (Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiusuo, 2011), Introduction: 6-20.

⁶⁸⁵ Julia Ching, *The religious Thought of Chu Hsi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 79-83.

economic reasons. 686 In practice, he was eager to simplify some funeral and mourning rites to meet contemporary needs or even regional customs at his time. 687 Nevertheless, regarding the practice of imperial rites, Zhu believed that the ritual intent of the Three Dynasties (sandai liyi 三代禮意), or, in his own words, "the great origin of ritual-culture" (daben dayuan 大本大源), had to be maintained. 688 Hence, although Zhu severely charged Wang Anshi for his "disturbance of the old practices [of ritual learning]" (bianluan juzhi 變亂舊制), 689 he enthusiastically championed Wang's ritual reforms with respect to imperial rites. Zhu said:

Nowadays, the families of scholar-officials are all concerned about ancient rites. However, today there are two extremely important ritual affairs under Heaven that are still bound by a fetter of conventionalism. The one is that the court offers sacrifices to the Heaven and the Earth collectively at the south Suburban Altar. The other is that the Primal Ancestor does not have his own temple; instead, it is placed in the Imperial Temple with the other ancestors. Since the Eastern Han, the two problems have never been completely resolved.

如今士大夫家都要理會古禮。今天下有二件極大底事, 恁地循襲: 其一是天地同祭於南郊; 其一是太祖不特立廟,而與諸祖同一廟。自東漢以來如此。⁶⁹⁰

At the heart of Zhu's concerns of ancient rites was the rectification of the Primal Ancestor's ritual status in temple sacrifices. He shared with Wang the same revivalist viewpoint in defining the Primal Ancestor as the most honorable ancestor and advocated

⁶⁸⁶ ZZYL, 84:2178.

⁶⁸⁷ Ching, The religious Thought of Chu Hsi, 83-87.

⁶⁸⁸ ZZYL, 84:2179.

⁶⁸⁹ Zhu, "Qi xiu sanli dazi" 乞修三禮箚子 (A draft memorial concerning the re-compilation of the three ritual Classics), *Huian ji*, 14:212.

⁶⁹⁰ ZZYL, 90:2289.

placing him in a separate chamber or temple. ⁶⁹¹Against Zhao Ruyu's demolition of Xizu's ritual status, Zhu Xi asserted that it was inappropriate to identify Taizu with the Primal Ancestor and place Xizu in a subsidiary chamber, since this kind of practice disturbed the sequence of seniority and defied the ritual intent of filial piety. ⁶⁹² In opposition to Han Wei, Sun Gu, and Zhang Shiyan's meritocratic approach in the 1072 debate, Zhu memorialized Xizu's contribution to the founding of the Song Empire in an audience. According to him, although Xizu's contribution was not concrete, the fact that he was the fourth ancestor of the Song founder Taizu sufficiently justified Xizu's ritual superiority. Zhu Xi's argued that "the greatness of merits and contributions is not necessarily illustrated by the Primal Ancestor himself" 其為功德, 蓋不必親身為之, 然 後為盛也. 693 When Sun Congzi 孫從之 questioned Xizu's contribution in an informal discussion with Zhu, Zhu compared the ancestral merits of imperial houses with those of scholar families to make an argument. As he put it, if one admitted that the success of a scholar and his rise in social status should be attributed to his ancestors, by the same reasoning, one should recognize how the "secret merits" of the ancestors of an imperial house contributed to their descendants. Zhu Xi then asked, if scholar-officials' success had nothing to do with their ancestors, why would the court bestow posthumous titles to

⁶⁹¹ ZZYL, 90:2305-06.

⁶⁹² Zhu, "yaomiao yizhuang" 祧廟議狀 (A discussion sheet on the removal of ancestral tablets), *Huian ji*, 15:225.

⁶⁹³ Zhu, "mianzou yaomiao dazi"面奏祧廟箚子 (A draft memorial of attendance on the removal of ancestral tablets), *Huian ji*, 15:228. Additionally, in the attachment to his discussion sheet on the removal of ancestral tablets, Zhu quoted a phrase from Cheng Yi to rearticulate that "the all-under-Heaven of the Song dynasty was originated from Xizu, he should not be regarded as a person without merit" 今日天下, 基本蓋出於此人, 安得為無功業. Zhu, "xiaotiezhi"小貼子 (A little attachment), *Huian ji*, 15:227.

officials' ancestors after they had achieved a certain rank in officialdom?⁶⁹⁴ After all, to deny Xizu's merits in giving birth to the Song Empire was just as absurd as to say that scholar-officials had no need to appreciate their ancestors for blessing them in their daily lives and careers.

Given Zhu Xi's revivalist tendency, it is not difficult to understand why he championed Wang Anshi in the Primal Ancestor controversy. Prior to Zhu, the Northern Song Daoxue master Cheng Yi also applauded Wang's endeavor to rectify Xizu's status as the Primal Ancestor in the 1072 debate. Both Zhu and Cheng considered the Northern Song conservatives' opposition to Wang Anshi's ritual reform in ancestral sequence as a display of their antagonistic mentality: adamant conservatives would reject Wang's arguments on every account, no matter how well reasoned these arguments were. As zhu put it, since these conservatives were dominated by prejudice, they "failed to notice that a self-reflection would tranquilize their minds [and thus they could have reached the same conclusion as Wang's in dealing with the Primal Ancestor issue]" 不知反之於已,以即夫心之所安. Considering the Primal Ancestor issue, Zhu believed that Wang overpowered all of his conservative opponents in both rhetorical and theoretical domains. None of the writings of the conservatives could match Wang's essay

⁶⁹⁴ ZZYL, 107:2662.

⁶⁹⁵ Zhu, "mianzou yaomiao dazi," Huian ji, 15:228; ZZYL, 107:2664.

⁶⁹⁶ ZZYL, 107:2662. Zhu Xi also noted that when Zhao Ruyu was editing the court collections of eminent memorials (*Zhuchen zouyi* 諸臣奏議, later known as the *Collections of Eminent Memorials of Song Dynasty* 國朝諸臣奏議), he deliberately underplayed Wang Anshi's argument by putting the text of his memorial in small font size (so the argument looks more like an annotation rather than a part of main text). ZZYL, 107:2661, 2664.

⁶⁹⁷ Zhu, "mianzou yaomiao dazi," Huian ji, 15:228.

about temple rites.⁶⁹⁸ By articulating Cheng Yi's judgment that "Jiepu's [Wang Anshi's courtesy name] viewpoint and wisdom after all surpassed conventional Confucians' mediocrity" 介甫所見,終是高於世俗之儒,⁶⁹⁹ Zhu implicitly identified the conventionalists in the 1072 ritual debate with the "drifting and vulgar *shi*" whom Wang Anshi had described as "incapable" in his letter to Wang Hui.⁷⁰⁰

Cheng Yi's appreciation of Wang Anshi's intellectual judgment in ritual affairs and Cheng's implicit criticism of the conventionalists in the Primal Ancestor controversy contributed to the split of the conservative camp in the post-Wang Anshi period. The most obstinate conventionalists, represented by the Luoyang elders and the fellowship surrounding them,⁷⁰¹ took the Song ancestral codes as the ultimate authority. The Sichuan school was more complicated. The Su brothers disagreed with each other on several

⁶⁹⁸ In a conversation with his disciple, Zhu severely criticized Han Wei's memorial in the 1079 debate as fragmentary and paradoxical, it "does not deserve to be called a writing" 都不成文字. Zhu went further by saying that most of the writings of the Yuanyou worthies were alike in the sense that "they grounded their arguments blindly on one or two pieces of superficial information" 只是胡亂討得一二浮辭引證. However, in Zhu's opinion, Wang's memorial was succinctly structured with substantial reasoning. ZZYL, 107:2664.

⁶⁹⁹ Zhu, "xiaotiezhi," Huian ji, 15:225; ZZYL, 107:2664.

⁷⁰⁰ Wang, "Da Wang Shenfu shu," *Linchuan ji*, 72:464.

⁷⁰¹ Zhou Mi listed the twelve core members of the Luoyang fellowship. They were Fu Bi 富弼 (1004-1083), Wen Yanbo 文彦博 (1006-1097), Xi Ruyan 習汝言 (b.1006), Wang Shanggong 王尚恭 (1007-1084), Zhao Bing 趙丙 (b.1008), Liu Ji 劉几 (1008-1088), Feng Xingsi 馮行巳 (1008-1091), Chujian zhong 楚建中 (1010-1090), Wang Shenyan 王慎言 (1011-1087), Wang Gongchen 王拱辰 (1012-1085), Zhang Wen 張問 (1013-1087), Sima Guang. *Qidong yeyu*, 20:367. According to Sima Guang's own record, there were altogether thirteen core members, the additional one was Zhang Tao 張燾 (1013-1082). Sima, "Luoyang qitinghui xu" 洛陽耆英會序 (Preface to the association for eminent elders), *Wenguo wenzheng Simagong ji*, 65:9-10. For a thorough study of the Nortern Song Luoyang fellowship, see Liu Hsin-chun 劉馨珺, "Beisong luoyang qitinghui: congbeimin tanshidafu de jiaowanghuodong" 北宋洛陽耆英會: 從碑銘談士大夫的交往活動 (Luoyang's "association for eminent elders" during the Northern Song dynasty: interactions between scholar-officials as recorded in stele inscriptions), *Guoli zhengzi daxue lishi xuebao* 國立政治大學歷史學報 30 (2008): 1-41. -

important ritual issues, including the controversy of Altar sacrifices. ⁷⁰² Su Zhe, as aforementioned, rejected the adaption of ancient rites under most circumstances. In general, neither the Luoyang fellowship nor the Su brothers embraced a revivalist view of ancient rites with regard to imperial rituals. However, the Daoxue fellowship in the late Northern Song displayed a different pattern. On the one hand, the two Cheng brothers were both ritual revivalists, and Cheng Yi in particular appreciated Wang's endeavor to restore the ancient ancestral temple system. ⁷⁰³ Yet, on the other hand, while the Daoxue pioneers witnessed the rapid expansion of the New Learning fellowship, they worried about Wang Anshi's influence and began to establish their own disciplinary matrix out of the anxiety about that influence.

Harold Bloom has demonstrated how the power of influence and the anxiety generated by it resulted in the dialectic development of modern poetry. Poetic influence, as Bloom stated, is "part of the larger phenomenon of intellectual revisionism." In Song intellectual history, the Northern Song Daoxue pioneers endeavored to escape the New Learning influence reflected what Bloom called the *clinamen* revision of intellectual precursors. Borrowed from Lucretius, Bloom used the word *clinamen* to describe a poet's deliberate misreading of his precursor's poems. Through the *clinamen* process of

⁷⁰² Su Shi supported the idea that the Altar sacrifices to the Heaven and the Earth should both be held at the South Suburban Altar. In contrast, his brother Su Zhe preferred a separate setting of Altar sacrifices. *Qidong yeyu*, 5:90.

⁷⁰³ Zhu, "Da liaozihui"答廖子晦 (A respond letter to Liao Zihui), *Huian ji*, 45:782.

⁷⁰⁴ Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 28.

⁷⁰⁵ Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence*, 14.

misprision, the poet distinguishes himself from his precursor and hence achieves his poetic autonomy. In the Song case, the Cheng brothers and their disciples tended to read New Learning in a way that aimed at swerving from their "precursor" Wang Anshi. However, in different from the Western poets in Bloom's analysis, the Cheng brothers did not "misread" Wang Anshi, but they selectively reinterpreted his scholarship by emphasizing those metaphysical concepts which were relatively less emphasized by Wang in his writings. Thus, this selective reading of Wang Anshi and his scholarship contributed to the further theorization of Classical studies and led to a shift from institutional interests to moral and philosophical concerns among Song Confucians.

In practice, the Northern Song Daoxue movement considered New Learning as its main opponent and attempted to swerve from the New Learning influence by actively inventing their own doctrines. During this process, some Daoxue pioneers tended to downplay the conventions that was once shared by them and the New Learning scholars, such as ritual revivalism. For instance, Cheng Yi's disciple Yang Shi 楊時 (1053-1135), who was also a specialist in New Learning scholarship, never thought of exploring the overlapping area between New Learning and his teacher's scholarship in responding to the Northern Song trend of conventionalism. In the extant anthology of Yang Shi, there are indeed two volumes that respond to New Learning scholarship, yet they focus primarily on the flaws of Wang's analysis of characters and his personal records of Shenzong's regime. ⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰⁶ See Yang Shi, Shenzong rilubian 神宗日錄辨 (Dispute on the Daily Records of Shenzong's regime) and Wangshi zishuobian 王氏字說辨 (Dispute on Wang Anshi's Character Learning) in Yang's anthology. Guishan ji 龜山集 (Anthology of the Tortoise Mountain), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1125, 6:1-34; 7:1-9. Concerning Yang Shi's criticism of Wang learning, also see Xia Changpu 夏長樸, "Cong Lixinchuan Daominglu lun Songdaidaoxue de chengli yu fazhan" 從

Yang Shi's hostility toward New Learning was understandable, considering the fact that in the formative stage of a new tradition the proponents are usually more inclined to claim their own legitimacy based on differences rather than similarities. Bloom argued that in the misreading process of *clinamen* the differentiation of the new poet/intellectual trend from its precursor implied that the former can reach a point beyond the upper range of the latter; thus, the new intellectual trend gains its uniqueness through an intentional departure from its precursor. 707 Given the prevalence of New Learning scholarship at Cheng Yi and Yang Shi's time, they had few choices but to criticize it as a "heretical" doctrine, in order to pave the way for the emergence of their own new learning. 708 In this light, the Northern Song Daoxue movement constructed its theoretical novelty upon its critical analysis of New Learning scholarship. Intellectually, it surpassed the New Learning in both metaphysical and ethical realms. However, New Learning was more influential and enduring than its critics expected. Until the mid-twelfth century, the political culture of Gaozong's reign was still affected by New Learning scholarship, especially in reference to the recruitment standards of officials. ⁷⁰⁹

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李心傳道命錄論宋代道學的成立與發展 (Examining the formation and development of the Song Daoxue movement based on Li Xinchuan's *Records of the Destiny of the Way*), in *Songshi yanjiuji* (Taibei: Zhonghua congshu bianshen weiyuanhui, 2006), v.36, 20-24.

⁷⁰⁷ Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence*, 14, 44-45.

⁷⁰⁸ In fact, Cheng Yi considered Wang Anshi's Learning as more dangerous than the Buddhist teaching with regard to Confucianism. Cheng emphasized the significance to have a serious rectification of Wang Anshi's private Learning. Otherwise, it would corrupt the young scholars 卻要先整頓介甫之學, 壞了後生學者. Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Er Cheng quanshu 二程全書 (The Complete Work of Cheng Brothers) (Taiwan: zhonghua shuju, 1966), 2a:19.

⁷⁰⁹ Yu Yingshi, *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie*, 42-3; Xia, "Songdaidaoxue de chengli yu fazhan," 30-32.

Nevertheless, in the second half of the twelfth century, the Daoxue development entered its transitional phase. As the greatest synthesizer of the Northern Song intellectual traditions, Zhu Xi was less influenced by the anxiety caused by Wang Anshi's scholarship than his Northern Song predecessors. Hence, Zhu could address the New Learning-versus-Daoxue scenario in a more liberal fashion. Indeed, this was what he had done in reality. Concerning ritual studies, especially the study of ancient rites, Zhu highlighted Wang Anshi's contribution in rectifying Xizu's status and evaluated some New Learning scholars' commentaries on ritual Classics as instructive and fruitful. The Moreover, he was also the first Daoxue scholar who genuinely admitted the significance of the 1079 zhaomu debate and the Yuanfeng ritual reform in reviving antiquity. In an essay titled "Discussion on di and xia sacrifices" (dixia yi 禘洽議), Zhu pointed out how the Yuanfeng ritual reform contributed to a new understanding of ancient rites:

[Ancestral sacrifice was always a problem that called for revision.] Not until the Shenzu's regime did his majesty feel sad about this and without hesitation convened Confucian scholars to discuss old (ritual) texts in order to trace the grandeur of the Three Dynasties and correct the absurdity that spread over for thousands of years. What a great effort! Yet, unfortunately, this discussion was not recorded in official history by means of memorials; hence, no one has heard about it. Moreover, those who controlled the pens could not particularly document this event in document to illuminate the ten-thousand generations. Today one could only analyze this discussion based on Lu Dian's records.

肆我神祖,始獨慨然,深詔儒臣討論舊典,蓋將以遠迹三代之隆,一正千古之謬,甚盛舉也。不幸未及營表,世莫得聞。秉筆之士,又復不能特書其事以詔萬世。今獨見於陸氏之文為可考耳。711

 $^{^{710}}$ See chapter four, 2.3, for my analysis of Fang Que and Ma Ximeng's commentaries on the *Book of Rites*.

⁷¹¹ Zhu, "dixia yi," *Huian ji*, 69:1264; Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 448.

In the Yuanfeng ritual reform, Zhu recognized a campaign that in essence accorded with his own project of restoring ancient rites. Therefore, he designated Shenzong's reform as a great effort to correct the ritual errors made by previous dynastic rulers, especially the Han emperors' frugal practice of combining all imperial temples into one. The phrase "to trace the grandeur of the Three Dynasties" 遠述三代之隆 crystallized a collective consciousness of most Song revivalists, which could be traced back to the Xining and Yuanfeng ritual writings and Huizong's preface to the *New Forms for the Five Categories of Rites of the Zhenghe Era*. Zhu's wording also echoed Lu Dian's 1079 memorial, in which Lu Dian claimed that by introducing a refined *zhaomu* order the Song regulatory system "can match the excellent kingship of the Three Dynasties" 以齊三代盛王. The system "can match the excellent kingship of the Three Dynasties" 以齊

5.1.2 Zhu Xi's Perception of the *Zhaomu* Sequence

Although Zhu praised Lu Dian's endeavor in preserving some ancient elements of the Imperial Temple configuration, ⁷¹⁴ Zhu was utterly dissatisfied with Lu's "deviant" readings of ritual Classics and also his simplified liturgical scheme of temple rites. Lu Dian's contemporary ritualists—Li Qingchen, for instance—had already found Lu's

⁷¹² Zhu traced the practice of making all temple sacrifices in one single Ancestral Temple back to the Qin dynasty. In his opinion, the Western Han emperors inherited the Qin ancestral temple system but constantly failed to refine it based on ancient settings, despite some efforts made by their officials. Down to the Eastern Han period, as Emperor Ming (r.58-75) and Emperor Zhang (r.75-88) preferred frugality and denied building ancestral temples for themselves, emperors of later generations dared not to add new ones to fulfill the ancient setting of seven temples. Ibid.

⁷¹³ Lu Tian, *Taoshanji*, 6:13.

⁷¹⁴ According to Zhu, Lu's setting to a certain extent resembled the ancient setting when he suggested placing the Temple within the imperial palace and allocating the same number of doors and walls for every chamber and temple 外為都宫,而各為寢廟門垣,乃為近古. Zhu, "dixia yi," *Huian ji*, 69:1264; Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 448.

scheme problematic. (Not only did Lu agree to keep the less formal setting of one single Ancestral Temple, but he also attempted to place it near Daoist and Buddhist buildings.) Zhu shared with them this dissatisfaction with Lu's orientation of ancestral temples, as well as their complaints about Lu's suggestion to use painted-images instead of wooden tablets in temple sacrifices, and his neglect of the diversity between different ancestral sacrifices in the performative dimension. Concerning the *zhaomu* order, Zhu further declared that Lu's *zhaomu* argument contained some wrong assumptions and "was far away from a final conclusion" 然其所論昭穆之說, 亦未有定論. The Zhu's idea was that the *zhao* and *mu* designations of ancestors should never be altered, regardless of any change caused by the shift of the *zhaomu* sequence. In fact, this static conception of *zhaomu* originated from Zhu's early impressions about generational order.

In a letter responding to Lu Jiuling 陸九齡 (1132-1180), Zhu explicitly stated that the *zhao* and *mu* titles in the ritual of symbolic "temple destruction" (*huaimiao* 壞廟) should be preserved, ⁷¹⁷ according to the principle that "*zhao* ancestors were always kept as *zhao*, *mu* ancestors were always kept as *mu*" 昭常為昭穆常為穆. ⁷¹⁸ Zhu told Lu that

⁷¹⁵ Ibid.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid.

⁷¹⁷ The word "destruction" here refers to a symbolic uninstall of an ancestral temple, instead of its physical destruction. The *Guliang Commentary* succinctly recorded that the temple may be decommissioned either by changing the eaves of the temple (*yiyan* 易檐) or repainting them (*gaitu* 改塗). *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳 (*Guliang Commentary on the Annals*), Duke Wen, 2nd yr., in *Chunqiu Sanzhuan* 春秋三傳 (*Three Commentaries on the Annals*) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 215; Gen Liang 耿亮, *A Forgotten Book: Chun Qiu Guliang Zhuan* (Singapore: World Scientific Printers, 2011), 120-21.

⁷¹⁸ Zhu, "Da Lu Zishou" 答陸子壽 (A letter to Lu Qiuling, Zishou is Lu Qiuling's courtesy name), *Huian ji*, 36:569.

this principle was first raised by a "ritualist" (*lijia* 禮家). Yet, Zhu did not mention his name in the letter. However, in his 1079 memorial, Lu Dian mentioned the exact phrase as He Xunzhi's spoken words. Moreover, in the later part of his letter, Zhu quoted the *Zuo Commentary* to further elaborate his argument. He argued that in the ritual of tablet attachment of the recently deceased ancestor (*fumiao* 祔廟), the *zhao* and *mu* designations should be kept unchanged, because the *Zuo Commentary* always named the Zhou feudal lords "Bi, Yuan, Feng, Xun as the *zhao* of their father King Wen; and Han, Jin, Ying, Han as the *mu* of their father King Wu" 畢、原、酆、郇, 文之昭也; 邗、晉、應、韓, 武之穆也. This piece of text, which came from Zuo Qiuming's 左丘明 commentary on the twenty-fourth year of the Duke Xi of Lu 魯僖公, also appeared in Lu Dian's response to He Xunzhi's challenge to his *zhaomu* argument. Considering these two items of evidence, it is clear that the "ritualist" in Zhu Xi's letter can only be He Xunzhi.

When Zhu Xi wrote this letter, he was still developing his ritual studies. At the end of the letter, he admitted that he was not familiar with the ritual Canons and also lacked expertise in doing textual research (*kaozheng* 考證).⁷²¹ It seems that Zhu tended to discuss the *zhaomu* issue in a compromising tone with his friends. However, along with the accumulation of his ritual knowledge, Zhu convinced himself that the *zhaomu*

⁷¹⁹ Lu Dian's memorial read: "What Xun Zhi has argued, that *zhao* ancestors are always kept as *zhao*, *mu* ancestors are always kept as *mu*, and ancestors on the left [*zhao*] rank and those on the right [*mu*] rank cannot shift to the other side, is simply incorrect" 則洵直謂昭常為昭、穆常為穆、左者不可遷於右、右者不可遷於左之說, 非矣. Lu, "Zhaomu yi," *Taoshanji*, 6:10-11.

⁷²⁰ Zhu, "Da Lu Zishou," *Huian ji*, 36:569.

⁷²¹ Ibid.

sequence should be arranged in a way that the shift of *zhao* ancestors and *mu* ancestors were strictly limited to vertical movements along their own axes. He made a hypothetical case to explicate this arrangement:

Supposedly, the tablet of a recently deceased [emperor] should be placed along the *zhao* side in the temple complex [according to the generational sequence]. Then his great-great-grandfather's temple should be symbolically uninstalled, and the tablet inside should be moved to the left *yao* temple. Likewise, his grandfather's tablet should be moved to the temple that his great-great-grandfather's tablet's had once resided. As a consequence, the tablet of the recently deceased is placed in his grandfather's temple. If the recently deceased [emperor] is a *mu* ancestor [according to the generational sequence], the same shift pattern applies, too. Hence, once a new *zhao* tablet is placed in the temple, all the *zhao* tablets will be moved [upwards], yet the *mu* tablets are kept unmoved. Once a new *mu* tablet is placed in the temple, all the *mu* tablets will be moved [upwards], yet the *zhao* tablets are kept unmoved.

假令新死者當祔昭廟,則毀其高祖之廟,而祔其主於左祧,遷其祖之主于高祖之故廟,而祔新死者于祖之故廟。即當祔於穆者,其序亦然。蓋祔昭,則 羣昭皆動,而穆不移;祔穆,則羣穆皆移,而昭不動。⁷²²

In differentiating *zhao* and *mu* as two separate lines of the same genealogical order, Zhu championed He Xunzhi and Zhang Zao's *zhaomu* approach in the 1079 debate and reprimanded Lu Dian's *zhaomu* understanding.⁷²³ In his late writings, including private letters, argumentative essays and memorials, Zhu repetitively emphasized the principle that "*zhao* ancestors are always kept as *zhao*, *mu* ancestors are always kept as *mu*."⁷²⁴ However, when Zhu Xi began to compile the *Comprehensive Commentary*, he gradually developed a more sophisticated understanding of the *zhaomu* sequence, but still

⁷²² Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 454; Zhu, "dixia yi," *Huian ji*, 69:1266.

⁷²³ As Zhu put it, "for ten thousands of generation the *zhaomu* order should never be altered. How could it be like what Lu has said" 昭穆是萬世不可易, 豈得如陸氏之說. ZZYL, 89:2283.

⁷²⁴ See, for instance, his letter to his disciple Ye Weidao 葉味道 (1167-1237) and "A discussion on *di* and *xia* sacrifices." Zhu, "Da Ye weidao," *Huian ji*, 58:1054; Zhu, "dixia yi," *Huian ji*, 69:1264.

based his standpoint on his early writings and thoughts. As aforementioned, Zhu failed to finish the last two parts of funeral rites and sacrificial rites of the *Comprehensive*Commentary before his death. Fortunately, both Huang Gan and Yang Fu preserved some precious excerpts from Zhu concerning the *zhaomu* sequence and ancestral temple rites in their supplementary editions. The Yang edition of *Sacrificial Rites*, in particular, contained some additional details about Zhu Xi's *zhaomu* conception, from which I can deduce some interesting observations. However, for a comprehensive investigation of the *zhaomu* issue with regard to Zhu Xi and his disciples' ritual interests, there is a need to further discuss the Huang edition of *Sacrificial Rites*.

By comparing the content of Huang Gan's and Yang Fu's Sacrificial Rites, we know that Volume 25 (sacrificial rites, vol.9) of the Huang edition was equivalent to Volume 7 of the Yang edition (sacrificial rites, vol. 16). This volume dealt with the establishment of the entire ancestral temple complex. It started with the familiar quote from the Vice Minister section (xiao zongbo) of the Ritual of Zhou, i.e., the "differentiation of tablets and temples based on the zhaomu order" 辨廟祧之昭穆. As Zhu Xi composed the guideline and the basic structure of the Comprehensive Commentary, the mere fact that Zhu quoted the Ritual of Zhou at the very beginning illustrated how he conceptualized the three ritual Canons in referring to the zhaomu issue. Under normal circumstance, phrases of the Rites and Ceremonies served as titles of different entries. However, in this case, Zhu cited a sentence from the Book of Rites to indicate the main topic: "For a gentleman to establish palaces and chambers, ancestral temples should be his first concern, the stables and arsenals the next, and the residence

the last" 君子將營宮室,宗廟為先,厩庫為次,居室為後.⁷²⁵ Right after this sentence,came the *Ritual of Zhou* text: "Vice Minister takes the responsibility of managing the spiritual orientation of the state. On the right side resides the infield altar; on the left are ancestral temples"小宗伯: 掌建國之神位,右社稷,左宗廟.⁷²⁶ Structurally, these two sentences mimic the main text of the Classics—a strategy frequently employed by Zhu Xi to canonize his preferable texts. In discussing ancestral rites, Zhu Xi highlighted the main text of the *Ritual of Zhou*, primarily because he considered it as a reliable source of ancient ancestral rites.⁷²⁷ The later part of Volume 25 contained some key citations from the *Royal Regulation* chapter of the *Book of Rites*,⁷²⁸ which provided supplementary evidence to justify building ancestral temples.

In annotating the sentence concerning the orientation of ancestral temples, Zhu listed two different explanations: one argued that the Zhou people regarded the right side as more superior; hence, the infield altar (*sheji* 社稷) is built on the right, in order to "respect the respectable" (*zunzun* 尊尊)—a term which implicitly conveyed a sense of

⁷²⁵ Huang Gan, Yili jingzhuan dongjie xujuan 儀禮經傳通解續卷 (An Extension on the Comprehensive Commentary and Explanation of the Rites and Ceremonies, hereinafter refers to as YLJZTJXL), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji zhupanshe, 1987), v.132, 25:1. For the original text, see the Quli (Summary of the Rules Propriety) chapter in the Book of Rites, Zhu, Liji xunzuan, 55; Legge, The Sacred Books of China, v.3, 103-04.

⁷²⁶ Huang, YLJZTJXL, 1:1. Zhouli Zhengshi zhu, 5:18.

⁷²⁷ Zhu had for several times asserted that both the *Ritual of Zhou* and the *Rites and Ceremonies* are reliable sources in discussing ancient institutions and rites. ZZYL, 86:2203, 2205. Yet, in some rare cases, he underrated these ancient rites as impractical. For instance, in a conversation with his disciples, he said Duke Zhou was careless in regulating the use of reddish jade ornament and white jade disk in the funeral rite of *lian* 斂. ZZYL, 86:2233.

^{728 &}quot;The (ancestral) temple configuration of the Son of Heaven consists of three *zhao* temples and three *mu* temples; and the one of his Great Ancestor (Dazu); there are altogether seven temples" 天子之廟, 三昭三穆, 與大祖之廟而七. Huang, YLJZTJXL, 25:2; Zhu Bin. *Liji xunzuan*, 183; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, v.3, 220.

meritocracy. The other explanation considered the left side as the more superior one; hence, ancestral temples are placed there to exhibit the descendant's affection to his ancestors (qinqin 親親). The contrast to Wang Anshi, who embraced a metaphysical reading of the residence of ancestral temples on the left as an embodiment of the yang 陽 essence and thus the humanly Way (rendao 人道), The did not make a judgment between these two explanations.

However, Zhu abandoned his neutrality in commentating phrases concerning the *zhaomu* sequence. For Zhu, to "differentiate tablets and temples based on the *zhaomu* order" meant to clarify the *zhao* and *mu* designations of ancestors, as these designations embodied a hierarchical structure of the ancestral space. Astonishingly, according to both the Huang and Yang editions of the *Comprehensive Commentary*, the sub-commentator (*shuzhe* 疏者) favored a fixed layout of the *zhaomu* sequence. As the sub-commentary put it, "after the Primal Ancestor, the fathers are designated as *zhao* ancestors, and sons are designated as *mu* ancestors" 自始祖之後,父曰昭,子曰穆.⁷³¹ In a later section, it further provided a concrete Zhou example to formulate this principle of naming *zhaomu* designations:

The Zhou people honored Houzhi as their Primal Ancestor and thus in particular built a permanent temple for him. Counting successively from Bu Zhu [Houzhi's son], Bu Zhu as the father was the first *zhao* ancestor, Ju as the son was the first *mu* ancestor, and henceforward *zhao* designated fathers and *mu* designated sons. When it came to King Wen, since he has been the fourteenth generation [of the

⁷²⁹ Huang, YLJZTJXL, 25:1.

⁷³⁰ Wang Anshi, *Zhouguan xinyi*, 8:18.

⁷³¹ Huang, YLJZTJXL, 25:1; Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 393.

Zhou family since Bu Zhu], genealogically the Zhou people called him a *mu* ancestor.

周以后稷廟為始祖,特立廟不毀,即從不窋已後為數,不窋父為昭,鞠子為穆。 從此以後,皆父為昭,子為穆,至文王十四世,文王第稱穆也。⁷³²

The sub-commentary text here might not be necessarily composed by Zhu Xi; yet, it still reflected his basic assumption of the Zhou *zhaomu* sequence, which seemingly contradicted his criticism of Lu Dian's *zhaomu* concept—that *zhao* and *mu* designations should not be associated with the relations between fathers and sons. In order to explain this contradiction, there is a need to examine Zhu's *zhaomu* conception thoroughly based on his anthology and the *Comprehensive Commentary*.

Considering Zhu's conception of *zhaomu*, the "Discussion on *di* and *xia* sacrifices" has often been quoted as a significant source. While Ye Chunfang and Hashimoto Hidemi were compiling the newly found Yang edition of the *Comprehensive Commentary*, they supplemented the text by attaching the related essays from Zhu's anthology to the original text. In supplementing Zhu Xi's discussion on ancient and contemporary temple rites (*gujin miaozhi* 古今廟制), they primarily relied on the "Discussion on *di* and *xia* sacrifices" and some other records in Ma Duanlin's 馬端臨 (1254-1323) *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (*Comprehensive Examination of Literature*). Certainly, we have no idea of what the original Yang edition read like; ⁷³³ however, we do know that Yang was a specialist in *di* and *xia* sacrifices—he personally wrote for the

⁷³² Huang, YLJZTJXL, 25:2; Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 394.

⁷³³ According to Ye and Hashimoto, the Seikado Bunko copy (靜嘉堂文庫) may not be the only extant edition of the Yang-compiled *Sacrificial Rites*; yet further endeavor is required for searching the possible new copies. Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, Introduction, 33-34.

Sacrificial Rites a three-thousand-words comment on previous misunderstanding and malpractices of these two state rituals.⁷³⁴ Understandably, Zhu Xi's discussion on *di* and *xia* sacrifices constituted a crucial part of Yang's understanding of temple rites.

While Zhu's general stance conformed to the revivalist endeavor made during Shenzong's reign, he disagreed with Lu Dian's provocative reading of the *zhaomu* sequence as a manifestation of paternal relationship. To refute Lu's argument, Zhu first summarized it in two passages. According to Zhu, Lu Dian argued that:

Zhao and mu designate fathers and sons respectively: zhao conveys a meaning of illuminating the inferior; mu conveys a meaning of revering the superior. Being a father, one should be designated as a zhao ancestor and be placed along with the zhao line, thus he can illuminate the inferior; being a son, one should be designated as a mu ancestor and be placed along with the mu line, thus he can revere the superior. How can we be obstinate [to cling to the principle that the zhaomu order should never be altered]? Dan is always located on the right and shan on the left. According to the Zhou practice, when the time came and Taiwang [King Wen's grandfather] needed to be removed [from the Zhou genealogical sequence], the sacrifice to him at the right dan hall was cancelled and Taiwang received his offerings at the left shan altar; similarly, when the time came, and Wangji [King Wen's father] needed to be removed from [the Zhou genealogical sequence], the sacrifice to him at the left yao temple was cancelled, and Wangji received his offerings at the right dan hall. Obviously, there is no problem with shifting and altering the left shan altar and the right dan hall.

昭穆者,父子之號,昭以明下為義;穆以恭上為義。方其為父,則稱昭,取其昭以明下也;方其為子,則稱穆,取其穆以恭上也。豈可膠哉?壇立於右,墠立於左。以周制言之,則太王親盡,去右壇而為墠;王季親盡,去左祧而為壇。左右遷徒無嫌。⁷³⁵

Additionally:

The great-grandfather, the grandfather, and the left *yao* temples are designated as *zhao* buildings; the great-grandfather, the father, and the right *yao*

⁷³⁴ Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 586-592.

⁷³⁵ Zhu, "dixia yi," *Huian ji*, 69:1266; also see Lu, "Zhaomu yi," *Taoshanji*, 6:10-11. Wording is slightly different in the two sources.

temple are designated as *mu* buildings. For instance, in King Cheng's reign [King Wu's son], Kind Wu was a *zhao* ancestor and King Wen was a *mu* ancestor. Under this circumstance, King Wu's spirit tablet was placed in the temple of King Cheng's grandfather, instead of the temple of his father.

又曰:顯考、王考廟與左祧為昭,皇考、考廟與右祧為穆。如曰成王之世, 武王為昭,文王為穆,則武不入考廟而入王考廟矣。⁷³⁶

Zhu suspected that Lu misread *zhaomu* as a manifestation of the father-son relationship.⁷³⁷ Neither a genealogical nor a hierarchical account of *zhaomu* satisfied Zhu. In some cases, Zhu conceptualized *zhao* and *mu* as spatial indicators of the directions of ancestral temples and spirit tablets. Zhu argued: "*Zhaomu* was originally named according to whether temples were on east or on west and whether spirit tablets were facing south or north. At the very beginning, it had nothing to do with the designations of fathers and sons" 昭穆本以廟之居東、居西、主之向南、向北而得名,初不為父子之號也.⁷³⁸ His justification followed: "Hypothetically, if *zhao* and *mu* designate fathers and sons definitely, how could it be possible that the son of a *mu* ancestor could be designated as a *zhao* ancestor" 必曰父子之號,則穆之子又安得復為昭哉?⁷³⁹ In other words, although Zhou people designated father-ancestors as *zhao* and son-ancestors as *mu*, the *zhaomu* sequence was not originally designed for the purpose of indicating a paternal relationship. Due to the Zhou imperial line's constant pattern of patrilineal succession, apparently all Zhou ancestors, except their Primal Ancestor Houzhi, could be arranged

⁷³⁶ Ibid.

⁷³⁷ ZZYL, 89:2282-83.

⁷³⁸ Zhu, "dixia yi," *Huian ji*, 69:1266.

⁷³⁹ Ibid.

neatly into *zhao* and *mu* positions in a way that conformed perfectly to the "*zhao* for father and *mu* for son" principle.⁷⁴⁰ To Zhu Xi, it was only by coincidence that the imperial *zhaomu* sequence of the Zhou dynasty revealed itself as a regular arrangement of seniority.

Nevertheless, Zhu argued, on occasions in which the regular pattern of patrilineal succession was disturbed, that one should correspondingly alter the *zhaomu* sequence to accommodate the ritual code of patriarchal norms, regardless the natural order of seniority. Taking the Song imperial line as an example, Zhu claimed that Emperor Taizu and Emperor Taizong should be considered as two separate generations in sacrificial practices, despite their sibling relationship:

In my humble opinion: According to the sayings of former Confucians, the succession between brothers resembles the father-son one [in a normal direct lineal succession], because the brothers have once been engaged in a monarch-subject relationship. Therefore, they are conceived as separate generations. Additionally, [the temples of] progenitors are not counted into the seven temples of the Son of Heaven. This is the orthodox practice of temple rites. Nevertheless, the contemporary practice of temple rites sets the brothers who successively occupied the throne [Taizu and Taizong] in one generation, and inserts progenitors into the expanded Imperial-Temple model consisting of nine generations. All of these illustrate the deficiency of ritual performance at the last phase of an age.

謹按禮家先儒之說,兄弟傳國者,以其嘗為君臣,便同父子,各為一世,而天子七廟,宗者不在數中。此為禮之正法。若今日見行廟制,則兄弟相繼者共為一世,而太廟增為九世,宗者又在數中,皆禮之末失也。741

Zhu Xi paraphrased the word "the last phase of an age" (moshi 末失) based on Zheng Xuan's one-sentence commentary on a phrase from the Tan Gong chapter in Liji.

⁷⁴⁰ ZZYL, 90:2298.

⁷⁴¹ Zhu, "xiaotiezhi," *Huian ji*, 15:227.

Literally, *moshi* referred to the corruption of orthodox rituals in a "deteriorated age" (*shuaishi* 衰世).⁷⁴² By audaciously arguing that the time he lived through was culturally deteriorating, Zhu called for a return to the Confucian principle of the "rectification of names" (*zhengming* 正名). Given the rectification principle, although Taizu and Taizong were blood brothers with the same parents, they should be perceived as two separate generations in the ritualized space of the Imperial Temple—a convention that implied a criticism of the meritocratic approach that was raised by earlier Northern Song ritualists in addressing brotherly successions.

Against another of Lu Dian's points, i.e., that *zhao* and *mu* ancestors can shift freely between the *zhao* line and the *mu* line in the same manner as tablets shift between the right *dan* hall and the left *shan* altar, Zhu questioned some conventional understandings of the directions of *shan* and *dan* buildings. Zhu claimed that the main text of the three ritual Classics provided no accurate records about the spatial orientation of the *dan* hall and the *shan* altar. Moreover, he argued that *dan* and *shan* as sacrificial systems did not embody a distinguishable ritual sequence. Unlike *zhaomu* temples and spirit tablets, which supposedly shifted along their own lines, *dan* and *shan*

⁷⁴² Regarding the "dressing the dead" ritual ("slight dressing," *xiaolian* 小斂), Confucius' disciples had a debate about the location of offerings. Zi You 子游 said that the offerings in the "slight dressing" ritual should be placed on the east of the corpse; in contrast, Zeng Zi 曾子 argued that they should be placed on the west. The author(s) of the *Tan Gong* text was more inclined to Zi You's argument. As he (or they) said, "the placement of the 'slight dressing' offerings on the west was a deviated practice of the deteriorated Lu age"小斂之奠在西方,魯禮之末失也. Zheng Xuan interpreted the word *moshi* precisely as "indecorous behavior of the deteriorated age."末世失禮之為. Zhu Bin. *Liji xunzuan*, 111; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, v.3, 153.

⁷⁴³ There were indeed some statements concerning the orientation of the *dan* hall and the *shan* altar in the commentaries and sub-commentaries of the three ritual Canons. However, as Zhu said, these statements all originated from some questionable records of former Confucians. Zhu, "dixia yi," *Huian ji*, 69:1266.

genealogically represented a holistic sacrificial space,⁷⁴⁴ which exceeded the limit of seven generations in temple sacrifices. In Lu Dian's terminology, it can be said that Zhu Xi distinguished the "ritual sequence of ancestral temples" (*miaoci* 廟文) from the usual "genealogical sequence of ancestors" (*shici* 世次) in the same manner as Lu did in his critique of He Xunzhi's *zhaomu* theory. However, Zhu reached a totally different conclusion from the same differentiation of sequences. According to Zhu, since the *dan* hall and the *shan* altar were ritually excluded from the ritual sequence of temple rites, the *zhaomu* sequence and *dan-shan* system were incommensurable by definition.

Moreover, although Zhu agreed with Lu Dian in claiming that *zhaomu* regulated the temple sequence, he opposed a reallocation of *zhao* and *mu* positions while a newly deceased ancestor was being added to the sequence. Zhu considered *zhao* and *mu* as fixed location markers of temples and tablets, both spatially and generationally. According to Zhu, since the day a royal house established its own ancestral temples and stored spirit tablets within them, the *zhao* and *mu* ancestors were naturally sorted out by the order of their occurrence: the second ancestor the first *zhao*, the third the first *mu*, and so forth. Additionally, both *zhao* and *mu* positions were fixed in the Temple, one could only shift *zhao* ancestors and *mu* ancestors vertically along their own lines. That meant, the seniority of a *zhao* ancestor was exclusively defined by its relations to other *zhao* ancestors, and the same applied to the case of a *mu* ancestor. Since the *zhao* and *mu*

⁷⁴⁴ In this light, Zhu named the *dan* hall and the *shan* altar the "same thing," despite the obvious difference of their architectural features 且壇、墠, 又皆一而已. Ibid.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁶ Zhu, "dixia yi," *Huian ji*, 69:1267; *Wenxian tongkao*, 91: 829.

lines never intersect with each other, even a son occupied the *zhao* position and his *mu* father was placed across from him, it did not violate the principle of seniority. Zhu used the case of the King Cheng of Zhou to explain this: "Although in King Cheng's time his grandfather King Wen was placed at the *mu* position, King Wen was still more superior in seniority in comparison with King Wu. By the same token, the mere fact that King Wu was placed at the *zhao* position did not necessarily indicate that King Wu's ritual status was higher than that of King Wen" 故成王之世,文王為穆而不害其尊於武,武王為昭而不害其卑於文.⁷⁴⁷ The problem of seniority caused by the "father-*mu* and son-*zhao*" situation, which once hindered Lu Dian and He Xunzhi's efforts to resolve the *zhaomu* controversy, was simply not a problem in Zhu's mind.

Since Zhu Xi articulated the immutability of *zhaomu* positions and the left-*zhao* and right-*mu* principle, Lin Zhengli 林振禮 tended to read Zhu's conception of *zhaomu* as a mimicry of the Zhou bureaucracy and argued that it integrated a bureaucratic model into the Chinese patriarchal system. Arguing against the Chinese-Marxist account of *zhaomu* as a cultural legacy of some ancient forms of tribal affinal relationship, Lin emphasized the clear division of *zhao* and *mu* lines and claimed that the *zhaomu* sequence had nothing to do with familial relations. However, a close scrutiny of Zhu Xi's argument

⁷⁴⁷ Zhu, "dixia yi," *Huian ji*, 69:1266-67.

⁷⁴⁸ Lin Zhengli 林振禮, "Zhu Xi puxu fawei"朱熹譜序發微 (A new reading of Zhu Xi's prefaces to genealogical records), *Zhongguo zhexueshi* 中國哲學史, 1 (2001:7): 62-72, esp., 64-65.

⁷⁴⁹ Pang Pu's 龐樸 study exemplified this Marxist account. See Pang Pu, "Zhaomu xin kao," in *Guoxue Jin lun*, 169-72. Also, Li, *Zhaomu zhidu yanjiu*, 67-89; Peng Weiming 彭衛民, "Zhaomuzhi de lishi yiyi yu gongneng"昭穆制的歷史意義與功能 (The historical meaning and function of the *zhaomu* system), *Shehui kexue lundan* 社會科學論壇 19 (2010): 24-34.

in the "Discussion on di and xia sacrifices" revealed that zhaomu was not simply an imitation of hierarchical, bureaucratic models. As the Wangzhi chapter of Liji stated, the numbers of zhao and mu ancestors that an individual can make sacrifice to—from six (the son of Heaven), to four (feudal lords, zhuhou 諸候), and then to two (senior officials, dafu 大夫)—was decreased by two units every time (jiangsha yiliang 降殺以兩).⁷⁵⁰ However, as Zhu Xi and He Xunzhi both indicated, the sacrificial space which an individual could delineate in his ancestral temple depended not only on his bureaucratic status, but also on the traceability of his ancestors. Most importantly, this traceability was measured by a specific ritual unit, i.e., the grandfather generation and its multiples. Concerning the general Zhou zhaomu system, a junior official (shi \pm) could make sacrifices up to one grandfather-unit, 751 which meant the highest ancestral rank involved in his temple rites was the grandfather generation. For the sake of analysis, let us consider a hypothetical situation: a Zhou junior official—named A—has two ancestors, B and C, who are respectively his father and his grandfather. Now, A is dead. His son, D, who inherits A's service as a junior official, decides to place A's spirit tablet in the ancestral temple. As the *zhaomu* sequence is inapplicable to a junior official family, there is no need for D to consider the placement of zhao and mu positions. Yet, D should replace C's tablet (his great-grandfather) with his father A's. Consequently, D makes sacrifices to his

⁷⁵⁰ Zhu Bin. *Liji xunzuan*, 183-85.

⁷⁵¹ In the *Jifa* chapter of *Liji*, it records that a "court official" (*gongshi* 宮師, a group of officers who were in charge of various administrative departments in the Zhou bureaucracy, Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 405.) could only build one ancestral temple for his father; yet, he could offer sacrifices to his grandfather in the father's temple 宮師一廟.曰考廟.王考無廟而祭之. Although the temple itself is called the father's temple, the sacrificial space within it is still defined by the grandfather. Zhu Bin. *Liji xunzuan*, 694; *The Sacred Books of China*, Vol.4, 206.

father A and his grandfather B in his private temple; C's tablet has been permanently removed from the sacrificial space of this ancestral temple (Figure 6):

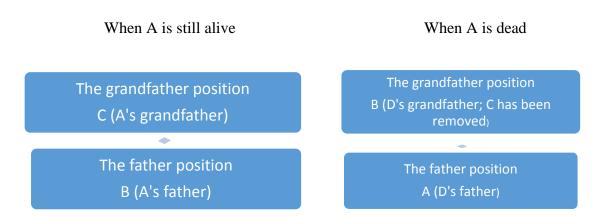


Figure 6. A Hypothetical Case of the General Zhaomu System

As the above diagram illustrates, the more recent ancestor the present householder (D) can make sacrifice is always his grandfather, regardless of any ancestors prior to his grandfather (C, or, E, F, G.....). This was what Zhu Xi precisely referred to when he said "Zhou junior officials did not have Primal Ancestors; yet, they could still make sacrifices to their 'grandfathers' [in their own ancestral temples]" 大抵士無太祖而皆及其祖考也.752

Considering the grandfather generation as the demarcation line of the genealogical tree, we see how the ancient *zhaomu* system recorded in the *Royal Regulations* of the *Book of Rites*, ranging from the junior official to the son-of-Heaven, was indeed a manifestation of the generation-skipping principle that changed every two generations. The Zhou senior officials had three ancestral temples, respectively, his

⁷⁵² Zhu, "dixia yi," *Huian ji*, 69:1264; Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 446.

father's, his grandfather's, and his progenitor's. Regarding the Confucian temple system of kinship (qinmiao 親廟), which was arranged according to zhaomu, Zhou senior officials made sacrifices up to their grandfathers (the progenitor was excluded from the zhaomu sequence); the Zhou feudal lords made sacrifices up to the grandfather generation of their grandfathers; the son of Heaven of Zhou made sacrifices up to the grandfather generation of the grandfather of his grandfather. As long as the *zhaomu* sequence was adapted to arrange the genealogies of high-ranking strata, a pair of zhao and mu designations served as the basic unit of the demarcation of sacrificial space. Thus, the degree and level of temple sacrifices increased in direct proportion to the numbers of zhaomu ancestors involved, which is primarily defined by the ritual unit of the grandfather generation. He Xunzhi had already indicated in the 1079 debate that the zhaomu sequence was designed to consolidate the grandfather-grandson affiliation in the ritual realm. For both He and Zhu, *zhaomu* as a coherent concept should imply a sense of hierarchy. However, the hierarchy was simultaneously a familial one and a genealogical one.

By employing the New Learning scholar He Xunzhi's generation-skipping account of *zhaomu* and defining *zhao* and *mu* designations as indicators of fixed positions, Zhu intensively undermined Lu Dian's *zhaomu* interpretation as an embodiment of paternal relationship. In answering Chen Anqing's 陳安卿 question about the orientation of burial grounds, Zhu asserted that "the *zhaomu* sequence only differentiates generations, but not seniority" 昭穆但分世數, 不分尊卑.⁷⁵³ For Zhu,

⁷⁵³ Zhu, "Da Chen Anging"答陳安卿 (A respond letter to Chen Anging), Huian ji, 57:1040.

zhaomu as an integrated notion symbolized different ritual statuses in the Zhou context; yet, separately, zhao and mu served solely as generational titles under most circumstances. Once the zhao and mu titles were assigned to the past ancestors, all the subsequent successors followed the "left-zhao and right-mu" pattern accordingly and strictly. However, Zhu Xi might not agree that the left-zhao side always emblematized a superior state. To him, the fundamental "left-zhao and right-mu" configuration of a seven-temple architecture was constant, balanced and impartial. The Primal Ancestor was perceived as the first generation (1), and the second ancestor to follow belonged to the first zhao generation (2), the third to follow belonged to the first mu generation (3), and so forth. A typical pattern of an imperial family with seven ancestors should be like the arrangement of Figure 7:

The Primal Ancestor (the 1st generation)

Right *mu* positions:

1st *mu* ancestor (the 3rd generation)

2nd *mu* ancestor (the 5th generation)

3nd *mu* ancestor (the 7th generation)

Left *zhao* positions:

1st *zhao* ancestor (the 2nd generation)

2nd *zhao* ancestor (the 4th generation)

3nd *zhao* ancestor (the 6th generation)

Figure 7. A Typical Pattern of an Imperial Zhaomu Sequence

After seven generations, when the ancestor of the eighth generation entered the sequence, supposedly he would be a *zhao*. The *zhaomu* controversy came precisely at time when one removed the first *zhao* ancestor from the sequence and put it in the *yao* temple. If one believed that the *zhaomu* sequence should reflect paternal relations, one might follow Lu Dian's plan of reallocating *zhaomu* to achieve a perfect *zhao*-father and *mu*-son setting: the first *mu* ancestor (the third generation) filled the first *zhao* position,

and the second *zhao* ancestor (the fourth generation) filled the first *mu* position, and so forth (Figure 8):

The Primal Ancestor (the 1st generation) *yao* ancestor (the 2nd generation:)

Right *mu* positions: Left *zhao* positions:

1st *mu* ancestor (the 4rd generation)

2nd *mu* ancestor (the 6th generation)

3nd *mu* ancestor (the 8th generation)

3nd *zhao* ancestor (the 7th generation)

3nd *zhao* ancestor (the 7th generation)

Figure 8. The Change of an Imperial *Zhaomu* Sequence after Seven Generations

Clearly, all the *zhao* ancestors on the left (the 3nd generation, the 5th generation and the 7th generation) were fathers of the *mu* ancestors (the 4th generation, the 6th generation and the 8th generation) across from them. However, He Xunzhi and Zhu Xi's strictly followed what I call the constancy principle of *zhaomu*, i.e., they refused any form of shift between the left *zhao* ancestors and the right *mu* ancestors. Consequently, the *mu* ancestors were kept unmoved, and the second *zhao* ancestor moved upward to his grandfather's position (the first *zhao* position); correspondingly, the third *zhao* ancestor moved upward to his grandfather's position (the second *zhao* position, Figure 9):

The Primal Ancestor (the 1st generation) *yao* ancestor (the 2nd generation:)

Right *mu* positions:

1st *mu* ancestor (the 3rd generation)

2nd *mu* ancestor (the 5th generation)

3nd *mu* ancestor (the 7th generation)

Left *zhao* positions:

1st *zhao* ancestor (the 4nd generation)

2nd *zhao* ancestor (the 6th generation)

3nd *zhao* ancestor (the 8th generation)

Figure 9. The Zhaomu Sequence after the Adoption of the Constancy Principle

Under this scheme, all the *zhao* ancestors on the left (the 4nd generation, the 6th generation and the 8th generation) were sons of the *mu* ancestors (the 3th generation, the 5th generation and the 7th generation) across from them. The scheme has thus been criticized by revivalists, like Lu Dian, for its defiance of ritual norms, especially the ritual connotation of the left-*zhao* correlation as "illuminating the inferior" 昭以明下為義.⁷⁵⁴ Nonetheless, Zhu Xi argued that the *zhao* and *mu* positions were rather self-contained notions and should only be conceptualized within their own sacrificial spaces. His summarization reads:

Regarding the practice of ancestral temple rites, *zhao* and *mu* as designations are arranged respectively on the left and on the right [of the temple]; however, *zhao* and *mu* do not imply a difference in seniority. The five temples constitute the ancestral-palace complex and the entire complex is perfectly arranged according to a left-*zhao* and right-*mu* model. Hence, on the one hand, viewing from the exterior, the temple complex never falls into disorder. On the other hand, in one temple only [the ancestor of] one generation is worshipped, the *zhao* ancestors will not see the *mu* ancestors, and vice versa. Thus, within each temple, every ancestor is treated with the full reverence he deserves.

宗廟之制,但以左右為昭穆,而不以昭穆為尊卑。故五廟同為都宮,則昭常在左,穆常在右,而外有以不失其序;一世自為一廟,昭不見穆,穆不見昭,而內有以各全其尊。⁷⁵⁵

By distinguishing the sacrificial spaces of different ancestral temples from each other, Zhu compellingly demonstrated how *zhao* and *mu* ancestors as isolated spirits resided together in harmony, with no violation of the highly cherished Confucian norms

⁷⁵⁴ Lu, "Zhaomu yi," *Taoshanji*, 6:10. Prior to the Qin dynasty, the character *zhao* had already gained a connotation of "illuminating something" 昭,明也. In the *Zuo Commentary*, the Lu minister Zang Aibo 臧哀伯 advised the Duke Huan of Lu not to place the Song state vessel (*ding* 鼎) in the Lu Ancestral Temple, as it would violate the feudal lord's ritual logic of "illuminating the virtue and preventing corrupted practices" (*zhaode saiyuan* 昭德塞遠). *Zuo Commentary*, Duke Huan, 2nd yr., *Chunqiu Sanzhuan*, 65.

⁷⁵⁵ Wei, LJJS, 30:46-47.

of seniority. Furthermore, not only did Zhu's interpretation provide a more sophisticated approach to legitimize a pragmatic reading of the *zhaomu* sequence, it also challenged the conventional conception of the *zhaomu* sequence's spatial structure. In the Yang edition of the *Comprehensive Commentary*, it was recorded that Zhu cast doubt on the symbolic correlation between the left *zhao* side and the concept of superiority: "The ancient setting of seats defined either the west or the south as the superior direction. It is not necessarily the case that ancient people always took the left [*zhao* position] as the more superior one [between the two of *zhao* and *mu*]" 古人坐次,或以西方為上,或以南方為上,未必以左為尊也.⁷⁵⁶

If, as Zhu said, the *zhao* and *mu* designations were generally defined as location markers, how were they practically arranged in ancestral temples? Taking the temple setting of the feudal lord as an example, Zhu provided a concrete model for the arrangement of ancestral temples and its *zhaomu* sequence:

Imagine a hypothetical case of the ancestral temple of feudal lords. According to the *Ritual of Zhou*, the ancestral temple should reside on the left side [of the imperial palace] when a state's spiritual location is established. Thus, all the five ancestral temples should be located on the southeast of the imperial palace. Regarding the basic arrangement, [the Jin Classicist] Sun Yu suggested that the exterior should be surrounded by a palace wall, within it the Great Ancestor [temple] resides in the north, and the two *zhao* temples and the two *mu* temples extend southwards successively. Consequently, the first lord who received the fief [from the son-of-Heaven] dwells in the Great Ancestor temple; the lord of the second generation dwells in the northern *zhao* temple; the lord of the third generation dwells in the northern *mu* temple; the lord of the fourth generation dwells in the southern *zhao* temple; the lord of the fifth generation dwells in the southern *zhao* temple; the lord of the fifth generation dwells in the southern *zhao* temple; the lord of the fifth generation dwells in the southern *zhao* temple; the lord of the fifth generation dwells in the southern *zhao* temple; the lord of the fifth generation dwells in the southern *zhao* temple; the lord of the fifth generation dwells in the southern *zhao* temple; the lord of the fifth generation dwells in the southern *zhao* temple; the lord of the fifth generation dwells in the southern *zhao* temple; are facing south, each with entrances, halls, rooms, chambers, and upright walls encompassing the four sides of the temple area.

⁷⁵⁶ Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 586-592.

假設諸候之廟以明之。蓋《周禮》建國之神位,左宗廟,則五廟皆當在公宮之東南矣。其制則孫毓以為外為都宮,太祖在北,二昭二穆,以次而南,是也。蓋大祖之廟,始封之君居之;昭之北廟,二世之君居之;穆之北廟,三世之君居之;昭之南廟,四世之君居之;穆之南廟,五世之君居之;廟皆南向,各有門、堂、室、寢,而墻字四周焉。757

Graphically, I can use two diagrams to illustrate the above setting. For the locations of major sacrificial architectures in relation to the Imperial Palace, which was first mentioned in the *Kaogongji* 考工記 (*Records of Artificers*, the earliest surviving record of Chinese architectural and handicraft industries), the setting can be roughly portrayed like the one in Figure 10:758

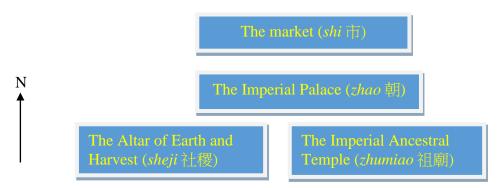


Figure 10. The Basic Setting of Main Court Architectures in Imperial China

⁷⁵⁷ Wei, LJJS, 30:45.

The Kaogongji has a complicated history of textual transmission. Some scholars have identified it as an official record that was composed during the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.), a record of the Qi 齊 state. In general, it conveys a utopian imagination of the ideal architectural and technological practices of the Zhou dynasty. During the Western Han dynasty, some scholars attached the Kaogongji to the Ritual of Zhou and made it the latter's last section, the Dongguan 冬官 (Winter Bureau). For a brief history of the Kaogongji, see Feng Jiren, Chinese Architecture and Metaphor: Song Culture in the Yingzhao Fashi building Manual (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 26-27. Also, Wen Renjun 閏人軍, Kaogongji yizhu 考工記譯註 (An annotated translation of the Records of Artificers) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 138-153. In Zhouli xinyi (New Meaning on the Ritual of Zhou), Wang Anshi elaborated the spatial interrelationship between the Imperial Ancestral Temple and the Imperial Palace by associating it with the ritual practice of zhengwei 正位 (adjusting positions). He stated: "After the cardinal directions are determined, the kings will build his ancestral temples and the Infield Altar respectively to the left and the right of his imperial palace. He will also build a court to the front and a market to the rear [of his palace]. This is called "adjusting positions" 既辨方矣, 立宗廟於左, 立社稷於右, 立朝於前, 立市於後, 此之謂正位. Wang, Zhouguan xinyi, 1:1.

This was the so-called "the palace in the front and the market in the rear, the altar on the right and the temple on the left" 左祖右社, 面朝後市.⁷⁵⁹ Considering the earlier Jin Confucian Sun Yu and Zhu Xi's perception of spatial arrangements within the Imperial Temple complex, the setting would be like Figure 11:

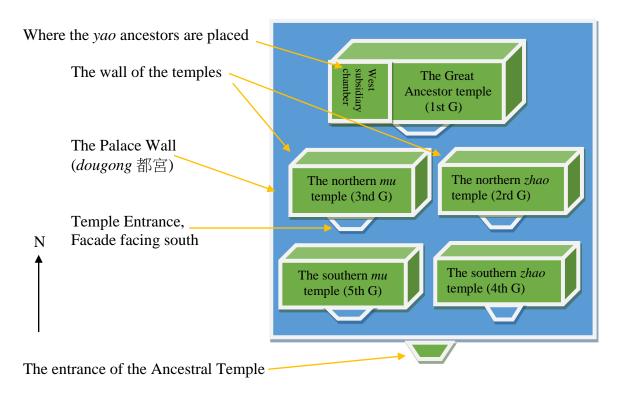


Figure 11. Sun Yu-Zhu Xi's Perception of the Setting of the Imperial Temple

It is quite difficult to trace back to the historical sources upon which Sun Yu based the South-North orientation of the temple's main structures. Zhu Xi only told that he found Sun's discussion about this setting in a Sui-compiled court ritual collections,

The strain of the palace because the Zhou people favored the left side and took it as more superior. He grounded his argument on some Han commentaries on the *Jiyi* 祭義 chapter (*Meaning of Sacrifices*) of *Liji*. See Huang, YLJZTJXL, 25a:6.

named Jiangdou jili 江都集禮 (Collections of Rites and Properties Compiled in Jiangdou). The Sun's record, Zhu did not provide any earlier reference. Fortunately, for the arrangement of chambers, rooms and halls within each temple, Zhu left two concrete diagrams for us to examine. The one appeared in the Yang edition of the Comprehensive Commentary was originally retrieved from Zhu's memorial on di and xia sacrifices. Basically, it portrayed the fundamental ground plan of an imperial temple (Figure 12):761

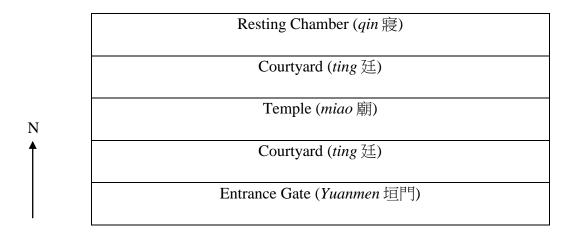


Figure 12. The Spatial Setting within an Ancestral Temple (Zhu Xi)

Although this chart was simple and highly abstract, it still provided us three general ideas. First, the entrance of an ancestral temple is supposedly a wall door, a so-called *yuanmen* 垣門. Second, there used to be some open-air area named *ting* 廷 within the temple walls, which reminds us the courtyard space of religious temples. Of course,

⁷⁶⁰ Wei, LJJS, 30:52.

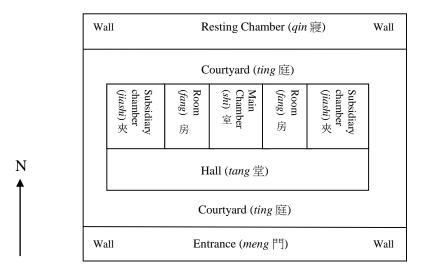
⁷⁶¹ Zhu, "dixia yi," *Huian ji*, 69:1265; Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 450.

the outdoor space of an ancestral temple was in general smaller than that of a Buddhist or a Taoist monastery. However, the presence of an open-air yard in the ancestral temple might serve some purposes from the perspective of ritual performance. In the Yang edition of the Comprehensive Commentary, the compiler included a detailed description concerning the concrete ritual performance to transport the feudal lords' spirit tablets from one temple to another, which clearly was retrieved from a related chapter in the Dadai liji 大戴禮記 (Records of Ritual by the Dai Senior). 762 According to the record, when the lord, the ministers and the ritual practitioners arrived at the new temple, all of them had to follow the order of the master of ceremony and found his own place in the ritualized space of the temple. Supposedly, those ministers without special assignments should also be present during the performance. Since the indoor space of the temple was a relatively less publicized but more sacred space in relation to ritual practitioners, unauthorized ministers and low-ranking officials would be prevented from entering the divine core of the temple, that was, in usual cases, the main hall (tang 堂) or the main chamber (shi 室). Thus, a vast courtyard might provide these officials an intermediate

⁷⁶² Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 410-414; Zhuhou qianmiao 諸候遷廟 (Transferring feudal load's tablets to a new temple), Wang Pingzhen, Dadai liji jiegu, 198-202. Do notice that the word "new" here indicates a temple whose eaves have been changed and repainted (yiyan gaitu 易檐改塗) during the lian 練 period, i.e., when the first-degree relatives of the departed begin to wear the lian mourning garment. The Qing scholar Wang Pingzhen argued that the ritual practice of transferring the tablet to the new temple must be performed after the lian period, but not within it; as the Guliang Commentary indicated, the temple with eave changed and repainted would firstly be an "symbolically uninstalled temple" (huaimiao 壞廟). Until the lian sacrifice is performed in the "uninstalled" temple that the temple was transformed ritually into a "renewed" temple (xinmiao 新廟). As Wang put it, the ritual act of temple abolishment (changing and repainting the temple eave) sets the stage for the lian sacrifice. However, only after the lian sacrifice is performed in the temple, then it becomes a renewed one 蓋練祭祭於廟, 故新之. Logically speaking, the transfer of the tablet to the "new" temple is possible only after the temple itself was renewed in the lian sacrifice. Hence, Wang claimed that the whole process of tablet transfer should be performed after the period of three years mourning 遷新死者之主,永居於廟,自是三年喪終之事. Dadai liji jiegu, 198.

space to wait in solemn reverence within the temple, and effectively avoided disturbance caused by a crowd of people.

The third idea conveyed by Zhu Xi's chart concerned the bipartite structure of the archaic setting of an ancestral temple. By recognizing the front Temple and the back Resting Chamber as two key components of the temple structure, Zhu embraced Zheng Xuan's succinct description of it in his commentary on the *Yueling* (月令, *Government Orders of Different Months*) document in the *Book of Rites*. However, in a diagram which Zhu attached to his memorial, "Imperial Temple Settings of Our Times" (lunbenchao miaozhi 論本朝廟制), he presented a more complicated ground plan of the ancestral temple, in which the bipartite "Temple-Chamber" structure was greatly revised (Figure 13):



Zhu Xi's own commentary on the spatial arrangement of an Imperial Temple: Each generation has its own ancestral temple. A temple should include an entrance gate, a hall, a main chamber, two rooms, two subsidiary chambers, a resting chamber, and walls encompassing its four sides 一世各為一廟。廟有門、有堂、有室、有房、有夾室、有寢,四面有墻。⁷⁶⁴

⁷⁶³ As Zheng put it, "for every ancestral temple, the front area is called the temple, the back area is called the chamber" 凡廟, 前曰廟, 後曰寢. Zhu Bin. *Liji xunzuan*, 231; Legge misunderstood the meaning of *qin* and literally translated it into "sleeping apartments." Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, Vol.3, 260.

Figure 13. Zhu Xi's Depiction of the Imperial Temple in his Memorial

One cannot blame Zhu Xi for drafting such a brief layout of the ancient temple structure, considering that he had never seen a real one. Comparing this ground plan with the first chart, Zhu identified several new apartments within the temple complex, including the two rooms, the two subsidiary chambers, the resting chamber, the hall and the main chamber. The main chamber, shi, no doubt was where the spirit tablet resided. In ancient textual records of the layout of ancestral temples, there was always a shi located in the central axis, lying between the two subsidiary chambers. However, a 1976 archeological excavation of a Western-Zhou ancestral temple revealed a different architectural feature: 765 At the core area where the shi was supposedly located, it was a corridor, or, to borrow Rudolf Arnheim's word, an "extrinsic space." This corridor, according to Wu Hung, was used to "create discontinuity in space;" hence, the corridor separated the central hall (tang) from the other compartments. ⁷⁶⁷ Certainly, the other compartments all held specific functions in both architectural and psychological terms; yet they were not mentioned in Zhu Xi's text. Nonetheless, since both the Yang edition of the Comprehensive Commentary and the Wenxian tongkao quoted the Dadai liji at length

⁷⁶⁴ Zhu, "lunbenchao miaozhi," Huian ji, 15:223.

⁷⁶⁵ See Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 87, Fig.2.7a (floor plan) and Fig. 2.7b (reconstruction). For a more comprehensive discussion on this building, see Chen Quanfang 陳全方, *Zhouyuan yu Zhou wenhua* 周原與周文化 (*The Zhou Plain and the Zhou Culture*) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1988), 37-69.

⁷⁶⁶ Rudolf Arnheim, *New Essays on the Psychology of Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 83.

⁷⁶⁷ Wu, Monumentality, 84.

to show the concrete performance of tablet transferring of the feudal lord, an investigation of this performance may help us to better construe Zhu's perception of the orientation of ancestral temples.

According to the *Dadai liji*, the feudal lord needed to make a retreat three days before he transferred his ancestor's tablet to the new temple. The whole process of retreat, he would be accompanied by some ritual masters (*zhu* 祝, or, *zongren* 宗人) and officials of various rankings. The day of transferring the tablet, the lord and all the attendants wore black garments. When they arrived at the temple, officials stood in tight rows in front of the temple, resembling the array of a court audience. As I have explained, only the lord and his ritual masters were permitted to enter the temple. The *zongren* and the *zhu* conducted the whole process and spoke all the formal words. The lord stood beneath the stairs of the hall, facing west, as his ancestor's tablet was located on the east side of the main chamber. While the *zongren* said, Please be ascended (請其升), the lord ascended to the hall, accompanied by the *zhu* on his left side, with ritual coins at the *zhu*'s hand as offerings. Then the lord bowed to the north; meanwhile, the *zhu* spoke, "the feudal lord X, the filial son, with auspicious ritual coins, humbly submits this petition to my ancestor, the feudal lord Y, that your great spirit will be

⁷⁶⁸ 君, 前徒三日, 齋. *Dadai liji jiegu*, 199; Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 410. Both the Zhonghua edition of Wang Pingzhen's *Dadai liji jiegu* and Ye Chunfang and Hashimoto's wrongly punctuated this phrase. The former reads 君前徒三日 as one phrase, which awkwardly means to offer sacrifice in front of the lord. The latter put the six characters as a whole, which does not make any sense. It also misleads reader to a false conclusion that there is something like a "three day sacrifice" is performed before the tablet transfer ritual.

⁷⁶⁹ Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 410. Wang Pingzhen annotated both *zhu* and *zongren* as "masters who communicate directly with ancestral spirits" 接神之官. *Dadai liji jiegu*, 199. In other words, they do the reception work when the spirits descend to the temple area.

⁷⁷⁰ Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 411; Dadai liji jiegu, 199.

告于皇考某候, 成廟將徒, 敢告.⁷⁷¹ Then the lord and the *zhu* bowed again (toward where the ancestor was located) and descended from the hall, standing at the foot of the hall stairs. Meanwhile, the person who respectively held the clothes left behind by the deceased ancestor followed the *zhu* and descended from the hall to the stele (*bei* 碑) located in the courtyard area. ⁷⁷² According to Li Rugui's 李如圭 (*jinshi*, 1193), a Southern Song specialist on the *Rites and Ceremonies*, the stele should be sat at some distance from the entrance gate and was erected for calendrical purposes. ⁷⁷³ After a short and solemn stay at the stele place, the *zhu*, the *zongren*, the "clothes-holding" person, the lord, and all the attendants boarded carriages and proceeded to the new temple.

It is worth noting that both the *zhu* and the *zongren* served as key mediums in the process of transferring spirit tablets. The *zhu*, in particular, as Yang Fu defined, acted as "a guide of the ancestral spirit to be transferred" 祝所以導神也.⁷⁷⁴ Therefore, the *zhu* stood as the beacon light to lead the ancestral spirit, which was embodied in the relics handled by the person who held the clothes of the deceased ancestor (*fengyifu zhe* 奉衣服者), from the established temple (*chengmiao* 成廟) to the new temple. The person who

⁷⁷¹ Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 411; Dadai liji jiegu, 200.

⁷⁷² Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 412; Dadai liji jiegu, 200.

⁷⁷³ In Li's own words, the stele is used to "recognize the shadow of the Sun and to conceive *yin* and *yang*"識日景, 知陰陽也. Li, *Yili shigong* 儀禮釋宮 (*An explanation of different architectural features mentioned in the Rites and Ceremonies*), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.103, 15.

⁷⁷⁴ Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 412. We are not sure who the commentator here was. Yet, as Zhu Xi only outlined the framework of the sacrificial section of the *Comprehensive Commentary*, this commentary phrase should be composed by either Huang Gan or Yang Fu.

held the relics and the spirit tablet of the ancestor was named as a "clothes-holding" person, because to designate him straightforwardly as a person who "held the tablet" (fengzhu zhe 奉主者) would be disrespectful to the ancestor, since it indicated the abolishment of his old *chengmiao*.⁷⁷⁵

After the lord and his attendants arrived at the new temple, they performed the ritual and utilized the temple space in a different way. Because the *Dadai liji* provided a relatively detailed record, I quote it in length here:

When they arrived at the new temple, they first set up the sacrificial mat somewhere between the east of the window and the west of the door, ⁷⁷⁶ and placed the ritual vessel beneath the west interior wall [of the hall]. ⁷⁷⁷ Then they put the minced and marinated sacrificial meat in the west room, ⁷⁷⁸ and aligned the washing utensils with the east cornice [of the temple's outer wall]: ⁷⁷⁹ the distance from the washing utensil to the hall was calibrated based on the depth of the hall. ⁷⁸⁰ The officials who had duties entered the temple first, and stood in tight rows in front of it, resembling the array of a court audience. Then the *zhu* led the "clothes-holding" person to enter the door; the lord followed them. ⁷⁸¹ When the

⁷⁷⁵ 不言奉主而言奉衣服者, 以毁易祖考, 誠人神之不忍. Ibid.

 $^{^{776}}$ According to the *Dictionary of Erudition*, the space between a hu 戶 (door) and a you 牖 (window) is called yi 扆. Both Wang Pingzhen and Li Rugui regarded yi as the space between the east of the window and the west of the door. *Dadai liji jiegu*, 200; Li, *Yili shigong*, 6. Li also found an alternative name for you (window) in the *Shiruli* 士虞禮 chapter (funeral rites of officials) of the *Rites and Ceremonies*, namely, xiang 郷. Li, *Yili shigong*, 6.

⁷⁷⁷ According to the commentary notes of the *Comprehensive Commentary*, for the four seasonal sacrifices, when the sacrifice is performed within the hall, the sacrificial mat should be placed under its wall, and the ritual vessel is placed on the east. However, as this is a temple sacrifice, and the sacrificial mat is placed at the center of the south area of the hall, it is better to put the vessel beneath the west wall for the sake of convenience 四時之序……筳序下,是以設樽恒於東方. 今惟布南面之席, 故置樽於西, 以因其便矣. Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 412. *Xu* 序 here refers to the west and the east walls of the main hall 堂之東西墻 調之序. Li, *Yili shigong*, 11.

⁷⁷⁸ The Comprehensive Commentary annotated the fang here as the western room, since during the sacrifice the lord stays in the right (western) room 房, 西方也. 諸候在右房也. Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 412.

⁷⁷⁹ The character $rong \not\cong$ refers to the east cornice of an architecture.

⁷⁸⁰ Say, the hall is twenty feet deep, then the distance between the washing utensils beneath the east cornice (i.e., at the southeast corner of the temple) and the hall should also be twenty feet.

person who held the clothes was entering the door, all the attendants stepped aside in reverence to let him pass. Then the "clothes-holding" person ascended the hall, while all the others returned to their own positions. Following the person who held the clothes, the lord ascended and placed the clothes on the mat, and put the ritual coins on the east side of the long table. 782 The lord stood [in the middle], facing north, with the zhu standing on his left. The assistant, 783 with his hand washed, ascended to the hall and entered the [west] room. He prepared a sacrificial set by using the minced and marinated sacrificial meat. The lord, with his hand washed, poured the liquor and made an offering to the west of the meat. All the attendants returned to their positions. The lord and the zhu bowed again and then stood up. The zhu spoke for three times the following words: "The feudal lord X, the filial son, with auspicious ritual coins, humbly submits this petition to my ancestor, the feudal lord Y, which your great spirit is now able to rest in the new temple in the auspicious Z day of this month. Humbly submitted." After a third bow, the lord entered to the eastern subsidiary chamber, facing west, while the zhu entered the western subsidiary chamber, facing east. All the other attendants quickly stepped away from their paths, as gentlemen would do when they finish a meal. Then the master of ceremony raised his hand and said: "Please return to your positions." Then the lord stepped back to his position, with the zhu following him and stood on his left. Then the ministers and various officials who had positions all returned to their own positions. The zhu spoke for three times the following words: "The feudal lord X, the filial son, performs my ablution to make a bright offering with the sacrificial meat." Then the lord and the zhu bowed again: The lord returned to his position [in the east subsidiary chamber]; the zhu left and returned to his position [in the western subsidiary chamber]. Then the master of ceremony declared: "The transfer of temples has been finished. Please attend the post-sacrifice banquet." The lord exited the entrance of the temple with his ministers, ritual masters, and all the other attendants. The practice of informing the ancestor was completed.

至於新廟,筵於戶牖閒,樽於西序下,脯醢陳於房中,設洗當東榮,南北以堂深。有司皆先入,如朝位。祝導奉衣服者乃入,君從。奉衣服者入門,左。在位者皆辟也。奉衣服者升堂,皆反位。君從升。奠衣服于席上,祝奠幣于几東。君北向,祝在左,贊者盥,升,適房,薦脯醢。君盥,酌,奠于薦西,反位。君

⁷⁸¹ The left side is where the honorable guest resides. In this case, the "guest" is the spirit of the ancestor 入門左, 西方賓位. Note that here the left and right positions are oriented from the perspective of the person who enters the door. 以入為左右. *Dadai liji jiegu*, 201.

⁷⁸² The long table, ji ∏, is used to rest the spirit of the ancestor (which embodies in his left clothes). *Dadai liji jiegu*, 201.

⁷⁸³ Zan 贊 here refers to a ceremonial assistant, not a religious reciter 贊, 佐也. In the sacrifices held in the *mingtang* hall, ministers and senior officials assist the ruler to finish the sacrifice (their wives assist the ruler's wife) 卿大夫贊君, 命歸贊夫人. See the *Mingtang wei* 明堂位 (The places in the Luminous Hall) chapter in the *Book of Rites*. Zhu Bin. *Liji xunzuan*, 484; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, Vol.4, 33.

及祝再拜,興。祝聲三曰:「孝嗣候某,敢以嘉幣告于皇考某候,今月吉日,可以徒于新廟,敢告。」再拜,君就東廂,西面。祝就西廂,東面。在位者皆反走辟,如食閒。擯者舉手曰:「請反位。」君反位,祝從,在左。卿大夫及眾有司諸在位者皆反位。祝聲三曰:「孝嗣候某,潔為而明薦之享。」君及祝再拜,君反位,祝徹,反位。擯者曰:「遷廟事畢,請就燕。」君出廟門,卿大夫、有司、執事者皆出廟門,告事畢。784

Explicitly, the Yang edition of the Comprehensive Commentary fully exploited the liturgical details presented in the *Dadai liji*, as well as the sixth-century Classicist Lu Bian's 盧辯 (~557) commentary on the related texts. A textual comparison of the *Dadai* liji text, Lu Bian's commentary, and the Yang edition of the Comprehensive Commentary demonstrates how the ritualists of Zhu Xi's school borrowed some traditional conceptions of the ancestral temple's interior space from earlier ritual texts. The basic architectural components of the feudal-lord temple, including the entrance door, the main hall, the two rooms, and the two subsidiary chambers, had already appeared in the *Dadai* liji. Moreover, it was Lu Bian who first pointed out that the sacrificial mat should be placed somewhere between the door and the window of the temple hall, prior to the arrival of the ancestral spirit in the temple-transfer ritual.⁷⁸⁵ Lu's commentary also indicated that the ancestral temple of the feudal lord should include a left room and a right room. 786 More importantly, the *Dadai liji*, as well as the early Han dictionary *Erya*, conceptually compartmentalized the ancestral hall into a front-hall space and two subsidiary chambers (xiangfang 厢房). 787 In Kuo Pu's 郭璞 (276-324) Eryazhu 爾雅注

⁷⁸⁴ Dadai liji jiegu, 200-202; Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 412-13.

⁷⁸⁵ Dadai liji jiegu, 200.

⁷⁸⁶ 諸候,左右房也. Ibid.

⁷⁸⁷ Dadai liji jiegu, 201.

(Commentaries on the Dictionary of Erudition), the subsidiary chambers have been renamed jiashi 夾室—a term gained popularity in the Northern Song ritual debates about the placement of Xizu's tablet. All these statements, explanations and terms were inherited by Yang Fu in his revised commentary of the Comprehensive Commentary.

However, these statements and explanations were absent in Huang Gan's early draft. At where the extant Yang edition cited and annotated the *Dadai liji* text, the Huang edition substituted passages and phrases from the *Dongguan* 冬官 (*Winter Bureau*) chapter of the *Ritual of Zhou* (*Kaogongji*) and some words from the dictionary *Erya*. After quoting the *Wangzhi* text concerning ancestral sacrifices made by different social classes, the Huang edition continued with the *jiangren yingguo* 匠人營國 (artisans designing a city) section of the *Kaogongji*, discussing the setting of ancestral temples, its spatial relations with the palace and the infield altar, as well as the basic measurement of the temple hall. The whole section ended with an explanation of some peculiar terms used in describing different parts of a real ancient temple, ranging from the main chamber (*shi*) and the resting chamber (*qing*) to the entrance door (*beng* 閉) and paths (*tang* 唐) and lanes (*chen* 陳) within the temple space. The next section started with a discussion of the function and the responsibility of the *yao*-preservation office (*shuoyao* 守祧) in the Zhou bureaucracy.

⁷⁸⁸ Huang, YLJZTJXL, 25a:5-10.

⁷⁸⁹ Hang, YLJZTJXL, 25a:10. *Chen* in particular refers to the main lane that connects the entrance gate to the main hall. Li, *Yili shigong*, 15-6.

In contrast to the Huang edition, between the *Wangzhi* phrase "commoners make sacrifice at their resting chambers" 庶人祭於寢 and the description of the *shuoyao* office as "preserving and securing the spirit tablets of ancient kings and rulers" 掌守先王先公之廟祧, the Yang edition deleted the whole *Kaogongji* section and replaced it with other passages from the *Jifa* 祭法 (*The Law of Sacrifice*) chapter of the *Book of Rites* and the *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語. ⁷⁹⁰ Additionally, as aforementioned, it fully cited the two *Dadai liji* chapters, the *Zhuhou qianmiao* 諸候變廟 (*Transferring feudal lord's tablets to a new temple*) and the *Zhuhou xinmiao* 諸候變廟 (*Divinizing a new ancestral temple of the feudal lord*), with most of Lu Bian's commentaries. ⁷⁹¹ Why did Yang Fu take the *Kaogongji* part out of the text of the Huang edition of the *Comprehensive Commentary*, but instead add some new, less-orthodox sources?

Regarding the interpretation of imperial ancestral rites, an important reason that distinguished the two editions from each other must have something to do with their authors' basic approaches and the audience they were targeting. When Huang Gan was composing his *Comprehensive Commentary* based on Zhu Xi's instructions and guidelines, the Daoxue tradition of ritual learning had not yet been fully established. Although during the Northern Song dynasty anti-Wang scholars, such as Yang Shi and Wang Juzheng 王居正 (1087-1151), had already raised criticisms of New Learning scholarship on the *Ritual of Zhou*, ⁷⁹² and the Canon itself was still a frustrating issue,

⁷⁹⁰ Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 400-09.

⁷⁹¹ Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 410-15, *shan* ∐: 19a-24b.

especially considering the controversy revolving around its disputed authorship. New Learning ritual writings, such as Chen Xiangdao's Lishu (Ritual Manual) and Wang Zhaoyu's Zhouli Xiangjie (Detailed Explanations of the Ritual of Zhou), were systematic works which covered most of the aspects of ritual studies. Zhu Xi, the great synthesizer of Song ritual scholarship, indeed shared with the New Learning ritualists the same interest and confidence in the Ritual of Zhou's record of ideal ritual politics. As he put it, "generally speaking, for the records of ancient institutions, the Ritual of Zhou and the Rites and Ceremonies are credible sources; yet, you cannot take the record of the Book of Rites for granted" 大抵說制度之書,惟周禮、儀禮可信;禮記便不可深信.⁷⁹³

Hence, for the first generation of the Zhu school ritualists and Classicists, the learning of the *Ritual of Zhou* was equally if not more important than the learning of the other two ritual Canons in postulating Daoxue scholarship. Indeed, the proliferation of the learning of the *Ritual of Zhou* in the first several decades of the Southern Song period was possibly an intellectual reaction to the New Learning scholars' monopoly of the ritual learning in the preceding decades. Given this context, the inclusion of the *Kaogongji* section in Huang's draft of ancestral temple rites reflected the repercussion of the New learning ritual studies in two senses: On the one hand, the New Learning school did canonize the *Ritual of Zhou* and this was commonly recognized by the Southern Song

⁷⁹² For instance, both Yang Shi's Sanjing yibian 三經義辨 (Discerning the New Three Classics) and Wang Juzheng's Zhouli bianxue 周禮辨學 (Discerning Scholarship on the Zhouli) attacked Wang Anshi's ritual studies. Yet as most of these works have lost, we know little about their concrete practices in undermining Wang Learning. For more information concerning the Southern Song tradition of the learning of the Ritual of Zhou, especially for an analytical periodization, see Song, The Book of Grand Peace, 430-469.

⁷⁹³ ZZYL, 86:2203.

scholars; on the other hand, the fact that these Southern Song scholars endeavored to deconstruct the New Learning paradigm of the *Ritual of Zhou* indicated the influence of that paradigm. Huang Gan was, in his very essence, a conventionalist who devotedly followed Zhu Xi's instruction in contending for the leadership of ritual studies with not only the New Learning community, but also with other potential rivals of Zhu Xi's scholarship.⁷⁹⁴

However, as one of the best ritualists of the second generation of the Zhu school, Yang Fu was more inclusive and less afraid of adopting new ideas and sources to modify the ritual legacy passed down to him from Zhu Xi and Huang Gan. Instead of attempting to establish a new discipline of ritual learning—a work that was largely completed by his master Zhu Xi, Yang was more concerned about the solution of theoretical dilemmas in sacrificial rites. He assumed his target audience, i.e., those genuine Confucians who shared the same ritual training with him (xili junzi 習禮君子), 795 could work with him to rectify several main issues of sacrificial rites based on Zhu Xi's ritual theory. 796 As Ye

⁷⁹⁴ One of the potential rivals that might seriously challenge Zhu Xi's ritual scholarship was the Yongjia school. On the one hand, the Yongjia community competed with Daoxue scholarship in what Hilde de Weerdt has called the "examination field" by developing new exam standards and curriculum. Hilde de Weerdt, *Competition over Content: Negotiation Standards for the Civil Service Examinations in Imperial China* (1127-1279) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 89-169, esp.111-128; 131-150. On the other hand, the Yongjia approach of ritual, which was usually regarded as utilitarian and instrumental, tended to read ritual in a historical way. Hence, the Yongjia scholars focused more on concrete performance and liturgical details, rather than what Zhu Xi called the "original intent" of ritual practices. Yin, *Zhu Xi lixue sixiang yanjiu*, 140-48.

⁷⁹⁵ Yang used the term to describe his target audience in his preface to the *Comprehensive Commentary*. YLTZJJ: JL, *xu*: 5.

⁷⁹⁶ As Yang Fu's Preface said, these great issues include suburban altar offerings (*jiaoshi* 郊祀), *mingtang* sacrifices (*mingtang* 明堂), the Northern Altar sacrifice (*beijiao* 北郊), ancient and contemporary temple rites (*gujin miaozhi* 古今廟制), and *di* and *xia* sacrifices in different seasons (*sishi dixia* 四時禘祫), to mention just a few. YLTZJJ: JL, *xu*: 4.

Chunfang acutely noted, Yang grounded his ritual studies primarily on Classicist theories. 797 In this light, Yang compiled the text and arranged the quotes and sources in a stylistic way that resembled the narrative of the Spring and Autumn Annals (chunqiu bifa 春秋筆法). The big difference was that at the heart of Yang Fu's ritual learning was a pragmatic integration of historical and Classical texts. Indeed, Yang's editorial work deserves more recognition not only because it provided some new comments, but chiefly because it revealed some new meanings by re-structuring the fabric of the text that had been woven in the Huang edition. Turning back to the setting of the ancient ancestral temple, while the Huang edition followed the Erya record and emphasized the structural difference between a miao (頃, temple, with both eastern and western subsidiary chambers) and a *qing* (寢, resting chamber, without any subsidiary chambers),⁷⁹⁸ the Yang edition associated the bipartite "Temple-Resting Chamber" structure with the vivid portrait of ancestral temple's sacrificial space mentioned in the Dadai liji. Not only did the inclusion of the *Dadai liji* text and all its architectural terms reveal Yang Fu's practical tendency to explicate the ancestral temple setting in a highly sophisticated language and many technical terms, but it also provided a performative foundation for the revivalist model of ancestral ritual constructed by his master. Therefore, all the architectural terms indicated in Zhu Xi's charts gained real and practical meanings in Yang Fu's text, as they were filled up with concrete subjects and movements. The tang was not an empty hall, but a hall with sacrificial mats and ritual vessels arranged at the

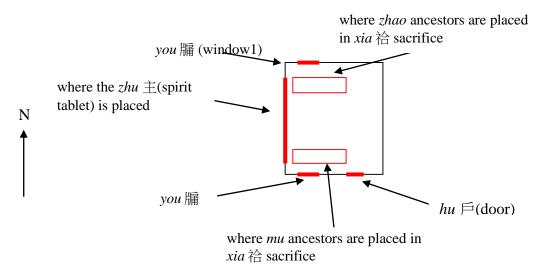
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⁷⁹⁷ Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, Ye, Introduction: 38-44.

⁷⁹⁸ Huang, YLJZTJXL, 25a:5-10.

appropriate places. The western room was where the sacrificial meat would be placed. The lord and the ritual master *zhu* kept walking between the subsidiary chambers and the rooms during the ritual performance, while the medium of the ancestral spirit was always kept in the middle of the hall. In short, Yang Fu contextualized the abstract temple space in operational terms that were drawn from the vast textual repository of Canonic and non-Canonic words and phrases. Consequently, with all these textual sources and a well-structured referential system to Zhu Xi's written memorials and colloquial conversations, the Yang edition historicized Zhu's learning of ancient rites in a telling way.

A less discussed detail in Yang's work was the setting of the ancestral temple's main chamber. In the memorial, "yaomiao yizhuang," Zhi Xi attached a basic layout of the ancient main-chamber setting, which seemingly manifested itself as a rectangular structure (Figure 14):



[Zhu Xi's comments] The ancient setting of ancestral temples' main chambers is basically like this: the spirit tablet resides beneath the west wall, facing east. While a *xia* sacrifice is held [in the temple], the Primal Ancestor's tablet faces east [and occupies the *zhu* position], with the *zhao* tablets facing south [on its left] and the *mu* tablets facing north [on its right].

廟室之制皆如此。其主皆在西壁下,東向。祫則太祖東向,昭南向,穆北向。799

⁷⁹⁹ Zhu, "yaomiao yizhuang," Huian ji, 15:223. I modified Zhu's layout a little bit by marking where the zhu position is, and also the arrangement of zhao and mu ancestors in the xia sacrifice, based on Wei

Figure 14. Zhu Xi's Understanding of the Imperial Temple's Main Chamber

This layout conformed perfectly to Zhu's hypothetical blueprint of feudal lords' ancestral temples and their chambers which stored spirit tablets. Under normal circumstances, a single spirit tablet of the temple's ancestor (or other relics of him) will be placed at the *zhu* position of the main chamber. However, in the cases of feudal lords and imperial emperors, in order to make offerings to those ancestral spirits who no longer have their independent sacrificial space in both regular and *yao* ancestral temples, they need to assemble all their ancestors' tablets together and perform a *xia* sacrifice to them in the Great Ancestor Temple (*tazumiao* 大祖廟) or the Primal Ancestor Temple (*taizumiao* 太祖廟, *shizumiao* 始祖廟), periodically. 800 Thus, during a *xia* sacrifice, the Great Temple's main chamber functioned as a symbol of combined veneration, in which all ancestral spirits partook in a unified *zhaomu* sequence. On this occasion, only the progenitor (*taizu*, *shizu*, or *tazu*) enjoyed the exclusive privilege of occupying the *zhu* position beneath the western wall. All the *zhao* ancestral spirits, once they entered the

Shi's quotes of Zhu in the former's *Liji jishuo* (LJJS, 30:45). For the original layout, see Zhu's own attachment to his memorial, "yaomiao yizhuang." It is noteworthy that Zhu's orientation of the door (*hu*) and the windows (*you*) concurred perfectly with the main-chamber layout recorded in the *Rites and Ceremonies* (Li, *Yili shigong*, 5). Yang Fu also portrayed a brief layout of the main-chamber of ancestral temples, mostly based on the Zheng commentary on the related sections of the *Rites and Ceremonies*. Yet, Yang's layout contains only one window and fails to label the position where the spirit tablet is placed, possibly because it refers to the spatial setting of common officials, but not that of the emperor. Yang, *Yili pangtongtu* 儀禮旁通圖 (*Analogical Diagrams made based on the Rites and Ceremonies*), *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.104, 5.

⁸⁰⁰ Zhu Xi and other Song scholars frequently used *tazumiao* to designate the temple of a feudal lord's progenitor. *Taizumiao* and *shizumiao* are two terms usually adopted to describe the first temple built by the son-of-Heaven to make sacrifices to his very first ancestor that he could trace back to; hence, the character *shi* 始 was applied.

main chamber of the Great Temple, were placed side by side beneath the northern window, facing south; in contrary, the *mu* ancestral spirits were placed beneath the southern window, facing north.⁸⁰¹ Etymologically, Zhu further associated the two characters *zhao* and *mu* with spatial directions. As he stated, the *zhao* ancestors were designated as *zhao* ancestors because they were facing the brighter southern side in the *xia* sacrifice.⁸⁰² Since the *mu* ancestors were facing the dim and obscure northern side in the *xia* sacrifice, they were bestowed the *mu* designation, which connoted "abstruse and distant" in the *Shuowen* tradition of etymology.⁸⁰³

Zhu's interpretation of the usage of *zhaomu* may remind people of Wang Zhaoyu and Chen Xiangdao's graphic analysis of the character *yao* 秋. ⁸⁰⁴ Additionally, Zhu's conception of the *zhaomu* arrangement in the *xia* sacrifice accorded with Chen's portrait of the *xia* ritual in the *Lishu*. ⁸⁰⁵ Compared with Chen, who approached the *xia* ritual from a rather Classicist perspective and defined it as a component of the *di-xia* sacrificial system, ⁸⁰⁶ Zhu considered *xia* as something independent of the *di* ritual. Moreover, Zhu heard from his master that there are two different types of *xia* rituals: one dealt with the seasonal sacrifice performed in summer, autumn and winter; the other referred to the state

⁸⁰¹ Wei, LJJS, 30:45.

⁸⁰²南向者取其向明, 故謂之昭. Ibid.

⁸⁰³ 北向者取其深遠, 故謂之穆. Ibid.

⁸⁰⁴ See chapter four, 2.1 and 2.2 for Wang Zhaoyu and Chen Xiangdao's analysis of the character *yao*.

⁸⁰⁵ Chen, *Lishu*, 71:2.

⁸⁰⁶ Chen, *Lishu*, 71:2-21.

sacrifice made by feudal lords and imperial rulers in their Great Ancestor temples.⁸⁰⁷ For the other *xia*, which involved a "sharing offerings" sacrifice (*heshi* 合食), ⁸⁰⁸ the ritual master would rearrange the *zhaomu* sequence to illustrate the correct order of seniority as Zhang Zhao compellingly argued in the 1079 debate. 809 However, as the spirit tablets of the symbolically uninstalled temples (huimiao zhizhu 毀廟之主) were not involved in the seasonal xia sacrifice, their zhaomu order was more difficult to determine, considering the confusion of seniority caused by the shift of tablets along the zhao and the mu lines. Again, by tracing back to the Zhou performance of the xia ritual, Zhu introduced what may called a "theory of vacancy" to resolve this crisis of seniority. Take the xia sacrifice performed during the King Zhao of Zhou's reign 周昭王 as an example. During King Zhao's times, while Wang Ji's tablet (Wang Ji: father of King Wen) was removed and King Kang's 康王 tablet was added to the *zhao* line in the *xia* sacrifice, King Wu's tablet supposedly should be moved upward to take over Wang Ji's position. But, since King Wu's father King Wen's tablet resided across from Wang Ji's tablet in the mu line, King Wu's tablet should be kept in its original place to prevent King Wen from facing north to his son in the xia sacrifice, as in general a subject facing north

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⁸⁰⁸ For the ritual of "sharing offerings," see ch.4, fn., 171 for more information.

⁸⁰⁹ Wei, LJJS, 30:44; Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 552.

spatially conveyed a sense of obedience to the northern one.⁸¹⁰ As a consequence, the *zhao* position across from King Wen was left vacant for the purpose of not violating the principle of seniority. The shift can be graphically presented in this way (Figure 15):

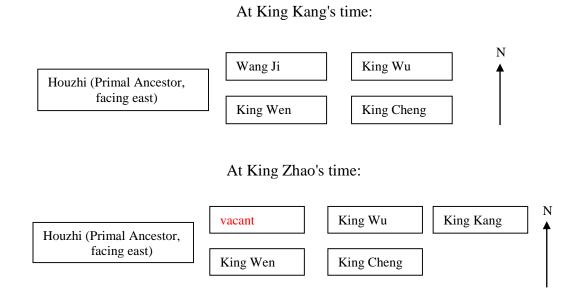


Figure 15. Zhu Xi's Solution to the Seniority Problem in the Zhaomu Sequence

By introducing a vacant position into the performance of the seasonal *xia* sacrifice, Zhu could maintain the stability of the *zhaomu* sequence and make it in accordance with the conventional understanding of seniority, without disturbing the shift pattern and the designations of *zhao* and *mu* ancestors.

In summary, Zhu Xi was consistent in his insistence on the "zhao ancestors are always kept as zhao, mu ancestors are always kept as mu" principle. However, he also displayed some flexibility in compromising other accounts of ancestral temple settings and the New Learning interpretation of the zhaomu sequence. From the perspective of

⁸¹⁰ Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 551-52.

ritual performance, Zhu's work, especially the *Comprehensive Commentary*, synthesized significant liturgical details and provided more information than other Southern Song ritual texts could do. His conception of the ancestral temple architecture basically followed a north-south orientation. However, he conceptualized the space within the main chamber of the temple in an east-west alignment, in which *zhao* and *mu* tablets extended eastward, from the windows to the east wall.⁸¹¹

Although Zhu Xi's anthology and the *Comprehensive Commentary* offer the most detailed depiction of the main chamber and the temple setting, modern scholars should not overestimate the level of specificity reached by his research. Indeed, in a conversation with an elder Confucian, Zhu admitted that "the ancient setting of the ancestral temple's main chamber is incomprehensible" 古制是不可曉. 812 In a letter to Kuo Zicong 郭子從, Zhu seemed confused by the *zhaomu* sequence of burial grounds and failed to provide a compelling reason for the *zhaomu* orientation in clan burials. 813 Zhu also acknowledged that he had difficulties in imagining the spatial arrangement of ancient temple's chambers, especially how various Zhou spirit tablets were positioned. Specifically, he was not sure about "how the Zhou people performed sacrificial rites in practice, with the presence of over thirty Zhou tablets in a narrow space" 不知周家三十以上神主位次相

⁸¹¹ Except the sources we have discussed in the above, in the *Zhizi yulei*, there are some discussions about the spatial arrangement of the main chamber. Most of them emphasize the correct perception of the *zhu* position, which should be located on the west, facing east. ZZYL, 90:2293, 2298.

⁸¹² ZZYL, 90:2296.

^{813 &}quot;da guozicong" (A letter to Guo zicong), Huian ji, 63:1162.

逼,如何行禮.⁸¹⁴ After all, the performativity of temple rites and the *zhaomu* sequence became a haunting obsession for many Southern Song ritualists.

5.2 The Zhaomu Discourse in the Late Southern Song Period

In all fairness, the *Comprehensive Commentary* was a tremendous success. Not only did it crystallize Zhu Xi's ritual learning, but it also consolidated the ritual tradition of the Zhu school. In discussing the repercussion of Zhu Xi's ritual learning, historians should not overlook the great endeavor made by Zhu's eminent disciples, such as Huang Gan and Yang Fu, in constructing this new disciplinary matrix. The final part of volume nine of the Comprehensive Commentary, namely zongmiao jili zongyi 宗廟祭禮總義 (A Summary of the meaning of ancestral temple and sacrificial rites), was seemingly a collective effort made by Zhu, Huang and Yang. Most notably, the compilers of the Summary emphasized the significance of the zhaomu sequence in formulating templebased ancestral rites. Hence, although the Rites and Ceremonies provided the framework for the whole project, quotes from the *Book of Rites* constituted a main part of this summative comment. Among all the *Book of Rites* quotes concerning ancestral worship, two of them were especially familiar to Southern Song Confucians. The first came from the celebrated definition of ancestral rites in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, as it is said, "By means of ancestral sacrifices, people prioritize their ancestors based on the zhaomu sequence" 宗廟之禮, 所以序昭穆也. 815 The second quote, which was originated in the

⁸¹⁴ ZZYL, 90:2296.

⁸¹⁵ Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 618. For the original sources, see Zhu, *Liji xunzuan*, 775; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, v. 4, 310.

less-authentic text of the *Jitong (Summary of Sacrifice)* chapter, addressed the functions of the *zhaomu* sequence in temple sacrifices:

At the sacrifice [all the engaged subjects and parties] are arranged respectively along the *zhao* and the *mu* lines, according to their order of descent from their common ancestor. Thus, the *zhaomu* sequence is used to maintain the distinction between fathers and sons, the near and the distant, the older and the young, the more nearly related and the less, and to distinguish the former from the latter. Therefore, at the services in the Great Ancestral Temple, when all descendants are present according to the *zhaomu* sequence, no one will fail to receive his proper place in their common relationship. This is what is called showing the successively changing distance between relatives.

夫祭有昭穆。昭穆者,所以別父子、遠近、長幼、親疏之序而無亂也。是故有事於大廟,則羣昭羣穆咸在而不失其倫,此之謂親疏之殺也。⁸¹⁶

While in general both the *Doctrine of the Mean* and the *Jitong* texts conveyed a meaning of ordering the sacrificial realm according to the *zhaomu* sequence, the compilers of the *Summary* created a peculiar intertextuality in between these two pieces of texts by using the latter to annotate the former. In composing his own commentary on the *Doctrine of the Mean*, Zhu Xi also cited the "Great Ancestral temple" section from the *Jitong* chapter to annotate the *Zhongyong* definition of ancestral rites. Considering the crucial role played by the *Doctrine of the Mean* in the philosophizing of the Zhu

⁸¹⁶ Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 631. For the original sources, see Zhu, *Liji xunzuan*, 183; Legge, *The Sacred Books of China*, Vol.3, 220.

⁸¹⁷ Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 618.

^{**}Example 2.5 Plant Sin Shu Xi, Zhongyong zhangju 中庸章句 (Commentary on the Doctrine of the Mean), in Zhu, Sishu zhangjujizhu 四書章句集注 (Collective commentaries and explanations on the Four Books) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), 31-32. Indeed, it was the Northern Song Confucian Yang Shi who first linked the phrase from the Doctrine of the Mean to the Jitong text in his own study of sacrificial rites (LJJS, 129:22). Yet, unlike Zhu Xi, Yang included both texts in the main body of the same paragraph (while Zhu Xi put the Jitong text as the annotation for the phrase from the Doctrine of the Mean.

school and the Southern Song Daoxue discipline, ⁸¹⁹ the citation of an unauthorized text in annotating a text under canonization functioned as what Walter Benjamin called an "implicit interruption to the fundamental structure and context" of the established textual norms. ⁸²⁰ By focusing on the theoretical affiliation between the abstract *zhaomu* notion mentioned in the *Doctrine of the Mean* and the operational *zhaomu* sequence described in *Jitong* and *Jifa*, Zhu and his disciples initiated a new campaign of ritual learning that attracted a variety of scholars, including those Southern Song Confucians who had more interest in remodeling the world based on ritual. Consequently, the post-Zhu Xi era saw a recurring trend of synthesis in exploring ancestral rites.

The process of intellectual synthesis, by its very nature, is the integration of existing traditions and newly emerged ideas. According to the neo-Kantian account, intellectual synthesis is not a mechanical binding of separate parts, but the fusion of manifold interpretations of a unity which "only differs in degree, not is essential character, from the final result." In terms of the Song ritual learning, if we take the "final result" as an ideal de-convolution of the ancient ritual matrix, then different post–Zhu interpretations of Zhu's ritual theory in both its form and content resembled the theoretical progression of the New Learning disciplinary matrix. In practice, post Zhu interpretations embraced Zhu Xi's evaluation of the records of the three ritual Classics in approaching ancient rites. But, when it came to specific ritual issues and details, post-Zhu ritualists did not necessarily concur with each other. The synthesis of ancestral rites in the

⁸¹⁹ Soffel and Tillman, Cultural Authority and Political Culture, 52-86.

⁸²⁰ Walter Benjamin, *Illumination* (NY: Schocken Books, 2007), 151.

⁸²¹ James Creighton, "The Nature of Intellectual Synthesis." Philosophy Review, 5:2 (Mar., 1896), 152.

late Southern Song period, therefore, involved complicated differentiation and integration processes.

Regarding Zhu Xi's various narrative on ancient rites, his hypothetical model of the ideal setting of Zhou feudal lords' temples received much attention among his contemporaries. In addition to Wei Shi's encyclopedic collection of Song ritual theories, Liji jishuo, two Southern Song commentaries on the Ritual of Zhou also quoted Zhu's hypothesis in full length to explicate the "differentiating zhaomu" function of the Vice Minister office: the Zhouguan zongyi 周官總義 (Summative Meaning of the Ritual of Zhou) and the Zhouli jishuo 周禮集說 (Collective Explanations of the Ritual of Zhou). **822**
The author of the former, Yi Fu 易被 (1156-1240), has been historically recognized as a gifted, but vicious, scholar. His close political affiliation with the notorious minister Han Tuozhou 韓侂胄 (1152-1207) and Han's chief military adviser Su Shidan 蘇師旦 rendered him an infamous reputation as a shameless opportunist. **823** Despite his bad reputation among his contemporaries, Yi's achievement in Classical Studies should not be dismissed. The Siku editors acknowledged that Yi's Zhouguan zongyi made great effort in introducing an intertextual analysis of Classics into the study of ancient rites. **824**

⁸²² Yi Fu 易被 (1156-1240), *Zhouguan zongyi*, *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v. 92, 12:3-5; Anonymous author, *Zhouli jishuo*, *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v. 95, 4:40-43.

^{**}San Zhou Mi described how Yi flattered Su by writing him a draft edict of promotion, in which he compared Su with Confucius. *Qidong yeyu*, 11:200. Also, Wang Kexi 王可喜, Wang Shaopeng 王兆鵬, "Nansong ciren Yifu xingniankao" 南宋詞人易祓行年考 (Verification of the life of the Southern Song literati, Yifu), *Zhongguo yunwen xuekan* 中國韻文學刊, 19:4 (Dec., 2005): 71-72.

⁸²⁴ In their own words, to "to explicate the Classics' text based on Classics" (*yijing jiejing* 以經解經). Yi, *Zhouguan zongyi*, *tiyao*:2.

Although no existing historical sources have suggested a direct link between Yi Fu and Zhu Xi's private scholarship, he had some personal connections with the Daoxue fellowship. As an upper-class student (shangshesheng 上舍生) of the Imperial College, Yi developed his interest in the *Ritual of Zhou* in youth. 825 In 1194, Yi began to serve in the secretariat of Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126-1204), the Military Commissioner (anfushi 安 撫使) of the Southern Jinghu Circuit (荊湖南路, modern Hunan 湖南 province). 826 As is well known, Zhou had patronized the Daoxue fellowship throughout his political career as the Grand Councilor since 1187. Zhou's personal friendship with Daoxue leaders, such as Zhu Xi and Zhang Shi 張栻 (1133-1180), certainly contributed to his sympathetic view of the Daoxue scholarship and their political positions. Although Zhou and Zhu construed "the learning of the Way" in different ways and sometimes disagreed with one another about the means to promote Daoxue members, 827 they in general partook in the same revivalist campaign of pursuing an intrinsic learning of the Way. As Tillman pointed out, the very fact that they were prosecuted together in the 1197 Qingyuan Prohibition of False Scholarship (*Qingyuan dangjin* 慶元黨禁) revealed how the Daoxue fellowship as a loosely-defined entity was gradually recognized by its contemporary opponents.⁸²⁸ Philosophically, Zhou might have contributed little to the long-term development of the

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⁸²⁵ Nansong guange xulu 南宋館閣續錄 (An Extension of the Southern Song Records of Archives and Libraries) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 4:281.

⁸²⁶ Wang, "Nansong ciren Yifu," 70.

⁸²⁷ See Yu, Zhu Xi de lishi shijie, 497-523, esp., 499-508.

^{**}Example 10 Page 12 Page 12 Page 12 Page 12 Page 12 Page 13 Page 14 Page 14 Page 15 Page 16 Page 17 Page 17 Page 17 Page 17 Page 17 Page 18 Page 18

Daoxue scholarship; yet, politically, he represented and spoke for the Daoxue interests in the central government. To contextualize Daoxue in its formative stage, it is necessary to rethink the role played by Zhou and other pro-Daoxue politicians in the interaction between Daoxue philosophy and state politics.

Certainly, Zhou Bida's wide circle of acquaintances contributed to the spread of Daoxue scholarship among non-Daoxue scholars. Yi Fu's shift from the memorization of traditional commentaries to a sincere study of ancient rites might be rooted in his early contact with Zhou. His best work, the Zhouguan zongyi, adequately demonstrated a methodological novelty and distinguished itself from the conventions of former Confucians. 829 As a result, in explicating the *zhaomu* issue, Yi favored his contemporary Zhu Xi's explanation, rather than traditional interpretations. Interestingly, even though Zhu in his original text compared several alternative *zhaomu* settings mentioned by former Confucians (including Liu Yin's *zhaomu* theory) to illustrate the temple settings of the Son-of-Heaven, 830 Yi cut that part out and concluded his own commentary in one single sentence: "The ancestral temple setting of the Son-of-Heaven could be deduced [based on Zhu Xi's hypothetical analysis of that of the feudal lords]" 天子廟祧亦當以推 ≥.831 Yi's abridgement of Zhu's original text exemplifies his approach to annotating Classics: Traditional interpretations can be overlooked in the presence of better contemporary comments—in this case, certainly it was Zhu Xi's *zhaomu* theory.

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⁸²⁹ Yi, Zhouguan zongyi, tiyao:1.

⁸³⁰ Wei, LJJS, 30:47-48.

⁸³¹ Yi, Zhouguan zongyi, 12:5.

Among the extant textual sources, Wang Yuzhi's 王與之 (fl. 1242) Zhouli dingyi 周禮訂義 (Revised Explanations of the Ritual of Zhou) served as a great synthesis of a variety of Song commentary traditions on the Ritual of Zhou. Size It included fifty-one commentaries that covered a wide span of ritual studies composed by scholars from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. More significantly, although Wang was a sincere follower of the early Northern Song Daoxue fellowship and a key member of the Yongjia community, Size he did not restrict himself to these two traditions. As a pro-Daoxue scholar, Wang Yuzhi would supposedly take serious consideration of Zhu Xi's rich legacy of ritual learning. Yet, he scarcely cited Zhu in the Zhouli dingyi. In his editorial statement, Wang claimed that he followed Zhu's format of annotation in the Lunmeng jizhu 論孟集注 (Commentaries on the Analects and the Mencius). However, when he elucidated specific editorial details, for instance, the priority of the Six Bureaus in the Ritual of Zhou, or the numbers of Zhou offices, he tended to adopt Chen Qunju's 陳君舉 (Zhu's disciple), Wang Zhaoyu's, and Lü Zuqian's 吕祖謙 (1137-1181) opinions.

⁸³² For a general discussion of Wang Yuzhi's *Zhouli dingyi*, see Jaeyoon Song, "Tension and Balance: Changes of Constitutional Schemes in Southern Song Commentaries on the *Ritual of Zhou*," in *Statecraft and Classical Learning: The Rituals of Zhou in East Asian History*, ed. Benjamin Elman, Martin Kern (Boston: Brill, 2010), 253.

⁸³³ According to Zhen Dexiu's 真德秀(1178-1235) preface to *Zhouli dingyi*, as a Yongjia scholar, Wang's private learning yet resonated with Chen I and Zhang Zai's scholarship 蓋程張之學,公之學也...永嘉王氏,其學本於程張. Wang Yuzhi. *Zhouli dingyi*, *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji zhupanshe, 1987), v.93, preface [Zhou]:3.

⁸³⁴ Wang, Zhouli dingyi, bianyan 弁言: 6-12.

Considering the fact that the *Comprehensive Commentary* was published two decades prior to the *Zhouli dingvi*, 835 Wang's oversight of Zhu is incomprehensible at first glance.

Nevertheless, if one reads the *Zhouli dingyi* carefully enough, one may understand why Wang took such a stance. Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (1178-1235) was indeed right in claiming that Wang Yuzhi's work served as a perfect lens through which one can grasp the "public heart" (*gongxin* 公心) of the *Ritual of Zhou*. The "public heart," shared by all ancient sage kings and the Duke of Zhou, contradicted sharply to the "private heart" (*sixin* 私心) of those who contaminated the learning of the *Ritual of Zhou* by their deviant political maneuvers. **

836* Definitely, here Zhen was indicating not only Liu Yin, Wang Mang 王莽, and Yuwen Tai, but also Wang Anshi. However, what Zhen failed to observe was that Wang Yuzhi himself approached the text less politically than Zhen imagined. Wang's interest in studying the *Ritual of Zhou*, after all, was an institutionalist one. He was concerned mostly about the liturgical details of Zhou ritualism, and how these details could be adopted to suit contemporary needs. Thus, a strong sense of open-mindedness and an inclusive tendency shaped Wang Yuzhi's work and characterized his revivalism. A clear fact is that Wang adopted four New Learning commentaries in this collection.

⁸³⁵ Although a full version of the Zhouli dingyi had already been compiled in 1232, according to Zhen Dexu's preface, as a court-authorized copy it was printed no early than the second year of the Chunyou 淳 祐 era (1242). Zhao Ruteng's 趙汝騰 (d. 1261), the local governor of Wang Yuzhi's home town, Le Qing 樂清, submitted a printed manuscript of the Zhouli dingyi to the court in 1242. Indeed, Zhao's memorial and the court's edict illustrated how the state power and its local capillaries attempted to absorb regional scholarly traditions into a holistic cultural project of orthodoxy. However, a detailed investigation of this orthodoxization process goes beyond the scope of the current research. Wang, Zhouli dingyi, zoule 奏勒: 1-2; diewen 牒文: 1-2; zhouzhuang 州狀: 1.

⁸³⁶ Wang, *Zhouli dingyi*, preface [Zhou]:1-3. The "private heart" here, of course, refers to the self-interest of these deviant rulers and politicians, in contrast to the public good pursued by the sage kings.

Among them Wang Anshi's *New Meaning of the Bureau of Zhou* and Wang Zhaoyu's *Detailed Explanations of the Rites of Zhou* were frequently quoted. The inclusiveness of the *Zhouli dingyi* can be demonstrated through an exploration of Wang Yuzhi's discussion on ancestral rites.

Like many predecessors of the Song revivalist campaign, Wang attempted to reconcile the ritual controversy between Zheng Xuan and Wang Su over the number of ancestral temples. He first cited the Yongjia scholar Huang Du 黃度 (1138-1213) to elucidate that both Zhen and Wang actually championed a seven-temple configuration. According to Huang, the only difference between them was whether or not the two *yao* temples should be preserved *forever*. Huang's understanding of the intellectual confrontation between Zheng and Wang was less accurate than was usually assumed. In fact, Wang Su conceptualized the usual Zhou temple configuration as a combination of a typical seven-temple setting and the two permanent temples of King Wen and King Wu. Regarding Wang Su's opinion, Wang Yuzhi argued that the general setting of seven temples, which was finally coined in the Han text, should include

⁸³⁷ Huang Du himself also composed a commentary on the *Ritual of Zhou*, named the *Zhouli shuo* 周禮說 (*Discussion on the Ritual of Zhou*). Ye Shi's 葉適 (1150-1223) preface recognized its historical intention and rightly argued that Huang wrote the *Zhouli shuo* to challenge Wang Anshi's *New Meanings of the Ritual of Zhou*. According to Ye's epitaph, Huang was so diligent in studying the *New Meanings* that he still read and compared the *New Meanings* with other commentaries throughout the whole night when he was seventy five years old, without noticing the sound of the water-clock. This interesting record from another angle shows how the Yongjia ritual school struggled with the influence of Wang Anshi at its formative stage. Huang Du, *Song Huang xuanxiangong zhouli shuo* 黃宣獻公周禮說 (*Discussion on the Ritual of Zhou by Huang Du*), in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), v.78, *yuanxu* 原序: 1; *kaozheng* 考證: 1-3. For Huang's negotiation about Zhen and Wang's dispute concerning the number of ancestral temples, see *Zhouli shuo*, 3:6.

⁸³⁸ Wang, Zhouli dingyi, 32:6.

⁸³⁹ Ibid.

the two permanent temples of King Wen and King Wu, too. While Wang Su was quite right in insisting on the general principle of the preservation of the temples of King Wen and King Wu, yet already in Xiaowang's 孝王 time, these two temples fell into the category of yao temples. Wang Yuzhi argued that when Zheng Xuan and Wang Su addressed the post-Xiaowang sequence of ancestry, they were both misled by the apparent contradiction between the shifting nature of the yao attribute and the permanency of King Wen and King Wu's temple. Under normal circumstances, certainly, the two yao temples should be displaced successively by those behind them in the descent line. But, as Zheng and Wang both pointed out, the preservation of the two *yao* temples of King Wen and King Wu was non-negotiable, considering the two kings' great contribution to the Zhou dynasty. To solve this dilemma, Wang Yuzhi redefined yao by claiming that the yao position was originally invented to convey a kind of everlasting durability. 840 Due to King Wen's and King Wu's achievements and merits, their temples were posited as an illustration of the permanence of yao, and thus existed outside the regular four descent temples.⁸⁴¹ Textually, Wang's maneuver deviated from the Han etymological tradition that viewed yao as a shifting object, a displacement (chao 超) of the precedent ancestors; 842 but it was more inclined to the provocative reading of yao as a

⁸⁴⁰ As Wang put it, "The reason why King Wen and King Wu were placed at the *yao* position is just because that the yao position could not be abolished" 謂文武二廟為祧者, 正以居祧位而不可毀故. Wang, *Zhouli dingyi*, 32:7.

⁸⁴¹ Wang, Zhouli dingyi, 32:6.

^{**}Second Reference** Suppose the Rites and Ceremonies**) in Shisanjing zhushu zhengliben 十三經註疏整理本 (A new compiled version of the Thirteen Chinese Canons*), comp. 龔抗雲 Gong Kangyun (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), vol. 5: 437.

"manifesting act" (*shao* 兆) suggested by some New Learning scholars.⁸⁴³ In a broad sense, his account of former Confucians' temple settings also reconciled the universality of ritual norms and the specificity of historical context.

The zhaomu section also displayed the Zhouli dingyi's inclusive feature. Just like Lu Dian and Wang Zhaoyu, Wang Yuzhi tended to view the zhaomu sequence as the ritual embodiment of familial seniority. He cited another Yongjia scholar, Xie Jixuan 薛 季宣 (1134-1173), to articulate the *zhaomu* embodiment of patriarchic relations: "What is called a zhao denotes the father's scrutiny of the junior [i.e., his son]; what is called a mu denotes the son's due respect to the senior [i.e., his father]" 父以明察下曰昭,子以敬事 上曰穆. 844 Explicitly, Wang's inclusion of this principle echoed Lu Dian's emphasis on the role played by the factors of familial affection and direct affiliation in determining the zhaomu sequence. However, in discussing the shifting pattern of zhaomu, Wang employed He Xunzhi's generation-skipping account and argued that the temple sequence should be unbound from a strict application of the "father-zhao and son-mu" parallelism. His textual evidence, in general, came from the Northern Song New Learning studies. Except Wang Zhaomu's Detailed Explanations, Wang also quoted Chen Xiangdao's zhaomu argument in the Ritual Manual—wrongly and ironically put it under the name of Lu Dian—to demonstrate that the *zhaomu* sequence should never be altered. 845

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⁸⁴³ For instance, see chapter 5, section 2.1 for Wang Zhaoyu's interpretation of *yao*.

⁸⁴⁴ Wang, Zhouli dingyi, 32:7.

⁸⁴⁵ Wang, Zhouli dingyi, 32:8-9; for Chen's original version, see Lishu, 69:10.

The inalterability of *zhaomu*'s shifting pattern was, indeed, a shared convention of the majority of the Southern Song ritualists. Zhu Xi's detailed examination of the reasoning of this inalterability no doubt contributed significantly to the convention. Both Yi Fu's Zhouguan zongyi and the early Yuan-compiled Zhouli jishuo recalled the readers' memory of the lucidity typically illustrated in Zhu's ritual writings. Moreover, in a similar manner to Wang Yuzhi's Zhouli dingyi, the Zhouli jishuo also quoted a number of New Learning narratives from Wang Anshi's, Wang Zhaoyu's and Chen Xiangdao's ritual commentaries to construct a consistent explanation of ancient temple settings. 846 In annotating related zhaomu sections in the Ritual of Zhou, the anonymous author of the Zhouli jishuo often prioritized Wang Zhaoyu's text in comparison to Zhu Xi's. 847 What the anonymous author and Wang Yuzhi have demonstrated in their works was that the post-Zhu Daoxue community elaborated its own ritual learning on the basis of various existing intellectual traditions, including their rivals' scholarship. Without the intellectual endeavor made by the Northern Song New Learning scholars, it was difficult to imagine how the Daoxue learning of the Ritual of Zhou would come to be. The Siku comment on the Zhouli jishuo put it: "Despite the criticism made by Song scholars on the Three New Meanings, since Wang Zhaoyu firstly annotated the New Meaning of the Ritual of Zhou, and Lin Zhiqi reiterated the commentary tradition [of the Wang school], the Zhouli jishuo inherited their texts by quoting them; hence, it avoided the discontinuity of the [New

⁸⁴⁶ The *Zhouli jishuo* was composed by an unknown author. According to the preface, written by its Yuan compiler Chen Youren 陳友仁, this collection reads like resembling Lü Zuqian's commentary on the *Book of Songs* (東萊詩記) and Chen Tayu's 陳大猷 (*jinshi*, 1229) commentary on the *Book of Documents* (東齋書傳). *Zhouli jishuo*, *xu*:1.

⁸⁴⁷ See, for instance, the *Zhouli jishuo* annotation of the phrase "differentiation of tablets and temples based on the *zhaomu* order" 辨廟祧之昭穆. *Zhouli jishuo*, 4:40-41.

Learning] textual tradition"蓋安石《三經新義》,雖為宋人所攻,而《周官新義》則 王昭禹述之于前,林之奇述于後,故此書亦相承援引,不廢其文也.⁸⁴⁸

Compared to Yi Fu, Wang Yuzhi and the author of the *Zhouli jishuo*, other twelfth-century scholars, who were deliberately excluded from the narrowly defined Daoxue lineage in the *Biography of Daoxue scholars* of the *Song Dynastic History* (宋史 道學傳) yet contributed greatly to the overall development of the Southern Song Daoxue scholarship, felt more free to develop new ideas regarding ancestral temple rites.

Zheng Genglao 鄭耕老 (1108-1172), a contemporary of Zhu Xi and an admirer of Ouyang Xiu's scholarship, 849 was commonly regarded as a centrist by his friends. 850 Concerning the *zhaomu* sequence, he basically championed the generation-skipping principle in regulating its shifting pattern. Just like Zhu and other Southern Song revivalists, Zheng continuously referred back to the Zhou context for new visions. While discussing the situation of ancestral sacrifice at the King Gong of Zhou's 周共王 time, he insisted that King Wen would not be shifted to the left *zhao* position when the newly deceased King Mu was moved into the temple, as "someone" (*shuozhe* 說者) might argue. 851 To Zheng, if we shift King Wen to his father Wangii's *zhao* position, it would

⁸⁴⁸ Zhouli jishuo, xu:1.

⁸⁴⁹ ZBSYXA, 4:11a.

^{**}S50 Ye Shi 葉適 (1150-1223) composed an epitaph for Zheng Genglao. In it he praised Zheng for his Classical studies, especially his ability to achieve the essence of morality, i.e., the ability to "elucidate the Way of the sages and integrate it into the Mean and Correctness" 推明聖人之道, 歸於中正. Ye, "fengyilang zhenggong muzhiming" 奉議郎鄭公墓誌銘 (Epitaph to master Zheng, the Literati Official of Words), **Shuixin ji 水心集 (Anthology of the Water-Heart Village), **Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1164, 15:14.

mean "to substitute the father with the son"以子代父. 852 Such a practice did not accord with the principle of ancient rites. In Zheng's opinion, the principle was certainly the generation-skipping one that emphasized the close affiliation between the grandsons and the grandfathers. Additionally, although the grandsons and the grandfathers would still be under the same *zhaomu* designation after a cross-*zhaomu* shift, 853 this kind of arrangement could not help but defy the ritual spirit. Zheng's reasoning can be summarized: In the arrangement of burial grounds (*zhang* 葬), in the ritual of "tablet attachment" (祔 fu) and also in the *xia* sacrifice (祫 *xia*), the *zhaomu* sequence always indicated fixed *zhao* and *mu* orders. A cross-*zhaomu* shift would undermine the stability of these "orders" (*ban* 班). 854 As Zheng argued, if someone switches the ancestors freely across the *zhao* and *mu* lines in the three ritual occasions, he merely "knows the *zhaomu* as designations, but does not know its order" 徒知有昭穆之名, 不知有昭穆之班. 855 In other words, although in a cross-*zhaomu* shift the grandfather-grandson affiliation was preserved in a denotative way, it failed to conduct the in-depth intent of *zhaomu* as a

⁸⁵¹ LJJS, 30:38-39. The "someone" here definitely referred to Lu Dian, as Lu cited the exact Zhou case of King Gong in his debate with He Xunzhi. See chapter 4, section 2.3.

⁸⁵² LJJS, 30:38.

⁸⁵³ Say, King Wen is shifted to his father Wangji's left *zhao* position, and King Wu now occupies the originally King Wen's *mu* position, then successively King Cheng (King Wen's grandson) and King Zhao (King Cheng's grandson) will shift to the *zhao* positions, and King Kang (King Wu's grandson) and King Mu (King Kang's grandson) will reside at the *mu* positions. As I demonstrated in chapter 3, this kind of shifting pattern suggested by Lu Dian also ensured the same *zhaomu* designation for grandfathers and their grandsons. LJJS, 30:38-39. For a better perception of this shift, see the two Zhou lineage diagrams in the Yang edition of the *Comprehensive Commentary*. Yang, YLTZJJ: JL, 453.

⁸⁵⁴ LJJS, 30:39.

⁸⁵⁵ Ibid.

ritual order. It is in the latter sense that the *zhaomu* sequence symbolized the "sameness between the grandfather and the grandson" 孫與祖同.⁸⁵⁶

At first glance, Zheng's *zhaomu* argument easily reminds readers of Zhu Xi's definition of zhao and mu as fixed location markers—indeed it was quite possible that Zhu had read Zheng's ritual writings and gained some inspirations from them. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Zheng devoted more attention to zhaomu's metaphysical nature than to its orthopraxic component. Unlike Zhu Xi, Zheng was less concerned about the concrete arrangement of the zhaomu sequence under different circumstances. He focused primarily on probing into the profound causes upon which zhaomu as an abstract notion was established. Hence, he reconciled the different records of ancestral temples and the zhaomu sequence in the Book of Rites from a rather philosophical perspective. On the one hand, he considered the Wangzhi portrait of the three-zhao-three-mu system of the Son-of-Heaven as describing the "motion" (dong 動) of zhaomu, since it involves the ceaseless abolishment and displacement of ancestral temples (diehui 迭毀). On the other hand, the regular seven temple system and the tan and shan altars mentioned in Jifa reflected the "constancy" (chang 常) of zhaomu's "static essence" (dingti 定體). 857 Therefore, the zhaomu sequence not only represented a genealogical order, but also embodied the self-perpetuating cycle of stillness and motion through the ritualizing process of ancestral order. As the *zhaomu* system incessantly

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid.

857 Ibid.

absorbed new ancestors and displaced more recent ones, it transmitted a sense of eternity in reference to the royal house and its power of governance.

Zheng's reading of the *zhaomu* sequence as a transcendental concept continued by stating that the whole system could be interpreted as a ritual manifestation of the Heaven and the two *qi* (pneuma), the energetic *yang* and the constant *yin*. She As *zhao* ancestors were located on the left-*qi* (奇, odd number, 1, 3, 5......) positions, they belonged to the Heavenly *yang* order. Correspondingly, *mu* ancestors, as they were located on the right-ou (偶, even numbers, 2, 4, 6......) positions, belonged to the Earthly *yin* order. She According to Zheng, since the parallel configuration of the odd *yang* order of *zhao* and the even *yin* order of *mu* were unalterable according to numerology, the homogeneity between ancestors of the same order was self-evident. As a result, the reason why a grandson (but not the father) could serve as his grandfather's corpse medium in funeral rites and *xia* sacrifice was that the grandson and the grandfather belonged to the same order (*tongban* 同班). Zheng put it:

Since the spirits [of the grandson and the grandfather] fall into the same category and belong to the same order, they are well-situated. Therefore, the grandfather of the *zhao* order takes the *zhao* grandson as his medium; the grandfather of the *mu* order takes the *mu* grandson as his medium. Once the [ancestor's] spirit approaches to the [lively] spirit of the same order, the former would be able to attach to the latter. Odd and even are fixed numbers; left and right are fixed positions; *zhao* and *mu* are fixed orders.

**Some modern Chinese scholars, such as Xu Zhibin 許子濱, tended to posit the *zhaomu* sequence in early Chinese metaphysics. Xu, "lun *zhaomu* zhi mingming yiyi" 論昭穆之命名意義 (On the meaning of the naming of *zhaomu*), *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 25.2 (2001): 329-346. Zheng Genglao's argument indeed pioneered this metaphysical reading of *zhaomu*. Although Zheng read the *zhaomu* sequence based on a Confucianized conception of *yin* and *yang* energy, his approach illustrated the clear Daoist influence on the "neo"-Confucian concepts (yin* and *yang* are typical examples) during the Southern Song Daoxue movement.

⁸⁵⁹ LJJS, 30:40-41.

蓋神得同班同類, 則為安也。昭之王, 以昭孫為尸; 穆之王, 以穆孫為尸。蓋神得同類, 則憑依也。奇耦為定數; 左右為定位; 昭穆為定班。⁸⁶⁰

Zheng's interest in Ouyang Xiu, especially Ouyang's writings about the *Book of Changes*, might contribute to his transcendental reading of the *zhaomu* sequence.

However, it is inaccurate to describe Zheng's *zhaomu* approach as a purely theoretical one, given his detailed discussions on the five practical aspects of the *zhaomu* sequence: funeral, corpse-spirit setting, the ritual of "tablet attachment," the *xia* sacrifice and the configuration of ancestral temples. ⁸⁶¹ In particular, his emphasis on the *zhaomu* arrangement of the ancestors' graves resonated with the Song geomantic tradition. The Song geomantic manual *Dilixinshu* 地理新書 (*New Compiled Manual on Geomancy*), for instance, contained several well-depicted *zhaomu* diagrams of grave arrangement named wuyin zhaomu zhang 五音昭穆莽 (grave setting of the Five Tones in the zhaomu order). ⁸⁶² According to the Song geomantic account, the zhaomu order defined the basic structure of a grave site, regardless of its "tone-mode," i.e., the distribution of graves based on a rhyming scheme of surnames' consonants in five primary musical tones (*gong* 宫, *shang* 商, *jiao* 角, *zhi* 徵, *yu* 羽). The "Five Tones," with no doubt, echoed the five

⁸⁶⁰ LJJS, 30:41.

⁸⁶¹ LJJS, 30:41-42.

^{**}Revised Edition of the New Compiled Manual on Geomancy*) (Taibei: Jiwen shuju, 1985), 392-93. The "wuyin" setting of grave sites can be at least traced back to the Tang period. The Yuan compiled Dahan yuanling mizangjing 大漢原陵秘葬經 (The Han Secret Geomantic Manual of Tombs) recorded how the traditional Han setting of burial grounds determined the tone to which one's surname belongs. For a succinct description of this "wuyin" principle, see Shen Ruiwen 沈睿文, Tangling de buju: kongjian yu jianzhu 唐陵的佈局: 空間與建築 (The Arrangement of Tang Mausoleums: Space and Order) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2009), 42-43.

phases of elements (wuxing 五行). Furthermore, the Dilixinshu and other geomantic texts recorded an auspicious burial site arrangement named guanyu zang 賈魚葬, ⁸⁶³ in which burial ground settings strictly followed the zhaomu order. ⁸⁶⁴ Considering the extensive use of the term zhaomu in Song geomantic manuals, it is not difficult to imagine how Zhen's correlation between the zhaomu order and the two cosmological pneuma (yang-yin) won general acceptance from his contemporary geomancers and the general literati community, especially those with adequate knowledge in the Classics. ⁸⁶⁵

Zheng's emphasis on the practical applications of the *zhaomu* sequence was certainly not his invention but something that had already existed in Northern Song ritual texts. One of his key arguments, that the *zhaomu* sequence in all related rites should never be altered, reads like a restatement of what the New Learning scholar Chen Xiangdao has argued in the *Ritual Manual*. 866 Chen Xiangdao's contemporary, Lü Daling 呂大監 (1044-1091), also claimed that the difference between *zhao* and *mu* orders must be maintained in most daily life aspects, ranging from various ritual affairs to fundamental kin relations and household identities. 867 For Lü Daling, Chen Xiangdao and

⁸⁶³ Literally means, the burial arrangement that resembles a shoal of fish.

⁸⁶⁴ Wang, *Dili xinshu*, 390; the *Dahan yuanling mizangjing* also recorded *guanyu zang* and stated that the "zhaomu order arranged in the *guanyu* setting is very auspicious." 昭穆貫魚葬大吉. Shen, *Tangling de buju*, 84.

⁸⁶⁵ Since the mid-Northern Song, great Confucians increasingly engaged themselves in geomantic activities and composed writings on geomancy. Cheng Yi, for instance, attempted to combine the *zhaomu* order with the typical setting of Nine Palaces (*jugong* 九宫) in portraying graphs about ideal grave distribution. See Ina Asim, "Status Symbol and Insurance Policy: Song Land Deeds for the Afterlife," in *Burial in Song China*, ed., Dieter Kuhn (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 1994), 331-32.

⁸⁶⁶ Chen, *Lishu*, 69:10; LJJS, 30:27-28. See chapter 4, section 2.2 for more details.

⁸⁶⁷ LJJS, 129: 18-19.

Zheng Genglao, it was important to prioritize ancestors based on the *zhaomu* sequence, because it illustrated the Confucian norm of "distinguishing different kinds of human relations" (*bierenlun* 別人倫).⁸⁶⁸

5.3 Conclusion

From the perspective of intellectual history, Zhu Xi's perception of the zhaomu sequence and ancient temple settings demonstrated how the Daoxue understanding of certain ideas in the ritual realm was deeply influenced by New Learning scholarship. Geographically, Northern Song Daoxue pioneers were basically northerners, with few exceptions; yet, most New Learning scholars and Southern Song Daoxue Confucians came from the southern coastal regions. Ideologically, Wang Anshi and Daoxue Confucians shared the same belief in reordering the society based on the restoration of ancient rites, although they had different focuses with regard to the means of this restoration. As late as Lizong's 理宗 (r: 1224-1264) reign, scholar-officials still referred back to the Yuanfeng ritual reforms in dealing with controversy over ancestral temples and the zhaomu sequence. In the ninth month of 1231, as the Imperial Temple in the capital city Lin An 臨安 was burned down, Du Zheng 度正 (1166-1235), the Deputy Minister of Ceremonies, submitted a memorial to the emperor, claiming that it was perfect time to reexamine the ancestral temple arrangement. Considering this fire as a bad portent, Du suggested that the court might need to seriously consider Zhu Xi's opinion about temple configuration, which aimed at placing Xizu's tablets at the center of the Imperial Temple. Du offered two plans in his memorial: The first one was a total

⁸⁶⁸ LJJS, 129: 18.

adaptation of Zhu Xi's ancestral temple scheme; the second one was more like a negotiation between Zhu's scheme and the conventional practice of temple settings (benchao miaozhi 本朝廟制). 869 However, in general, Du embraced a revivalist approach with respect to the temple rites. Not without a tone of regret, Du stated that the Yuanfeng ritual controversy as a real endeavor to restore "ancient formulations" (guzhi 古制) did not receive adequate attention since the day it was raised. 870 Although a number of scholars were involved in the Yuangfeng ritual controversy, Du only mentioned Lu Dian—probably because of his master Zhu Xi's influence. By linking the Yuanfeng controversy to a contemporary affair, Du highlighted the revivalist discourse that was shared by both Daoxue Confucians and New Learning scholars. Consequently, along with the ideological conflicts and negotiations between Song revivalists and conventionalists, the zhaomu sequence was further politicized within the context of partisan politics. In this light, Zhu Xi and Zhao Ruyu's debate over Xizu's ritual status was totally understandable, as it revealed how political intentions overpowered liturgical orthodoxy in the practice of imperial rites.

Furthermore, as the *zhaomu* issue gradually merged into less-orthodox but widespread texts, such as geomantic manuals and encyclopedic compendiums, the Southern Song saw an extension of the *zhaomu* sequence from imperial rites to other social applications outside the palace. From Lü Daling and Chen Xiangdao to Zheng Genglao, although rhetorically their *zhaomu* arguments were slightly different from one another,

869 SS, Zhi 60, 2589.

870 SS, Zhi 60, 2590.

essentially they advocated an expansion of the *zhaomu* system in both political and daily life realms. In practice, the relationship between the *zhaomu* order and the lineage system was an enduring problem for many Song clans. During the early-to-mid Northern Song period, some literati and scholar-officials had already noticed the consolidating function of the *zhaomu* sequence in maintaining social stability. Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989-1052) believed that a righteous*zhaomu* principle would help the lineage members to "commemorate their ancestors" (zhuisi zuzong 追思祖宗).871 Su Xun 蘇洵 (1009-1066), from another perspective, argued that the *zhaomu* sequence formulated both the "great lineage" (dazong 大宗) and the "lesser lineage" (ziaozong 小宗) in selecting sons from other lineage branches to continue the original lines.⁸⁷² An intervention of the *zhaomu* sequence into the private sectors of local literati lineage was later also well recognized by most Southern Song and Yuan literati. Some of them stated the significance of employing the zhaomu sequence with regard to the construction of lineages in a particular text, i.e., the preface to lineage records (*zupuxu* 族譜序). Explicitly, Southern Song and Yuan Confucians claimed that the most important function of compiling lineage records was to "order the generations according to the zhaomu sequence" (xuzhaomu 敍昭穆).873 Hence,

⁸⁷¹ Fan Zhongyan, "Xu jiapu xu"續家譜序 (Continued preface to the Fan lineage record), Fanwenzheng ji 范文正集 (Anthology of Fan, the Righteousness of Civility), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1089, bubian 補編, 1:23.

⁸⁷² Su quoted specific ritual rhetoric from the *Great Treatise* chapter of the *Book of Rites* to explain the difference between the *zhaomu* of the "great lineage which the lineage head's tablet will not be removed for a hundred generations" 百世不遷之宗 and that of the "lesser lineage which the lineage head's tablet will be removed after five generations" 五世則遷之宗. Su Xun, "Zupu houlu shangbian"族譜後錄上篇 (The first half of the continued record of the Su lineage), *Jiayou ji* 嘉祐集 (*Anthology of Jiayou*), in *Sibu congkan chubian suoben*, (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1969), v.51, 14: 6a-10a, esp. p.9a-b.

the *zhaomu* sequence symbolically emblematized the continuation of a lineage, regardless of its social and economic conditions.⁸⁷⁴

From *di*, *xia* and temple sacrifices to geomancy and lineage records, the *zhaomu* sequence was utilized to balance the uneven distribution of political, economic and ideological powers inside and outside the imperial space. The Northern Song *zhaomu* discourse revolved around an axis of political reforms and ideological conflicts. It was concerned mostly with a grand narrative of statecraft and state orthopraxy. However, the tension between meritocracy and hereditariness that embedded in the Northern Song ritual debates concerning the imperial *zhaomu* sequence was attenuated by the hybridity of Southern Song commentaries on the ritual Canons. Daoxue Confucians' conceptions of *zhaomu* greatly expanded the interpretative space within the New Learning ritual texts. On the one hand, there is no arguing that Zhu Xi's *zhaomu* theory somewhat resembled Wang Zhaoyu and other New Learning scholars' endeavor to negotiate the tension between different Song and pre-Song interpretations on this persisting ritual controversy. For instance, although Zhu emphasized the *Rites and Ceremonies* more than the *Book of*

⁸⁷³ See, for instance, Huang Zhongyuan 黃仲元 (1231-1312), "Zuzi sijingtang ji" 族祠思敬堂記 (A record of the Hall of Conceiving Reverence, the Lineage Hall of the Huang Clan), Siru ji 四如集 (Anthology of Huang Siru), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1188, 1:4; Chen Gao 陳高 (1314-1366), "Zupu xu"族譜序 (Preface to lineage records), Buxi zhouyuji 不 繫舟漁集 (Anthology of the Unanchored Fish Boat), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1216, 10:1; also, Chen Gao, "Wushi shipu xu"吴氏世譜序 (Preface to the Wu clan's lineage record), ; Chen Lü 陳旅 (1287-1342), "Dingshi shipu xu"丁氏世譜序 (Preface to the Ding clan's lineage record), Anyatang ji 安雅堂集 (Anthology of the Anya Hall), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1213, 4: 19.

⁸⁷⁴ As the Yuan Confucian Li Cun 李存 (1281-1354) argued in his afterword to the Zhang clan's lineage record (題章氏族譜後): "What makes a person poor, depraved, rich and elegant is force; what maintains the *zhaomu* sequence for hundreds of years without end is integrity and justice" 夫貧賤富貴者, 勢也;而昭昭穆穆雖百世不可絶者, 義也. Li Cun, *Sian ji* 俟庵集 (*Anthology of the Sian Room*) *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1213, 27:2.

Rites in referring to his revival project of ancient rites, he also paid adequate attention to the miscellaneous collection of liturgical details in the latter. 875 Zhu's understanding of ancestral temple configuration was built upon the Wangzhi and the Jifa chapters, especially the former Confucians' commentaries on them. 876 Regarding the *Ritual of* Zhou, Zhu Xi and other Daoxue commentators were also less exclusive than modern scholars have assumed. The Comprehensive Commentary, as a collective work of Daoxue ritualism, cited from the Ritual of Zhou a number of sections about ancestral rites, not to mention Wen Shi's Liji jijie and Wang Yuzhi's Zhouli dingyi. In the first sentence of his Yili yaoyi 儀禮要義 (Essential Meaning of the Rites and Ceremonies), Wei Liaoweng 魏 了翁 (1178-1237) alleged that "the Ritual of Zhou and the Rites and Ceremonies came from the same origin.....They are both the Canons of kingship composed by the Duke of Zhou" 周禮、儀禮, 發源是一..... 並是周公攝政太平之書. 877 Ye Shi's 葉時 (jinshi 1184) conclusive remark perhaps best revealed the authority of the Zhou ritual legacy within Daoxue ritualism: "Imperial ancestral rites should be performed according to the Zhou rites" 宗廟之制, 亦當以周禮為正.878 Although Ye was a critic of Wang Anshi's

⁸⁷⁵ Peng Lin 彭林, "Lun Zhu Xi de lixueguan" 論朱熹的禮學觀 (On Zhu Xi's ritual theory), in Songdai jingxue guoji yantaohui lunwenji 宋代經學國際研究會論文集 (An Editorial Volume of an International Conference concerning Song Classical Studies), ed. Jiang Qiuhua 蔣秋華 and Feng Xiaoting 馮曉庭, (Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan zhongguo wenzhe yanjiusuo, 2006), 358-62; Yin, Zhu Xi lixue sixiang yanjiu, 92-107.

⁸⁷⁶ Peng, "Lun Zhu Xi de lixueguan", 362.

⁸⁷⁷ Wei Liaoweng, *Yili yaoyi*, *Siku quanshu*, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.104, 1:1.

⁸⁷⁸ Ye Shi, Lijing huiyuan 禮經會元 (Primal Origin of the Ritual Classics), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.92, 3b:9. Elsewhere, Ye Shi also claimed that di, xia and all temple sacrifices should all base on the Ritual of Zhou. Lijing huiyuan, 3b:7. We know little about Ye Shi's life. According to the Siku editors, Ye Shi was Zhu Xi's close friend and shared with Cheng I the same hostility toward Wang Anshi's scholarship. Ye, Lijing huiyuan, tiyao:1.

Major Reform,⁸⁷⁹ his theoretical analysis of imperial rites could only be comprehended by considering it as a counter-reaction to New Learning scholarship, within the same context of ritual revivalism.⁸⁸⁰

On the other hand, although both the New Learning scholars and *Daoxue*Confucians shared the same revivalist approach, there were some important differences between them. The New Learning scholars thought that institutional reforms and an integrated value system were crucial to the state-building enterprise; yet, most Southern Song Daoxue scholars considered moral cultivation as the key factor to the benefit of the whole society. Considering the enduring effect of ancestral worship in the daily life of Song people, ancestral rites thus became a main concern of Daoxue scholars' moralizing project. Daoxue scholars believed in the enlightening power of ritual practices in cultivating morality and stabilizing society. As a consequence, Southern Song ritual writings revealed a shift of focus from state to society, from theoretical disputes to practical procedures. Although imperial rites still constituted a relevant portion of the entire cultural reform scheme during the Southern Song, they were never again abstract concepts but concrete, multifaceted social manifestations. Northern Song ritualists, such

⁸⁷⁹ Ye, Lijing huiyuan, tiyao:1.

⁸⁸⁰ Despite Ye's close relationship with Zhu Xi, the *Lijing huiyuan* should not be simply regarded as an extension of *Yili jingzhuan tongjie*. See Song, "Tension and Balance," 255-56, esp. fn.12. Outside the Daoxue community, the great Classicist and historian Zheng Jiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162) also considered the *Ritual of Zhou* as a record of the real Zhou institution and ritual policies. Yet, in contrast to Zhu Xi, Wang Yuzhi and Wei Shi, Zheng reprobated the *Book of Rites* as a text full of errors and obvious mistakes. Some of the chapters are simply incomprehensible due to their bad sentence transitions and wrong characters. Zheng, *Lijing aozhi* 禮經奧旨 (*The Mysterious Meaning of the Ritual Canons*), in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, (Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1997), v.103, 9-11; 15-17.

as Yang Jie, Zeng Zhao and Yu Jing 余靖 (1000-1064), viewed the *zhaomu* sequence primarily as a component of imperial sacrifices; ssl however, Southern Song literati tended to perceive imperial sacrifices as one of the manifestations of the *zhaomu* sequence—certainly the most political one. The *di* sacrifice, for example, was regarded more as a self-examining process of the *zhaomu* order in the Southern Song context, rather than a display of royal dignity as suggested by the Northern Song scholars. Chen Zao 陳藻 stated: "*di* means examination. It is used to examine where the origin of one's ancestors came from" 禘者,審也. 審其祖之所自出. 882 Along with the shift of meaning of the character *di* from a specific imperial sacrifice to a general signifier of self-examination, the political *zhaomu* sequence of the imperial clan gradually evolved into the social *zhaomu* order of lineage records, clan buildings, family shrines and burial grounds.

^{***81} Yang Jie, "Dixia hezhengweixu yi" 禘祫合正位序議 (Discussion on the rectification of positions in di and xia sacrifices), Wuwei Ji 無為集 (Anthology of Non-interference), comp. Ji Yun, et al. Siku quanshu, v.1099 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987),15:4-5; Zeng Zhao, "Xingzhuang" 行狀 (Biography [of Zheng]), Qufu Ji 曲阜集 (Anthology of Qufu), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1011, 4:17; Yu Jing, "Hanwu buyi chengcong lun" 漢武不宜稱宗論 (Discussion on the inappropriate sacrificial title of the Han Emperor Wudi), Wuxi Ji 武溪集 (Anthology of the Wu Brook), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1089, 16:14-5.

⁸⁸² Chen Zao, "Lun di"論禘 (On di sacrifice), Lexuan ji 樂軒集 (Anthology of the Joyful Pavilion), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1152, 7:16-17. Wang Yan 王炎 (1137-1218) in his essay about imperial sacrifices also considered di as a general way of self-examination. Wang, "Dixia lun" 禘洽論 (On di and xia sacrifices), Shangxi leigao 雙溪類稾 (Draft Writings of the Two Creeks), Siku quanshu, comp. Ji Yun, et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), v.1155, 26:1-4.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This study has completed a missing link in Song history by demonstrating the ritual logic of scholar-officials in both political and intellectual domains. Through a close reading of a wide spectrum of memorials, edicts, official records, private letters and ritual commentaries from the Song period, I illustrate how debates over imperial ritual and related liturgical practices differentiated the revivalists from the conventionalists in a different dimension from the conventional understanding of Song factional politics. Based on a political imagination of Zhou ritual politics, Northern Song ritualists sought monarchical support to initiate a vast campaign of cultural revivalism. In particular, New Learning scholarship emphasized the enlightening effect of imperial rites in reconstructing the ritual lineage from Zhou to Song. The power holders, from Wang Anshi to Emperor Shenzong and Emperor Huizong, actively participated in ritual debates and discussions with the officials of the Commission of Ritual Affairs and the Court of Imperial Rites and Ceremonies. Against the conventional learning of Classics and ritual, New Learning scholarship claimed that it was necessary to revise the practices of imperial rites to conform to the liturgical orthodoxy recorded in the ritual Classics. Hence, the zhaomu sequence, as a key component of imperial rites, received considerable attention from the New Learning scholars.

The New Learning advocacy of ritual revivalism was soon championed by Confucian scholars outside of the New Learning community: some of them were actually political opponents of Wang Anshi's New Policies. After all, considering the complexity of human thought and the related decision-making mechanism, the disjunction between Song scholars' political stances and their ritual interests was not difficult to understand.

Modern researchers may easily fall into the pitfall of categorization by over-simplifying the ideas and writings of traditional thinkers. However, the Song scholars who reinvented the *zhaomu* sequence within the cultural complex of imperial ritual tended to perpetuate a separate "ritual identity" that violated the boundary of factional politics. As I demonstrated in chapter three, it was totally reasonable that many Northern Song ritual revivalists of the late eleventh century embraced a conservative agenda on the political level, even though they shared the same interest, as Wang Anshi, to promote ritual reforms. This was particularly true for the 1072 Primal Ancestor controversy. Within the revivalist camp, the domination of the New Learning camp was not as thorough and complete as modern scholars conventionally thought.

Additionally, the New Learning community was not a monolithic community of Wang Anshi's followers. In chapter three and chapter four, I explored how the New Learning scholars developed different approaches to conceptualize the *zhaomu* sequence and the placement of the Primal Ancestor. Indeed, the Song ritual controversy continued previous dynasties' theoretical interpretations on the arrangement of the sequence of spirit tablets and ancestral temples, which I surveyed in chapter two. Since the Han period, the conflict between the two ritual approaches of meritocracy and filial piety had profoundly shaped the practice of the *zhaomu* sequence. The 1079 debate that occurred between three New Learning scholars—Lu Dian, He Xunzhi, and Zhang Zhao—illustrated how the *zhaomu* sequence was perceived and represented according to diverse conceptions of Classical texts. On the one hand, the Confucian discourse of filial piety provided a theoretical framework for a hierarchical account of the *zhaomu* sequence and the relation between *zhao* and *mu* ancestors. On the other hand, to understand *zhao* and *mu*

designations as solely genealogical markers indicated a typical meritocratic approach, in which the spiritual positions of ancestors were primarily determined by his lifetime contributions to the formation of dynastic clans.

Other New Learning scholars, who did not participate in the 1072 and 1079 ritual debates, also contributed to a discursive understanding of the zhaomu sequence within the New Learning community. As I have mentioned in the introduction, the discursive practices of Wang Anshi's disciples in interpreting the ritual Classics attenuated the disciplinary character of the original Wang Learning. However, it is also important to note that a comprehensive conception of Classical studies and ritual learning had already emerged during Wang's lecturing period in Jiangning, from 1064 to 1067. My research on New Learning scholarship demonstrates how the intellectual effort made by the New Learning community, especially in their ritual writings, reflected a great magnitude of diversity and comprehensiveness. Through a series of ritual reforms that occurred in the Xining and the Yuanfeng eras, the New Learning community to a large degree ritualized the court politics of the late Northern Song period, which eventually led to Emperor Huizong's enthusiastic pursuit of monumental ritual projects in the early twelfth century, including the promulgation of a new ritual code, the compilation of a new Daoist Canon, the calling for a reform on liturgical music in 1102, and the endeavor to build a Luminous Hall of sacrifice (mingtang 明堂).883

The comprehensive feature of the New Learning ritual scholarship resulted in the proliferation of a variety of liturgical texts in the Southern Song. In chapter five, I

⁸⁸³ Ebrey, Emperor Huizong, 243-254, 160-165, 265-273.

outlined the reciprocal relationship between the New Learning understanding of ideal ancient ritual and the ritual scholarship of the Daoxue community. My primary focus is the great synthesis of Daoxue ritualism, the Comprehensive Commentary and Explanation of the Rites and Ceremonies (Yili jingzhuan tongjie 儀禮經傳通解), a collective work of Zhu Xi and his two best disciples in the study of ancient rituals, Huang Gan and Yang Fu. Through scrutiny of the ritual texts that were collected in the Comprehensive Commentary and also other encyclopedic ritual commentaries composed by the Southern Song Daoxue scholars, not only does my study reveal the hidden link of transition between the New Learning and Daoxue scholarship, but it also indicates a conceptual shift in the understanding of the zhaomu sequence, i.e., a shift from an emphasis on theoretical construction to performativity and social applications. As the zhaomu discourse gradually transformed from a grand narrative of reforms and statecraft to a cultural apparatus of lineage construction, the ideological tension between meritocracy and hereditariness that embedded in the imperial zhaomu sequence was undermined by various ordinary practices of the *zhaomu* notion, such as the composition of genealogical records and the establishment of clan buildings. Moreover, Southern Song local elites also incorporated the *zhaomu* concept to extol filial piety, which was later incorporated into a myriad of Yuan and Ming clan rules (jiafa zugui 家法族規).884 By interpreting filial piety itself as a merit, the original contradiction between

⁸⁸⁴ For the clan rules' emphasis on filial piety, see Hui-Chen Wang Liu, "An Analysis of Chinese Clan Rules: Confucian Theories in Action," in *Confucianism in Action*, ed. David Nivison and Arthur Wright (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), 63-96, esp. 84-86.

meritocracy and filial piety that existed in the imperial *zhaomu* sequence has been partially resolved in the social milieu.

The socialization of the *zhaomu* sequence continued to grow in the late imperial China. Ming and Qing dynasties witnessed an expansion of the *zhaomu* sequence in the clan-based rural society. Ji Ben 季本 (1485-1563), the Ming Confucian who has been generally considered as a follower of Wang Shouren's 王守仁 (1472-1529) scholarship, asserted that the *zhaomu* sequence as "the ultimate virtue of universe" (*tianxia zhi datao* 天下之達道) should be regularly performed by Confucian scholars and commoners, sinceit had been historically practiced in state sacrifices and ancestral rites in the Imperial Ancestral Temple. By suggesting a negotiating framework in which both the principle of filial piety and the meritocratic approach could be integrated, Ji brought out a critique of the two main theories that shaped the Song *zhaomu* controversy. His endeavor to reconcile the inherent theoretical dilemma underlying the *zhaomu* sequence was echoed by some eminent Qing scholars, including Hui Dong 惠棣 (1697-1758), Qin Huitian 秦 蕙田 (1702-1764), Huang Yizhou 黃以眉 (1828-1899), Mao Qiling 毛奇齡 (1623-1726)

⁸⁸⁵ Ji Ben, Miaozhi kaoyi 廟制考議 (An examination and discussion of the temple ritual), in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, (Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1997), v.105, 16b.

^{**}B86* A detailed analysis of Ji Ben's critique would be out of the scope of this project. However, in a broad sense, Ji argued that the principle of constancy—that "zhao ancestors are always kept as zhao, mu ancestors are always kept as mu"—should be maintained, yet in a way that could fulfill the general setting of a zhao-father and mu-son configuration. It is worth noting that Ji paid special attention to the Song 1079 debate and Zhu Xi's response to Lu Dian's plan (Ji, Miaozhi kaoyi, 17a-18b). Theoretically, Ji agreed with Lu that zhaomu indicated a father-son relationship. Meanwhile, he claimed that the familial implication of the zhaomu sequence should not concretized ritually at the expense of the principle of constancy. Ji's negotiation plan was to reset the directions of ancestral temples and their orientations (from facing north to facing south), as well as chamber arrangements within the temples, in order to suit the hierarchical order of left-zhao and right-mu. In Ji's words, "it is appropriate to build the temples based on the ritual status ancestors, but not the reverse—that is, to place ancestors into fixed temple spaces." 以人定廟, 則可; 以廟定人, 則不可. Ji, Miaozhi kaoyi, 18b-19a.

and Pi Xirui 皮錫瑞 (1850-1908). Particularly, Hui Dong, Mao Qiling and Pi Xirui composed monographs that discussed the *zhaomu* sequence in *di* and *xia* sacrifices. ⁸⁸⁷ These Qing scholars' endeavors to further theorize the *zhaomu* sequence reflected both an intention to routinize ancestral practices and an intellectual reaction to the conquest state's manipulation of ritual actions.

In his study of Qing imperial rites, Rawski distinguished two principles of rule: rule by virtue and rule by heredity. Rawski distinguished two principles of rule: rule by virtue and rule by heredity. Rawski In my introduction, I discuss Qing rulers' adoption of the "rule by ritual" cliché as a technique to legitimize their rulership. It seems that Qing rulers equated the virtue of rulership with ritual consistency, which was characterized by a negotiation mechanism between Confucian ritual norms and Manchu shamanism. Rawski argued, Qing accession rituals shifted its focus from Heaven to filiality after the seventeenth century, then what Wechsler called a shift from "lineal ancestors" to "political ancestors" was actually reversed in Qing ritualism. By emphasizing the numinous connection between the emperor and his ancestors, Qing imperial ritual gave prominence to the lineal sequence of ancestry within the Confucian

⁸⁸⁷ Hui Dong, Di shuo 禘說 (On di Sacrifice), in Xuxiu siku quanshu, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), v.105, 2:3a-4b; Mao Qiling, Miaozhi zhezhong 廟制折衷 (Compromising Temple Ritual), in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, (Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1997), v.108, 1:3b-17b (the number of temples of Son-of-Heaven); v.108, 2:17a-22b (spatial arrangement of temples); Pi Xirui, Luli dixiayi shuzheng 魯禮禘洽義疏證 (An Examination of the di and xia Sacrifices of the Ancient State Lu), in Xuxiu siku quanshu, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), v.112, 3a-5a.

⁸⁸⁸ Rawski, The Last Emperors, 201-203.

⁸⁸⁹ Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 235-241.

⁸⁹⁰ Evelyn Rawski, "The Creation of an Emperor in Eighteenth-Century China," in *Harmony and Counterpoint: Ritual Music in Chinese Context*, ed. Bell Yung, Evelyn Rawski, and Rubie Watson (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 150-174.

⁸⁹¹ Wechsler, Offerings of Jade and Silk, 136.

framework of filiality. In contrast to Tang imperial rites, which symbolically underplayed the monopoly of the ruling family, Qing ritual enhanced the perpetual power of the family-governed monarchy (*jiatianxia* 家天下). Why was there a significant difference between them? What actually happened between Tang and Qing that would account for such difference?

Certainly, there is no simple answer to this fundamental shift in the mode of governance. Traditional explanations commonly attributed the rise of monarchial power in Chinese history to the corresponding decline of Song Grand Councilors' political power (xiangquan 相權). Sept. Yet, modern historians have demonstrated that the power relationship between emperors and high-ranking officials in Song China were more complicated than scholars earlier thought. Sept. By implementing a reasoning of ritual politics into the context of Chinese monarchy, I find that the power of ritual can be a productive way to conceive the absolutism of a hierarchical society. Beyond its legitimizing power, imperial ritual also provided a set of standardized codes that imbued political power with moral authority. As Lawrence R. Sullivan argued in his distinction between power and authority, "power without authority is reduced to pure coercion with no overarching moral obligation to sanction it." In this light, the power of ritual

⁸⁹² Qian, "Lun Songdai xiangquan" 論宋代相權 (On the power of Song Grand Councilors), in *Songshi* yanjiuji (Taibei: Zhonghua congshu weiyuanhui, 1958), v.1, 455-462.

⁸⁹³ Wang Ruilai 王瑞來, "Lun Songdai xiangquan" 論宋代相權 (On the power of Song Grand Councilors), *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 2 (1985): 106-120; Zhang Bangye 張邦煒, "Lun Songdai de huangquan he xiangquan" 論宋代的皇權和相權 (On the Song monarchical power and the power of Song Grand Councilors), *Sichuan shifan daxue xuebao: Shehui hexueban* 四川師範大學學報: 社會科學版 95 (April, 1994): 60-68.

⁸⁹⁴ Lawrence R. Sullivan, "Intellectual and Political Controversies over Authority in China: 1898-1922," in *Confucian Cultures of Authority*, ed. Peter D. Hershock and Roger T. Ames (New York: State

stemmed not just from its political utilization, but also from its transcendental authority in reconciling different tensions within the system of monarchical absolutism.

The politicization of ritual's moral authority eventually resulted in the selfreproduction of the father-son analogy in the court politics of late imperial China. Narrowing down to the *zhaomu* sequence, my study reveals a similar transition from meritocracy to the filial-piety approach after the Northern Song period. The endeavor made by the New Learning scholar Lu Dian in constructing a zhaomu theory based on a hierarchical understanding of filiality was recognized, yet criticized, by the Southern Song Daoxue master Zhu Xi. Interestingly, Lu's *zhaomu* theory received positive responses from Ming and Qing ritualists, as it better complemented the family-oriented mode of monarchy. In reality, ritual practices are major means for propagating political myths that "help structure an understanding of the political world and the public's attitude to the various political actors that populate it."895 Concerning the evolving history of Chinese monarchy, scholar-officials served as the collaborators of emperors and kings on the stage of ritual politics. Reciprocally, they gained the necessary cultural capital that enabled them to define ritual norms on social and intellectual levels. This symbiotic relationship between scholar-officials and rulers ensured the continuity and legitimacy of Chinese monarchy for hundreds of years, until the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1912.

During the Republic of China, the collaboration between the ritual authority of scholar-officials and the political power of rulers collapsed, along with the decline of

University of New York Press, 2006), 171. Sullivan's distinction between power and authority was based on Yves Simon and Carl Friedrich's works. See his reference for more information. Sullivan, "Intellectual and Political Controversies," 196-197, notes 2 & 3.

⁸⁹⁵ Kertzer, Ritual, Politics, and Power, 13.

monarchical absolutism and the steady retreat of the scholar-official class from the nexus of cultural hegemony and state power. Confucian ritual suffered some serious damage from the Nationalist's New Culture Movement and the Communist's Cultural Revolution. Yet, Confucianism experienced a gradual resurgence after the closure of the political campaign against Lin Biao 林彪 (1907-1971) and Confucius in 1974, and later the arrest of the Gang of Four (*sirenbang* 四人幫) in 1976. ⁸⁹⁶ As post-Mao China witnesses a rehabilitation of Confucianism, will the conjunction of ritual and politics be revived in contemporary China? Is it necessity to have such a revival?

An answer to these questions depends on further examination of the role played by ritual in the post-Mao China. Since the 1980s, East Asian scholars, such as Yu Yingshi and Tu Weiming 杜維明, have argued that the Confucian ethics contributed to both the historical development of entrepreneurship spirit in late imperial China and the phenomenal economic growth in modern Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and South Korea. ⁸⁹⁷ Confucianism as a repository of values, customs and symbols has been woven into the fabric of modernization and East Asian modernity. The modernization of Confucianism, in Lionel Jensen's words, involves in "manufacturing a new moment of a

⁸⁹⁶ Kam Louie, *Critiques of Confucius*, 97-136. The Gang of Four referred to the four leftist leaders of the Communist Party Politburo of Cultural Revolution (*zhongyang wenge xiaozu* 中央文革小組), Jiang Qing 江青, Zhang Chunqiao 張春橋, Yao Wenyuan 姚文元, and Wang Hongwen 王洪文.

⁸⁹⁷ Yu Yingshi, Zhongguo jinshi zongjiao lunli yu shangren jingshen 中國近世宗教倫理與商人精神 (The Modern Chinese Religious Ethics and the Merchant Spirit) (Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), 198-258; Tu Weiming, "A Confucian Perspective on the Rise of Industrial East Asia," Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences 42, 1 (October 1988): 32-50. However, Hoyt Tillman has suggested that the economic assets ascribed to mainstream Confucianism arose marginally from Chen Liang and were sharply rejected by Zhu Xi; see Tillman's Epilogue to his English translation of Huang Chin-shing's biography of a Taiwanese entrepreneur. The English publication is Business as a Vocation: The Autobiography of Mr. Wu Huo-su (Cambridge: Harvard East Asian Legal Studies Program, 2002), 245-259, and elaborated upon in some later publications.

tradition."⁸⁹⁸ Once the new Confucianism is manufactured, it is instantly consumed by those East Asian actors who pursued modernity from an indigenous perspective. Thus, introspectively, the revival of an old ideology provides psychological underpinnings for various local modifications of the general conception of modernization and progressivism. Jensen's account regards Confucianism as a religious ethic that completes the modernization campaign fueled by the state power.

However, in contrast to Jensen, I tend to detach the modern revitalization of Confucianism and Confucian rites from their religious connotations. Contemporary advocates of Confucianism rarely consider it as a continuous religious belief with a multi-millennial history that could be traced back to Confucius. They are more inclined to use it to fill in the space left by the ebbing of Marxism-Leninism and Maoism in people's social life. In contemporary China, Confucianism serves more as a cohesive ideological device that allows people to foster their cultural identity based on a variety of traditionalist rationales. Since these rationales usually involve ordinary practices of non-Confucian origins, some scholars adopt the term "meta-Confucianism" to encompass all different elements within these rationales.

On the ideological level, it is clear that meta-Confucianism is a product of the Western influence dating back to the late Qing period. Indeed, the Orientalist conception of Confucianism, which was initiated by the Jesuits, 900 has been adapted and developed

⁸⁹⁸ Jensen, Manufacturing Confucianism, 15.

⁸⁹⁹ Oskar Weggel, "Between Marxism and meta-Confucianism: China on Her Way 'Back to Normality," in *Confucianism and the Modernization of China*, ed. Silke Krieger and Rolf Trauzettel (Mainz: Hase & Koehler Verlag, 1991), 407.

⁹⁰⁰ Jensen, Manufacturing Confucianism, 33-147.

by some modern advocates of Confucianism to cultivate a national mentality, or lifestyle, in order to confront the modernity discourse that was fundamentally shaped by the Industrial Revolution of the West. Anna Sun's ethnographic study of the contemporary practices of ancestral ritual in China demonstrates how Confucianism has been officially venerated since 2004. The official worship of Confucius in the Confucius Temple of Qufu 曲阜 on September 28, 2004, as well as the founding of the first Confucius Institute in Seoul later in the same year, signified the endorsement of Confucianism in terms of state ritual. Confucianism may not be fully depended on nationalism, as Wang Gungwu convincingly argued. Yet, the development of Chinese nationalism is and will be continuously shaped by the official recognition of the so-called "Confucian" values and cultural norms in contemporary China.

Nevertheless, as Elisabeth Croll argued, the "diffuse and living Confucianism of everyday practice" should not be reduced to a holistic representation of neo-nationalism, since it implies a domination of official attempts in the revitalization of Confucianism. ⁹⁰³ Although the official advocacy of "new Confucian studies" (*xin ruxue* 新儒學) is indeed intimately associated with a nationalist discourse of awakening, the popular understanding of Confucianism and Confucian rites does not necessarily comply with this

⁹⁰¹ Anna Sun, "The Revival of Confucian Rites in Contemporary China," in *Confucianism and Spiritual Traditions in Modern China and Beyond*, ed. Fenggang Yang and Joseph B. Tomney (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 309-322.

⁹⁰² Wang Gungwu, "Nationalism and Confucianism," in *Confucianism, Chinese History and Society*, ed. Wong Sin Kiong (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Company, 2012), 39-42.

⁹⁰³ Elisabeth Croll, "Conjuring Goods, Identities and Cultures," in *Consuming China: Approaches to Cultural Change in Contemporary China*, ed. Kevin Latham, Sruart Thompson, and Jakob Klein (New York: Routledge, 2006), 32-33.

discourse. The emergence of popular Confucianism offers new possibilities for revitalizing lively Confucian traditions in a broader dimension of autonomy. Certainly, the interaction between official Confucianism (*guanfang* 官方) and popular Confucianism (*minjian* 民間) is not always a conflicting one. Yet, Confucian activists who come from the *minjian* background usually looks for local socializations to develop their cultural activities. Like Southern Song Daoxue Confucians, today's *minjian* activists are also in a shifting relationship to state authorities. These activists embrace a pluralistic vision of the so-called Confucian tradition and generally exhibit a positive attitude toward popular cults and ritual practices. ⁹⁰⁴ Hence, in Michel de Certeau's terms, the rise of popular Confucianism in recent years reflects how the tactical practices of local customs undermine the official strategy to re-establish a nationalistic state cult. ⁹⁰⁵

Considering the tension between official and popular Confucianism, modern practitioners of popular Confucianism sometimes are not satisfied with scholarly presentations of Confucianism. These presentations may consider Confucianism as a highly sophisticated philosophy and thus privilege theoretical concepts; yet, scholars may (unintentionally) marginalize the concrete practice generated by these concepts in the scholarly reconstruction of Confucianism. For example, Zhang Dainian 張岱年, one of

⁹⁰⁴ Billioud Sébastien and Joël Thoraval, "*Lijiao*: The Return of Ceremonies Honouring Confucius in Mainland China," *China Perspectives* 4 (2009): 98-99.

⁹⁰⁵ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), xvii-xx, 34-39, 52-56. De Certeau distinguishes tactic from strategy and argues that the art of practice is defined by its tactical character. According to him, in contrast to the operation of a strategy, which mostly takes place in a field of power relations, a tactic does not require a proper place for taking actions. It can be held everywhere in daily life. The practice of popular Confucianism may not be omnipresent as the tactics described by de Certeau (story-telling, walking, reading), yet it still implies a temporal, contingent and fleshy context, which differs sharply from the official exhibition of state cult in contemporary China.

the most influential scholars of Chinese thought, has excluded ritual from his celebrated work, *Key Concepts in Chinese Philosophy*—possibly because ritual as an allencompassing idea is too difficult to be categorized according to his three-tiered conceptual framework of metaphysics, ethics and epistemology. However, for the practitioners of popular Confucianism, a proper understanding of the meaning of ritual and the satisfactory performance of traditional rituals is at the heart of the entire revitalizing project.

Ritual acts, including wedding ceremonies, funeral rites, and other kind of ritual practices, constitute the daily practice of popular Confucianism. Nowadays, elite practitioners of Confucianism and commoners from different social stratum practice social rites in different forms. Some primary and secondary schools introduce the class of Confucian Classics (dujingban 讀經班) into their educational curriculums. 907 The implementation of some traditional practices of family rituals in young people's wedding ceremonies illustrates an attempt to bridge Confucianism and people's daily life through a re-invention of Confucian rites. 908 Apparently, the Confucian understanding of ritual as an effective means for social control and political legitimacy is still running today. However, when the *shi* class has completed the transition from scholar-officials to modern intellectuals, voluntarily or involuntarily, will the power of ritual be eventually marginalized, along with the diminishment of intellectual's direct engagement in policy-

⁹⁰⁶ Zhang Dainian, *Key Concepts in Chinese Philosophy*, trans. Edmund Ryden. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

⁹⁰⁷ Sun, "The Revival of Confucian Rites," 324, fn.14.

⁹⁰⁸ Margaret Tillman and Hoyt Tillman, "A Joyful Union: The Modernization of the Zhu Xi Family Wedding Ceremony," *Oriens Extremus* 49 (2010): 117-128.

making? Or, on the contrary, will modern intellectual re-politicize traditional ritual by bridging the conceptual gap between the official Communist doctrine and the popular customs practiced by most people? How and to what extent can these customs be modernized? Should they be modernized or adapted after all? Finally, how important is ritual in China today? All these questions call for a rethinking of the history of ritual and the history of concrete ritual details and practices. As long as ritual still holds the symbolic function of providing people a sense of cultural continuity, the invention of ritual will continue, as well as ritual reforms and ritual debates. The millennial path from Song to contemporary China to revitalize "ancient" and "traditional" rites, consequently, manifests itself as an ongoing process of historical imagination in postulating the power of knowledge.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- DDSL. Dongdou Shilue 東都事略. Wang Cheng 王偁 (12th cen.).
- LLJS. Liji jishuo 禮記集說. Wei Shi 衛湜 (fl.1205-1224).
- QSG. Quan shanggu sandai qinhan sanguo liuchao wen 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文. Compiled by Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762-1843).
- SHY. Songhuiyao jigao 宋會要輯稿. Compiled by Xu Song 徐松 (1781-1848).
- SS. Songshi 宋史. Compiled by Tuo Tuo 脫脫 (1314-1355).
- SSXP. Songshi Xinpian 宋史新編. Ke Weiqi 柯維騏 (1497-1574).
- SSXYJKHP. Sanjing xinyi jikao huiping 三經新義輯考彙評. Cheng Yuanmin 程元敏.
- WXTK. Wen xian tongkao 文獻通考. Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254-1323).
- XCB. Xu zizhi tongjian changbian 續資治通鑑長編. Li Tao 李燾 (1114-83).
- YLJZTJ: JL, the Yang Edition. Yili jingzhuan tongjie xujuan: jili 儀禮經傳通解續卷 祭禮. Yang Fu 楊復 (fl. 1228).
- YLJZTJXL, the Huang Edition. *Yili jingzhuan tongjie xujuan* 儀禮經傳通解續卷. Huang Gan 黃幹 (1152-1221).
- YPKL. Wang Jinggong yanpu kaolue 王荊公年譜考略. Chai Shangxiang 蔡上翔 (1717-1810).
- ZBSYXA. Zengbu Songyuan xuean 增補宋元學案. Compiled by Huang Zongxi 黃宗 羲 (1610-1695) and Quan Zuwang 全祖望 (1705-1755).
- ZZYL. Zhuzi yulei 朱子語類. Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200).

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